

**THE EMERGENCE
OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT
AMONG NORTH INDIAN
MUSLIMS (1917 - 1947)**

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To my parents

ABSTRACT

This work examines the emergence of Muslim socialists and their ideas in India between 1917 and 1947. With the onset of British rule in India, Indian Muslims had to come to terms with new, non-Islamic ideas, from the West. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, one set of new ideas with which some Indian Muslims became increasingly fascinated was that of Socialism.

The deteriorating conditions of Muslims in India, combined with the growing western domination of the worldwide Muslim community, symbolised by the declining power of the Ottoman Caliphate, stimulated strong Pan-Islamic feeling which merged into opposition to British rule. The first batch of Muslim socialists emerged during the period of intense Pan-Islamic activity from the time of the Balkan Wars of 1911-13, to the mid-1920s and the demise of the Khilafat. They were initially motivated to act against the British by specifically Islamic ideals. They migrated from India to Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia, where they became disillusioned with Pan-Islamism, came into contact with Bolshevik ideas and transferred their allegiances from Islam to Socialism. These Muslim socialists played an important role in the Communist Party of India during the 1920s and early 1930s. However, the

weaknesses of their theoretical understanding and their reliance on Comintern directives, together with British repression, prevented them from achieving notable success.

In the mid-1930s, a second generation of Muslim socialists emerged from the more prosperous and western educated Muslim service classes. These Muslims were more in harmony with western rationalist values and were, therefore, better equipped to understand socialist theory. At the same time, their education brought them into conflict with the existing values and convention of Muslim society against which they rebelled. These Muslim socialists were instrumental in the formation and organisation of the Progressive Writers' Association, and they used literature for the expression and advancement of their political ideas. Although they succeeded in creating a large audience for their radical views, they failed in their political aims. Like their earlier Muslim counterparts, these socialists were also handicapped by the changing requirements of the Communist International.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.M.U.	Aligarh Muslim University.
B.B. & C.I.	Bombay Baroda and Central India.
B.N.N.R.	Bengal Native Newspaper Reports.
C.P.I.	Communist Party of India.
C.P. (Marxist)	Communist Party (Marxist).
F.O.	Foreign Office.
G.O.I.	Government of India.
ICS	Indian Civil Service.
I.N.C.	Indian National Congress.
IOR	Indian Office Library and Records.
IPTA	Indian People's Theatre Association.
I.R.A.	Indian Revolutionary Association.
J.M.I.	Jamia Millia Islamia.
MAO	Muhammadan Anglo Oriental
ORR	Ōudh Rohilkhand Railway
P.N.N.R.	Punjab Native Newspaper Reports
PRO	Public Record Office.
PWA	Progressive Writers' Association.
PWM	Progressive Writers' Movement
S.B.I.	Special Bureau of Information.
S.O.A.S.	School of Oriental and African Studies.
T.U.C.	Trade Union Congress.
U.P.N.N.R.	United Provinces Native Newspaper Reports.
WRDIB	Weekly Report of the Director, Intelligence. Bureau, Government of India, New Delhi.

A NOTE ON SPELLING

It is difficult to maintain consistency in spelling Indian names partly because Indians themselves have used a variety of spellings for their own names and those of places in India; and partly because of phonetic problems. To achieve a satisfactory result, the system of transliteration adopted follows broadly the lines suggested in the Report of the 10th Congress of Orientalists for the transliteration of the Arabic alphabet, published in the *Journal of the Royal Society*, 1895, pp. 888-9. Apart from the use of a raised comma (') for *hamza* in the middle of a word, and a raised 'c' (°) for the °(Ain), diacritical marks have been omitted. Place names have been spelt according to the system adopted in: (1) *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (48 vols., Allahabad, 1903-11), and (2) *District Gazetteers of the Punjab* (188 Vols., Compiled and Published under the authority of Punjab Government, 1884-1937).

INTRODUCTION

A major problem for the Muslim world has been the reconciliation of fundamental Islamic principles, as set out in the Qur'an and the Sunnah, with the needs of a modern, technologically-based society. Many Muslims first encountered this problem under Western colonial rule from the early nineteenth century onwards. At a time of weakness, when they were made to feel inferior and their confidence was low, they were forced to confront Western ideas and values, and to consider the philosophies associated with the West which seemed to be challenging the very basis of Islamic society. The choice of reactions open to the Muslim world under these circumstances was basically three-fold. Muslims had to decide whether to accept the West without reservation, reject it completely, or strive to absorb, reinterpret and restate aspects of non-Muslim visions of social and political order within the framework of Islam.

For many Muslims, the strength of their religion militated against their whole-hearted acceptance of the West. Yet, Muslim efforts to remove Western domination by force were largely crushed by superior Western military and technological power. Gradually, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, groups of Muslims came to recognise that compromise with the West held out the best hope of survival for the Muslim world. They acknowledged that the West had positive aspects, and they sought accommodation between Islamic teaching and the modern world. By placing their faith in a purified religious doctrine which was reconciled with the needs of science and contemporary thought they felt that Islam would be well-equipped to meet the challenges of modern social change and restore its equality with and even superiority over the West.

The general process of compromise carried out by Muslim modernist thinkers from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, took place throughout the Muslim world. Men such as Jamal al-din al-Afghani and Mahmud Beg Tarzi formed part of

this movement. They wanted to end Western domination but accepted that their goal was possible only if Muslims modernised and accepted western scientific and technological advances. Afghani rejected both unthinking traditionalism and blind imitation of the West. Other prominent Muslim modernists, who had a profound influence on the way that many Muslims came to terms with the needs of the modern world but whose political priorities differed from those of their more militant counterparts, included Muhammad Abduh in Egypt, Namik Kemal in Turkey, Isma'il Gasprinsky in Central Asia and the Iranian Mirza Malkom Khan¹ They reinterpreted the Qur'an in order to encourage the adoption of western ideas by Muslims, especially in the fields of rationalism and science. Muslims, in learning science, it was argued, would be both recovering their past and fulfilling neglected commandments of the Qur'an. Reform, these men insisted, could and should take place within the boundaries of Islam.

The development of Muslim modernist ideas was accompanied by the parallel emergence of educational institutions and political movements. However, another very significant means by which the ideas of these reformers was circulated was through literature. The traditionally important position of literature, in particular poetry, within Muslim culture, meant that it provided reformers with an instrument which could reach deep into their communities and popularise their new ideas. Consequently, since the middle of the nineteenth century, many different parts of the Muslim world have witnessed the growth of literary movements which have formed part of the wider process of coming to an understanding with western concepts and innovations. Edward Allworth, for instance, has dealt in some considerable depth with the growth of one such movement within Uzbek literature in Central Asia following its colonisation by Tsarist Russia. In a similar way, Mounah A. Khouri has described the role of poetry in the making of modern Egypt. Kemal H. Karpat had completed much the same task in his work on contemporary Turkish literature, while Nikki

Keddie had pointed to the emergence of modernist literary writers in Iran during the early years of the twentieth century.²

Indian Muslim responses to the encroachments of the West have followed a similar pattern. The 1857 Rebellion symbolised the defeat of any real hope that Indian Muslims might still have entertained about forcing the British to leave India. It also signalled the beginning of the spread of modernist ideas among Indian Muslims. Historians of Indian Islam have paid great attention to leading individual Muslim thinkers, and the educational and cultural movements which they inspired. W. Cantwell Smith's *Modern Islam in India* (London, 1946) and Aziz Ahmad's *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan: 1857-1964* (O.U.P., 1967) are two important works which look at Muslim modernist ideas in the sub-continent in this way. Many other works have taken the pioneering Indian Muslim modernist Saiyid Ahmad Khan as their primary subject. Notable among these are Christian W. Troll *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology* (New Delhi, 1978) and Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernisation in India and Pakistan* (New York, 1980). David Lelyveld, in his study *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton University Press, 1978), has examined the social and cultural processes which led to the emergence of the Aligarh modernist school of Indian Muslims. But the expression and evolution of Indian Muslim modernist thought in literature during this period have largely been ignored.³ Nor have historians of Indian Islam dealt in any systematic way with the reaction of Indian Muslims to western socialist ideas. Works concerned with the creation and history of the Communist Party of India mention individual Muslims, but there has been no overall analysis of the relationship between socialism and Indian Muslims as a distinct community.⁴

Recently, some work has been done on Muslim socialist writers in India which goes some way towards redressing this imbalance. Ralph Russell has looked at the leadership of the All-

India Progressive Writers' Movement and its organisation of socialist writers during the 1930s and 1940. Carlo Coppola in *Urdu Poetry, 1935-1970. The Progressive Episode* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1975) has examined Marxist influences in Urdu literature but he has not looked at Muslim socialist writer as a specific group. Both Coppola and Hafeez Malik have also given accounts of the development of the Progressive Writers' Movement, while Steven Poulos and Leslie Fleming have evaluated the literary merits of individual radical Muslim writers.⁵ Thus, although these works form a valuable addition to our knowledge on this subject, they have looked at Muslim socialist writers and their output from primarily a literary point of view rather than as part of the wider debate on the reception of western ideas among Indian Muslims, in particular, Muslim interest in socialist thought after the Russian revolution of 1917.

My work, therefore, seeks to fill this gap. It sets out to uncover which kind of Indian Muslims were drawn to socialist ideas. It looks at the different ways in which Indian Muslims came into contact with socialist ideas, how they responded to these ideas, and by what means they disseminated them. Finally, it examines the various political and cultural strategies adopted by Muslim socialists in order to achieve their objectives. In this way, I aim to shed light on a major strand in Islamic responses to the modern world. My work examines the two phases of Indian Muslim reactions to socialism which took place between 1917 and 1947.

Chapter One deals with the emergence of Muslim socialists during the 1920s. It shows how these Muslims were first politically motivated by Pan-Islamic ideals. They left India during the First World War and the Khilafat Movement of 1919-1924 with the intention of fighting on behalf of the Ottoman Caliphate against increasing European domination. However, the experience of these Muslims in Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia forced them to re-examine their Pan-Islamic outlook, and to seek an alternative ideological framework for their actions. The

willingness of the Soviet Union to cooperate with the Muslim world against European colonial powers, contrasted with the lack of help which the Indian Muhajirin received from their Muslim brethren, and helped to attract them to socialist ideas. Instead of defending the distant Khilafat, they now aimed at defeating the British in India. These early Indian Muslim socialist played an important role in the first moves towards the establishment of the Communist Party of India in Tashkent in 1920. The chapter also demonstrates that the socialist outlook of these Muslims contained a very strong military element. They concentrated more on the practical questions of freeing India than on the wider and more theoretical aspects of socialism.

Chapter two illustrates how the imbalance in the revolutionary approach of the early Muslim socialists was reflected in their political activity when they returned to India during the 1920. By the time of their return, it is shown, small pockets of socialists, including Muslims, had emerged inside India with whom the Muhajirin established contact. Muslim socialists carried out the political work in the major urban centres of North India, organising labour and propagating socialist ideas through a variety of newspapers and magazines. The chapter shows that, in practical terms, this activity met with little overall success. British repression was an important factor in restricting the spread of socialist ideas but Muslim activists were also handicapped by lacunae in their own understanding of socialism itself and their heavy dependence on directives from outside India. The Meerut Conspiracy Case of 1929-1933 marked the first phase of Muslim socialist activity.

The following four chapters concentrate on the second group of Muslims who became involved in socialism from the middle of the 1930 onwards. Their involvement took place under very different circumstances, and as a result, their commitment was qualitatively different. Chapter Three examines the intellectual and literary origins of these later Muslim socialists. It demonstrates that they primarily formed part of the modernist trend among Indian Muslims. From the middle of the nineteenth

century, this trend was closely reflected in developments within Urdu literature. These developments can be divided broadly into two phases - the Reform period of the nineteenth century and the Romantic trend in the early twentieth century. The concepts and techniques which characterised these two phases became part of the repertoire of Muslim socialist writers who acknowledged this debt. Their study of Urdu literature helped them to absorb western ideas, to which were added their own direct encounters with western literary and political developments. The cumulative effect of these influences on their writing was reflected in their continuation of the modernist tradition of transmitting contemporary western ideas through literature. Like their predecessors, they wrote in order to make the public aware of new ideas which aimed to change society radically.

Chapter Four investigates the social origins of these Muslim socialists. It points to the fact that the majority of these Muslims came from the declining service classes of the qasbahs and cities of North India. The environment of the qasbah and the *sharif* upbringing which they experienced played a very important part in the development of the intellectual outlook of these Muslims. Their outlook was also moulded to a great extent by the western-style education which they were given in order for them to carry out their expected roles within the administrative machinery of British India. Liberal westernised education made them conscious of western ideas and brought them into conflict with traditional Muslim values and conventions. It led to their re-examination of contemporary Muslim society and to their development as socialists. Their social background, with its strong literary cultural bias, also influenced many Muslim socialists to express their political views through literature. This literary tendency was especially pronounced in the case of left-wing Muslim women during this period.

The growth of organised Muslim socialist political activity is considered in Chapter Five. It covers the formation of the Progressive Writers' Association (PWA), tracing its antecedents among literary organisations of the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries, such as the Anjuman-i Punjab and the Anjuman-i Taraqqi-i Urdu. The chapter then proceeds to outline the activities of Muslim socialists and their involvement in the PWA. It also shows the way in which their decisions were influenced by political events which took place outside India. From 1936 to 1941, there was much cooperation between Muslim socialists in the PWA and the Indian nationalist movement. After the entry of the Soviet Union into the Second World War on the side of the Allies, however, many Muslim socialists began to support the British war effort in opposition to Congress's 'Quit India' resolution. Although these socialists were now able to develop an extensive infrastructure for the dissemination of their ideas, they lost much of the popular support which they had previously commanded as a result of their anti-British stand. The chapter reveals that by the end of the war, Muslim socialists and the PWA had become discredited in nationalist eyes, and this distance was widened further by the PWA's active support for the creation of a separate Muslim state in line with socialist theories on the right of all peoples to national self-determination.

Finally, Chapter Six addresses itself to the intellectual activities of this second batch of Muslim socialists who were more articulate and better equipped in socialist theory than their predecessors. It shows how they used literature to express their political ideology, and the way in which they tackled the main problems of Indian society in their writings. Their values and ideals were opposed to conventional ethics, and were similar to contemporary views on literature and psychology which had become popular in the West, in particular those of Marx and Freud. The way in which Muslim socialist writers applied their principles, and their innovations both stylistic and contextual, changed the course of Urdu literature radically, expanded its scope enormously, and brought it into line with the needs of twentieth century Indian Muslim society.

CHAPTER I

THE EMERGENCE OF THE EARLY MUSLIM SOCIALISTS

The first Indian Muslim socialists emerged from the strong anti-British Pan-Islamic feeling which reached its climax in the Khilafat Movement (1919-24). Many Muslims came first to oppose the British in their zeal to defend Islamic interests in the world at large, in particular the Khilafat. Some sought to mobilise help from Muslims outside India. They also sought to benefit from supporting Britain's enemies, which, during the First World War, meant Germany, but, by the time of the Khilafat Movement, increasingly the Soviet Union. A few left India in order to prepare to fight the British. But their experiences in Afghanistan and Central Asia shattered their belief in Pan-Islamism, and brought them to consider other ideologies. A number were convinced by the Bolsheviks, who supported Muslim peoples and opposed the West, that socialism supplied the key to success in their struggle against the British. They found, moreover, similarities between Islamic and socialist principles, which eased their transition to socialism.

Pan-Islamism becomes increasingly anti-British

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Muslims in India became aware of the decline of Islam as a world power. From the mid-nineteenth century, the growth of pilgrimage and more general travel in the Middle East, and then the remarkable growth of the Urdu vernacular press brought Indian Muslims into contact as never before with the wider Muslim world. There developed an increasing awareness of how the expansion of European power was increasingly subjecting Muslims to Christian rule. This was reflected in newspaper interest and the popularity of works such as Altaf Husain Hali's (1837-1914) *Musaddas* (1879), his lament on the rise and fall of Islamic civilisation. There also developed a particular concern for the

future of the Ottoman empire as the last substantial power in a position to defend the integrity of Islam. This was manifest whenever the Ottoman empire went to war, as in 1877-78, when newspaper sales soared, public meetings were held and money collected for the war effort. As time went on, Indian Muslims came more and more to perceive the British rulers as the main enemies of Islam in the world at large. They stood aside to allow the French to occupy Tunisia, they occupied Egypt, they attacked Ottoman policies in the Balkans. Tension developed between those Muslims like Saiyid Ahmad Khan and fellow members of the Aligarh School, who supported British rule at all costs, and those who were coming to feel that their loyalty to Islam must mean hostility towards the British.

Between 1908 and the outbreak of the First World War, Pan-Islamism in India, which had been simmering steadily beneath the surface, erupted into active opposition to the British. Italy's assault on Ottoman Libya in 1911-12, and European support for Balkan Christian from 1913, came as painful blows to any illusions that Indian Muslims might still have had regarding the goodwill of the European powers towards the Ottoman empire. In India, the abolition of the Partition of Bengal in 1911, government opposition from London to the proposal for a Muslim university at Aligarh (1912), and the Cawnpore Mosque incident (1913), heightened anti-British feeling. Under these circumstances, the ideas of Saiyid Jamal al-din al-Afghani (1838-97) became popular among a section of Indian Muslims. Of particular appeal were his call for Muslim unity, his stress on *jihad* against western domination, and his insistence that the Qur'an enjoined the acquisition of the most modern military methods with which to wage this fight.¹ Finally, in 1914, when Turkey declared war against Britain, Indian Muslims were forced to choose sides. Some declared their support for the British, justifying their action with the argument that the conflict between Turkey and Britain was essentially 'political' and not 'religious'.² But the vast majority supported the Caliphate. The deployment of a large body of Indian soldiers, including a great number from the predominantly Muslim province of the Punjab,

in the campaigns against Turkey in the Middle East, caused an acute crisis of conscience, especially after the *Shaikh al-Islam* in Constantinople in early 1915 had declared the fight against the British to be a *jihad*..³

Pan-Islamist opposition to the British in India was represented by four major strands. The first was led by the younger leaders of the western-educated Aligarh Muslims. These men, notably Muhammad and Shaukat ʿAli, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Zafar ʿAli Khan, had come to believe that agitation against British rule was the only effective way of safeguarding Muslim interests. In their newspapers, *Comrade*, *Hamdard*, *Urdu-i Muʿalla* and *Zamindar*, they harped on Islamic issues. Muhammad ʿAli's *Comrade*, for instance, campaigned for a Muslim university, protested as Muslim shrines were bulldozed in the building of New Delhi, and roused concern throughout India over the demolition of a part of the Cawnpore Mosque. All papers reacted strongly to events in the Islamic world. In 1908, for instance, Hasrat Mohani was imprisoned for an article on British education policy in Egypt. From 1911, all spoke with growing vehemence as European powers invaded first Libya, then the remaining Ottoman Balkan provinces, and then finally their British rulers went to war with the Ottoman empire. The ʿAli Brothers supported the Red Crescent Mission to supply medical aid to Ottoman forces; they helped to found the Anjuman-i Khuddam-i Kaʿaba, a society for the protection of the Holy Places, in 1913. All of these great Pan-Islamist journalists, except Zafar ʿAli Khan, were interned during the First World War and their newspapers closed.

The next group of Pan-Islamists, led by Abu'l Kalam Azad, owed more to the radical ideas of Jamal al-din al-Afghani which it applied extensively in its own political practice. Azad closely followed Afghani's suggestions that Muslims should ally with the Hindus, organise politically and revolt against the British.⁴ During the outburst of political and revolutionary enthusiasm

stimulated by the Partition of Bengal, Azad came into contact with revolutionary groups operating in Calcutta. In 1908, he visited Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, where he met revolutionary nationalists who could not understand why Indian Muslims had become 'mere camp followers' of the British.⁵ He returned to India both Pan-Islamist and Muslim nationalist. In June 1912, he started bringing out *Al-Hilal*, an Urdu daily newspaper, which published anti-Western material in sympathy with Turkey and which fanned considerable agitation among Indian Muslims. In a series of inflammatory editorials, Azad exhorted Muslims to do their duty to struggle against British power which did not respect Islam. In Calcutta, he set up a number of Pan-Islamic societies to propagate Pan-Islamic revolutionary ideas. Jamiat-i- Hizb-Allah, founded in 1913, planned to unite Indian Islam under an *Imam* (Azad himself) to form an agreement with the Hindus, and to declare *jihād* against the British. Dar al-Irshad, a residential college which Azad organised in the latter part of 1915 at his own house in Calcutta, was also intended as a training ground for revolutionary youth.⁶ After the outbreak of the First World War, his activities, like those of the Aligarh Pan-Islamists, were considered too subversive by the British authorities. First *Al-Hilal* was banned in 1914. Then Azad's second newspaper *Al-Balagh* was proscribed in March 1916, and finally Azad himself was interned at Ranchi, not to be freed until January 1920.

The third strand of Pan-Islamist activity which emerged during this period was organised by some of the *Ulama* at the religious seminary at Deoband. They emphasized the necessity of returning to the first principles of Islam in order to equip Muslims to fight the British. At the same time, they had come to believe that the independence of the Muslim world was in itself a prerequisite for the purification and renewal of Islam. In the period directly leading up to the First World War, this section of the Deoband *Ulama*, convinced that the British were trying to destroy the Muslim community, were encouraged by the principal of the seminary, Mahmud al-Hasan, to formulate strategies which would enable Indian Muslims to resist the

British onslaught. Like Afghani, they employed the principle of *ijtihad* to conclude that British India was *Dar al-Harb*, and that, therefore, *jihad* was necessary and justified. Some ⁶ulama decided to leave India themselves and to organise for *jihad* from abroad.⁷

The Deobandis who left India joined the fourth strand of Pan-Islamists, who may all be considered as Muhajirin in the widest sense of the term, in that they had 'emigrated' from India, and carried out their work in Europe, the Middle East and Afghanistan. One group consisted of those Indian Muslims who had gone to England to study at Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court. Here, some had humiliating personal experiences which led them to resent British rule; others had come to mix with Hindu revolutionaries such as Har Dayal and Krishanwama, who were already convinced of the value of revolutionary socialism for India's freedom struggle. One, Mushir Hussain Qidwai, of the great Qidwai clan of Bara Banki (Awadh), was so impressed by socialism that he felt compelled in 1913 to write a substantial pamphlet *Islam and Socialism* which attempted to prove 'by authentic quotations from the Qur'an and Hadith, that Islam was the first of all religions to establish a state on Socialistic and Communistic principles'. Muhammad's socialism, however, was 'ethical', while 'modern' socialism was 'materialistic'. Even so, in the opinion of Qidwai, the very limited socialism that had been adopted had 'proved a boon to the modern world'; moreover, its victory throughout the world would be 'a triumph of Pan-Islamism'. As attacks on the Ottoman empire intensified before the First World War, Qidwai and others, such as Nazir Ahmad, Yacub Husain and ⁶Ajm al-din Mirza were much involved with leading Pan-Islamic protest.⁸

A second group was based in Constantinople. ⁶Abd al-Jabbar Khairi and his brother ⁶Abd al-Sattar Khairi, sons of a Deputy Collector from Delhi, first left India in 1901. Until the First World War, they lived mainly in Beirut where they

established an Islamic college in opposition to the city's American college, and actively promoted the cause of Pan-Islamism. With the outbreak of the war, however, they settled in Constantinople, where from the end of 1915, they organised with German and Turkish support the 'Indian Muslim Committee', and brought out a revolutionary newspaper *Akhawat* (Brotherhood) in English and Urdu. This newspaper urged Indian Muslim soldiers on active war service in the Middle East not to fight their Muslim brethren, but to shoot their English officers and desert to the Turks. Muslims in India were exhorted to 'Murder Englishmen, set fire to their houses, destroy railway bridges and help the enemy in every possible way'. During the war, the Khairi brothers also visited a number of European cities to promote Pan-Islamism and Indian freedom. These visits included one to Berlin where they were already in touch with the Indian National Party organised by a group of Indian revolutionaries. In 1917, while the German Kaiser was on a trip to Turkey, they sent a message to him, proposing that the warlike frontier tribes around Kashmir could be persuaded to declare war on the British if the Germans would supply arms and other assistance. With the rejection of this proposal, and the subsequent defeat of Germany, their eyes turned towards the Soviet Union for help.⁹

A third group was based in Kabul. It included a batch of fifteen students from various colleges in Lahore.¹⁰ Most had reached there by October 1915, when Maulana ^UUbaid-Allah Sindhi (1872-1944) and his disciples arrived from Delhi. This group had very strong and direct links with the radical section of the ^UUlama at Deoband. ^UUbaid-Allah Sindhi, a Sikh convert from Sialkot, had been trained at Deoband where he had reinterpreted Shah Wali-Allah's reforming ideas in a radical way and given them a revolutionary content.¹¹ In 1913, he had set up a *madrassa* called Nizarat al-M^Carif in Delhi in order to mobilise Indian Pan-Islamists to take up *jihad* against the British. Mahmud al-Hasan, the principle at Deoband, however, advised

that it would be more effective to struggle for Pan-Islamic goals from abroad.¹²

A plan of action was worked out. Mahmud al-Hasan and ʿUbaid-Allah Sindhi were to leave India for the Hijaz and Kabul respectively. The latter was to try and induce the Afghan King to declare war against the British in India, with the help of Germany and Turkey, while, simultaneously, a Muslim insurrection beginning in the tribal belt would be sparked off in India. To implement this plan, Mahmud al-Hasan left for the Hijaz in September 1915, and ʿUbaid-Allah Sindhi reached Kabul in October 1915, where some of his followers, sent in advance, had already begun to establish friendly contact with the Amir. The Muhajirin students, who had intended initially to join the Turks in *jihad* against the British, after their reception in Afghanistan and discussions with ʿUbaid-Allah Sindhi, decided that they could best serve the Pan-Islamic cause by focusing their attention on the task of freeing India.¹³

A German-Turkish mission arrived in Kabul at the end of 1915 to seek ways of putting military pressure on the British in India.¹⁴ It contained two Indians, Maulana Barkat-Allah (1859-1927)¹⁵ and Raja Mahendra Pratap. Born in a family of ʿulama, Barkat-Allah was trained as an ʿalim at the Madrasa-i Sulaimanya in Bhopal. In 1883, he met Jamal al-din al-Afghani, while the latter was touring India. Much impressed by Afghani's views, Barkat-Allah went to Bombay, studied English for four years and left for England. There his commitment to the Pan-Islamic ideal grew in direct proportion to his antagonism to the British. His Pan-Islamic activities took him all around the world. At the outbreak of the First World War, he joined the Indian National Party in Berlin and came into contact with the German Government, which was in the process of exploring various possibilities of weakening the British position in India. The Germans felt that Barkat-Allah's presence in Kabul would be helpful. However, the discussions between ʿUbaid-Allah Sindhi, the Afghan regime and the German-Turkish mission

proved unsuccessful. The Germans and the Turks could not get the Afghan regime to allow them free passage through to India. Amir Habib-Allah, the Afghan ruler, was not prepared to sacrifice friendly relations with Britain, who had provided him with much financial assistance with the promise of more to come.¹⁶

As hopes of military assistance from the Afghans faded, the Indian exiles in Kabul and Maulana Barkat-Allah and Raja Mahendra Pratap began to discuss alternative plans of action. To convince potential allies of the seriousness of their intentions and purpose, they decided to form a Provisional Government of India. This was set up in early 1916, with Raja Mahendra Pratap as President, Maulana Barkat-Allah as Prime Minister, and Ubaid-Allah Sindhi as Minister for India.¹⁷ The aims of this Government were to create alliances with various governments of the world against the British, and with the help of these powers to fight for India's independence. It issued a 'general proclamation to the Indian Army', 'inciting' Indian troops to mutiny. It invited, in particular, the Tsar of Russia to renounce his alliance with Great Britain, and 'assist in the overthrow of British rule in India'.¹⁸ Messengers were also sent to China to seek support from the Republican regime. An 'Army of God', an Islamic organisation based on military principles, was formed in order to draw recruits from India and to bring about an alliance among Islamic rulers.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Maulana Mahmud al-Hasan, with whom Ubaid-Allah Sindhi had continued to maintain tenuous links in Arabia, persuaded the Turkish Governor of the Hijaz, Ghalib Pasha, to issue a letter to Muslims all over the world, proclaiming *jihad* on behalf of the Caliph against the enemies of Islam, and exhorting them to 'attack the tyrannical Christian government' wherever they suffered under its 'bondage'.²⁰ The Indian Muhajirin students acted as emissaries to friendly countries, transmitting secret correspondence and propaganda material from place to place. In the middle of 1916, however, after the Arabs revolted against Ottoman Turkey, and Mahmud al-Hasan was arrested in Arabia, their Pan-Islamic

dream started to fade. Other factors combined to cause this self-exiled community modify its political and religious perspectives. Maulana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi, who had left India full of the sentiment of Islamic brotherhood, realised that Muslim countries had their own specific needs, and that their people regarded these as paramount. In Kabul, the exiles were confronted with the full force of nationalism. They came to understand that, though both Indians and Afghans were Muslims, they had separate identities, and Pan-Islamism alone could not overcome differences of culture, language and psychology which had evolved over hundreds of years.²¹ The unhappiness of the Afghans with the activities of the Provisional Government led to the arrest of some of the Muhajirin students in 1917. Until Aman-Allah came to power in early 1919, the Provisional Government had little success. After Aman-Allah came to the throne, its fortunes underwent a limited revival. In March 1919, Barkat-Allah was sent by Aman-Allah to Moscow to seek assistance against the British. He was accompanied by another Indian revolutionary Pan-Islamist, Abd al-Rab Peshawari, who had left his job in the British diplomatic service in Baghdad when the First World War broke out. Rab had finally come to Kabul in 1918 and joined the Provisional Government of India. This visit to Moscow and their contact with the Bolsheviks proved important for subsequent relations between the Indian exiles and the Russian communists.²²

The Muhajirin make contact with Bolshevism

The position of the Indian Muhajirin was transformed by the Russian Revolution. They discovered that the new government of Russia seemed to favour Muslim causes. The Russia of the Tsar, for so long the scourge of the Muslims of Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan and Turkey, had been destroyed. Instead, there was, the Soviet Government which, Lenin said, 'must ... group around itself all the awakening nations of the East and fight together with them against International Imperialism'.²³ Cordial relations were established with neighbouring Muslim

peoples by, for instance, returning occupied areas to Persia. Support was given to Muslim peoples who were fighting to be free.²⁴ In these new circumstances, the Muhajirin turned increasingly to the Bolsheviks for support, and the conditions formed in which some were to espouse socialism.

The Khairi brothers left Constantinople for the Soviet Union. On 25 November 1918, they appeared before the Central Committee of the Soviets and delivered a long message which echoed the radical change in Muslim mood towards revolutionary Russia. They attacked British imperialism in India; Indians were being deprived of education, thrown into prison, forced to maintain a foreign army and oppressed beyond belief. 'The time had come for India to free herself, following what had been done in Russia ... we pray Russia to hold out to us the hand of help that we may gain freedom.'²⁵ On 5 December 1918, 'Abd al-Jabbar Khairi compared the autocracy of the Russian Tsar to the 'alien imperialism' in India. 'Decay of the Indian people', he declared, 'is exclusively the result of the fact that British Imperialists are squeezing out of us the last drops (sic) and exporting to Europe everything that is necessary for us'. Revealing an incipient grasp of Marxist argument, he asserted that it was not the British people but British imperialists who were the enemies of the Indian people and the British working classes, and avowed his belief that 'justice, freedom and socialism will be established on earth by the united efforts of all the oppressed peoples'.²⁶ Thus the Khairi brothers drew the attention of the Russian Revolution to the plight of the Indians. In the following two years, their spirited appeal was to bear fruit.

In Kabul, the Muhajirin benefitted from the friendly relations which developed between Lenin and Aman-Allah Khan who came to rule Afghanistan in April 1919. Lenin was keen to strengthen his southern border by reducing British influence in Afghanistan. The latter was an end which Aman-Allah was no less keen to reach. In May 1919, he declared war against the British, invading the Frontier districts. Then, as he strove to negotiate a treaty with the Government of India, he moved even

closer to the Bolshevik regime in Russia. During this period from June 1919 until the summer of 1920, the Muhajirin in Kabul had considerable freedom of movement. They were able to win from the Bolsheviks money, arms and facilities for propaganda.²⁷

Maulana Barkat-Allah, though a staunch Muslim throughout his life, was permanently involved in developing the new relationship with the Bolsheviks. He had become convinced as early as 1905 that British rule over India was the basic cause of the poverty of its people. In a letter to Maulana Hasrat Mohani from America, he had explained the intimate interrelation between the political domination of India by Britain and the causes of India's economic decline.²⁸ The conditions in Tsarist Russia later seemed to him to have been very similar to those which existed in India under the British. But he was especially attracted to the Bolsheviks by the methods which they had employed to destroy the Tsar, since he felt that they could also help the Indians in their own national struggle. Though he never claimed to be a Bolshevik, and this was probably for emotional reasons, his views on most temporal matters became almost identical with those of the Bolsheviks. He stated categorically that he was an 'irreconcilable enemy of European capitalism in Asia whose main representative is the English'. 'In India', he declared, 'have matured the same prerequisites of revolution which existed in Russia in October 1917'.²⁹ In *Bolshevism and the Islamic Body Politick*, which was 'printed in' several languages and circulated in Central Asia and India, he appealed to Muslims of the world 'to understand the noble principles of Russian socialism and to embrace it seriously and enthusiastically'. 'Oh, Muhammedans', he wrote, 'listen to this divine cry. Respond to this call of liberty, equality and brotherhood which Comrade Lenin and the Soviet Government of Russia are offering to you.'³⁰ In March 1919, he went to Moscow as an 'ambassador extraordinary' of Amir Aman-Allah to establish 'permanent relations with Soviet Russia' and to see how willing the Soviet leaders were to support a struggle

against the British in India, and, for the rest of his life, he worked closely with the Soviet Union in the struggle for Indian freedom.³¹

^cAbd- al-Rab Peshawari travelled with Maulana Barkat-Allah to Moscow. He was to play a major part, not just in winning the support of the Bolsheviks, but also in drawing the attention of the Muhajirin to the Soviet system. After spending a few months in Moscow, he went on to Tashkent where he joined the Oriental Propaganda Bureau headed by Bravine, the former Russian consul in Calcutta. Here he joined other Indian revolutionaries who were assisting the Bolsheviks in their 'Oriental Campaign'. In December 1919, he accompanied Suritz's mission to Kabul which aimed to gain Aman-allah's cooperation in smuggling agitators and propaganda into India. Little came of the mission as the Amir was now negotiating with the Government of India, and so less willing to cooperate with Bolshevik plans. Nevertheless, a large amount of propaganda, mostly in English, was transmitted across the border.³²

By this time, ^cAbd al-Rab and his close follower, the Hindu M.P.B.T. Acharya, had begun to draw apart from Maulana Barkat-Allah and ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi. Whereas the latter did not wish to antagonise the Amir by being seen to be cooperating too closely with the Soviet representatives in Kabul, Rab disagreed with these tactics and openly advocated a policy of 'anti-British revolutionary activity, whether or not this incurred the displeasure of the Afghan authorities. In February 1920, they broke away and, with a few fellow socialist-minded exiles, formed a new organisation, the Inquilabiun-i Hind, the Indian Revolutionary Association.³³ But the atmosphere in Kabul became so heated that the group later felt it wiser to move to Tashkent where they continued to develop their organisation and their capacity to spread propaganda.³⁴ Contacts were established, with considerable Bolshevik help, with Indian traders plying between India and Tashkent, while branches of their organisation were set up in Samarkhand, Bokhara and

Baku. A periodical, *Zamindar*, was published briefly from Tashkent in Persian and in Urdu. It aimed to spread news of the Russian revolution in India and to interest the people of Bokhara and Turkestan in India. A fortnightly, the *Azad Hindustan Akhbar*, was brought out of Baku, which carried revolutionary propaganda and news of the activities of Indian revolutionary exiles. The fortnightly appeared to have persuaded a few soldiers of the British Indian Army to desert.³⁵

The Khilafat Movement: The Second Wave of Muhajirin

In April 1980, thousands of Indian Muslims began to trek towards Afghanistan. They did so in part because Indian Muslim leaders, desperate to force upon the British their concern about the Khilafat, ordered them to do so - Abu'l Kalam Azad, for instance, issued a *fatwa* declaring that there was no *shar'ci*, that is flight from a land where Islamic law was no longer enforced - and in part because Amir Aman-Allah, seeing an excellent opportunity to harass the British, encouraged them to come. He promised these new Muhajirin free and fertile lands and anything else which they might need.³⁶

Nearly thirty thousand Indian Muslims fled India for Afghanistan. The majority were poor peasants from the United Provinces, Sind and the Frontier, some motivated by faith, all by hope of a better life. They sold their land and valuables to finance the journey, and were helped by funds collected from Muslims who did not go. After an arduous trip, the first batch began entering Afghanistan, but instead of receiving a warm welcome, they experienced much harassment from local Afghan marauders who stole their property and kidnapped and raped their women. Aman-Allah had expected more prosperous and educated Muslims to migrate to Afghanistan where they could contribute their skills towards its development. Once he came to learn that the migrants were made up of the poorest elements of Indian Muslim society, he lost his enthusiasm for the enterprise, and prevented any more of these Muhajirin from entering the country. Those who had already arrived received little help, and,

possessing no resources of their own, they were forced to return to India. The trek back to their homes was very difficult, and they suffered great hardship. Thus, within three months, almost all had returned from Afghanistan. Only a very small number had managed to stay on.³⁷

These particular Indian Muslims belonged to the minority of the Muhajirin who came from the lower ranks of the service classes. Four-fifths of them came from the Punjab and the Frontier although there were a few from U.P. and Bhopal.³⁸ Some intended to go on to Turkey, to obtain arms and ammunition, and to gain military training with the intention of returning to India to fight the British.³⁹ The aims of these educated Muhajirin had much in common with those of the earlier Muslim exiles who had been trickling into Kabul since the beginning of the First World War. This was not surprising since the political situation from the point of Indian Muslims had not improved: the Khilafat was in greater danger, Home Rule for India was just as far away, while the war had brought hardship to many Muslim families. These educated Muhajirin, moreover, shared similar social backgrounds to the earlier Muhajirin. Similar influences had helped to shape their perceptions, they had undergone similar processes of radicalisation.

The fathers of these young Muslims worked in subordinate capacities in the civil service as clerks, office superintendants and Assistant Inspectors; in the British Indian armed forces as non-commissioned officers or as auxiliary civil servants such as *risaldars*, garrison *kotwals* and police inspectors; in crafts, in many cases closely connected with the dissemination of information and news, such as press workers; in subordinate professions, such as teachers, and pleaders and *munsifs* in the District Courts. A small number were from rural stock, with fathers holding small *zamindaris*.⁴⁰ Although the data is not conclusive, it appears that most of their fathers would have had at least a working knowledge of the vernaculars and possibly English as well, in order to be able to hold their positions in the

Army, the Police, the Press, Education and the Civil Service. Their cultural identity would appear to have been heavily compromised by their connections with the Raj as they would have had to win the trust of their British superiors in order to carry out jobs intimately connected with the British power structure.⁴¹ The data on the family backgrounds of the Muhajirin contained in Appendix I illustrates this relationship with the British. ^cAbd al-Qayum Khan's father, for instance, was a Deputy Superintendent of Police, while Fida ^cAli Zahid's uncle was a superintendent in the office of the Chief Commissioner of N.W.F.P.

Most of these Muslim youths were set on course for higher British education which was to train them for even better jobs in the changing administrative structure of British India.⁴² But the First World War triggered off a crisis of conscience of enormous magnitude. How could they support a government which seemed bent upon the destruction of the central symbol of their religious identity. For those whose fathers were in the Army, the trauma may have been compounded by the realisation that their fathers were actively involved in aiding and abetting the attack upon the Caliph. Those whose families were connected with the Press and the transmission of news, were fed directly on a stream of information from abroad to which they had, by virtue of their fathers' positions, an unusually high degree of access - far more than would have been normal for Muslims of a similar status. Accordingly, these young men were made acutely aware of the dangers that faced the Caliphate and the degree to which the British were responsible for this humiliating situation.⁴³ Personal experience of racial discrimination⁴⁴, the lack of political freedoms, the apparently growing 'hegemony' of western-cum-Christian cultural values, not to mention their sense of Muslim brotherhood, made it very clear that they had to support their fellow Muslims as a way of fighting back against the injustices of their own position in British Indian society. Thus, the Khilafat symbolised for them a 'cause' for which it was worth fighting.⁴⁵

Towards the autumn of 1920, many of these educated muhajirin, who actually reached Kabul, came to lose much of their Pan-Islamic fervour. One reason was the increasingly unsympathetic attitude which Aman-Allah adopted towards them. Britain and Afghanistan were locked in peace negotiations. British financial assistance was being offered to the Afghan authorities on the condition that they changed their attitude towards the Soviet Union and suppressed the Indian Muslim revolutionary community in Afghanistan.⁴⁶ Aman-Allah had no compunction in agreeing to these conditions, and limited the activities of the Muhajirin. At first, a strict watch was kept on their actions, and then they were confined to Kabul and Jabal al-Siraj where they could not commit much 'mischief'. This unexpected treatment, meted out by the Muslim brethren, for what seemed to be purely 'selfish' causes, provided the first shock to the faith of the Muhajirin in Pan-Islamic solidarity.⁴⁷

A second reason was the skilful and pragmatic policy which the Bolsheviks adopted towards them. The general strategy of the Bolsheviks towards the Muhajirin recognised the very considerable power of Pan-Islamism. Hard considerations of military strategy in Soviet Central Asia also demanded that ideological considerations should not play too important a role in their treatment of the Muhajirin. After all, the British had been involved for quite some time in intrigues with the Amir of Bokhara, fomenting rebellion against the Bolsheviks in that region. They had also been supplying the White Army of Denikin in the Civil War. The Muhajirin thus provided the Soviets with an excellent opportunity to treat the British to some of their own medicine.⁴⁸

The advice of the Indian marxist, M.N. Roy, was crucial to the adoption of this positive policy towards the Muhajirin. When the Khilafat Movement had started, the Bolsheviks and Roy had both agreed to the plan of 'supplying the frontier tribes with plenty of arms and money so that they could wage a war against the British'. Roy had felt that this idea had considerable potential

but he was not content 'simply to supply the frontier tribes with the sinews of war so that they could make trouble for the British Indian Government'. He saw in the *Hijrat* movement 'an opportunity to contact a large number of possible recruits for an army to fight for the liberation of India, instead of a lost cause'. He suggested a new modified plan to the Bolsheviki. This was 'to raise, equip and train' an army of liberation in Afghanistan, which would march into India and occupy territory and establish a civil government. This would then call for an insurrection of the people of India against the British, and, with the backing of the workers, they would attempt to throw the British out. The Bolsheviki were sceptical about the success of the plan. Lenin pointed out the opportunistic aspects of Aman-Allah's policies which 'would ultimately lead him to deal with the highest bidder and the British could pay more'. Then, there was also the decisive consideration that, in the last analysis, 'King Amanullah had more in common with the British than the Russian Bolshevik regime'.⁴⁹ However, despite these reservations, the plan was finally approved. At the end of August 1920, Roy arrived in Tashkent with two trainloads of arms, military stores, field equipment, aeroplanes and substantial amounts of paper money and gold, to put the plan into action.⁵⁰

A third reason why the Muhajirin came to lose much of their Pan-Islamic enthusiasm was their harsh experience at the hands of the Muslim Turkomen. Out of a total number of thirty thousand or so Muhajirin, about two hundred made the crossing into Turkomen territory at Jabal al-Siraj. Most still wished to go on to Turkey. At the time of the crossing in July 1920, the Turkomen had risen in revolt against the Bolshevik Revolution. On the way from the Soviet-controlled border town of Tirmiz to Kirkee, the Muhajirin were captured by Turkomen 'counter-revolutionaries'. When the Muhajirin explained to them that they were Indian Muslims who had left their homes on account of British tyranny, the Turkomen, who were receiving much help from Britain in their fight against the Bolsheviki, remained unmoved. Instead, they branded the Muhajirin as *kafirs*, and accused them of wrongly performing their prayers and

incorrectly reciting the Qur'an.⁵¹ Later, the Muhajirin were tortured. Chained and handcuffed, they were driven along 'like beasts'; as Shaukat 'Usmani later described,

Like slaves, we had to run alongside our captors, who were mounted on their horses. Naturally, we could not keep pace with them. This resulted in our being heartlessly beaten and flogged with their leather whips. Some four of us fainted on the way, but we were shown no mercy. We were thirsty, yet were not allowed ... to halt and drink water by the wayside ponds or wells ... Starvation and living on cow and horse-dung was our lot for a considerable time ... There is perhaps no need to dwell on the life that we led here. Suffice it to compare this treatment of the "Muslim-brethren" ... with the welcome afforded to us in Tirmiz.⁵²

The Muhajirin were eventually rescued from almost certain death by a detachment of the Red Army which brought them safely to Kirkee. By this time, some of the Indian Muslims had become so disgusted with the actions of the Turkomen that when the latter attacked Kirkee, some of the Muhajirin immediately volunteered to fight alongside the Red Army in defence of the town. Taken on to Bokhara, they witnessed the victory of the *Jadidi*, Muslim modernist and pro-Bolshevik, forces as they gained control of the city from the hands of the Amir.⁵³ By the time that the Muhajirin reached Tashkent, they had been thoroughly cleansed of their illusions about the solidarity and goodwill of their fellow Muslims, and had become considerably more receptive to the non-Pan-Islamic revolutionary ideas introduced to them by M.N. Roy and 'Abd al-Rab Peshawari.⁵⁴

The Muhajirin are converted to Socialism

In Tashkent, the Muhajirin were encouraged to attend the *Induskii Kurs* (the Indian Military School) which Roy established in October 1920. Here instructors from Moscow were to train Indian revolutionaries who would be able to

convey the message of the Russian revolution to their own country. This, it was felt, would inspire the Indian masses to overthrow British rule.⁵⁵ Roy was determined to turn the powerful anti-British drives of the *Khilafat-Hijrat* movements to socialist purpose. He was sure that once it was explained to the Muhajirin that Kemal Pasha was waging a war neither for the interests of the Ottoman empire, nor for the defence of the Khilafat, their religious fanaticism would receive a severe jolt, and a few of the more educated and politically-aware might be persuaded to channel their energies into concentrating on liberating their own country as socialists.⁵⁶

The Muhajirin attended the Indian Military School for eight months. Then it was closed down. The main reason was that the Afghan government had refused to give the Tashkent Muhajirin permission to cross its territory to set up a revolutionary base on the border of the North West Frontier of British India. Then, the British, having learned of the existence of the School, threatened to break off trade relations with the Soviet Union if the School was allowed to continue. The Bolsheviks felt they had no alternative but closure.⁵⁷

Of the one hundred or so Muhajirin who had gathered in Tashkent by the time that the School was closed in May 1921, some remained unimpressed by their ideological training, and turned down a Soviet offer of further training in Moscow. They knew that they and their hosts were anti-imperialists. So, what more was there for them to learn? What they had wanted was military training.⁵⁸ This had not been very encouraging from the communist point of view. 'It would be easy enough to teach all of them, how to shoot a gun', Roy observed, 'but the question was - what would most of them do with their guns, and whom would they fight, and for what ideals.'⁵⁹ Thus, political training had been considered essential before the emigrants were armed. The plan had not been to convert them to Communism, but to awaken in them the minimum necessary measure of political consciousness. They had to have some idea of revolution, and how it could be brought about. Having received this very basic training, these Muhajirin ignored Bolshevik advice to remain, and began to

return to India, with a small amount of assistance from the Soviet authorities.⁶⁰

A few of the Tashkent Muhajirin, however, did see the point of the socialist arguments with which they had been presented. They accepted that they had to learn political skills before they could use their military training with effect. They also warmed to Roy's argument that the Indian bourgeoisie, whom they identified as Hindu capitalists, merchants and moneylenders, heavily involved with the Indian National Congress, were much compromised by British capitalism. They accepted his development of the argument that Hindu capitalists would readily accept a junior partnership in the profitable business of exploiting labour under pre-capitalist social conditions. Thus, driving out the British would not change very much because it would only mean the replacement of foreign exploiters by native ones. Since the lot of the toiling masses would not be improved by the success of a bourgeois nationalist movement, only a revolution under the leadership of the proletariat could really liberate India. According to Roy, the Muhajirin, being idealists, jumped to the conclusion that, if a revolution was to liberate the Indian masses, it would have to be a communist one. In this way, a significant section of them began to transfer their allegiances from Islam to Communism.⁶¹

These Muslims reached their conclusions, Roy implied, not by means of a rational grasp of socialist theory but by an emotional transfer of loyalty from one set of ideas to another.⁶² This can be explained in part by their level of education. Most were not fully educated. As can be seen from Appendix I, more than half had, at best, only achieved matriculation standard. Although the remainder had attended colleges, none had finished their higher studies. Their home environment had also stimulated little intellectual development. Their grasp of concepts was not such that they were able to deal with western ideas, including socialism, with any degree of maturity. They understood the world only in Pan-Islamic terms. Their hostility to the British had emanated from their emotional involvement

with Islam, and not from an intellectual commitment to radical change of a 'modern' kind. Certainly, when they encountered socialist thought in practice in Bolshevik Russian, they were impressed by its efficiency and its potential for the struggle against the British. They became committed to socialism but their commitment was more to how their 'cause', which was freedom from the British, could be achieved through socialism rather than to socialism itself. Their understanding of socialist thought remained shallow, and, when some were later faced with the possibility of failing to achieve their objectives through socialist means, they were willing to adopt others.

Islamic ideas were so strongly entrenched in the minds of the Muhajirin that even when some of them adopted socialist ideas, it did not mean that they totally rejected their identification with Islam. 'Islam preaches equality', Shaukat 'Usmani told Roy, 'so does Communism. That is why I am a Communist'.⁶³ Muhammad Shafiq and Muhammad 'Ali repeatedly emphasized the absence of all antagonism between communism and religion, although the Soviets found this unconvincing proof of their ideological progress. They were considered 'superficially radical'. As their 'entire acquaintance with Marxism (was) limited to popular booklets and issues of the Comintern magazine, their ability to make a serious analysis of class and economic relations' was judged to be unsatisfactorily low.⁶⁴ Their insufficient understanding of the class basis of Indian society, it was felt, had led them to exaggerate the role and the significance of the military factor in the preparation and execution of the Indian revolution. Rather than striving to organise mass action inside India under working class leadership, as Marxist Theory prescribed, they imagined that they could unleash the socialist revolution by invading India from abroad.⁶⁵

The apprenticeship in socialist ideas which these Muhajirin received at Tashkent served, in spite of the limitations in their understanding, as a watershed in their political development. By

the end of 1920, some were convinced by communist doctrine. A number of them wanted to join the Communist Party in Turkestan. Others enquired why they should not 'found the Communist Party of India there and then'⁶⁶ They were reinforced in their determination by a group from Kabul led by 'an old greybearded Maulana, Abdul Rab, and a South Indian Hindu named Acharya'.⁶⁷ 'Abd al-Rab and Acharya, while still in Kabul, had set up the Indian Revolutionary Association (I.R.A) as an anti-British propaganda group after the outbreak of the anglo-Afghan war. The differences which had arisen between the Provisional Government of India and the I.R.A. caused Rab to accept Lenin's invitation to establish the Association at Tashkent. They had arrived there in July 1920, and were also housed at the Induskii Dom (India House), which had been set to accommodate the Muhajirin. Here Rab came into conflict with Roy over which of them was to lead the Muhajirin.

Much of the conflict between Rab and Roy was based on personal antagonism, but there also existed ideological differences between the two men. Although Rab considered himself a 'communist', he disagreed with Roy's criticism of Pan'Islamism as a reactionary force and his Marxist strategy of establishing a proletarian government in India. Instead, he thought that Muslims were not yet ready to accept communism and that only a national revolution and the result and over-throw of British rule in India would pave the way for the improvement of the living and working conditions of its poor.⁶⁸ All the same, these theoretical differences did not prevent Rab from adding his voice to the call for the formation of a Communist Party of India. The majority of the Muhajirin were, therefore, easily influenced by Rab, and, in the face of Roy's reluctance to agree to the proposal Rab's support grew. Some of his supporters began to air their newly-acquired 'communist' ideas openly, and 'went to the extent of making disparaging remarks about their fanatical past, which was still a present with most of the others...occasionally it came to fierce altercation and even exchange of blow's'.⁶⁹

The tension which now existed in Muhajirins' hostel forced Roy to agree that they should form a Communist Party, despite still 'knowing fully well that it would be a nominal thing, although it could function as the nucleus of a real Communist Party'.⁷⁰ He took the initiative and set up the Party, but made sure that Rab was excluded from it. Rab continued to exercise influence over a sizeable group of Muhajirin, but, from this stage, he began to lose touch with those who joined the Communist Party and a number of others who had all drawn closer to Roy. These included Muhammad Shafiq, who had come to Kabul with Rab, and who was elected Secretary of the new Party.⁷¹

The Communist Party of India adopted the principles proclaimed by the Third International; it was decided to work out a policy suited to the conditions in India.⁷² In the meantime, the formation of the Party served two educational purposes. Firstly, it arranged talks to be given by some of the more politically-advanced members of the Muhajirin, Shaukat 'Usmani, 'Abd-Allah Safdar and Muhammed Shafiq stimulated considerable interest among their audiences, and exerted their ideological influence on them. Secondly, although the Communist Party of India was small, it carried out its activities in a relatively systematic and disciplined manner. In a practical way it was able to impart to those involved organisational skills which were indispensable for revolutionary work and propaganda.⁷³

After the Tashkent School had closed down, there were really two 'groups' of Muhajirin, one led by Roy and the other by Rab, which travelled to Moscow to continue their revolutionary training. After Rab's arrival in Moscow, relations between the Soviet authorities and the members of his Association gradually worsened as the Bolsheviki realised that these Muhajirin were determined to pursue essentially nationalist, rather than socialist, revolutionary aims. Their involvement with an American Relief Mission further angered the Soviets, who began to lose faith in

them.⁷⁴ At the same time, these Muhajirin became more convinced about the inappropriateness of the Soviet experience for India. One such Muhajir, Muhammad ^cAshur, went so far as to turn British informer while still in Moscow. As a Muslim, he was reported to have come to feel 'no sympathy for the Communist Government in Russia ... especially after the Afghan Treaty', as then the political situation in Central Asia, in his opinion, had 'altered to the detriment of the Russian regime'⁷⁵. Other members of Rab's group faded out of active politics; Rab himself settled in Turkey in the mid-1920s, and played no further part in Indian politics.

Meanwhile, the training of the Muhajirin who had shown promise continued in Moscow at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. This was a special institution set up by the Soviet government in April 1921 for the education of youth from the colonial and semi-colonial countries.⁷⁶ The aim of this University, according to one visitor, was not primarily to spread revolutionary unrest throughout Asia, or to train professional revolutionaries, though that was one side of its work, 'but rather to train the future political and economic leaders of the more primitive sections of the republic'.⁷⁷ Those wishing to join had to have the correct social and ideological background. They had to be the descendants of peasants or workers families, although the sons of Indian clerks were admitted.⁷⁸ They had to have a mandate from some working class organisation, or, in the case of students from China, Japan, India, Persia or Turkey, the recommendation of their local Communist Party or the Third International would do. Great flexibility and discretion were exercised in assessing the qualifications required for entrance and graduation. Students studying at the University ranged from those who could hardly read and lacked even the most rudimentary knowledge of literature and science, to those who had studied at Oxford and Heidelberg and attained the highest levels of scholarship. The new criteria for admissions had been adopted to encourage the deprived classes of society to take

advantage of basic educational opportunities which had not been available to them before the Revolution.⁷⁹

At the University, the Muhajirin experienced courses designed to provide fundamental skills in Marxian methods of understanding past history and interpreting current political, economic and social events. They included: Political Economy, Theory of Historical Materialism; Histories of Class Struggle and of Western Labour Movements. The Programme and Tactics of the Communist International included brief introductions to Natural Sciences and Biology, the history of India and the Russian language; and Problems of Nationalism and of Arithmetic.⁸⁰ 'Great attention', one Muhajir, 'Abd al-Qadir, recorded, 'was paid to the history of the French Revolution and of the American War of Independence, as well as the evolution of the modern capitalist system, which, needless to say, came in for severe condemnation'. But they were also allowed to study Plato, Aristotle, as well as John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith and John Morley, for the purpose of comparison.⁸¹

The Muhajirin found themselves in a world which had little time either for Islam or for religion in general. The University provided a complete contrast to the conceptions of life in which they had been brought up in their Muslim homes. 'Day by day', 'Abd al-Qadir recalled, 'we were told by our professors that scientific Marxism had no use for the practice by the people of the out-of-date laws of religion, which had ceased to serve their purpose in human society, and were now actually harmful'.⁸² In addition, any display of nationalist feeling was strongly disapproved. Students from outside the Soviet Union were taught that they must fight imperialism, but that this fight had to be carried out 'in the name of International Communism and the right of every people to self-determination, not through appeals to racial and religious prejudice and fanaticism'.⁸³ They were being moulded in ideal communist form. Religious tolerance, companionship and equality were promoted as highly desirable values. All men, western or oriental, Russian or non-Russian,

were treated alike. The aim was to fashion a man who had 'abandoned all loyalty to empire, to economic castes, and (who was) possessed for revolutionary fervour for the working class'.⁸⁴

The Muhajirin discovered that these ideas were not just theory but were put into practice in the daily working of the University. Food, clothing and lodging were provided free by the state.⁸⁵ The life was austere: 'the diet was poor and monotonous', wrote 'Abd al-Qadir Khan, 'breakfast consisted of a piece of black bread and a glass of "tea" made of dried apple paring ... Only two or three lumps of sugar were allowed each day (which was doubtless an especial hardship for the sugar-loving Indians) ... we lunched on dry salt fish and black bread, both insufficient in quantity, and a small helping of cooked salted rice of inferior quality ... dinner was ... a repetition of luncheon'. But the austerity was shared; the meals of the professors were 'often as scanty as our own'.⁸⁶ The students decided all matters relating to their lives. They elected a committee to administer the University, they elected another to manage food and lodgings. They organised the library, health care and recreational facilities. They waited on each other. Each month the communal committee met and reported on its work, and all had the right to offer criticism and comment. One Muhajir was so moved by the vast difference between the modes of living, working and reaching decisions in the society from which he had come and the one in which he was now living, that he declared: 'here is found the real democratic spirit and full freedom of the oppressed peoples, who are held in contempt by the oppressing classes in their own countries.'⁸⁷

The Muhajirin were most struck by the new position which the Communist environment gave to women.⁸⁸ The University had a large number of women students. The sight of these women, 'who had apparently discarded their eastern habits of thought along with their veils', challenged their views on the status and role of the opposite sex.⁸⁹ They gave especial

attention to lectures on women's affairs, for instance, those on women's suffrage given by Bessie Beatty, an American feminist. The young Mussulmans were drawn up in an expectant semicircle ... They leaned forward while Miss Beatty explained to them the difference between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Miss Alice Paul's militant pickets ... The young Mussulman stirred uneasily.' Many questions were asked, including one, perhaps not unsurprisingly, on 'free love', to which even the lecturer could not make satisfactory reply.⁹⁰

The Muhajirin were strongly moved by this whole experiment in 'ideological indoctrination'. When they left Tashkent, only five of them had already joined the Communist Party of India. Not long after they began their studies at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, the rest were ready to join.⁹¹ A number of these Muslim socialists went on, despite great personal sacrifice, to play pioneering roles in the early development of the Communist Party back in India, and their careers were held up as examples to be followed by succeeding generations of Indian socialists.⁹²

Considering the ideological development of the Muhajirin as a whole, the experiments in Tashkent and Moscow were only partly successful. Many clung to Islam and stubbornly resisted socialist ideas. Of those who returned to India, some were just unimpressed by what they had seen in the Soviet Socialist Republics, others had difficulty in making sense of communist ideology. Of those who stayed, some, it later appeared, had accepted Bolshevism primarily in order to survive - those failing to convert received fewer rations. Others, who had completed their training in Moscow and were regarded as convinced socialists, after being arrested by the British on their return to India, maintained that their adoption of socialism had also been the result of similar 'pressure'. Some proffered this excuse to escape the full retribution of the British authorities. Some were undoubtedly sincere in their socialist conviction, and returned to active political work against the British after serving their prison

sentences. The observation of 'Abd al-Qadir Khan, who had been a favourite of Roy and a founder member of the Communist Party of India of Tashkent, but who turned informer on arrest and did not play any further part in radical politics, that he had been 'a creature of circumstances', that the Communist system was 'cruel and ruthless', and that Communism was 'contrary to the teaching of Islam and wholly unsuited to the life and mentality of India' echoed the sentiments of those Muhajirin who pronounced a negative judgement on their experiences in the Soviet Union.⁹³

Thus, there was the paradox that men who left India in order to defend Islam against the advance of the West, in particular Britain, within a few years embraced socialism, itself a western doctrine. One reason for this was their treatment at the hands of the Afghans and the Turkomen, which eroded their Pan-Islamic idealism. A second reason was that, once Germany had been defeated, the Russian revolutionaries represented their best opportunity to put pressure on the hated British and therefore close cooperation with them and their methods represented the best way forward. The third reason was that some Muhajirin actually came to recognise some basic similarities between socialism and Islam. It should be clear, however, that their understanding of socialism and their commitment to it was limited. For some, Islam was always to come first. Their aim was somehow to draw socialism within the framework of Islam and make a healthy fusion of the two ideologies. For others, it was a useful tool in the nationalist struggle. Such men were often able wholly to reject their religion. But their prime aim was to oust the British from India and socialism was seen as the most effective instrument to help them to mobilise the people to do so. As the 1920s progressed, the political practice of this second group was to reveal the inadequacy of their theoretical understanding of socialism.

CHAPTR II

MUSLIM SOCIALIST ACTIVITY IN INDIA : 1917-1934

When the socialist Muhajirin returned to India in the years after 1921, they did not enter a political vacuum. Developments had been taking place inside India which had an important influence both on the kind of welcome afforded to them, and on what they were able to do. Thus, before looking at the work of the Muslim socialists during the 1920s, it is necessary to examine briefly what had been happening to Indian society in general and the Muslim community in particular.

The India to which the Muslim socialists returned was disturbed. The debilitating economic effects of an expensive war had caused a sharp drop in the standard of living of the common man. The lack of progress towards Home Rule was a further cause of discontent. The 'extremist' nationalist, dissatisfied with the concessions embodied in the Montagu-Cheimsford reforms, had come to feel that the British were not prepared to make any further advances towards self-government, and thus the time for negotiations had passed. Further political progress, they thought, could be achieved only by mobilising public resentment and channelling it into mass protests. Strikes were organised in the industrial centres. Demonstrations became widespread particularly in the Punjab. Muslims and Hindus came together to demand that the Turkish *Khalifa* was assured of his previous position and that a greater amount of self-government was granted than had been promised in the India Act of 1919.¹

Between August 1920 and February 1922, the Khilafatists and Congress joined together in an unprecedented movement to force the government to concede their demands. They failed for two important reasons. The Khilafat-Non-Cooperation leadership was divided over the approach that it should adopt

towards the constitutional reforms already offered, and on the strategy it should pursue to oppose the government. The Congress leadership, by insisting on non-violent methods, limited the ways in which it could carry out its opposition. Khilafatist Muslims were never happy with these constraints imposed by Gandhi. Furthermore, Congress leaders such as Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das were initially wary about joining a non-constitutional movement lest it should get out of control and produce a social upheaval which would finally deprive them of their privileges and power. At the same time, the skilful way in which the government handled the opposition during the various stages of the movement further contributed to its failure. The British had learnt their lessons from the Punjab agitation of 1919. Quick harsh repressive action had produced only bitterness, hostility and martyrs. The government, therefore, decided to pursue a policy of studied non-interference towards the Non-Cooperation movement. No restrictions were imposed on the freedom of expression and the civil liberties of its leaders. Only when the movement took a marked turn towards violence did the government take firm measures to restore 'law and order'. As the government moved to quell violence, it wrested the moral advantage from Gandhi, who felt compelled to call off the movement in February 1922.²

The Khilafatist Muslims, with many of their leaders imprisoned, felt betrayed, and some of them decided to pursue political objectives designed to bring more specific benefits to Indian Muslims, even if this meant a degree of cooperation with the government. A small minority, however, revolted by communal violence, turned to secular politics. They rejected Gandhi's non-violence, but realised nevertheless that only mass political action would make any impression on British policy. Under these circumstances, some came to be attracted by the ideas and methods embodied in the Russian revolution, details of which had been filtering through to India since 1917.

The responses of Indian Muslims to the Russian revolution in the period 1917 to 1920, as reflected in their press and public pronouncements, ranged from an outright rejection of Bolshevism to attempts to reconcile Bolshevik principles with Islam. Reports of the events which shook Russia in February and November 1917, trickled into India mainly through western press agencies, and contained much anti-Bolshevik bias. Muslims were divided on how they should interpret this information. Loyalist Muslims accepted the reliability of western reports and were opposed to the revolution. Since they felt that the Raj protected their interests best, they defended it against socialist attacks, employing British propaganda. They discouraged any seditious challenge to British authority in India or elsewhere in the Muslim world. India, it was argued, was not yet ready for Home Rule. Russia was held up as prime example of how the premature acquisition of representative institutions had resulted in 'anarchy'. The strivings of Muslim peoples for independence were portrayed simply as Bolshevik intrigue. So the popular Urdu daily, *Paisa Akbar* of Lahore, praised Kerensky's Russia in line with British opinion, hoping that it would establish 'a republican form of government and give freedom and unity to her subjects', and then denounced the victory of the Bolsheviks as a moral evil.³ Good Muslims should remember, the editor declared, that India's hope lay 'not in Bolshevism but in loyalty to her sovereign and obedience to law'.⁴ Furthermore, it was proclaimed that Bolshevism was inimical to the tenets of Islam. Maulvi ^cAli al-Hairi of Lahore, in his *fatwa* on Bolshevism, pronounced the possession of Bolshevik views or sympathy with them to be totally opposed to Qur'anic teachings, and warned that such behaviour rendered one 'liable to be thrown in hell'.⁵ The *jihad* of the Muslims of Russia, Siberia, Turkestan and the Caucasus was offered as further proof that Bolshevism was 'a total negation of the injunctions of Islam'.⁶ Muslims who were trying to show that Bolshevik principles could be reconciled with the Qur'an were

accused of distortion because they selected only the verses which suited their argument.⁷

However, those Indian Muslims who put their religious concerns above other interests, found it difficult to attack the Bolsheviks. Although they were doctrinally opposed to Bolshevism, they were no less opposed to the advance of European imperialism. Indeed, they could not help but acknowledge the moral and material support that the Bolsheviks had offered to Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan in their resistance to foreign domination. Although they were keen to play down and even denounce the popular appeal of the Soviet experiment, the political subjugation of Muslims everywhere, the repression of liberties and rights in India, and rapidly deteriorating economic conditions, left them with few arguments with which to defend their British masters. While asserting that 'to Islam the Bolshevik Movement', at least in the guise in which it had been presented to them, was 'altogether unlawful', they felt that the fault for the growing popularity of Bolshevism among Muslims lay in the 'love of power and the haughtiness' which was to be found among the European powers, and in the 'greed and selfishness of the European capitalists'. In their view, the best possible way to counteract the influence of Bolshevism was to establish a powerful Islamic government.⁸

Propaganda against the Bolsheviks, however, made little headway amongst Khilafatists and nationalists. So strong was their feeling against the British that they were prepared to accept support from whatever quarters it came. They rejected the criticisms of loyalists and other Bolshevik opponents on the grounds that they were the collaborators of a 'despotic regime' who were preventing the colonised people of India from recognising their real friends. Their arguments seemed proved, moreover, when the Bolsheviks renounced Tsarist territorial claims on Muslim lands, and the British were slow in making progress towards Home Rule and ambivalent over the Caliphate. The more discerning of these Khilafatists and nationalists quickly came to believe that the coverage of the October

Revolution and the Bolshevik experiment by the British press agencies, such as Reuters which served a large variety of newspapers in India, was biased. They wanted to know why the Bolsheviks had attained such massive popularity if they were as 'monstrous' as they had been made out in the press. They came to the conclusion that the British government's accounts of Bolshevik atrocities could not be trusted.⁹ Indeed, British attacks on the Soviet Union only served to strengthen their conviction that something 'really progressive had taken place there'.¹⁰ Under these circumstances, British allegations of Bolshevik brutality in Central Asia were dismissed, particularly when they were seen in the context of lavish British support for Bolshevik opponents. British propaganda suffered a further set back when it became widely known that the opponents of the 'cruel' Bolsheviks were deserting to the Bolsheviks' side in ever increasing numbers.¹¹

Thus, after the Treaty of Sevres, some Khilafatists became more favourably disposed towards the Bolsheviks. Although a few found it difficult to ignore their fear of Russian tyranny, most accepted Bolshevik principles insofar as they supported the rights of all people to self-determination, opposed the collapse of Muslim power, and offered help to fight the British. Bolsheviks, nevertheless, were considered allies only as an expedient with which to secure Pan-Islamic goals. Thus, on 1 May 1920, the Awadh Khilafat Conference, under the Presidentship of Mushir Husain Qidwai, declared 'every sympathy with the Bolshevik movement so far as it is consistent with the principles of Islam'.¹² According to one Muslim weekly, Muslims did not regard the Bolsheviks as their friends; if they joined them it was only because they were 'the enemies of their enemies'.¹³ The British too recognised that the reasons which had brought the Pan-Islamists and the Bolsheviks together were basically pragmatic. Both aimed at the overthrow of British power in India. 'The extremists ... who have become the guiding spirits of the Khilafat Movement', observed British Intelligence, 'are ready

to work in conjunction with the Bolsheviks as long as it is to their advantage.¹⁴

For some of the Khilafat leaders, however, support for Bolshevik principles became more than just a matter of expediency. They came to believe that Qur'anic revelation and Bolshevik doctrine were in essence similar, even if not completely identical. The son-in-law of Maulana 'Abd al-Bari of Firangi Mahal, according to a police report, 'described Bolshevism as a purer form of spiritualism than even Islam itself.'¹⁵ Maulana Azad Subhani, a Khilafat leader popular among the poor in Cawnpore, preached to two thousand people that Bolshevism and Islam were one and the same thing, and that it was fortunate for Islam that the Bolshevik movement existed.¹⁶ Maulana Hasrat Mohani, another staunch opponent of the British, told a Khilafat meeting at Muttra that the cardinal principles of Bolshevism were anti-landlordism, anti-capitalism and equality, all of which were 'in the main similar to the principles of the Muslim religion.'¹⁷ Other Pan-Islamists pointed to the universal values which were common to Islam and Bolshevism, and which differentiated them from the European powers. While the Allies had indulged in secret diplomacy, Soviet dealings with other governments had been frank and open. The Allies had broken their pledges while the Bolsheviks had fulfilled theirs. To these more radical Pan-Islamists, Bolshevism was a success because it kindled in the minds of the masses the hope of better conditions of life. Soviet commitment to the social welfare of its citizens, when compared with the neglect of the Indians by the British, further underlined Bolshevik qualities.¹⁸

Initially, Indian Muslim reactions to the Russian revolution were wary if not hostile. The great bulk of anti-Bolshevik Muslim opinion was anxious to defend the Raj, and employed religion to justify their political position. As more independent information reached India, and as the level of anti-British feeling rose within the Muslim community, opinion on the Soviet Union

became more divided. The majority of Pan-Islamists remained in principle opposed to socialism, but some were prepared to come to a 'working arrangement' with the Bolsheviks in order to achieve their own goals. Islam was still central to their political perspective, and they were only prepared to use the already-proven socialist techniques of political struggle. insofar as these methods suited their purposes.

A small section of Muslims ignored the problem of atheism in Bolshevik philosophy, examined the principles of socialism closely, and came to a more sympathetic understanding of its practical implications. As a result, they attempted to forge a reconciliation between Islam and socialism. In this way, socialist ideas did gain currency among a section of Indian Muslims. Their efforts to popularise these ideas helped to prepare the ground for the activity of Communist groups which emerged during the 1920s.

The Khilafat Movement and Beginnings of Socialist Action

The radical Khilafat leaders appealed to the more immediate economic interests of ordinary Muslims in order to mobilise support for the Pan-Islamic aims. At the same time, some Muslim labour leaders recognised the potential of the Khilafatist mass agitation as a way of broadening support for their own socio-economic demands. The Khilafat was a symbol of Muslim unity, it was also the spark which ignited deep resentment against the British. For the Muslim workers of the industrial cities, there was resentment at the appalling economic dislocation brought by the First World War; for the Muslims of the qasbahs, there was resentment at the decline in their opportunities for jobs and the status they felt their due. Gradually, it became obvious that, although the Khilafatist leadership wanted to limit the Movement to the demand for the restoration of the Caliphate to its proper status, the Turkish *Khalifa* held little direct interest for the rank and file of the Movement. For the latter, it was often the anti-British aspect of the struggle, rather than the specifically religious one, which

increasingly became more important. Consequently, many Muslims began to express their hostility to British rule under the cover of a religious movement, and to fight at the same time for their own specific social and economic interests and needs.¹⁹

So, Khilafatist leaders were compelled to recognise the demands of industrial labourers and peasants in the Punjab and Bengal, and to acknowledge egalitarian aspects within Islam. They painted the Khilafat as the movement of the poor against the British. In the Punjab, for instance, the North Western Railway strike which was initially called at the end of April 1920 for the improvement of the workers' material conditions, subsequently began to coalesce with Khilafat agitation as the strikers began to perceive it as a movement against a 'tyrannical and exploitative' government.²⁰ The extent of the railwaymen's involvement can be gauged from the fact that some two thousand strikers came to the Lahore Railway Station to show their solidarity with the Muslims who were undertaking *hijrat* to Afghanistan. These Muhajirin were supported because they were seen as the 'advanced guard' of a popular anti-British movement.²¹

The Khilafatist leaders too made special efforts to demonstrate that Islam was essentially a religion of the poor and that it relied on their support. At a strike meeting outside the Mochi Gate in Lahore in July 1920, Amin al-din Sindhi told a gathering of some five hundred men that 'Islam had owed its birth to the poorer classes and it would be reborn as the offspring of the Labour Party'.²² Khilafatist leaders attended workers meetings, and described the strike as 'a struggle between Capital and Labour'.²³ That socialism was becoming popular among the Khilafatists, and that a community of ideas and interest was developing between them and the labour leaders, was acknowledged by the British.²⁴

The collaboration between Khilafatists and groups of workers and peasants was pronounced in Bengal. The failure of

harvests between 1918 and 1922, together with very severe influenza and cholera epidemics, had a greater impact here than in many other parts of India. Calcutta, for instance, lived through the 'greatest and most widespread year of depression that had ever been experienced' between the middle of 1920 and 1921.²⁵ Wages in Bengal jute mills lagged far behind increases in food prices while cultivators in East Bengal, where the majority of Muslim Bengalis lived, were forced to sell their jute at particularly low prices.²⁶ Under the circumstances, it would have been difficult to persuade Muslim peasants and townspeople, struggling to eke out a living, to fight simply for the Khilafat. Realising the importance of the more immediate 'bread and butter' issues, some of the 'ulama shifted the emphasis of their campaigns from the Khilafat to economic suffering. The change in tactics was immediately reflected in British intelligence reports:

'Maulvi Akram Khan, the editor of the *Muhammadi* assisted by a graduate Habibulla and Mahbub Ali, a member of the Bengal Workers Union, has thrown himself wholeheartedly into the attempts which have been recently made to spread unrest among the Jute hands. Again in the recent Government Press Strike, agitators such as Majibur Rahman, Liakat Hossein and Minizur Zaman Islamabadi were noticed, energetically supporting the strikers. The notorious Abul Kalam Azad also has recently undertaken to approach the mill hands in the cause of non-cooperation.'²⁷

A most striking example of a class-conscious attack on imperialist exploitation was made by Maulvi Ism'ail Iman al-din of Tippera. In a sermon delivered in the jute town of Narainganj, he

'whipped up excitement by pointing out that European capitalists in the town took the lion's share of the jute and steamer business while their clerks and coolies did not have sufficient money even to meet the demands of nature'.²⁸

Zamana and *Muhammadi*, two of the Khilafatist papers of Calcutta, gave further credence to the Bolshevik movement by projecting it as the friend of Islam and the oppressed. Rejecting the allegation that the strikes in India were being organised by 'Bolshevik agents and spies', *Muhammadi* asserted that they were really the outcome of hunger, and that

'if there is any truth in the report that Bolshevik spies are inciting the poor people, who, in spite of shedding their hearts' blood in the service of the rich, cannot get two full meals a day, it must be said that the Bolsheviks are a very generous and noble-minded people, that the scandals spread against them are false and that they want to try only to prevent the rich oppressing the poor.'²⁹

It was out of this movement against the British, combined with a growing awareness of economic and social issues amongst some of the groups involved in the Khilafat movement, that early leaders of the socialist movement in India, such as 'Abd al-Razzaq Khan and 'Abd al-Halim, emerged.

The political development of these men resembled those of the Muhajirin. 'Abd al-Razzaq Khan and 'Abd al-Halim were deeply involved in the Khilafat but came to socialism after their disappointment over the failure of the Non-Cooperation Movement. 'Abd al-Razzaq Khan came from a strong anti-British *Wahabi* tradition. His grandfathers had fought the British, and, on his father's side, Maulvi Faiz al-din was hanged in 1860. 'From my parents', Razzaq recalled, 'I heard full-blooded stories of the Wahabi movement and anti-imperialism came naturally to me'. As a teenager, Razzaq had been attracted to the revolutionary terrorist movement and had gathered some young Muslims together around the 'Silk Letter' group. A warm admirer of Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad, he was strongly attracted to the Khilafat movement, although right from the beginning he was sceptical about the efficacy of Gandhi's non-violent

struggle. Azad, like many of the more militant Pan-Islamists, considered non-violence a temporary tactic to rouse 'the sluggish masses of India'. Armed revolution was another possibility. Azad had advised Razzaq and his friends to forge links with the Provisional Government of India in Kabul, 'to recruit militant youth from the ranks of Hindus as well as Muslims and send them to Bolshevik Russia via Kabul for the necessary training'. This was how Razzaq came to learn of the revolutionary activities of the Soviet Union and the International Communist movement. By the end of 1921, Razzaq had become sceptical about the construction of a mass revolutionary movement based on religion without any consideration of a thorough-going social and economic programme. Indeed, he was beginning to lose faith even in the ability of the nationalists to lead India to freedom. 'My experience', he recalled, 'was leading me more and more to the conclusion that the present nationalist leadership would not be able to deliver the goods - what was wanted was an alternative leadership'. Thus, Razzaq drew ever closer to Soviet Russia and Communism. Though still a firm nationalist with the freedom of India as his primary aim, he was starting to look towards the communist movement 'as a dependable and good ally'. After Gandhi's retreat at Bardoli in 1922, the stage was set for Razzaq to take the 'final plunge'.³⁰

Abd al-Halim had also been deeply moved by the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation agitation. A tally clerk in a Calcutta shipping concern, he resigned his job when the campaign reached its most intense phase, and threw himself wholeheartedly into the struggle. In December 1921, he was arrested while picketing and was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. By the time he was released in the spring of 1922, Non-Cooperation had ended, and Halim was left 'roaming the streets', with all avenues of personal advancement blocked and independence no nearer. It was in this 'vagabond state' that Muzaffar Ahmad met Halim and, after discussing the principles and methods of socialism at some length, got him to commit himself to organising the Communist Party of India.³¹

Other Muslims, such as Qazi Nazar al-Islam and Muzaffar Ahmad in Calcutta, and Ghulam Husain, Shams al-din Hasan and M.A. Khan in Lahore, however, were attracted to socialist ideas as they came to learn of the positive features of the Russian revolution, to participate in the freedom movement, and to be involved in trade union work.

Qazi Nazar al-Islam's ancestors came from Patna during the reign of Emperor Shah 'Alam, where they had served as *qazis*, and settled in District Burdwan. Nazar al-Islam's father, however, only looked after the shrine and the mosque in the village of Churulia. Nazar, the 'Rebel Poet' of Bengal, received his primary education at the local *madrassa*, and thus knew elementary Arabic and Persian. Early in life, he impressed local notables with his literary talent, and was granted a scholarship to study at the Siarsal Raj High School. Here he came under the influence of his teacher, Nibaran Chaudra Ghatak, a member of the revolutionary Juganter Party, who felt that military training would prepare Nazar to fight the British. Thus, Nazar joined the 49th Bengal Regiment in 1917. Within two years, he rose to the rank of Quartermaster *havildar*. In March 1920, the regiment was disbanded and Nazar settled in Calcutta.

An instinctive rebel, Nazar became aware of the Russian revolution while in the Army. His famous short story *Byathar Dan* (The Gift of Sorrow), written in 1919, revealed his admiration for the 'great and noble ideals' of the revolution.³² While in the Army, Nazar had remained deeply interested in writing, and he had already begun to contribute to *Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Patrika*, the quarterly organ of the Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Samiti (Bengali Muslim Literary Society).³³ The journal's editor was Muzaffar Ahmad, one of the founders of the Communist Party in India.

Muzaffar Ahmad, like Nazar al-Islam, belonged to a family which boasted a title. *Thakur* symbolised a degree of respectability. Muzaffar's father was a *mukhtiar* at the court in Sandwip and knew a little Persian. Being 'somewhat

progressive', he did not insist on Muzaffar spending a great deal of time reciting the Qur'an, and taught him Bengali early in life. Muzaffar initially went to Sandwip Middle English School but had to give it up because of financial difficulties at home. He entered a local *madrassa*, where he came to learn a little Arabic and Persian. At this time, Muzaffar was still a 'devout Muslim'. Determined to acquire an English education, Muzaffar joined Sandwip Cargill High School, and, after moving to Noakhali Zilla School in 1910, matriculated in 1913. Having attempted, unsuccessfully, to continue higher education at college level, Muzaffar tried his hand at a variety of jobs, including teaching Bengali privately, doing clerical work in the Bengal Government Press, translating material from Urdu into Bengali at the Home Department and serving in the office of the Inspector of Schools, before committing himself to fulltime work at the Samiti at the end of 1918.³⁴

During 1919-20, a number of factors pushed Muzaffar decisively into revolutionary politics. An important stimulus was Nazar al-Islam's companionship. Nazar had accepted Muzaffar's invitation to stay with him, and by March 1920 he had come to be recognised as the poet-in-residence at the Samiti. His fiery poetry had injected a breath of fresh radical vigour and liveliness into the society's literary and political gatherings, and generated considerable debate. However, in the electric political atmosphere of the Khilafat Non-Cooperation agitation, it was felt that literature should also serve political aims. In July 1920, A.K. Fazl al-Haq, then emerging as a populist leader of some repute, decided to bring out a Bengali evening daily *Navayug* (New Age).³⁵ He offered its editorship to Muzaffar Ahmad and Nazar al-Islam, and encouraged them to write about workers and peasants in a way that other nationalist papers did not do. In the course of editing *Navayug*, the two journalists became interested 'to some extent' in the problems of workers. Muzaffar Ahmad described his growing involvement with the workers in his book *Myself and the Communist Party of India*. 'I was', he recalled,

'in the habit of moving among sailors in Calcutta, though not exactly for the purpose of carrying on agitation among them ... (my real purpose in going among the sailors was to come in touch with my countrymen - Sandwip). In the process, I became interested in the problems of sailors',³⁶

and began to write extensively about their demands in the paper. At the same time, these circumstances 'prompted' Muzaffar to deepen his understanding of the labour movement in general through further studies, and together he and Nazar al-Islam 'decided to study Marxism'.³⁷

Clearly, for Muzaffar Ahmad and Nazar al-Islam, the actual experiences which triggered off the radical impulses in their thoughts had not been directly affected by the Khilafat. Nevertheless, the rising tempo of the Khilafat-Nationalist and working class agitation forced them to participate in the various activities of the movement. Nazar al-Islam 'joined processions connected with the Movement in Comilla and composed numerous songs on it'.³⁸ Muzaffar Ahmad attended the joint Khilafat-Non-Cooperation meetings. He even went to the night time meetings so that he could involve working people who were unable to attend during the day in the activities of the campaign. And both men made considerable contributions towards the anti-British campaign by highlighting government repression against its participants in *Navayug*, for which they were both heavily penalised. This personal involvement in the struggle against the British and their intimate experience of government repression contributed significantly to the heightening of their commitment to socialism.³⁹

Similarly, in the Punjab, radicals such as Ghulam Husain, Shams al-din Hasan and M.A. Khan, although they received their baptism in mass agitation during the Khilafat movement, were already involved in labour politics. These men came to play leading roles in the labour movement in the early 1920s. They later came to be in contact with the radical Muhajirin abroad and provided them with a channel through which

Bolshevik propaganda and organisation was initiated in India. Ghulam Husain belonged to an eminent *Khilji* Pathan family of Gujrat. His grandfather, Allah Ditta, a retired government servant, was a reputable eye-surgeon. After completing his education, Ghulam Husain took up the post of lecturer in Economics at Edward Church Mission College, Peshawar. He was a close friend of Muhammad ^cAli, one of the early batch of Muhajirin students who had gone to Kabul in 1915. By late 1920, Muhammad ^cAli had become a committed communist and was being groomed by the Bolsheviks as their key 'link' man in Kabul. He knew of Ghulam Husain's interest in communism from past discussions, and considered him a potential recruit. Muhammad ^cAli then invited Ghulam Husain to Kabul in June 1922, and, after some rather short but intense ideological and political discussions, persuaded him to work for communist objectives in India.⁴⁰

Muslims and the Growth of Early Communist Organisation in India

Before 1920, some tenuous links between the Bolsheviks and radical currents in India had been established via the Indian emigres in Afghanistan. But these contacts had remained confined to the N.W.F.P. and the Punjab. Propaganda, which was being sent into India, and organised from the Soviet Union and by emigres in Kabul and Constantinople, was predominantly anti-imperialist, rather than socialist or anti-capitalist in content. Some socialist literature in the shape of British newspapers and magazines, for instance *The Herald*, *Workers Dreadnaught* and *Soviet Russia*⁴¹ was being sent to contacts in India, but there was no coordinated or systematic drive to organise revolutionary socialist activities. The assistance made available by the Soviet authorities had been relatively meagre up until this point.⁴² Indeed, it is debatable whether this propaganda had any significant effect on the radicalisation of Indian Muslims. Muzaffar Ahmad's conversion to Marxism, for instance, had little to do with Bolshevik attempts to propagate socialist ideas.

Most of the socialist literature with which he had come into contact, was discreetly imported from English-speaking countries, and acquired by him through independent radicals or Indian liberals such as Qutub al-din Ahmad (who had collaborated with Maulana Abu-l Kalam Azad in running the newspapers *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balagh*) who had the means to buy scarce and expensive books.⁴³

This situation changed after the Second Congress of the Comintern in July 1920. The revolution had failed in Europe. Thus, the Bolshevik leaders shifted their efforts to exploring the revolutionary potential in the East.⁴⁴ Lenin's Theses on the National and Colonial Questions explained the principles on which this change in world revolutionary strategy was based. Lenin suggested provisional collaboration with 'the revolutionary movement' of the colonies and backward countries, but at the same time insisted that the 'proletarian movement' must maintain its independent existence.⁴⁵ The application of these Theses to the specific conditions of India permitted communists to cooperate with the Indian National Congress, while, at the same time, they could try to seize the leadership of the national movement by exposing the exploitative character of the bourgeois nationalists. Roy suggested a further refinement of communist policy towards the nationalist movement. He felt that the nationalist movement was divided into 'reformist' and 'revolutionary' wings, and argued that the communists ought to be wary of alliances with the 'reformists' because, although they supported the nationalist movement, they were also at times prepared to reach compromises with the 'imperialists', and join with them in fighting the revolutionary forces. Thus, the communists in India should try to build 'the organisation of the broad popular masses for the class interest of the latter'.⁴⁶ Roy's ideas were accepted. Based on these considerations, the Communist International decided, in principle, to send resources to India. Roy was put in charge of the Eastern section of the Comintern with headquarters at Tashkent to mastermind operations.⁴⁷

In 1921, practical measures were adopted to establish contacts with various communist groups in India by among other means smuggling back Muhajirin socialists. From the autumn of 1921, the Muhajirin began to return to India. They came back in small groups to avoid detection. By the end of 1922, almost all had been arrested. They were tried on charges of conspiracy and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment ranging from one year to three years.⁴⁸ As a result, most failed to link up with those socialists in India who had already embarked on practical work, and, thus, they did not make any significant contribution to the communist movement until some were released in 1924. Other Muhajirin, such as Muhammad 'Ali Sipassi and Rahmat 'Ali Zakaria, had decided to remain in the Soviet Union or settle in Europe. From here they helped Roy to funnel resources and information to communist centres in India.⁴⁹

In 1922, the Soviet Union allocated funds for promoting the organisation of communist groups and enabling them to intervene effectively in the revolutionary struggle in India. Roy built up an extensive network of channels and contacts so that these funds as well as Indian revolutionaries could be sent to India. In this way, Ghulam Husain had received substantial sums of money to establish the Lahore centre and to bring out the Urdu daily *Inqilab*, while Shaukat 'Usmani returned to India in early 1922 with sufficient money to organise and travel freely. Similarly, Muzaffar Ahmad regularly received small sums of money for personal expenses as well as political work.⁵⁰ Along these channels, Roy also sent instructions to the Indian revolutionaries, *Inprecorr*, the Comintern magazine, *The Vanguard* which he began publishing in May 1922, and articles such as 'India in Transition', 'What do we want' and 'One Year of Non-Cooperation'.⁵¹ By the end of 1922, as a result of these substantial efforts, small communist groups began to emerge at Lahore, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and the U.P.

Early Muslim Communist Activity

The Lahore, U.P. and Calcutta centres were run by Muslims. The milieu in which they operated was Muslim and the form and content of their propaganda was designed to suit the Muslims. They established peasant and working class organisations, started trade union activity and disseminated socialist propaganda.

In Lahore the office of *Inqilab* became the centre of socialist activity. Ghulam Husain, the editor of *Inqilab*, Shams al-din Hasan, publicity secretary of the North Western Railway Workers' Union, and M.A. Khan, general-secretary of the Union, were the leading figures of the group. *Inqilab*, first brought out under socialist direction in August 1922, was proclaimed a people's paper.⁵² It tried to find out why the Indian masses were poor, the truth about Swaraj and the rights of workers. It promised to strive for an independent India in which the benefits would not be reaped by the 'merchants and capitalists' but by the workers and peasants. The paper disseminated a wide range of socialist ideas among a mainly Muslim readership. It translated and serialised Roy's major theoretical works on Indian society and his strategy for revolutionary change.⁵³

The paper aimed its material at two kinds of audience. Firstly, it aimed at those who had become disillusioned with the Non-Cooperation movement and who were now prepared to reject the ideals and programme of the Congress in favour of more radical political and ideological explanations and solutions. For this kind of readership, straightforward socialist ideas were put forward in simple yet strident language. 'Political liberty', it asserted, was not possible without 'economic and social liberty', and individuals could not be free without these liberties. But this was not possible under the capitalist system of government and the existing constitution of society as this gave predominance to individuals and one class over others. It was impossible to become a capitalist 'without usurping the rights of others'. For all human beings to enjoy equal rights, it was necessary to

suppress capitalism and governments which had become 'instrumental' in the practising of oppression' by the propertied classes of society.⁵⁴

Secondly, it aimed at those who still accepted the leadership of the Congress in the anti-British movement, but who were becoming dissatisfied with its narrow social base, and wanted to broaden support of the nationalist cause to include workers, peasants and the less well-off sections of the middle classes. To attract these people, *Inqilab* laid much emphasis on the attainment of freedom and the establishment of democracy through Civil Disobedience and non-payment of taxes. It warned the Congress leadership that for Civil Disobedience to be successful, farmers and labourers would have to be mobilised in its support. 'The Congress authorities', it suggested, 'should awaken labourers and agriculturists, and set them against their masters. This alone can secure Swaraj for us'.⁵⁵ *Inqilab* rejected the policy of 'concessions and mutual understanding' with the British. 'Such a policy', it observed, was 'intended only for the influential people of the upper classes'. It then went on to outline an alternative political, social and economic programme. This programme included complete political independence, the confiscation of *jagirs* and *taluqadaris*, the distribution of land to the tiller, the institution of a graduated tax system, the nationalisation of railways, mines and communications, the legalisation of the trade union movement, and the organisation of people's militia.⁵⁶

The paper got off to a good start, with a circulation of around one thousand copies per issue.⁵⁷ It was initially distributed amongst the workers of Lahore. The main aim was to educate them politically, and to organise them for revolutionary action. As the editor, Ghulam Hussain and his assistant, Shams al-din Hasan, were important figures in the North Western Railway, their personal influence helped in *Inqilab's* relative success. But in 1923, Ghulam Hussain was arrested. He made a confession and left politics.⁵⁸ Shams al-din

Hasan tried to continue publication for a while, but eventually had to close the paper down.

In the United Provinces, H.A. Malik had begun to organise a union on the Oudh Rohilkhand Railway (O.R.R.) after the locomotive drivers' strike of 1920. Its main centres were at Lucknow, Fyzabad and Cawnpore. The O.R.R. Union was recognised in 1922 with Malik as its secretary. It started a weekly publication, *Mazdur*, and a bulletin, *The Railwaymen*. *Mazdur* was primarily a periodical for communist propaganda. In 1924 when the government discovered that Malik was associated with the *Inqilab* group in Lahore, the recognition accorded to his union was withdrawn.⁵⁹ Communist groups were also founded by Shaukat 'Usmani at Benaras and Cawnpore. In Benaras, 'Usmani tried to organise a number of students at the Benaras Hindu University. His most important contact was Imam al-din Rizwi, who provided him with an address there to which literature and other correspondence was sent. Later, 'Usmani moved to Cawnpore and taught as the Second Master at the National Muslim School, 'passing under the name of Habib Ahmad. Here he developed close relations with Muhammad Habib the Headmaster of the school. Muhammad Habib had begun to show considerable revolutionary promise when he died rather suddenly. 'Usmani was just beginning to find his feet when he was arrested in May 1923.⁶⁰ With his arrest, communist work in the United Provinces folded up.

In Calcutta, Muzaffar Ahmad became the pivot around which the communist group in Bengal was built. According to a British intelligence report, 'the Calcutta group was started by Muzaffar Ahmad, a journalist'.⁶¹ Nalini Gupta (Roy's emissary to India who had arrived in India at the end of 1921) had introduced Muzaffar to the Communist International at the beginning of 1922. From then onwards, Muzaffar began to correspond directly with Roy. In the same year, he was joined by two other 'home-grown' socialists from Bengal, 'Abd al-

Razzaq Khan and 'Abd al-Halim. Together they began to organise the communist group. Its primary activity in its early days was the production and distribution of socialist propaganda. Most of the literature was sent in from abroad, in particular from Roy, and dealt mainly with the problem of building a communist organisation in India. Muzaffar disagreed with the strategy suggested by Roy. In contrast to the policy then being forwarded by Roy, he wanted to develop the movement primarily on the basis of the class struggle in Indian society, largely ignoring the nationalist campaign. He argued that the workers and peasants were the 'source of the nation's strength' while the 'educated classes' were impotent and exploitative. Convinced of the correctness of his arguments, Muzaffar wrote to Roy, sharply attacking the latter's suggestion that Indian communists should energetically work within the Congress.⁶² Roy, who had already been critical of the keenness of Bengali revolutionaries to start a campaign of terror against the British instead of building a mass campaign, retorted that 'the salvation of India (would) not be secured through a handful of orthodox communists'.⁶³ According to 'Abd al-Razzaq Khan, Muzaffar's lack of faith in the freedom movement was because he had never fully participated in the mainstream of the national struggle. From the sidelines, he was only able ever to see its weaknesses, and not its massive strength.⁶⁴ Muzaffar continued to show his personal preference for workers' and peasants' issues to the exclusion of nationalist ones, and he became increasingly more involved with working class organisations and 'agitators' in Calcutta. He established close ties with the leaders of the Employees Association, and strengthened his existing connections with the seamen.⁶⁵

Apart from his participation in the labour movement, Muzaffar also became closely associated with the production of a Bengali left-wing twice-weekly magazine called *Dhumketu* (the Meteor).⁶⁶ The periodical was being edited by Qazi Nazar al-Islam with whom Muzaffar had already collaborated when they had brought out *Navayug* in 1920. Although Muzaffar did not

take up any formal responsibility in the production of the magazine, he did contribute regularly as a journalist. *Dhumketu* was not a mouthpiece of Muzaffar's group - it consistently printed high quality literary articles - but the tenor of its political contributions was full of revolutionary spirit. Not only did it condone terroristic activity but it ridiculed the Indian National Congress and its non-violent philosophy. Its view highlighted the class nature of Indian society, and emphasized that class conflict was the 'central contradiction' present in it. Having analysed society in this way, *Dhumketu* supported the deeds of the masses against the oppressive forces in India, indigenous as well as British. It also attacked institutional religion. Congratulating newly organised Oriya workers, the journal declared:

'Today the sleeping dog is awake. The lifeless have stood up claiming their right ... *chandalas*, carpenters, toiling Muslims ... forget that you are lowly. Who made you low? God? It is a lie, a glaring fraud. By thus deceiving you, your *mullahs*, *qazis*, priests, *zamindars* and rulers are rolling in luxury at your expense. They are thus deceiving you to rob you of your hard earned dues.'⁶⁷

It urged them to resist these exploiters by refusing to 'give the *begar*, *abwaba*' or by submitting 'to other illegal exactions'. In emotional language, it explained how the rich used 'guns and taxation measures', 'their sentries' and 'sacred books' to keep down the poor, and exhorted them to

'throw at them the skulls of your dead fathers and sons, husbands and wives. Decline once more to grow the crop one single season, say only for one day that you are not the servants ... and you will see them indulging in loud lamentations ... then it will be for you to let the fire flash out of your sunken eyes.'⁶⁸

The journal knew that young Bengalis, some with an elementary knowledge of revolutionary history, formed its readership. It looked to them to lead the oppressed layers of society against the ruling classes. To prevent them from falling into the 'bourgeois nationalist' trap, it denounced the Indian National Congress as an ally of 'the *Zamindars*, the rich men and the merchants', and its programme as the 'non-cooperation of the respectable classes'. Even the political aim of *Swaraj* was seen by *Dhumketu* as a compromise with the British rulers.⁶⁹ Thus, *Dhumketu* was the first paper in Bengal to declare unequivocally that it stood for full independence, based on economic equality and social justice. For *Dhumketu*, the only way that this kind of liberty could be achieved was by embracing and applying the political and organisational methods of struggle provided by the successful French and Russian revolutions. In its dramatic and inflammatory style, the magazine recommended such revolutionary upheavals to its readership:

'Ahoy!, oppressed and downtrodden, wake up! Freedom is knocking at your door - collect your dues ... come forward! Your French brothers in the past destroyed in a trice the thousand year old oppression and aristocracy. A flood tide has similarly swept away the oppressors who kept millions enslaved in Siberia. That same power is terrifying the oppressors all over the world and is creating panic in the hearts of the rich. That same power is knocking at your door. Come brothers, wake up, and welcome her.'⁷⁰

The British authorities, alert to the potential dangers of such emotive appeals, moved swiftly to prevent *Dhumketu* from creating serious political damage. In January 1923, Nazar al-Islam was prosecuted on a charge of sedition, connected with the anti-British contributions in *Dhumketu*, and was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.⁷¹ With his incarceration the publication of the magazine came to a stop. Shortly afterwards, in May 1923, Muzaffar Ahmad was arrested, and with this ended

temporarily the first fragile attempts to establish the communist movement in Bengal.⁷²

By the end of 1923, all the major Muslim socialists were behind bars. The modest gains that they had worked very hard to achieve had been eroded by the policies that the Government of India had pursued from the beginning of the decade. The Raj had dealt effectively with the 'menace of Bolshevism' in India. It created an intelligence network inside India, on the northern borders, and abroad in order to prevent the 'ingress into India of Bolshevik emissaries' and to detect and prevent their 'activities if already' in India.⁷³ Secondly, it promulgated laws to prohibit the circulation of Bolshevik literature. Those who survived the administrative 'dragnet' were trapped in a web of conspiracy cases instituted against them between autumn 1921 and the summer of 1924.⁷⁴ The trials put out of action the leadership of the communist groups, and the organisational damage which it caused took time to repair.

Muslim Responses to British Repression

The Government moved against the Muslim socialists but Muslim socialists were still able to recruit support. The Government's campaign of repression created sympathy for leftwing ideas among those opposed to British rule. Public response to the Cawnpore trials and the end of the Khilafat movement both helped to attract support for the ideas of Muslim socialists.

The Cawnpore Conspiracy Case of 1924 'evoked considerable surprise and indignation' in India.⁷⁵ The conduct of the trials exposed the arbitrary standards applied by the Government and brought British justice into disrepute in the eyes of many Indians. People wanted to know why it was that the Communist Party of Great Britain, which was publicly affiliated to the Comintern, could function legally in Britain, while the propagation of socialist ideas (as yet no Communist Party had been officially established in India) was regarded as a

crime in India. This glaring application of double standards of justice was deplored in the nationalist Muslim press, and the charge of conspiracy against the defendants was rejected as 'quite baseless'. The verdict of guilty was seen as simply another example of the miscarriage of justice.⁷⁶ Thus, although it was felt by some Communists that the accused should have used the court room as a platform for the propagation of socialist doctrines instead of taking a narrow legalistic stand in their defence⁷⁷, the trials did help to spread revolutionary socialist ideas among a fairly wide section of young Muslim intellectuals. Sajjad Zahir, a leading Muslim communist from the mid-1930s onwards, was still in his teens when the Cawnpore Trial took place. It left an indelible mark on his political consciousness. He 'read voraciously about the proceedings of the trial in the newspapers, and obtained a clear idea of the objectives of the communists in India'.⁷⁸ Although it was still not an authentic vision, it was, nevertheless, in the mood of depression which followed the collapse of the Non-Cooperation movement, a 'ray of hope'.⁷⁹ Even the Muslim nationalist newspapers such as *Madina* of Bijnor felt it necessary to lend their support to 'the ideas of liberty and freedom'⁸⁰ professed by the accused at Cawnpore. Such reactions to the Cawnpore Trial reflected the change which was taking place in the political attitudes of some Indian Muslims towards Indian nationalism.

The formal demise of the Khilafat in 1924 brought matters to a head; Islam, it was now felt, could not be used to mobilise Indian Muslims for nationalist politics. As a result, secular alternatives became more attractive. The majority of Muslims began to turn to their own interests and to communal solutions to their problems. But some began to examine the premises on which the Hindu-Muslim alliance had been built during the period of Non-Cooperation, the reasons for its breakdown, and whether or not new bases could be developed for a more permanent unity. The answers that they reached were secular and left-wing in outlook. The eruption of communal and religious movements such as the Hindu *Shuddi* and *Sangathan*, and their

Muslim counterparts, *Tabligh* and *Tanzim*, stimulated radicals to develop a critique of the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation, and to speed up their search for a new strategy to force the British out of India. They asked why the Hindu-Muslim entente had broken up so easily. An increasing number of Muslims began to feel that Hindu-Muslim unity had been built on the unreliable foundation of religious sentimentalism. In their view, 'religious fanaticism', which in the past might have been used to some effect against the British, had been transformed into an antagonistic force between the two communities, because the common enemy had temporarily vanished. Since there was no other common purpose or interest, the old animosities had re-emerged. The anti-British sentiment among Indian Muslims had been nurtured on feelings of extra-territorial loyalties rather than on any strong desire to see India free. Once the object of that loyalty had disappeared, nationalism could not replace it easily.⁸¹ With the ending of the Anglo-Turkish conflict, the Khilafat press was deprived of the attraction outside India, and turned its attention to home affairs. Now when it declared 'holy war' as usual on the enemies of Islam, it meant the Hindus. More secular, left-wing Muslims reacted by arguing that as religion was not common to all the communities of India, it could not contribute in any significant way to the solutions of their social, economic and political problems. Instead, they began to see India as a class society and feel that Indians, whether Hindu or Muslim, could come together to defend their common class interests regardless of religion. A secular basis would thus be established on which workers and peasants, both Hindus and Muslims, would struggle for a national independence in which the satisfaction of the needs of the poor would be paramount. To these Muslims, the key to the political and economic emancipation of India lay increasingly in the separation of religion from politics. The most striking lesson of the abolition of the Khilafat was that the 'struggle for national liberation' would not 'be fought within the bounds of theocratic tradition and social institutions' that accompanied it. The nationalist struggle of the Turks under Ataturk had showed them that if Indian Muslims wanted to free themselves 'from the yoke of the British', they could do so without recourse to Islam.⁸²

Under these circumstances, more Muslims began to view the ideas of Muslim socialists with greater interest and favour.

Thus, as this secular vision of politics grew in the early 1920s, Muslim socialists tried to mobilise Indian Muslims for revolutionary action which sought non-Islamic ends. Even before the Cawnpore Trial in March 1924, these socialists, in line with the Theses approved at the Fourth Comintern Congress in 1922 and Roy's subsequent instructions, had attempted to transform the Indian National Congress into a 'revolutionary nationalist party'.⁸³ At the same time, efforts had also been made to coordinate the activities of the socialist groups which had been established in order to create the nucleus of a Communist Party. In 1923, Ghulam Husain and Shams al-din Hasan had circulated a letter on Roy's advice, which urged socialists and their sympathisers from all over India to meet at Lucknow to organise a broad-based 'People's Party'. Among the Muslim socialists asked to attend were Muzaffar Ahmad and Hamid-Allah from Calcutta, Alf Din 'Nafis' from Campbellpur, Amir al-Hasan from Bombay, Saiyid ^cAbd al-Ghaffar and Shah Husaini from Larkana in Sind, M.A. Khan from Lahore, H.A. Malik, editor of *Mazdur* from Lucknow, Mazhar ^cAli, secretary of the Provincial Khilafat Committee in Lahore, and Muhammad ^cAbd al-Rahim from Madras.⁸⁴ The meeting never took place, in part because Ghulam Husain and some of the other key figures were arrested. After some of the communists convicted at the Peshawar and Cawnpore trials were released in 1924-25, fresh efforts were made to set up a Communist Party. In December 1925, another conference at Cawnpore was called by Satyabhakta, a communist sympathiser and the proprietor of the Socialist Bookshop in Cawnpore.⁸⁵ Between three hundred and five hundred delegates attended, including representatives of all the existing communist groups. A Communist Party was established with the headquarters at Bombay, and it was decided to form a thirty-member Central Executive Committee, of which fourteen were coopted from the provinces and sixteen elected at the conference. A constitution was adopted, speeches were

made, and resolutions passed.⁸⁶ The conference was widely reported, and attracted attention in the nationalist press.

Six of the sixteen elected members of the Central Executive Committee were Muslim. The close identity of views between the communists and radical Pan-Islamists such as Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Maulana Azad Subhani, both extremely popular among the lower classes of Cawnpore, was very much in evidence at the conference. Both made powerful contributions to the debate on the organisation and structure of the Communist Party. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, who had already been appointed President of the Conference Reception Committee, was also elected with Maulana Azad Subhani to the Central Executive Committee.⁸⁷

In spite of these efforts, Muslim communists did not have any significant success. Unable to attract much support from the Congress, and given the degree of repression that the British were prepared to carry out, the most realistic strategy was thought to be to build an independent Workers' and Peasants' Party within which the Communist Party of India would dissolve itself. Its members would then work to develop the new party into a communist organisation. Members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, however, were not precluded from operating inside the Congress. The immediate task was to prepare the working class and the peasantry through education and organisation. They would fight the British on the basis of a concrete programme, which embraced the key demands of the majority of Indian people. On this basis, the fight for national freedom, it was hoped, would become the stepping stone to the achievement of socialism.⁸⁸

With this framework in mind, between 1926 and 1928, four Workers' and Peasant Parties were set up in Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab and the United Provinces. The way in which these parties were set up, and the marked improvement in their progress after the arrival of Communists from Britain, underlined the dependence of Communists in India on outside

initiative. The formation of the parties was originally Roy's idea. The change in policy was sanctioned by the Comintern, which then instructed the Communist Party of Great Britain to help in the establishment of these organisations. Philip Spratt was sent to India for this purpose. His arrival in 1926 was soon followed by that of another British Communist Party member, Ben Bradley, who arrived in early 1927. They joined a third Communist from Britain, George Allison who had been involved for some months in trade union organisation in Bombay and Calcutta.⁸⁹ Spratt found upon his arrival only a 'handful of activists' still barely established at Bombay. Finding that communists in Bombay had little real understanding about the basics of Marxist organisation, he set about emphasizing the instructions which they had received from Roy. After beginning to form a workers' and peasants' party in Bombay, he visited Lahore where he found that the efforts of the Punjab communists - 'all Muhajirin' had been even more disappointing. Here too Spratt helped to set up the basis for a workers' and peasants' party between June and August 1927. In 1928, he visited Calcutta and played a key role in reorganising the communists there. The culmination of his efforts was the establishment of an All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party at a conference held at Calcutta at the end of 1928. Therefore, between December 1926 and the end of 1928, Spratt worked extremely hard organising trade union work, intervening in strikes, and writing pamphlets, resolutions, constitutions and organisational reports in order to mould the evolving Indian communists into well-structured groups.⁹⁰ The outcome of his efforts and those of his British companions was reflected in the higher levels of support that the parties began to achieve during this period.

Muslims and the Development of Socialist Organisation in the mid-1920s

In the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, the leadership of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties was predominantly Muslim. In November 1925, the first of these

parties was established in Calcutta. It was called the Labour-Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress. Three of the four founding members were Qutub al-din Ahmad, Qazi Nazar al-Islam and Shams al-din Husain. ^cAbd al-Halim, Muzaffar Ahmad and ^cAbd al-Razzak Khan all served as its general secretary at different times during its existence.⁹¹ In Calcutta, Muslim communists were able to make a significant contribution primarily because the city boasted a sizeable Muslim population, the vast majority of which belonged to the poorer classes. Approximately seventy percent of the working-class Muslims were employed in industry, transport, trade and domestic service. They dominated leatherwork, building, cart transport, river transport and various sections of the maritime services. There were also Bihari Muslim immigrants in domestic service, the fruit trade and dock labour.⁹² It was among these occupational groups that Muslim socialists first built labour organisations. Qutub al-din Ahmad organised the *Khansamas* (domestic cooks) Union; Aftab ^cAli, the Seaman's Union; Shams al-Huda, the Dockers and the Bengal Transport Workers Union, Muzaffar Ahmad, the Scavengers, Jute and Textile Workers; and ^cAbd al-Razzaq Khan, the Hotel and Municipal Workers Union.⁹³ Muslim socialists also figured prominently in the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda. *Langal* (The Plough), the official organ of the workers' and peasants' party in Bengal, and later *Ganavani* (The Voice of the Masses), its successor, were both managed and published at different times by Qazi Nazar al-Islam, Muzaffar Ahmad and ^cAbd al-Halim.⁹⁴

In the Punjab, Mir ^cAbd al-Majid, Gauhar Rahman Darveshi and Feroz al-din Mansur, some of the socialist Muhajirin who had served their prison sentences, took leading roles in the trade union movement, organising half a dozen unions. They were elected to important posts in the Punjab Labour Organising Board. Furthermore, in the spring of 1926, Majid, with the revolutionary terrorist Bhagat Singh and others, founded the Naujawan Bharat Sabha (Indian Youth League), which mobilised a significant number of young men for revolutionary

work in the province. Fazl-i Ilahi Qurban and Feroz al-din Mansur were elected to the leadership of the Kirti-Kisan Party (Workers' and Peasants' Party). Majid and Gauhar Rahman Darveshi, in addition to editing *Mehanaikash*, an Urdu weekly magazine, also started a Press Workers' Union. M.A. Khan, a radical labour leader of Lahore, who had first come into prominence during the 1920 Railway Strike, continued to play a notable part in the North Western Railway Workers' Union throughout the decade. When it was decided to publish *Kirti* as the organ of the Kirti-Kisan Party from Amritsar as well as from Lahore, Feroz al-din Mansur was appointed the editor of the Urdu section.⁹⁵

In the U.P., Shaukat Usmani returned to Cawnpore to 'a huge reception' after being released from Jhansi jail in August 1927. The Indian communist leadership wanted to involve him in the organisation of trade unions. But Usmani was reluctant to do so. In his opinion, this approach reflected the influence of British communists whose ideas were not necessarily applicable to the situation in India. Instead, Usmani wanted the Party to pay more attention to the nationalist struggle, political education of students and preparation for guerilla warfare. All the same, he did not completely ignore industrial work. At the eighth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Cawnpore in November 1927, he worked closely with Spratt. He was appointed one of the vice chairmen of the reception committee, and was put in charge of propaganda. In December 1927, he was elected to the Presidium of the Party, and also appointed to a sub-committee to prepare plans for the future. In 1928, Usmani joined Habib Ahmad Nasim, another communist Muḥajir, in Delhi. Together they set up 'The Oriental Information and Publicity Bureau' which disseminated news of the Indonesian and other freedom movements.⁹⁶ But the hub of working class activity in the U.P. was the rapidly industrialising city of Cawnpore. From here, between the end of 1925 and 1933, Azad Subhani wrote in favour of communism in the vernacular press. Through hard work he was able to 'create a favourable

atmosphere' for labour organisation among Muslims, especially the textile workers. The carders, dyers and weavers were mostly Muslims. As unemployment and poverty grew, due in part to the mechanisation of factories and in part to the importation of cheaper cloth from abroad, Subhani's vigorous campaign for *Swadeshi* gained much support among them. Nevertheless, in comparison with the level of activity in the Muslim majority provinces, the impact of the efforts of Muslim socialists in the U.P. was less noticeable.⁹⁷

The aim of Muslim socialists was to influence and if possible to recruit class-conscious and politically-aware Muslims. Religion was only relevant in that it allowed them to establish contact with potentially promising groups on the basis of cultural affinities. Once an initial rapport had been created in this way, the ideas which were communicated were secular and socialist. But to reach this Muslim audience in the first place, Muslim socialists stressed issues which were most relevant to the Muslim masses. Indeed, their recognition of the existence of culturally-different groups is illustrated by the newspapers that they published in different languages in order to reach different religious communities. Bengali did not present this problem because both Hindus and Muslims spoke Bengali and used the same script. In the Punjab, however, the Sikhs and the Muslims used different scripts, and therefore the communists had to approach the two communities separately in order to communicate their ideas effectively to them both. So *Kirti*, for instance, was published in Gurmukhi as well as in Urdu.⁹⁸ Having resolved this problem of communication, they adopted completely secular attitudes. Thus, when communal trouble broke out in Calcutta in 1926, the Muslim communists restated their non-sectarian position. Relying yet again on theoretical direction from the Comintern, they explained the conflict as essentially a product of the class divisions within Indian society. A manifesto, drafted most probably by M.N. and Evelyn Roy, was distributed in Calcutta. It argued that communal strife was an expression of the competition between Muslim and Hindu privileged groups, of which the office-holding intelligentsia

were the spokesmen and the slum proletariat in the cities the instrument.⁹⁹ In the countryside, too, communalism was seen as serving the vested interests of Muslim and Hindu landlords. These communal divisions also enabled the British rulers to play on the mutual fears and suspicions of the two communities, and thus successfully to pursue their policy of 'divide and rule'. The solution to the problem lay in 'class struggle'.¹⁰⁰ As an immediate measure, the communists denounced communal antagonism in their periodicals *Langal* and *Ganyani*. Their popularity suffered temporarily, but they continued to make fervent pleas for social harmony between the two communities.¹⁰¹ So strict, in fact, was their opposition to communal sentiment that the slightest concession to or involvement with sectarian activity by members of the Communist Party were punished with immediate expulsion.¹⁰²

Practical work was carried out on the basis of an elementary understanding of the principles of socialist methods of organisation, propaganda and agitation. Together with practical activity, they attempted to educate the masses in socialist ideas. This was done in three ways. Firstly, Muslim socialists themselves served as channels through which Comintern literature continued to be distributed in India. Secondly, they held public meetings, demonstrations and celebrations to protest against India's oppression and to reach sections of the masses which could not be reached through the written word. For instance, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha celebrated, alongside radical Congressmen, a 'Friends of Russia Week' in August 1928, and in the same month the Sabha organised a meeting on the Russian revolution.¹⁰³ Thirdly, communist periodicals and magazines regularly produced topical and theoretical articles on socialist themes and issues. The very first issue of *Mehnatkash* in April 1927 included articles entitled 'Liberty can only be achieved by use of Arms' and 'Revolution in India'.¹⁰⁴

Similarly, *Kirti* laid special emphasis on the economic and social problems afflicting the peasantry, and urged peasants to resist landlord exploitation and government oppression by revolutionary means.¹⁰⁵ In Bengal, *Langal* and *Ganvani* aimed to produce professional revolutionaries out of its mainly student and intellectual readership. *Langal* carried articles on Marx and on Lenin's Soviet Russia. It also serialised Gorky's novel *Mother*. Nazar al-Islam's socialist poems moreover made the paper very popular among its readers of literary taste.¹⁰⁶ These newspapers also tried to act as the organisational forums in a way similar to that of Lenin's publication *Iskra* (The Spark) in Russia. *Langal* published the draft constitution of the Labour-Swaraj Party, laying out its aims and methods. Muzaffar Ahmad also contributed articles such as 'Building the Communist Party' and 'What is the Remedy'. *Langal*, as its name suggested, was primarily concerned to defend the interests of the peasantry; and it argued that land and the produce from it should belong to the tiller. *Ganvani* treated the major concerns of the workers and peasants in a much more strictly communist fashion, declaring the need to oppose both the reformist Congress on the right and the revolutionary terror groups on the extreme left.¹⁰⁷

As a result of these efforts, Muslim communists in the Punjab and in Bengal were successful insofar as they acquired leading positions in the trade union movement. Some were elected to important posts in the Kisan Sabhas. By the end of 1928, they seemed poised to direct important sections of the workers and peasantry in the fight for socialism. At this stage, however, their continuing dependence on decisions from outside India prevented them from consolidating the advantages of their previous two years' work, advantages which the British had also come to recognise as potentially dangerous.

The Rise of Nehru and the Decline of Communism between 1929 and 1934

Between 1929 and 1934, much of the support commanded by Muslim socialists came to look towards the nationalist movement. This was largely the result of the decline experienced during these years by the Communist Party of India of which many Muslim socialists were members. There were two closely interrelated causes for this decline. These consisted of changes in the Communist Party's political strategies and the Government's renewed efforts to curb its activities.

The communists, under fresh instruction from the Comintern, made a series of policy changes which isolated them from the mainstream of politics in India. The Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held between 17 July and 1 September 1928¹⁰⁸, instituted a marked change in its attitude to the Indian nationalists. Although the Comintern stopped short of making a clean break with the 'national bourgeoisie' in India, communists there were 'advised' to concentrate their efforts once more on organising a 'single, illegal, independent and centralised Party'. 'Temporary agreements' with non-communist organisations were permitted still, but Indian communists had to pursue 'the most relentless ideological and political struggle against bourgeois nationalism and against the slightest signs of its influence inside the labour movement'. Thus, the Workers' and Peasants' Parties, in spite of the considerable progress that they had made during the previous two years, had to be disbanded lest they fell prey to 'petty bourgeois influence'.¹⁰⁹ At the very time when the nationalist movement had again begun to gather momentum, and when it seemed that an alliance between the communists and the left-wing of the Congress had become distinctly possible, international Communist opposition to the 'national reformism of the Indian National Congress' left Muslim socialists cut off from the main paths of Indian politics.

The government was alarmed by the sharp increase in communist propaganda and activity which had taken place over the previous few years, large amounts of socialist literature continued to enter India, and were widely distributed in spite of the authorities' efforts to stop it.¹¹⁰ Government intelligence attributed the 'upheavals in the industrial circles of India' to the new methods introduced by the British Communist Party members. Outside money, brains and organising capacity were thought to have provided considerable impetus to the communist movement inside India. By May 1928, the Secretary of State for India had become concerned about the Communist Party's avowed policy of producing revolutionary mass movements in India. He instructed the Viceroy to act swiftly to prevent any potential threat to British rule.¹¹¹ The Government of India did not delay its action. A police official was appointed to collect material with which to institute a conspiracy trial - 'a continuation of the successful Cawnpore Conspiracy Case of 1924, which for a time put an end to serious communist activities in India'.¹¹² While the case was being prepared, Government introduced two repressive bills in the Central Legislative Assembly; the Public Safety Bill, which was designed to curb left-wing political activity, particularly that of communist agents from abroad, and the Trade Disputes Bill, which enabled the Government to muzzle virtually all effective trade union opposition. Although the first Bill was defeated after much criticism from the nationalists, the Viceroy used his special powers to certify it, and in April 1929, amid loud protest, it was promulgated as law.¹¹³

By the end of December 1928, the decisions of the Sixth Comintern Congress had reached India, and Muslim socialists in line with other Indian communists, had begun to end the 'united front' activity with nationalists and labour reformers.¹¹⁴ This withdrawal weakened their support, and made them more vulnerable to government action against them. By late January 1929, the Government of India was preparing to 'nip the movement in the bud'.¹¹⁵ In March 1929, important communis

leaders and trade unionists were arrested and charged with conspiracy 'to deprive the King of His Sovereignty of British India'. Among the thirty-one accused were Muzaffar Ahmad, Shams al-Huda, ^cAbd al-Majid, and Shaukat ^cUsmani.¹¹⁶

The Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929-1933), the longest in the history of British India, turned out to be a double-edged weapon as far as the authorities were concerned. In that almost the whole of the experienced leadership of the Communist Party of India was put behind bars, communist influence in the workers' and peasants' movements suffered a severe setback. Yet, there was a surge of sympathy among nationalists for the defendants even though the Government emphasized their anti-nationalist politics. Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. M.A. Ansari joined the Committee to defend the accused. Much of the public interpreted the Government's action as yet another act of repression against Indians. The Muslim press was scathing about the arrests. *Ittehad* of Bombay saw the case as a 'judicial tamasha' (circus) and expected those arrested to be locked up 'after a fraudulent judicial prosecution'. *Haqiqat* of Lucknow accused the Government of 'terrorism and intimidation'. *Madina* of Bijnor considered the arrests to be an 'open challenge to the patriotism and spirit of Indians'.¹¹⁷

The communists and far-sighted men like Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor of the U.P., agreed that the trial had given the communists a tremendous opportunity to explain and broadcast their views to the whole nation.¹¹⁸ In detailed statements, reported in the press, they explained their socialist beliefs. The impact of these ideas on young Indians was particularly important. 'On the whole', recalled Philip Spratt, 'the revelation of our secret methods caused people to admire us: we had done what most young men wanted to do'.¹¹⁹ Sibte Hasan, a future leading member of the All-India Progressive Writers' Association but an ordinary college student at the time, recalled how much he had been inspired by the defiance and courage of the Meerut prisoners.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, during the

trial - it lasted until August 1933 - some time after it had finished, communist organisation in India barely existed. By the end of 1930, the Workers' and Peasants' Parties, with perhaps the exception of the Kirti-Kisan Party in the Punjab, had virtually ceased to exist. Muslim communists, occasionally joined by 'comrades' from abroad, concentrated on trade union organisation, where, following the Comintern instructions, they attempted to expose reformist trade union leaders. The attacks against the moderate trade unionists caused a number of splits in the All-India Trade Union Congress. The communists finally broke away from the organisation and attempted to regroup the unions under their control into a 'Red' Trade Union Congress, while at the same time trying to form new socialist groups in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Ahmadabad, Amritsar and Lahore.¹²¹ But, in their revolutionary zeal, they became involved in activities which caused them to break the law. This frequently led to further arrests which had a very disruptive effect on their efforts to build communist groups and thus further precipitated the decline of communist activity during the early 1930s.

The only avenues for political activity open to emerging groups of young Muslim radicals between 1929 and 1934 were the youth leagues and the Congress. After the Meerut arrests, *Mustaqil* reported a 'rush of admissions' into the youth league at Allahabad.¹²² Among the young Muslim radicals of the Punjab, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha began to wield considerable influence. Established under communist and terroristic direction, it came to command considerable support particularly among lower middle and middle class educated youth in the urban centres of West Punjab. Throughout its period of existence, Muslims occupied important positions in its leadership. Feroz al-din Mansur, Ahsan Ilahi, Fazl-i Ilahi Qurban and Mubarak Saghir were key figures in the organisation. They acquired socialist training in the 'instructional classes' and 'study circles' organised by the communists. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha was an explicit revolt against religion and the rising tide of communalism.¹²³ Further support came from young men who

admired the revolutionary terrorists such as Bhagat Singh and Ashfaq-Allah Khan.¹²⁴ Through their violent defiance of the Government, they had become popular heroes. They were seen as fearless patriots, prepared to sacrifice their lives in the pursuit of their noble ideals. Their execution by the Government aroused outrage among large sections of Indian youth and transformed the dead terrorists into martyrs. Their association with organisations such as the Naujawan Bharat Sabha provided the organisations with many recruits. Although the Naujawan Bharat Sabha occasionally lapsed into romantic, terroristic, 'semi-religious' and mystical rhetoric, its central orientation was essentially socialist. It accepted the class analysis of society and advocated mass action combined with armed struggle to overturn the capitalist system and to replace it with a workers' and peasants' government. Its main objective was to throw the British out of India and establish a socialist republic in their place. Although highly critical of the Congress for its compromises 'with Imperialism', it cooperated with the nationalists in almost all forms of political activity, particularly with those who advocated complete independence and social and economic equality.¹²⁵ Congress leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Saif al-din Kitchlu, Dr. Muhammad 'Alam and Dr. M.A. Ansari regularly shared the platform at meetings with the Naujawan Bharat Sabha leaders, such as Hakim Sikandar Khizr, Hasan al-Din, Feroz al-din Mansur, Ghazi 'Abd al-Rahman, Amir 'Alam 'Awan and Da'ud Ghaznawi.¹²⁶ The growing status of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose within the nationalist movement further attracted youth to the Congress, particularly after Nehru's publicly-expressed admiration for the Soviet Union and his declared commitment to the socialist creed.¹²⁷ The Congress, the Provincial Khilafat Committee and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha became virtually indistinguishable. 'Prominent members of the provincial Congress and provincial Khilafat parties were members of the Sabha and the three bodies acted in unison as far as anti-government activities were concerned.'¹²⁸ The Naujawan Bharat Sabha collected funds for the Congress, and its members helped to set up Congress

branches. In return, the left Congress leadership condoned the violent activities of the Sabha against the Government.¹²⁹

In the U.P., a factor which attracted a significant section of the young Muslim radicals to Nehru and to radical secular politics was Nehru's explicitly non-communal outlook. Critical of religion, not only as a divisive force in India but as being generally incompatible with rational thought, he seemed to be a man above communal divisions who genuinely wanted to unite the Indian people, to fight the British as an integrated whole and not as separate communities. There was no artificiality in Nehru's attitude. His secular education at Harrow and Cambridge was not remotely concerned with inter-communal friction in India. Moreover, Nehru's family were prominent members of the Urdu-speaking elite of the U.P., amongst whom communal affiliations tended to be less strong.¹³⁰ Thus, young Muslim radicals from this background had little difficulty in identifying with Nehru and his commitment to socialist ideas and methods. At colleges around the country, they pledged their support to his ideals. Even Aligarh Muslim University, increasingly a bastion of Muslim separatism, invited Nehru to speak and gave him a rousing reception. Halide Edib, the Turkish nationalist leader, visiting India in 1935, observed that she came across Muslim youths who were more inclined to support Nehru than any other political leader.¹³¹

In July 1934, the Communist Party of India, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and all the affiliated bodies of the Communist Party were banned. A new organisation within the Congress, the Congress Socialist Party, was founded so that the marxist left could continue to function openly. A significant segment of the support, from which their change in policy and the Government's actions had cut the Communist Party off, both physically and politically, went over to the Congress, leaving the Party stripped to the bone.¹³²

Muslim socialists thus played a leading role in the foundation of the Communist movement in India, especially in Bengal and the Punjab. By the early 1930s, however, the movement had made little real headway. In terms of party membership, the effect that Muslim socialists had on their audiences seems to have been small. The Bengal branch of the Communist Party, which was perhaps the biggest and most organised, consisted of only 37 members, many leading ones being Muslim.¹³³ Recruitment to Workers' and Peasants' Parties was limited compared with the support generated by the Congress. Nevertheless, these few Muslims did exercise enough influence over sections of the working classes to be able to alarm the authorities. The circulation of radical newspapers fluctuated substantially, depending on the circumstances of the day. Few of the periodicals lasted more than a few months, mainly as the result of financial difficulties. 'At the beginning we had a circulation of about five thousand', Muzaffar Ahmad said of *Ganavani*, 'but after the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1926 it decreased considerably.'¹³⁴ All the same, Party leaders did feel that the publications yielded positive political results. 'We were successful', recalled Muzaffar Ahmad, 'in creating an atmosphere in Bengal favourable to the idea of the Party'.¹³⁵ In any case, circulation itself could not be considered necessarily an accurate indication of the popularity of a paper, since the social groups on whom they concentrated their efforts, were largely poor and illiterate. A single copy would be bought and passed around several interested people, while those who could read were able to communicate the news, information and ideas contained in the papers to illiterate companions by reading them aloud at informal gatherings.¹³⁶

The most important factors in the failure of the communists to secure a solid mass following were lack of commitment to socialist ideology and their dependence on the Comintern in policy-making. Lack of commitment to socialist ideas was evident in the words and deeds of several Muslim communists. Ghulam Husain's confession to the police authorities, for instance, not only revealed appropriation of Bolshevik funds for

personal gain but also dubious motives. He participated in revolutionary political work, he confessed, as 'a blind to secure a part of their (Bolshevik) ill-gotten gold'.¹³⁷ The personality clashes between Feroz al-din Mansur and Santa Singh, which led to the former's splitting from the Kirti-Kisan party in April 1933, were also symptomatic of a lack of commitment to the socialist cause and a preoccupation with personal differences.¹³⁸ Muzaffar Ahmad, on the other hand, epitomised dogmatic adherence to Marxist doctrines and showed little inclination to apply them creatively to the circumstances of India.¹³⁹ That no original or notable pieces of work in socialist theory were produced in this period underlines the limitations of these Muslim activists. But, the heart of the problem was their overwhelming dependence on the analytical and organisational advice of the Communist International and M.N. Roy. Although outside intervention did produce some positive results during 1926 and 1928, the willingness of the Indian communists to follow Comintern instructions without question led to their decline at the end of the 1920s. Support which they had generated was transferred elsewhere, and it was not until the middle of the 1930s that communist activity in India underwent a revival. Yet again, however, this revival was closely related to a decision of the Comintern. After the Seventh Congress in 1935, it was decided to return to the policy of cooperation with non-communist forces within a 'united front'.¹⁴⁰

Nevertheless, the Muslim socialists of the 1920s had demonstrated that for them their religion had become irrelevant. Their socialist activities were waged without appealing to the religious sentiments of Indian Muslims. Unlike Islamic socialists, who invoked the 'compatibility' of Islam and socialism in order to promote the interests of the oppressed, these Muslim socialists ignored any reference to religion by consciously rejecting the need for any link between Islam and radical politics. This result remained constant, at least in theory, throughout the rest of the period of national struggle, and was in sharp contrast to the changes in other aspects of Communist policy in India during the following two decades.

CHAPTER III

THE INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THE LATER MUSLIM SOCIALISTS

The failure of the Civil Disobedience movement in 1932 left radical young Indians disillusioned with the effectiveness of Gandhian methods of struggle. They were increasingly attracted to Marxist solutions to the problems of India's freedom. At the same time, the rise of fascism in Europe brought about a change in policy of International Communism. The Comintern was now much more prepared to work with liberal or nationalist groups. In India, the proscription of leftist organisations drew leftwingers into the Indian National Congress with the aim of pressurising it from within to adopt revolutionary strategies of national struggle. The Muslims amongst them also came increasingly to express themselves through literature which remained relatively free of government restriction.

Earlier Muslim socialists came out of the *Ulama* tradition, but these new Muslim radicals formed part of the modernist Muslim intellectual development which had begun in the early nineteenth century with the arrival of the British and which later came to be symbolised by Saiyid Ahmad Khan and (1817-1898) and the Aligarh Movement. Saiyid Ahmad Khan and his companions, drawing on the tradition of Islamic rationalism, had tried to reconcile the rationalism of the West with Islamic revelation.¹ Radical Muslims in the 1930s and 1940s went further; they rejected the framework of their religion and replaced it with a secular one. They had been educated in western-style institutions and had become involved in youth movements, both of which emphasized intellectual debate. They were convinced that radical changes were required in traditional

modes of thinking and that western theories and methods were relevant to contemporary problems.

Indian Muslims had long used literature as a channel for the communication of unorthodox and, after the arrival of the British, western concepts and values. After 1857, this tradition developed over two stages. There was the period of Reform until the beginning of the twentieth century, and that of Romantics up to the mid-1930s. In both these stages, concepts and techniques drawn from the West were adopted by writers and became integral features of Urdu literature. These Muslims, who became known as Progressive Writers, drew on all these developments in Urdu literature in order to communicate their ideas.

In the 1930s and 1940s, these Progressive Writers came together in a literary movement known as the Progressive Writers' Movement. Most who identified with this movement formed the Progressive Writers' Association (PWA) in 1936 to pursue their aims in an organised way.² The Movement was dominated by Muslim thinkers who wrote mainly in Urdu and who had initially expressed their ideas individually. Convinced of the axiom that all ideas had their origin in material and social reality, they began to argue that literature also had to reflect the different aspects of life. Since the most crucial problems facing India during this period were concerned with political freedom, the reform of its social and economic structures, and the incompatibility of existing moral and religious values with the needs of modern society, literature had to solve these problems. Moreover, because British rule stood in the way of their solution, literature had to work for freedom.

The Growth of the Reforming Attitude

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Muslims began to absorb western ideas, notably in the framework of Delhi College.³ But the process began in earnest after the final collapse of Muslim power in the Rebellion of 1857. Men came to see elements of real value not just in loyalty towards the

British but also in their social, cultural and intellectual life. To restore Muslim fortunes, they began to urge the adoption of aspects of western education and culture. Saiyid Ahmd Khan led the process. Reason and natural theology were his guides. He felt that Islam, as a religion of Nature, could not contradict the laws of Nature or any other aspects of the material world. That which conformed with reason and science must also accord with Islam. Rational faculties should be applied to alter outmoded laws, customs and conventions. The logic of these arguments appeared to open up considerable intellectual possibilities for the development of a rational, secular ideology. ^cUlama realised the subversive import of Saiyid Ahmad Khan's exegesis, for it challenged some of the basic assumptions of Islam as they understood it. They denounced him as a *kafir*. Their efforts prevented him from gaining great currency. But in the changed circumstances of the twentieth century, the Saiyid's ideas again emerged as an important force. Indeed, the development of 'progressive' thought among Muslims in the 1930s owed much to his insistence that Muslims study social and physical phenomena in a rational and critical way, and Muslim socialists acknowledged this debt.⁴

The nineteenth century reformers also carried out pioneering work in the field of Urdu literature. By the second half of the nineteenth century, a new kind of literature was required; one which reflected the far-reaching changes that had taken place in the social and political life of the country. Before 1857, Urdu literature consisted mainly of ghazal poetry, which had developed during Mughal decline and reflected its mood. Hopelessness and a lack of vitality featured in the works of even the best poets. The suppression of the Rebellion of 1857 brought this era to an end. Poets, who had lived on imperial patronage, were dispersed. The royal Courts (except for Rampur, Mangrol, Bhopal and Hyderabad Deccan), which had been the centres of the poets' attention, were destroyed; and eulogies, which the nawabs had so generously rewarded in the past, could no longer fetch enough on which to live. The concerns of the Mughal Court, with its exaggerated stress on the subject of love, were no

longer relevant. Religion, which in the past had occupied a central position in the framing of principles of moral conduct and cultural values, was about to be dethroned.⁵

Reformers felt that literature should express awareness of the newly-emerging western educated groups within Muslim society of the problems that they faced. It had to embrace fresh subjects and devise new ways of expressing them. They became aware of the weaknesses of Urdu literature through their own contact with English literature. Major influences on the formation and development of the ideas of literary innovators such as Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914) and Muhammad Husain Azad (1830-1910) were Milton, Carlyle, Wordsworth and Matthew Arnold.⁶ Hali, for instance, took from them principles of poetic structure, concepts of literary criticism and the criteria of purposiveness. Thus, such innovators made important changes in the style and content of both Urdu poetry and prose. In poetry, they felt that formal aspects, such as metre, should no longer be stressed to the extent where they limited the range of its content. Ideas were to be of central importance. Flights of fancy had to be replaced by ideas based on real experiences; metaphysical ornamentation and exaggerated description had to give way to simplicity of expression. Literature had to become a vehicle for the transmission of moral values and social and political ideas of reform. Hali, influenced to some extent by Wordsworth's *Preface to Lyrical Ballad*, summed up these ideas in his *Muqqadima-i Sh^ciri-wa Sha^ciri* (Prolegomena to Poetry) in 1893.⁷

The Reformers put their ideas into practice in poetry by expanding the range of images used, particularly descriptions of nature, to achieve more precision in expression of emotions and ideas, and to widen the range of their subjects. They rejected the 'old ghazal' form and began to write the 'new ghazal' and *nazm* - both of which resembled English poetry. According to Hali, the ghazal interpreted only the amatory emotions and thus was a 'sensual luxury' not beneficial to the Muslim nation.⁸ Its purpose instead had to be the exploration of nature and the raising of people's social and political consciousness. Two of Hali's poems

illustrated this point of view. In 'Hub-i Watan', Hali laid the foundation of 'patriotic poetry'. He expressed his love for India, discussed its many contemporary problems, criticised the rich for their greed and selfishness, opposed communal prejudice, and called for national unity. In his famous *Musaddas* (1879), through the discussion of the rise and fall of Muslim power, he introduced the idea of historical change and praised the workers as the decisive force in society.⁹ Abd al-Halim Sharar (1860-1926) wrote *Malik al-Aziz Warjana* as a rebuttal to Walter Scott's *Talisman* which Sharar felt had treated Muslims in the Third Crusade with contempt.¹⁰ The main purpose of this kind of writing was to replace the sense of inferiority and helplessness, created by more recent defeats, with self-confidence and optimism about the future. Particularly significant from the point of view of later literary developments was the presentation of heroes challenging tyranny in the face of overwhelming odds.

The reformers put their ideas into practice in prose by adopting the western literary form of the novel to promote moral uplift and social change. Concerned primarily with the reform of their community, these early reforming writers portrayed realistically and often critically the social life of their own era. Sharar's *Guzashta Lakhnau* - a document of the social and cultural history of the period of Lucknow's decline - is well-known.¹¹ Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa's (1858-1931) fiction also illuminated certain specific features of Lakhnawi culture. These reformers were also interested in wide-ranging reforms within Muslim society in a more explicit way. They were especially concerned about women's education and women's rights. Women's education was considered important because it would equip wives to cope with domestic matters with wisdom. It would enable mothers to impart correct moral values to their sons and daughters. On a broader level, novelists, such as Maulvi Nazir Ahmad (1833-1912) criticised Muslim men for usurping women's rights of inheritance, and taboos on the re-marriage of widows and polygamy.¹²

• Most of these reforming writers, however, had great regard for their religion. Conscious of the defects of traditional values and institutions, they desired to bring about change by assimilating western standards of morality and culture. The solutions they offered were basically ameliorative and humanitarian.¹³ They certainly had no wish to see revolutionary change in the existing social and political framework. The attitude towards women's rights of men such as Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Hali and Nazir Ahmad, illustrates the limits of their vision. In spite of the positive features of their reforms, none of them wrote in favour of releasing women from their domestic servitude. All their pleas to men and their advice to women on issues such as education, pardah and the abolition of polygamy, assumed the subordinate position of women with the household and their social and economic dependence on the male members of the family.¹⁴ For instance, in his poem 'Chup Ki Dad' (In Praise of Silence), which Hali wrote in 1905 for the women's magazine *Khatun*, education for women was advocated not only because it would make them into more stimulating companions for their westernising husbands, but also because it would help them to perform more constructively their roles as mother, wives and sisters.¹⁵ Ratan Nath Sarshar (1847-1902), a Hindu brought up in a Muslim socio-cultural environment, was also a supporter of women's education. But he did not favour higher education for women; there was no point in them becoming mathematicians or historians, nor should they go 'strolling in the bazaars'.¹⁶

By the turn of the twentieth century, the arguments of liberal English thinkers had begun to make inroads into Muslim consciousnesses. The religious explanations presented by Saiyid Ahmad Khan made support for women's seclusion and polygamy harder to justify. Awareness of women's suffering was sensitively though only partially reflected in the works of acute social observers such as Ruswa. In his novel, *Umrao Jan-i-Ada*, he made an important attempt to break the one-dimensional moral and intellectual attitude towards women's issues which prevailed, and tried to portray the suffering and pain of a

relatively more independent and culturally accomplished courtesan of Lucknow. Then, men began to refute the idea of male supremacy. Saiyid Mumtaz ^cAli's (born 1862) major work, *Huquq-i Niswan* (Women's Rights) proclaimed complete equality between men and women, contending that biological differences were no justification for claims of superiority. Similarly, he rejected orthodox arguments about the position of women as contrary to reason. He brought out a women's magazine *Tehzib-i Niswan* from 1898.¹⁷ Shaikh ^cAbd Allah (1874-1965), another close follower of Saiyid Ahmd Khan, held many of the same views. As well as starting the reforming women's journal *Khatun* in 1904, he helped his wife to found the Girls School at Aligarh which was the first of its kind.¹⁸ Women's periodicals such as *Tehzib-i Niswan* and *Khatun* became important vehicles for the dissemination of arguments on women's issues, and the forums of later campaigns for women's rights.

During the period leading to the First World War, the reformers, who had considered British rule a boon for the Muslim community, were dismayed by recent British policies in India and abroad.¹⁹ The Japanese victory over Russia in 1904-5 exploded the myth of European invincibility and gave fresh impetus to Indian national aspirations.²⁰ In these circumstances, there evolved a 'transitional personality' which reacted against the uncritical and sycophantic support that some Indians had continued to offer the British. They disagreed with loyalists that the British were in India as a benevolent power helping Indians to make progress. Instead, they argued that the British held India primarily for their own interests and did so only because they possessed sufficient military strength. They also saw that the British had instituted a system of education which produced Indians who were mentally bound to them in loyalty. Legislative councils were therefore a sham, designed to give Indians the illusion that they were running their own affairs. The real power lay firmly with the British. Akbar Ilahabadi (1846-1921) represented this view in his biting satirical verse. He was pained

by the contempt that westernised Indians were showing for their own countrymen while 'cringing' before foreigners. Together with their inferiority complex came the rejection of the past and values of Indian Muslims.²¹

However, these 'transitional' Muslims were not advocating indiscriminate adherence to Indian customs and traditions. They wanted Indian Muslims to absorb intellectual advances made in the West, but at the same time to retain the best aspects of indigenous social and cultural life. Maulana Shibli N^oumani (1857-1914), for instance, although educated as an *Calim*, was sympathetic towards Saiyid Ahmad Khan's modernist ideas. Helped by T.W. Arnold, the Professor of Philosophy at Aligarh, he had come to acquire a sound understanding of western ideas of literary criticism and historiography, which he subsequently applied to his own writings in Urdu. Having studied English historians, he became greatly impressed by their methods of research and analysis, especially their objectivity which he felt contradicted the sentimentalism of Muslim historians. 'A historian', Shibli declared,

'should never go beyond the bare transcript of events. He should cultivate perfect detachment like Ranke who rejected the imagination, had no sympathies, religious or political, and whose narrative leaves one in doubt as to his likes and dislikes and personal opinions.'²²

Even more important from the point of view of later Progressive Writers was Shibli's emphasis on extending the scope of history to embrace the lives of common people. He observed acutely that history in the past had been mainly an account of the lives of rulers and their courts. Little attention had ever been paid to the social and cultural concerns of the ordinary people. 'The history of the rulers is there', he declared, '... but of the morals, manners and culture of the people there is not the slightest mention.'²³

Politically, Shibli gradually moved from a position in which he called upon Muslims in 1908 to support the Government in suppressing the 'polytheists', to a strong anti-British, Pan-Islamic nationalist stance. In 1912, he wrote his famous article which called on the Muslim League to make the demands of the poor its own, and to establish unity with the Hindus.²⁴ This shift towards more radical positions in areas of social, cultural and political concern was reflected in his literary works and letters. He expressed opinions of women's education, their cultural development and the criteria for femininity in his correspondence with 'Atiya Faizi, the Bombay bluestocking, which were without parallel in their advanced thinking.²⁵ Moreover, he not only accepted Hali's premise that material reality was the source of creative imagination in literature, but attempted to discover the material origins of symbols and metaphors. The poetry of a thousand years before, he felt, had expressed the social and political concerns of the time. Thus, Firdausi's poetry was an expression of his patriotism, courage, and revolt: the *Shahnama* was an instrument of the Iranian freedom-movement against Arab domination.²⁶

The social consciousness of these Muslims was still fragmented in spite of progressive aspects in their thinking. Mingling with the new features of their thought were many old beliefs and prejudices. Akbar Ilahabadi was blinded by his faith to the extent that he defended orthodox views on *pardah* and women's education. Shibli, although he attempted to remedy imbalance in Muslims' treatment of their history, at times allowed his emotional attachment to Islam to distort this historical vision. Yet, for Progressive Writers, the contribution was considerable. Ilahabadi's clear vision of the damage that 'progress' was doing to Indian Muslims provided them with insights into the relationship between Indians and their British rulers. He helped them reach a new assessment of British rule. Shibli's pioneering work in the fields of historical research and literary criticism, and his ideas on the status of Muslim women, they often acknowledged.²⁷

This period also witnessed the growth of what came to be known as 'Agitational' literature. The expression of strictly political topics in verse and prose form became extremely popular among Muslims during the first two decades of the twentieth century. For the first time, political views were propagated in a language which was familiar and acceptable to ordinary people. Whereas previously poetry had been basically an elitist pastime, now it came to be recited at mass political meetings which meant that it was accessible to the illiterate in the audiences. Politicians, through poetic expression, were able to influence public opinion against the British Raj. Shibli Nûmani, Abu'l Kalam Azad, Zafar 'Ali Khan, Muhammad 'Ali and Maulana Hasrat Mohani published articles, essays and poems on topical political issues in their journals, and roused many Muslims to act against the Government.²⁸

The Romantic Movement in Urdu Literature: 1914-1936

For the young intellectuals who had accepted the framework of western values instead of the Pan-Islamic idea, a critical application of western arguments to the social and political situation in India was enough to convince them that the advice offered by Hali and others of his generation neither satisfied their intellectual demands nor answered their emotional problems. The needs and sexual concerns of young people had remained outside the bounds of poetry. Aesthetic descriptions of women were considered by the reformers to be an unsuitable subject for poetry. The emphasis of the reformers' message had stripped poetry of aesthetic pleasure and emotion. It had become almost wholly concerned with the inculcation of moral certitude. The 'puritanism' of these writers left no room for expressions of love and other human emotions. For people raised on Shelley, Keats and Byron, this approach was unacceptable. The 'Victorian' moralism of Hali made no criticism of contemporary values, social oppression and religious hypocrisy. Nor did the reforms advocated by him attack the traditions and conventions which placed limits on individual freedom and behaviour.²⁹

At the same time, there was increasing awareness among young Muslim thinkers that Indians were a subject people in their own country. With this realisation came pressing desire for political liberty. It was under this combination of circumstances that the Romantic Movement developed. The initial impetus for change in literary style and content came from the study of the English Romantics of the nineteenth century. The most radical among them, such as Shelley, had expressed a complete rejection of all social taboos and conventions which questioned morality and freedom. They had also been unafraid to describe physical love and sexuality. Their later Indian counterparts were deeply impressed, and in liberal magazines, especially *Makhzan* (Lahore), and *Naqqad* and *Salai-^cAm* of Delhi, young writers such as Sajjad Haidar Yaldram, Surur Jahanabadi, Mir Ghulam Bhik Nairang and Rashid al-Khairi began to emulate them albeit timidly in their own works.³⁰

Members of the movement desired radical changes in politics, literature, 'perhaps even religion', and certainly in the nature of the relations between men and women. They believed that true equality should exist between the sexes. Marriage should be characterised by mutual respect and compatibility as in the West. The woman should no longer be cast simply in the role of wife and domestic. She also had to become an intelligent companion, capable of contributing to the wider problems of life.³¹ Lovers of modern culture, they wanted to see Indian social life transformed along western lines. Sajjad Haidar Yaldram (1880-1943) best represented this westernising liberal and social-aware tendency. A brilliant student at Aligarh, he was determined to introduce liberal and western ideas into Muslim society. He did so by using Turkey, which after the Kemalist revolution had adopted western culture on a wide scale, as an example. Through Urdu translations of Turkish short stories, he advanced his ideas on women's emancipation, and attacked *pardah*, polygamy and arranged marriage. In *Kharistan wa Gulistan* and *Suhbat-i Najins*, he introduced frank descriptions of women's sexuality. Not only did he raise the banner of open

revolt against the values of his day, but he also assaulted the hypocrisy and puritanism of the 'ulama. An agnostic during his time at Aligarh, Yaldram suggested radical changes in religious practices. He favoured prayers in the vernacular, facilities at mosques to accommodate Muslims who 'wore hats, trousers and shoes', and finally changes in the Muslim law of inheritance which would introduce collective family inheritance.³²

Yaldram also represented the Romantic Movement's determination to introduce progressive concepts in the matter of literary style. Deeply impressed by the achievements of nationalist revolutionaries such as Halide Edib and Namik Kemal in Turkish literature, he wanted Urdu literature to forget the magical fantasies of the *dastan* tradition and concentrate instead on real life in all its raw and brutish forms. Conscious of the absence of common people as heroes in Urdu literature, he stressed that:

'Up till now, poverty has not been depicted in Urdu. And that is only possible if novels are written about the life of poor people. This is a vast subject ... which to be successfully done requires extensive knowledge and experience, and an acute sense of observation.'³³

Yet, despite this awareness, his own writing was dominated by a western middle-class consciousness, his descriptions were of drawing rooms and theatres, refinement and beauty, not of village hovels and sun-baked fields, hunger and the visage of despair. This contradiction notwithstanding, he was in many ways close to the views of later Progressive Writers. Like them, moreover, he advocated the introduction of the Roman script for Urdu.³⁴

Others in the Romantic Movement sought more individual ends. They expressed their frustration and revolt against the decline of aesthetics, and the purposiveness, uniformity and 'boredom' of the reformist period. They stressed the dominance of the heart over the mind, of emotion over intellect. Central to

their creative imagination were the concepts of romantic love and individual liberty. Revolt, they believed, was a means of attaining a new life, free from the taboos of society which perceived love as immoral. According to them, for love the poet would sacrifice his life, and for liberty his love, as without individual liberty love was not possible. For Akhtar Shirani, one of the most important poets of this era, 'naturalism', patriotism and opposition to religion were all feelings which pointed in different ways to the main goals of liberty and love. But because these writers relied so heavily on intuition, their ideas on social issues were less clear. Their awareness of injustice and oppression was blurred and at times even contradictory. For instance, Akhtar Shirani's views on prostitutes were conventional; his moral concepts, particularly those of guilt and sin, had a religious ring about them; although passionate in his love for a woman, he still favoured *pardah*.³⁵ Other writers attacked more specific social evils. Qazi 'Abd al-Ghaffar (1888-1956), who later became an active patron of the Progressive Writers' Association in Hyderabad (Deccan), was one who was alive to the oppression of women. In his novels *Laila Ke Khutut* (Letters of Laila) and *Majnun Ki Di'ari* (Majnun's Diary), he protested against existing religious and social tyranny. Although Ghaffar's heroine is a prostitute, her criticism of relationships in a male-dominated society applied to 'normal' women as well, and therefore renewed the discussion on Muslim women's right.³⁶

The revolt against traditional styles of poetry, initiated by Hali, gathered greater momentum during the Romantic period, largely due to greater study of the aesthetic and liberating possibilities of 'free' and 'blank' verse in English poetry. The experiments previously introduced by 'Abd al-Halim Sharar, Nazm Tabatabai (1852-1933) and Ism'ail Meeruthi (1844-1917) were continued by 'Azmat-Allah Khan (1887-1927) and Tassaduq Husain Khalid (1901-1973). Unconventional styles were developed to express contemporary feelings and themes of romance, revolution and freedom. Yet, little outside attention

was paid to these changes to the extent that when later 'modernists' such as Miraji, N.M. Rashid, Qayum Nazar and Akhtar al-Iman subsequently re-introduced some of these techniques, they were hailed as having made a radical departure from all living traditions of Urdu poetry.³⁷

The most significant development in the 1920s from the point of view of Progressive Writers was the emergence among these Romantics of a strong political and revolutionary tendency. They had little intellectual understanding of the foundations of modern Indian society or the means required to bring about political change. They were still inclined to think rather than act. Their approach towards social and political problems was essentially emotional and destructive. All the same, they advocated political action. Majnun Gorakhpuri (1904-) typified the outlook of these writers. Influenced most strongly by Thomas Hardy, he considered man to be the plaything of social circumstances and fate, with little control over his own life.³⁸ Politics, for Gorakhpuri, was a romantic involvement in which love was sublimated. 'Political life too is a life of great involvement and self-effacement', said Shamin to his beloved in Gorakhpuri's short story *Khwab wa Khayal* (Dream or Imagination),

'The best way to forget your own pain is to gather the suffering of the whole world in your heart. If today I had not become involved in the Congress movement, it would have been difficult to breathe after leaving you.'³⁹

The more revolutionary tendency among the Romantics was represented during the 1920s by Josh Malihabadi (1898-1982). In his poetry and his life-style, he defied conventional morality and dismissed religion as the superstitious pastime of immature and irrational minds.⁴⁰ In the tradition of Shelley, whom he had read, his attacks on imperialism and social injustice were full of vehemence and emotional intensity. But his work included few suggestions on how to achieve liberation and construct a new order to replace the old system of oppression. In *Shikast* -

Zindan Ka Khwab' (Let Prison Walls be Destroyed), for instance, Josh exhorted the prisoners to rise up in revolt to free themselves, but the poem contained no clear vision of what ought to be done after the old order had been destroyed.⁴¹ Muslim socialist writers, such as Israr al-Haq Majaz, Makhdum Muhi al-din, ^cAli Sardar J^cafri and ^cAli Jawad Zaidi, under the influence of Josh's poetry, produced much of their early work in a similar vein.⁴²

Other Indian Sources of Inspiration

Progressive Writers drew on four other strands in Urdu literature which did not fit strictly into either the Reforming or Romantic schools. For instance, they were instinctively attracted, as one might expect from men living in colonial India, to the work of earlier writers who had sympathised with the 'underdog', and who had explored his feelings and concerns. Wali Muhammad Nazir Ahmad Akbarabadi (1740-1830) was such a man. He refused to join the court of Asaf al-daula at Lucknow when invited.⁴³ Instead he lived a modest life among working people, and wrote poetry with common people as his heroes. Whereas others searched for their imagery and their language in Persia, Akbarabadi observed the customs and traditions of the people, and in this way laid the foundations of a type of poetry firmly rooted in India. His poetry was 'a picture gallery of sights and scenes, airs and festivals, pastimes and amusements of his day'. There were vivid descriptions of nature, its colours and sounds. 'Rain, clouds, rivers, gardens, the starry night' all proliferated in his poetry.⁴⁴ Always in close touch with the feelings, experiences and needs of the ordinary man, he wrote unabashedly and without guilt about their sufferings.⁴⁵ The language which he used was that of the people, considered vulgar and frivolous by those who used only *Urdu-i-Mu^calla* (High Urdu). Even a judicious *tazkira* writer such as Shaifta felt that, because many of Akbarabadi's verses were popular among the lowly, he was unworthy of inclusion among the reputable poets.⁴⁶ Akbarabadi did become extremely popular with

ordinary people as he not only chose to live among them and write about many aspects of their lives, but did so in their own language. Moreover, he discussed their material needs and the moral questions of the day. Muslim socialist writers identified with his endeavours because they themselves were embarked on similar work. Ashan Danish and Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi tried particularly hard to emulate Akbarabadi in their poetry, and managed to do so with some success.⁴⁷ In later life, Akbarabadi turned to sufism, which introduced a sense of resignation and renunciation into his outlook. While such religious quietism served Akbarabadi during the period of Mughal decline, it had no attractions for twentieth century Muslim intellectuals who urgently wanted to change their world.

For action, Muslim socialist writers turned to Muslim thinkers of the early twentieth century who dealt with patriotism, poverty and the scramble of European powers for colonies. In particular, they were drawn to the ideas of those who saw the decline of Muslims as the consequence of their prevailing social and religious practices, and who offered solutions based on action to these problems. Many of these ideas were first elaborated by ^cAllama Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938) who represented a second strand.

Progressive Writers accepted from Iqbal his commitment to 'purposive' literature and his patriotism expressed in his early poems such as 'Tarana-i Hindi' (Song of India) and 'Naya Shawala' (New Temple).⁴⁸ They were impressed by his awareness of poverty as a curse which dehumanised mankind. Especially relevant were his views first expressed in *ʿIlm al-Iqtisad* (The Knowledge of Economics), a treatise on economics written in 1904, in which he argued that the prerequisite for the moral and cultural rejuvenation of India was economic prosperity.⁴⁹ In philosophy, they were impressed by his critique of Muslim decline. They agreed that the cause lay in religious fatalism. Iqbal was right to lay the blame for the stagnation of Muslim society on the penetration of mystical, self-abnegating

and world-denying tendencies in Indian Islam. Iqbal's thought lay within the framework of Islam, but his view that change, movement and their indivisible unity were central to life repudiated the popular concept of a fixed universe, dominated by a dictatorial God to whom man submitted without question. Muslim socialist writers saw little difference between his concept of change and that of Hegelian dialectics. Thus, his call to man to 'arise and create a new world'⁵⁰; to be dynamic and positive, to shape his own destiny and that of the universe around himself, was also in tune with their own revolutionary vision. Like him, they came to the conclusion that liberal democracy was a sham and that capitalism was exploitative and deceitful. 'Constitutional bodies, reforms, privileges, rights are sweet-tasting western soporifics'.⁵¹ They highlighted his call to the awakening workers to unite and fight their exploiters, and his warning to the oppressed and enslaved of the racial, national, religious and cultural divisions that their masters had created to weaken them.⁵² But, as materialists, Muslim socialist writers rejected or ignored his explanations of the root cause of the ills of the West. Iqbal believed this lay in its addiction to materialism which lacked the vital ingredient of moral and spiritual love. They played down the fact that Iqbal had developed reservations about socialism precisely because it lacked this spirituality, was ungodly and had 'only to do with the body'.⁵³ They preferred merely to emphasize his assertion that Islam and socialism resembled each other closely. In doing so, they were not wholly misguided. Iqbal was always closer to socialist ideas and the egalitarian aspects of Islam than to western capitalism or the authoritarian-conservative tendencies in his religion. Throughout the 1930s, he moved closer to socialist ideas. In the late 1930s, he said to Muhammad Din Tasir, one of the founders of the Progressive Writers's Association in London that if he were 'appointed a dictator' of his country, the first step he would take would be 'to make that country socialist'.⁵⁴ Similarly when Sajjad Zahir, in 1937, pointed out to him that on some occasions he had wrongly criticised socialism, and that the logic of his own ideas on liberty

and humanism led to socialism, Iqbal admitted that he might have misunderstood socialist theory, perhaps because he had not read enough of it. Nevertheless, he declared, 'his sympathies were `with progressive literature and the socialist movement'.⁵⁵

Yet, although Iqbal considered himself close to the socialist movement, he also mirrored the communal and authoritarian urges of the Indian Muslim mind, 'the longing of the (communal) militant Muslim Leaguers for a strong leader to restore the political power of Islam'.⁵⁶ For all the progressive ideas in his philosophy, his personal practice was inconsistent when it came to political strategy, the status of Muslim women, and Islamic rituals of prayer, eating and drinking. In politics in particular he saw himself as the champion of the Muslim community. He believed that Muslims were a chosen people with a separate identity and specific interests. All other people would have to accept Islam in order to enter the state of God's grace. Thus, Iqbal supported the Muslim League as the sole political organisation of the Indian Muslims, though he did want to transform it into an organisation responsive to the needs of the Muslim 'masses'.⁵⁷

Muslim socialist writers responded to both the 'progressive' as well as the 'reactionary' trends in Iqbal's thinking. They attacked his 'reactionary' ideas and accused him of fomenting communal divisions. On the other hand, they were inspired by the socialist elements in his work. Above all, they used his reputation and literary authority to give weight and validity to their own ideas. Thus, before the Second World War, their attitude towards Iqbal was one of contempt. In 1935, for instance, Akhtar Husain Raipuri accused him of possessing an 'immature imagination', a 'lack of political consciousness' and a 'reluctance for change'. He condemned him as an 'Islamic fascist'.⁵⁸ Ahmad 'Ali curiously likened Iqbal's poetry to 'the sick who abstained from life'. In his view, it produced a desire to forget reality, while its beauty was merely a dream, an illusion. 'Instead of kindling our critical spirit, and helping the progressive forces working in society', he remarked, 'it draws us

only in the direction of inaction. It is therefore in the highest degree reactionary'.⁵⁹ Sibte Hasan wrote a long article in *Naya Adab* identifying Iqbal's *Falsafa-i Shahin* (Philosophy of an Eagle) with his hunger for power and a militarist and despotic order.⁶⁰ Later, with greater maturity and a deeper understanding of Iqbal's ideas, Muslim socialist writers revised their opinions on Iqbal. Eventually, they arrived at a more positive assessment of his work based on his love and veneration for India, his philosophical activism, his affirmation of the Russian revolution, his criticism of capitalism and colonialism, and, above all, his favourable statements on socialism.⁶¹ Some still felt that Iqbal's Philosophy of the Self had obscured his call to the poor to awaken and rise against their masters, and presented social and collective consciousness as secondary and illusory. Others disagreed, particularly with those who had pronounced Iqbal's Philosophy of the Eagle' as authoritarian. According to Aziz Ahmad, the Eagle symbolised a powerful force for peace and the defender of the rights of the weak. 'No where has Iqbal advocated the usurpation of the rights of other culture, nations or religions' so strongly demanded by the Fascists. He advised 'the accumulation of maximum power to defend one's own interests', which was viewed as good advice to the oppressed.⁶²

In the 1920s and the early 1930s, Muslims also moved towards atheistic socialism. This in many ways was a continuation of the rationalist Islamic traditions of Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad and Allama Iqbal, and represented a third strand from which Progressive Writers drew. The epitome of this development for Muslim socialist writers was Niaz Fatehpuri (1884-1965) who differed from Iqbal in that he believed in the unity of all religions. Muslims did not need to proselytise, and people belonging to other faiths did not necessarily have to convert to Islam to attain salvation. Fatehpuri's religious message gradually unfolded in his polemic against the normative Islam of the Mullahs - known contemptuously to its opponents as *mullaiyat* or mullahism. Fatehpuri preached an essentially 'existentialist Islam'; whereas

the Mullahs considered the purpose of life to be the preparation for the world to come, Fatehpuri insisted that it was life on earth which had to be improved.⁶³ The Mullahs believed that God behaved like a despot, merciful one moment, tyrannical the next. Moreover, in their view, Heaven and Hell had a material existence; Adam and Eve were real people; traditions were correct and had to be obeyed; Sin and Piety would be punished or rewarded after death; the words and deeds of the Prophet were applicable to all times and all societies; and no further improvement was required in the framework of Islamic jurisprudence. Using a rational though speculative method of argument, he repudiated all these claims. In his opinion, Heaven and Hell, and Adam and Eve had only symbolic value. Sin and piety received punishment and reward in the present and only in terms of the happiness and sorrow caused by man's own actions. The advice and actions of the Prophet were relevant in specific circumstances. Independent thinking, reinterpretation, *ijtihad* was essential in order to make feasible solutions to the problems of the present day.⁶⁴

The application of these principles led Fatehpuri to adopt political attitudes which expressed a secular outlook. He praised communism and socialism at the time of the Meerut trial, and subsequently declared himself to be a socialist. 'I am a Socialist', he maintained,

'and I hold this belief with complete certainty that the salvation of mankind lies in socialism. That time is nigh when the whole world will be affected by it.'⁶⁵

Religion, in his opinion, was a 'private and individual matter'. There was no room for religion in democracy. Consistent in his views, he supported the Congress, and was opposed to the communalism of the Muslim League. He considered the Nehru Report the best programme for Hindu-Muslim unity.⁶⁶

Ulama quickly recognised the implications of his arguments and the danger that they posed to the ideological and social position of the Mulla in Muslim society. Reputable Ulama, such as Abd al-Majid Daryabadi and Saiyid Sulaiman Nadwi viciously attacked him at large public gatherings. His monthly publication *Nigar*, first brought out in 1922, was denounced for spreading atheism. The Ulama fuelled anger to the extent that Fatehpuri was forced in order to save his life to tender a written apology and retract his 'atheistic' views.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, his modernist explanations of the Qur'an which appeared in a polemical form in *Nigar* had a profound impact on later Progressive Writers. He demolished the concept of Divine Revelation, the Qur'an was not the *word* of God. This helped to pave the way for the younger generation, dejected and discontented with the absence of positive religious alternatives, to turn to socialism. Fatehpuri became a major influence on their development by focussing their attention on and educating them in various aspects of revolutionary and socialist theory and practice. *Nigar* regularly ran articles on Karl Marx, the Russian revolution and controversial aspects of religion. In addition, he encouraged young Muslim writers to contribute to his journal, as well as offering to publish work written by them which were considered to be too extreme by editors of other magazines. Later, Fatehpuri supported the views of the Progressive Writers' Association and signed its manifesto.⁶⁸

The final strand was represented by the great pioneer of Indian literature, Premchand (1881-1936) - a Hindu but one who was steeped in Muslim culture and who increasingly tended towards atheism.⁶⁹ Muslim socialist writers were deeply impressed by the techniques of 'social realism' which he employed in his writings. Influenced by Dickens and Tolstoy, Premchand's fiction was a remarkable example of social realism, a sensitive but critical comment on contemporary life. His earliest work reflected the nationalist awakening of the Indian people. *Soz-i Watan* (Suffering of the Motherland), his first collection of five short stories published in 1908, was

pronounced as seditious by the government.⁷⁰ Later, he wrote powerful short stories and novels in which he depicted minutely the suffering of the peasants, especially their exploitation by the landlords and moneylenders. He laid bare the decadence of the feudal social relations in the countryside, and depicted the antiquated traditions, superstitions and rituals prevalent in Indian rural culture. Disenchanted by Congress strategies for political freedom, his own growing commitment to socialism was reflected clearly in his interest in the literary activities of the Progressive Writers' Movement. He published the first (London) manifesto of the Progressive Writers' Association in his Hindi magazine *Hans* (Benaras). In 1936, he worked actively towards the setting up of the PWA in India. He had 'travelled' so far along the radical literary road that at the inaugural conference of the PWA at Lucknow in April 1936, his presidential address was hailed by Sajjad Zahir, a Marxist, as an 'incomparable' statement of the aims and objectives of the Association.⁷¹ Premchand became for many Muslim socialist writers a model both in literary style and content. Short stories of A^czam Kirevi, Suhail ^cAzimabadi and ^cAli ^cAbbas Husaini, particularly reflected Premchand's influence.⁷²

These four strands in Urdu literature offered Muslim socialist writers alternative ways of perceiving reality, which challenged existing modes of thinking and the authority of 'tradition'. They laid the groundwork for the creation of progressive literary ideas by bringing together insights into the structure of society and the forces which moved it. Moreover, though working from different standpoints and different historical perspectives, they prepared young Muslims for progressive ideas. Their work provided many of the elements which later became interwoven in the literary theory and practice of the Progressive Writers Movement.

The Impact of Western Writers

We have seen how Muslim socialist writers drew on traditions of Urdu literature which, from the mid-nineteenth century, had been formed in constant interaction with western ideas and literary forms. This process continued during the time that they wrote, indeed, it was redoubled. 'I was most impressed by Bertrand Russell's *Roads to Freedom*', recalled Sajjad Zahir:

'Through it I became acquainted with Communism, Socialism and Anarchism. I liked Russell, particularly *Why I am not a Christian*. Russell's and (Anatole) France's works contained serious criticisms of religion based on rationalism and science. That had a tremendous impact on me, (since) most of these criticisms applied equally to Indian religions too ... gradually I became convinced that in its present form, religion was not a blessing but a curse for mankind.'⁷³

The study of the French Revolution awoke patriotic feelings; the American War of Independence inspired many to a revolutionary struggle against colonialism. Information regarding the Russian revolution and socialism was more difficult to obtain because of the restrictions imposed on the importing and disseminating of socialist literature. All the same, some socialist literature, Marxist and Fabian, was surreptitiously made available by sympathetic teaching staff at Aligarh University where so many of them studied.⁷⁴ Though much was in English, some was translated into Urdu for wider circulation. *Madina* published translations from the *Communist Manifesto*.⁷⁵ After 1920, biographies of Marx and Lenin also appeared in Urdu. At Amritsar, ^cAbd al-Bari Alig and Tikaram, both journalists, did much to promote Marxist writing in Urdu. Many progressive ideas also reached young Muslim radicals in a haphazard and refracted way through newspapers, magazines and the radio.⁷⁶

The 1920s were also remarkable for the wealth of translations that were carried out of short stories in English,

French and Russian into Urdu. Khawaja Manzur Husain, an English graduate from Oxford, was a lecturer at Aligarh. Although he taught English, he possessed an excellent knowledge of Urdu literature. In the 1920s, he translated a substantial number of short stories, some of which appeared in *Suhail* (Aligarh), written by Russian authors such as Turgenev, Chekhov and Gorky. Similarly, Jalil Qidwai, Manzur Ahmad and Muhammad Mujib also contributed to the growth of translations from European languages into Urdu. At Amritsar, S^cadat Hasan Manto, while still a student, was encouraged by S^cAbd al-Bari Alig to study French and Russian writers. Subsequently, he translated Victor Hugo's *The Last Days of the Condemned*, Oscar Wilde's *Vera* in collaboration with Hasan S^cAbbas, and some of the best of Gorky's and Chekhov's short stories and plays. Reputable journals such as S^cAlamgir and *Humayun* of Lahore, and *Saqi* of Delhi, also translated works in their issues.⁷⁷

The impact of these translations was felt mainly on the style of Muslim socialist writers. They learnt the technique of short story writing initially by imitation, from the European masters. Contact with English prose from the nineteenth century made a deep impression on their sensitive minds. S^cAli Sardar J^cafri was 'enveloped by Oscar Wilde', and while still a student at Aligarh wrote a play called *Diwane* (Madmen) under the influence of Wilde's *Salome*. Al-i Ahmad Surur was so overcome by Thomas Hardy's *Jude The Obscure* that he 'wept uncontrollably' when he read it.⁷⁸

The growth of realism in Urdu literature also owed much to the earlier achievements of western writers. Suhail S^cAzimabadi was much impressed by Tolstoy's accurate descriptions of social circumstances and relationships. Gorky had a lasting influence on Manto, in particular on his early writings. The main characters in Gorky's works were depicted as positive moral figures able to prevail over adverse circumstances, helping others when necessary to acquire dignity and freedom from

coersion. Likewise, Manto's heroes played similar roles. Even in his later works, when he had lost much of his earlier interest in conveying political messages, Manto continued to portray sympathetically characters oppressed by society, emphasising the importance of meaningful human relationships. Like Maupassant, Manto's descriptions of life were always realistic and accurate, and like Chekhov he saw himself as a doctor for whom nothing was filthy and whose job it was to diagnose as objectively as possible the social diseases of society.⁷⁹

While young writers in the late 1920s in India had begun to attain a vague understanding of socialist ideas through various intellectual channels, a much firmer grasp of Marxism was acquired by those Muslim students who went to England for higher studies. In the freer atmosphere of England, they had more direct access to Marxist literature. The political climate of the period encouraged left-wing ideas to become fashionable among students.⁸⁰ Already searching for a solution to the problems of national freedom, the Indian students found in Marxism a coherent philosophy which met their needs, and greatly influenced how they were to write and to act. At the same time, they were overwhelmed by the ferment of left-wing ideas in the universities where they were studying. Marxists in London, Oxford and Cambridge wrote extensively on the connection between socialist principles, art and literature. Their work, to a large extent, helped to fill the gap which existed in Marx's own writings on literature. Their theories proved to be of considerable value in assisting Indian progressive students to clarify their roles as socialist writers.⁸¹

Christopher Caudwell was one of the most important of these British intellectuals. He wrote a great deal on the role of literature within the marxist framework of change. From the *Communist Manifesto*, he took and developed the theory that in all ages the ruling ideas were the ideas of the ruling classes. From *Das Kapital*, he developed the concept that Art was a special form of the division of labour. He took Marx's descriptions of the history of British capitalism, and applied it

imaginatively to the history of British literature. His essay *Beauty - A Study in Bourgeois Aesthetics* was the first extended Marxist examination of the nature of beauty as a dialectical unity involving subject and object mediated by society. Through such works as these, Indian students gained valuable insights into the function of literature as an agent of change.⁸²

The idea that literature could be used as an instrument of social change was commonplace in socialist thinking of the 1930s. Caudwell, along with other British socialist writers including Ralph Fox, C. Day Lewis, William Empson and John Lehman, believed that the world could and had to be changed, and that literature was a valid means to this end. Their radical politics, faith in science as the key to human progress, and opposition to war and violence were all expressed passionately in their writings. Day Lewis declared emphatically that the poet was a kind of transmitting station, receiving the truth about reality and broadcasting it to the world. Still, they rejected explicitly tendentious literature because it obscured the complexity of truth through simplification; it was liable to distort the vision of reality.⁸³ Such ideas formed the literary trend known as 'Socialism Realism'.

The impact of these ideas on Urdu literature was felt in two ways. Firstly, those Indian students who had been in direct contact with British socialist writers received their literary training directly from them. Sajjad Zahir, for instance, was a close friend of Ralph Fox, considered to be one of the best Marxist literary critics of the period. Mulk Raj Anand and later Ahmad 'Ali also moved in left-wing literary circles. Both were patronised by E.M. Forster, whose own novel *A Passage To India* was, as early as 1924, considered one of the most powerful and sensitive exposes of British rule in India. 'Aziz Ahmad was emphatic about the debt which he owed to E.M. Forster, whose writings had 'presented personal relationships a philosophy of life', and on which the young Indian had based the relationships between the characters in his own novel *Gurez*.⁸⁴

Secondly, a large number of Muslim socialist writers, including those who did not leave India, learned the art of writing through their study of these English writers. Faiz admitted the impact of Stephen Spender and Louis McNiece, two of the most radical poets and critics of the 1930s, on the formation of his thought.⁸⁵

The trend towards 'Socialist Realism' was most pronounced in the field of the Urdu short story. The influences of past masters such as Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostoyevsky and Chekhov were now insignificant compared to that exerted by the work of Gorky. This change of interest represented a move away from emphasis on the individual and his inner struggles to an analysis of external social phenomena and human relationships. In Britain, this trend was manifested most strongly by the emergence of the 'New Writing' authors during the early 1930s.⁸⁶ W.H. Auden, Stephen Spender, Christopher Isherwood and George Orwell were all reacting to some extent against the work of D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce and Virginia Woolf which was more involved in exploring the inner self than in examining the outer world. In India, the parallel reaction was the emergence of Progressive Writing which was partly a reaction against the Urdu romanticists of the 1920s.

At the same time that Muslim socialist writers were beginning to apply Socialist Realism as the main vehicle of their expression, they also became aware of the relevance of Freud's theories on sexuality and psycholanalysis. Whereas in the West, advances in this field had been reflected in literature earlier in the twentieth century, its application in Urdu literature took place side by side with the advent of writing influenced by Marxism. Thus, the two approaches became fused in the work of many Muslim socialist writers.⁸⁷

Indian Muslim society had practised a code of sexual conduct which had changed little from the earliest period of its history. These practices had resulted in considerable sexual repression. Moreover, the structure of the family, its obligations

and demands led to the suppression of individual liberty and potential. Read together with the Marxist analysis of the social system, Freudian theory had a 'subversive' effect on young Muslim minds. In addition to political opposition to the oppressive system of imperial control, there developed a revolt against sexual repression and the deadening traditions of the extended family. The short stories collected in *Angare*, the very first statement of Progressive Writing published in 1933, employed both Socialist Realism and literary techniques such as symbolism, surrealism and stream-of-consciousness which were the product of Freud's psycho-analytical theories. Rashid Jahan and Mahmud al-Zafar's stories were written didactically in a straightforward narrative fashion, with little in the way of 'conscious artfulness'; but both Sajjad Zahir and Ahmad Ali applied the technique of stream-of-consciousness in their contributions to the anthology.⁸⁸

In their treatment of sexual themes, Muslim socialist writers were affected by D.H. Lawrence in particular. Aziz Ahmad, who wanted to expose the filth of society, its hypocritical moral values and the degenerated state of sexual relations, like Lawrence, attacked the moral values of his society and opposed its unnecessary sexual restrictions. But whereas Lawrence was considered to have turned sex into a 'philosophy' and even given it the status of a religion, Aziz Ahmad rejected the 'worship of nudity' which he described as a sickness.⁸⁹

Sajjad Zahir's novel *Landan Ki Aik Rat* presented a more pronounced example of the way in which Progressive Writers combined the two techniques. He concentrated on the predicaments of the westernising, educated, urban middle classes. Making partial use of the technique of stream-of-consciousness, he attempted to unravel the confusions, traumas and feelings of a group of Indian students based in London. At the same time, to highlight and communicate a socialist perspective of the world, he also dealt with a number of social and political themes; the problems of Indian freedom,

imperialism, racial prejudice and the attitude of British workers towards India.⁹⁰ Similarly, Asmat Chughtai also combined these two approaches, inserting in particular many psychological insights into her famous novel *Terhi Lakir*.⁹¹ However, 'in contrast to Freud', she tried to show that although 'sexuality is a motive important in our actions, our circumstances are most influential'.⁹² The ideas of both Marx and Freud remained present throughout her work. Those of Freud expressed themselves in the mental confusion and struggles of her characters, but she took care to use sexual realism as an instrument for the reform of society. She portrayed poverty as a curse which forces women to degrade themselves and their families, and contended that women's honour was bargained for wealth. Her involvement with Marxist ideas expressed itself through her protests against social inequality, and her calls for the elimination of oppression and violence. In her treatment of women's problems, she exposed male prejudices, especially the sexual hypocrisy of the Mullas.⁹³

Progressive poets displayed a similar range of inspiration in their work. The 'modernists' led by Miraji accepted the 'progressives' view that literature was related to life, but they refused to write poetry which dealt only with social and political issues and which ignored individual experiences and perceptions. Miraji's poetry was highly individualistic, and broke new ground in style and form through experimentation. Dazzled by the novelty of psychoanalytical discoveries, he became preoccupied with the exploration of the subconscious. In his desire to communicate the thoughts of the subconsciousness to his audiences, he introduced more everyday speech into his poems. He made poetry technically more accessible to the ordinary person.⁹⁴ N.M. Rashid, another modernist, experimented with style using new rhyme arrangements in his poetry. He agreed with the Progressives that writers had to deal with current problems of society. But he parted company with them when they insisted that eternal doctrine should direct creative work and channel it towards specific purposes. He

avoided commitment to the PWA, but drew from his own experience to comment in numerous poems on alien rule, religious dogmatism and moral repression.⁹⁵

At the extreme, in their zeal to convey social and political themes, some of the progressive poets rejected individual emotion and perspective. They wrote poetry as propaganda to arouse public support for their causes. 'Ali Sardar Jafri, following in the footsteps of European writers such as Louis Aragon, wrote eulogies for the Soviet Union.⁹⁶ These poets continued to write work which stressed socialist themes right up until the time of Partition.

Many Fabian writers were an important influence on the development of Muslim socialists. 'Asmat Chughtai, for instance, wrote her drama *Fasadi* after being struck by the work of George Bernard Shaw.⁹⁷ H.G. Wells was another Fabian whose work was admired. H.G., Wells' science fiction with its allusions to utopia, and Shaw's socially-oriented drama had obvious appeal. The latter's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism* was considered compulsory reading for the radically-minded Indian students in England.⁹⁸ Mumtaz Mufti named Haldne as amongst the list of writers whom he had read and by whom he had been influenced. In fact, the attraction of certain Fabians in particulars was probably the result of their more radical outlook. Though Shaw was one of the founders of the Fabian Society, he seemed temperamentally quite out of step with its gradualist socialist creed. 'I am like Lenin', he declared in 1934 while visiting Moscow, 'I am a revolutionist'.⁹⁹

Favourable comments by Fabian and near-Fabian intellectuals on communism helped to draw the attention of budding Muslim writers to socialism. 'No political creed except communism', said E.M. Forster, 'offers an intelligent man any hope'.¹⁰⁰ Shaw was even more emphatic about the significance

of Lenin's experiment for the future. 'If the experiment that Lenin made in social organisation fails', said Shaw,

'then civilisation falls ... If his experiment is pushed through to the end, if the other countries follow his example and follow his teaching, if this great communistic experiment spreads over the whole world, we shall have a new era in human history of which we can have no conception.'¹⁰¹

These kinds of pronouncements warmed the hearts of Indian students. Further intellectual stimulation was provided by publications by witnesses of Soviet development such as Sidney and Beatrice Webb. As a result, impressed by the sincerity of these efforts, if not entirely convinced by the Fabian creed, some of the Indian students became involved in the Fabian society. Others worked closely with the Society in the Home League. Some, such as Sajjad Zahir, were drawn to its literature.¹⁰² But, when it came to the consideration of the specific problem of political strategy for the freedom of India, the Fabian Society and its political ally, the British Labour Party, appeared woefully short of the kind of ideas which could satisfy the aims of these Indian socialists. None of the Fabians who had visited India before the First World War were opposed to imperial rule. In general, they agreed with the nineteenth century liberal view that the British substituted a 'beneficial system of government' for a 'defective one'. Even Keir Hardie, who visited India in 1907, and whose arrival there was described in certain Indian circles as 'an act of God', did not advocate a rapid withdrawal from India despite his fierce criticism of the bureaucracy.¹⁰³ Ramsay MacDonald was even more convinced of the idea of 'socialist trusteeship' for an extended period of enlightened administration of the underdeveloped colonial world. 'For many a long year', he claimed, 'British sovereignty will be a necessity for India', and Britain would have to act as its 'nurse'.¹⁰⁴

After the First World War, the idea of British tutelage, preferably under 'progressive' governments, became more firmly

entrenched in Fabian minds. Non-Cooperation was opposed, and economic arguments were marshalled against the *swadeshi* movement. It was asserted that the boycott of British goods would benefit the Indian capitalist classes. The record of the Labour Government of 1924 had also proved disappointing. A Fabian gradualist, Lord Oliver, the Foreign Secretary, explained that only 'immediate anarchy' would follow if the 'cement of British control' was replaced by 'immediate self-government'.¹⁰⁵ In all, the history of Labour's policies in India appeared to be no less repressive than those of the previous Liberal and Conservative governments. In 1928, with Clement Attlee and Vernon Hartshorn's active participation in the strongly-opposed Simon Commission, Fabianism became so unpopular in India that nationalists were moved to refer to 'English Socialism' as 'a huge mockery' and to MacDonald as 'Imperialistic'.¹⁰⁶

The policies followed by the second Labour Government in 1929, and the National Government under MacDonald between 1931 and 1935, destroyed what goodwill towards Fabianism still remained in Indian minds. The suppression of the Trade Union movement, the prosecution of the Meerut Conspiracy Case, removed any illusions that might have been left about the 'socialist pretensions' of Fabian politicians who now took refuge behind rather feeble reasonings, such as the argument that 'a government must govern'.¹⁰⁷ Jawaharlal Nehru, who, by the early 1930s, had become the hero of young India, recalled how 'the whole record of the Second International from the First World War onwards filled' him 'with distaste', particularly in the light of 'sufficient personal experience of the methods of its strongest supporters - the British Labour Party'. Inevitably, this had turned him 'with goodwill towards Communism, for whatever its faults, it was at least not hypocritical and not imperialistic'.¹⁰⁸ By the 1940s, Fabianism had become a contemptible creed in the minds of Progressive Writers. 'The striking unanimity of British attitudes towards India', commented the editors of *Indian Writing*,

'and the subject peoples of the Empire - a unanimity which embraces the Right as well as a good part of the Left; the Pink and Blue; Bloomsbury and Blimpdom; the 1922 Committee and the Transport House; intellectual 'socialists' like Laski and senile Anglo-India in retirement; Brailsford and Bletchford ... all speak with virtually the same voice and iterate the same outworn imbecilities'.¹⁰⁹

Progressive Writers mocked the contributions to the Fabian magazine *New Statesman and Nation* as 'masterpieces of irrelevant and nonsensical profundities'. And when authors such as H.G. Wells, with 'self-righteous smugness', began to describe India as 'an administrative phantom' and Nehru as a 'shifty politician', socialist writers felt that the final insult had been delivered. There was no longer any room for dialogue.¹¹⁰ Within the PWA, Fabian socialism as an ideological tendency ceased to be regarded worthy of notice.

Muslim socialist writers were primarily concerned to help to win India's freedom. But they realised that political freedom alone would not secure equal rights and opportunities for all of India's people. Social and economic freedoms were also essential. To mobilise support for these aims, they knew that they had to communicate their views effectively, and that literature was the most suitable vehicle for this purpose. They were aware that Muslim thinkers in the past had employed literature to promote interest in contemporary social and political issues, to suggest reforms in society, and to gather public support for their objectives. They also knew that these Muslims had successfully combined literary activities with their social, political and cultural interests. Furthermore, they recognised that, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, Muslim modernists had borrowed western concepts and used them to reform attitudes and conducts. They deployed ideas and literary techniques which Muslim modernists had explored in the past; they also added to them the repertoire of ideas which they had assembled through direct contact with western liberal and socialist thought. Their scepticism and their critical outlook

enabled them to accept what was useful for their purposes, and to reject what they considered harmful and irrelevant. Their liberal and rationalist interpretation of Islam, moreover, further reinforced their growing secular outlook, causing them to look for solutions outside the framework of religion.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF MUSLIM SOCIALIST OF 1930s AND 1940s

Muslim socialists of the 1930s and 1940s came, in general, from the Muslim service elites of Northern India, who had adopted western-style education in response to British colonial rule in order to combat diminishing opportunities and growing hardship. Thus, this social context, which produced many of the leaders of Muslim separatism, also produced men whose political vision was secular and non-communal.¹

The Origins of Muslim Socialists - The Development of the North Indian Qasbah

Muslim socialist writers hailed from the native states of Bhopal and Hyderabad (Deccan) and from the British provinces of the Panjab, Bihar and the U.P. In Hyderabad (Deccan), a southern outpost of North Indian Muslim culture, the majority belonged to government service and *jagirdar* families, whose members were under considerable pressure by the 1920s and 1930s, and finding it increasingly hard to maintain their social and economic position. This was the background of men such as Makhdum Muhi al-din, Ibrahim Jalis, Aziz Ahmad and Sulaiman Arib. In the Panjab, Muslim socialist writers had similar origins. Almost two-thirds grew up in the culturally more developed and industrialised eastern towns of Ambala, Jullandhar, Ludhiana, Batala, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Amritsar, than in the relatively less-advanced western regions where Muslims were an overwhelming majority. Apart from

Sialkot, the home of Faiz Ahmad Faiz, which had become a centre of Islamic learning under later Muslim rulers, and Lahore, India's first centre of Muslim power, no other urban centre in West Panjab produced any radical litterateurs of note during this period. Moreover, in the Panjab as a whole, where Muslims were prospering in social, economic and political terms, fewer radical poets and writers emerged.²

It was from the heartlands of Northern India - the United Provinces - from its cities and, above all, its small Muslim towns known as qasbahs, that the majority of Muslim socialists emerged. Amongst those who claimed a qasbah background, a larger number belonged to the qasbahs around Lucknow and in eastern U.P.³ From Awadh, there were, for instance, Jan Nisar Akhtar and Israr al-Haq Majaz from Khairabad and Rudauli respectively. Both these towns had been important centres of Muslim service elites and boasted of a rich intellectual heritage. They had provided local leadership, and had acted as transmitters of Islamic learning. By the early twentieth century, however, they were insignificant.⁴ Ali Jawed Zaidi, Saiyid Ihtesham Husain and Saiyid Mumtaz Husain came from similar urban centres further east - Azamgarh, Mahul and Ghazipur.⁵ Western U.P. produced relatively fewer Muslim socialists. Here they tended to come from the Rohilkhand area. Notable among them were Al-i Ahmad Surur from Badaun, Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi from Faridabad and Ahsan Danish from Kandhla.⁶ The development of the qasbahs, their cultural traditions and the way in which they reacted to the fast changing realities of colonial India under the British formed an important element in the intellectual development of twentieth century Muslim socialist writers. That so many Progressive Writers came from qasbah families would suggest that this background played a significant role in directing them towards radical political outlooks.

The history of the qasbahs of Northern India stretched back over many hundreds of years. Their origin went back to the early

Islamic invasions and their development represented the consolidation of Muslim power in India. In the wake of Muslim invasions from West and Central Asia, Sufi missionaries spread out into the North Indian countryside between the ninth and eleventh centuries. They settled and founded *khanqahs*, and spread Muhammad's message, keeping the welfare of the local community at the centre of their spiritual concerns. They embodied in their religious practices a humanitarian and universal approach to moral and social questions. The Sufis were, at the same time, often experts in Islamic law and matters concerning the conduct of daily life according to the Qur'an. They became highly respected religious leaders in their localities, and, after their deaths, their shrines became important popular centres of religious veneration for ordinary Hindus as well as Muslims. Their descendants continued the tradition of religious learning, and thus perpetuated the moral authority of the founding saints. During the Sultanate period of Muslim rule (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries), Muslim control became more firmly established. It gradually extended its authority over large areas of Northern India, and constructed military, administrative and financial structures which linked the outposts of Muslim rule to the central authorities. The centres of religious influence established by the Sufis provided the local bases from which this authority was exercised. Government officials were often appointed, if not from leading Sufi families themselves, then from the ranks of respectable local Muslims.⁷

Thus, although some important *qasbahs* such as Fyzabad and Azmgarh grew up much later during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for specifically strategic reasons on the sites of former Hindu strongholds, most *qasbahs* emerged out of the early communities centred around Sufi shrines, and combined military administrative and religious functions. The term '*qasbah*' applied 'to a place with a distinct urban status which possessed a mosque, a public bath and a judicial officer'.⁸ Here was stationed the *faujdar* with his troops, to keep the peace and ensure obedience to laws promulgated by Muslim kings. Here also lived the *pargana qanungo*, the *chaudhri* and other

representatives of the central Muslim government. They collected revenue and transacted financial and legal business in the surrounding countryside. Religious officials, such as the *qazi* and the *mufti* made judgements on domestic and social matters in accordance with religious law. These officials, however, only exercised authority in relation to the extent of the moral authority which they were able to exert on the local population. The importance of this moral force, built independently of the power delegated by the Muslim ruler, was recognised at the centre. It was acknowledged and maintained by continuous provisions of grants and patronage both to holy shrines and to leading *qasbah* religious and service families. As time passed, the classes of Muslims who served in the *qasbahs* gradually acquired substantial revenue-free land rights in the hinterland of the towns and established strong connections with the local Hindu population. In the Mughal period especially, Muslim service families rapidly acquired land, mainly by turning their monopoly of public offices, such as those of *qazi* and *qanungo*, to their advantage through the manipulation of property deeds, or by ploughing back their own income into the purchase of land rights. The process of 'gentrification' was accelerated during the period of Mughal decline when changes in the balance of local power throughout the region enabled service families to dig deeper into rural society.⁹

The *qasbahs* of Northern India developed into rich repositories of Islamic values. Most of the leading families which settled in them claimed to be descendants of Muslims who had originally emigrated to India from countries to the West. A number boasted of connections linking themselves to the families of the Prophet and his Companions. As a result, strict Islamic observance was considered very important. The values of the great families collectively known as the *Ashraf*, which had come from outside India to serve at Muslim courts, were proudly upheld.¹⁰ Mosques and *madrasas* flourished, and traditional Islamic learning was highly respected. Muslims were brought up to admire and continue their ancestors' sense of moral purpose. Local religious institutions strengthened the

corporate life of the faithful. From among the great gentry houses which grew up, there emerged a local Muslim leadership. Clan groups, such as the *Shaikhs* of Kakori, and the *Saiyids* of Jansath and Kara, provided the chief officers of state. Later, these families were to become well entrenched in the lower levels of British administration.

Qasbahs thus acquired a distinctive character. They became the reservoirs of Muslim high culture from which were drawn the men who served at the royal courts of Muslim India. Men collected books; religious and historical learning were encouraged. A literary culture emerged based on the knowledge of Arabic and Persian. The seat of central Mughal power provided the focus for much of this cultural activity, but, following the rapid decline of the Mughal Court in the eighteenth century and the rise of autonomous regional powers such as Awadh, Rampur, Bhopal and Hyderabad (Deccan), poets and ^Ulama from the qasbahs turned their attention to these new Muslim courts for patronage. In the eighteenth century, Fyzabad, the capital of Nawab Shuja al-daulah, became famous for its literary wealth. Bahu Begam, the wife of Shuja al-daulah and the daughter of a Persian noble at the court of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah, encouraged poets to settle in Fyzabad. In time, the town produced its own poets of note. Mir Babar ^UAli Anis and Khwaja Haidar ^UAli Atish were two of the poets from Fyzabad who exerted a great influence on the style of Urdu of subsequent generations.¹¹ In addition, learned men came from Persia and Afghanistan to serve Muslim courts and settled in the qasbahs. In this way, the high quality and standards of qasbah cultural tradition were preserved and strengthened over centuries of Muslim rule.

The Qasbah Inheritance

The heritage of the qasbahs formed an important background to the emergence of Muslim socialists during the 1930s and 1940s. For them, it was not an historical phenomenon, but a living fact which played a direct role in their cultural and

political development. The *sharif* upbringing of qasbah families engrained in Muslim socialists basic universal humanist values. Muslim culture of the qasbahs demanded that children were given at least a rudimentary knowledge of Islam. The Qur'an was taught from an early age. Its basic principles affected their personal behaviour and the practical course of their activities. So deeply were Muslim socialists influenced by their absorption of Islamic morality that even when they later embraced socialism, some such as Saiyid Ihtesham Husain, a Marxist literary critic, were reluctant to 'indulge' in pleasures such as dancing, music and drinking alcohol, which they considered as 'distant temptations' only legitimate for others.¹² Khwaja Ahmad 'Abbas, founder member of the PWA, was another product of a typical *sharif* upbringing. His family maintained its elite status and strong tradition of learning. Ghulam al-Sibtain, 'Abbas' father, brought his children up to regard ostentation and expensive ritual as 'un-Islamic'. This austerity, absorbed at an early age, was subsequently interpreted by 'Abbas as the basis of his identification with the dispossessed and his high regard for human dignity. Decades later, he still remembered how in his childhood he had been severely punished by his father for abusing the boy servant with whom he used to play. Not only had he been confined to his room, but his mother had also been instructed not to serve him any food until he had apologised to the servant.¹³

The qasbah environment also encouraged a strong tradition of learning which directly affected the upbringing of Muslim socialists. The acquisition of knowledge was considered by Muslims to be a religious duty. To seek knowledge was deemed the most important act of the Declaration of Faith. 'Read in the Name of thy Lord, who created' were the first words of God's revelation to the Prophet Muhammad. Many other verses in the Qur'an emphasized the paramount importance of reading, writing and gaining knowledge. This emphasis was repeated in the Hadiths. 'Seek ye knowledge, even if it be in China' instructed one Tradition. 'An hour of learning is worth more than a year of prayer' said another. The rewards of such exertion were

promised not only in this life but also in the world to come.¹⁴ In this way, every Muslim child from an educated qasbah background was encouraged to excel in learning. Thus, the Muslim elites of the qasbahs had come to form the most literate and culturally advanced sections of the Indian Muslim community. Jan Nisar Akhtar, a leading socialist poet, for instance, came from a family of Khairabad, which was rooted in the scholarly *ʿulama* tradition. His great grandfather, Maulana Fazal-i Haq Khairabadi (1797-1861) was a prominent Islamic scholar. Jan Nisar's grandfather was also an *ʿalim* and a sufi, widely known for his learning. His grandmother was a poetess. His father, Maztar (1865-1927), a poet and teacher to the Nawab of Tonk, however, saw the winds of change. He served as a magistrate under the British and finally retired as a District and Sessions Judge at Gwalior. Majnun Gorakhpuri and Zoe Ansari also belonged to qasbah families with an established reputation for learning.¹⁵

A disproportionately large number of Muslim socialists, including Sajjad Zahir, ʿAli Sardar Jʿafri and Sibte Hasan were Shiʿas. Whereas Shiʿas formed a mere three per cent of the Muslim population of the U.P.¹⁶, twenty percent of the Muslim socialists surveyed in Appendix II were Shiʿa, as were forty per cent of the organisers of the PWA. Their development was affected by the relatively more privileged position enjoyed by qasbah Shiʿa elites. The Shiʿa community was generally much more influential, especially in the U.P., than its numerical strength suggested. Several rulers in the region immediately prior to the onset of British rule in Awadh and eastern U.P. had been Shiʿas. Some of the largest such as Mahmudabad, Pirpur, Qizilbash and Bilehra, were among the leading Muslim figures of the province. Others, less aristocratic, such as Saiyid Wazir Hasan (the father of Sajjad Zahir) made their mark in Muslim politics. These Shiʿa elites dominated the cultural and educational life of the qasbahs of Awadh and eastern U.P. They were among the first to take advantage of modern education in

the province, and this enabled them to adapt to British institutions and western life-styles more easily. They became conversant with western secular principles, and some, convinced of their validity, committed themselves to the nationalist struggle in the heightened anti-British atmosphere of the 1920s and early 1930s.¹⁷

Muslim socialists from Shi'a families were deeply impressed by the special traditions of their community. During this period, the Shi'a perception of Imam Husain's resistance to tyranny and his struggle against injustice acquired a more immediate and urgent meaning.¹⁸ Every year, the drama of the martyrdom of Husain, slain while fighting for his cause against overwhelming odds, was played out in religious ceremonies and rituals at the time of *Muharram*. The emotionally-charged renderings of *marsiyas*, passion plays and *zikrs*, depicting Husain as the example of supreme sacrifice, left a strong mark on the minds of Shi'a children, and, under political conditions which offered them close comparisons with the epic confrontation between Husain and Yezid fourteen centuries earlier, encouraged Shi'a youth to act against tyranny in their own age.¹⁹ 'Ali Sardar Jafri described the deep impact of this religious experience in early childhood on the radical evolution of his thoughts.

I opened my eyes', he remembered,

in the shadows of knowledge and *ʿazia*. The first sound I heard was that of lamentation and mourning of the martyrdom of Husain. When I came of age, I found the whole world was a house of mourning.;²⁰

The overall influence of his religious upbringing was to instill in Jafri's mind the idea that 'to sacrifice life for Truth and Justice was the greatest testimony to mankind'. As Jafri later admitted, the fact that he came from an extremely religious family meant

that his approach to socialism and communism was partially religious. The tragedy of Karbala was a symbol ... not only of martyrdom, but of social justice.²¹

A specific development of Awadhi Shi'ism which had far reaching consequences for the evolution of progressive thought among Shi'a youth was its fusion with Hindu culture. Through centuries of close cultural contact, the Shi'a faith had become subsumed in the labyrinth of Awadhi custom and etiquette. *Soz* and *nuha* had become infused with the spirit of *sangeet*. Hindus participated in *Muharram* events as enthusiastically as Shi'as themselves. They hoisted *alams*, took out *r'azias*, performed *soz khwanis* and rendered *marsiyas*.²² The *Muharram* processions often resembled those of Ram Leela. The goodwill created by these joint celebrations led to a rather syncretic development with Awadhi Shi'ism itself. This 'indianisation of Islam' produced broadmindedness, a flair for fine arts, a taste for literature and an acceptance of other religious beliefs. It helped prepare the ground for some Shias to move eventually towards secular ideologies such as socialism.²³

This aspect of Awadhi Shi'ism formed part of a more general understanding between certain Muslims and Hindus in the qasbah environment. Long-established popular and syncretic Sufi traditions continued to influence the thinking of later generations of Muslims.²⁴ Hayat-Allah Ansari, for instance, one of the pioneers of socialist realism in the Urdu short story and an active left wing nationalist politician in the U.P., came from this background. His father, Wahid-Allah of the Firangi Mahal, became the follower of Waris 'Ali Shah (1820-1905) of Deva. The Sufi order of Waris 'Ali Shah was highly adapted to the rhythms of the Hindu countryside.²⁵ Its Hindu orientation encouraged a tolerant attitude towards other communities. Hayat-Allah Ansari's own political outlook reflected similar sympathies for non-Muslim points of view. Scope for communal conflict was diminished by the participation of ordinary

Muslims and Hindus in the celebration of each other's festivals.²⁶ By the nineteenth century, an Urdu-speaking elite had also emerged. It was composed of members from both communities who shared and were proud of the cultural life of the qasbahs. Although the growing Urdu-Hindi controversy began to undermine the solidarity of this elite during the early decades of the twentieth century, it did not destroy the old communal harmony completely. Indeed, the non-communal upbringing of children belonging to qasbah families acted as a firm basis for their own more radical development. This was illustrated in the case of Sajjad Zahir, lynch-pin of the PWA. His father, Saiyid Wazir Hasan, belonged to a small *zamindar Saiyid* family in the district of Jaunpur. He had been sent by his father, a *tehsildar*, to Aligarh College, and became General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League during the period when strenuous efforts were being made to forge Hindu-Muslim unity at Congress-League meetings. The Nehrus were close family friends. Some of Sajjad Zahir's best friends in Lucknow were Hindus. It is reasonable to suppose that he was influenced by the tolerant atmosphere of his home environment.²⁷ Qurrat al-Ain Haidar, another Progressive Writer, was also aware of the harmonious aspects of qasbah life. Nehtur, in the district of Bijnor, was her ancestral home. She was proud to cite it as a model of Hindu-Muslim understanding. 'Not a single communal riot', she pointed out, 'had ever been recorded in its whole history'.²⁸ Many other qasbahs in eastern U.P. were able to claim similarly clean communal records.

Muslim socialist writers were also influenced by more recent developments within the cultural environment of the qasbah which had taken place under British rule. Although patronage from regional courts had largely dried up by the middle of the nineteenth century, from the 1860s onwards stimulus was given to literary activity when the British decided to make Lucknow into the social and political centre of the *taluqadars* of Awadh.²⁹ The patronage of these privileged men transformed Lucknow into a living centre of Urdu culture. A number of

ʿalūqadars were themselves learned men, genuinely interested in promoting various forms of art and literature. They often maintained a nawabi life-style. Frequently they held *mushāʿiras* and *munazaras* in their qasbahs, and from time to time they provided patronage to poets, writers and musicians. They instilled fresh impetus to the social and cultural life of the province.

Chaudhri Muhammad ʿAli Rudaulwi (1882-1959), a *ʿalūqadar* of Amirpura, was one patron who played a specific role in the development of certain Muslim socialist writers. He was well-educated and able to discuss Nietzsche, Marx, Freud, Iqbal and Tagore with equal facility. Though he observed the etiquette and manners of Awadhi aristocracy, he wrote critically about religion and some of the old customs of Lucknow society. He became an active patron of the PWA, contributed short stories to its magazine *Naya Adab*, and gave the Association substantial monetary assistance.³⁰ It was at the private functions held by such gentlemen of wealth and taste that a number of Progressive Writers served their literary apprenticeships. Josh Malihabadi and Majnun Gorakhpuri were initiated at gatherings of this kind, which encouraged individual virtuosity as a measure of social worth and provided the framework for their intellectual potential. Josh's father, Bashir Ahmad Khan was himself a competent poet and an active member of the *Mcayār* school of poets based in Lucknow. He was a pupil of the renowned classical poets Dagh, Amir Minai and Jalal Lakhnawi. Majnun Gorakhpuri's father was also a man of considerable literary taste. Both these Progressive Writers later recalled public and private literary functions at which they performed while still young.³¹

For further literary refinement and a training in etiquette, young men were also, in some cases, advised and encouraged to sit at the feet of courtésans, famous for their poetic accomplishments and advanced literary tastes. Many of these women lived in the urban centres of the region, in particular

Lucknow. Courtesans, such as Chaudhraiyan, whose refined manners, scholarship and literary sophistication had acquired legendary fame, were accurately portrayed in Ruswa's *Umrao Jan-i Ada*. Aspiring poets spent much time in the company of these unusually learned women, hoping to acquire poetic excellence.³² 'It was a necessary part of Lucknow society in those days', recalled Niaz Fathepuri,

'that the aristocrats should freely attend gatherings of music and dance, and learn the etiquette of society in the company of some of the well-known courtesans of the city. Their status was that of a *m^cuallim* from whose conversations and manners the elite learnt the correct etiquettes of Lucknow. My father started sending me to these gatherings and it was here that my literary career was inaugurated.'³³

Iqbal Husain, short story writer and critic of note, frequently visited brothels with his grandfather.³⁴

During the twentieth century, Islamic visions of the world came under increasing pressure, and children from qasbah families were compelled to reconsider their inherited values. In later life, as socialists and Progressive Writers, they retained much of the moral and literary vision of the world of the qasbah, but, by this time, the religious perspective of past generations had become transformed in them into a secular vision. Indeed, the pride and awareness of the richness of qasbah culture was displayed in the way that some socialist writers adopted the name of their qasbah. By calling themselves 'Sandelwi', 'Kirhani' or 'Rudaulwi', they emphasized their identification with the cultural traditions of their ancestral homes.³⁵

The Impact of British Rule

In the twentieth century, the qasbahs no longer enjoyed the same conditions under which they had prospered in the past. Political and economic changes from the end of the eighteenth

century onwards, in particular those resulting from British colonial rule, had a far-reaching impact. The reaction of Muslim families to these changes directly influenced the social backgrounds of Muslim socialists growing up in the early twentieth century, and played a crucial role in determining their political outlook.

With the decline of Muslim power in Northern India, the fortunes of the Muslim service gentry also suffered. Hindu power in the countryside began to re-emerge at the turn of the nineteenth century. Rajput clan leaders resumed large tracts of land, often from old *Saiyid* families, which formed the basis of some of the big estates later in the century. In addition, early British land revenue settlements were harsh. Much charitable land was resumed. Although some Muslim landholding families regained land which they had lost during the previous century, on the whole old and well established Muslim gentry found that they had to make way for new monied men or Hindu landholding communities.³⁶ Changes in the judicial and legal institutions introduced by the British also meant that there were fewer opportunities for traditional literary, legal and administrative skills. The replacement of Persian by English as the language of the upper levels of government in 1835 and by the vernaculars at the lower levels in 1837, the confiscation of *mu^cafi* lands which had the effect of closing down *maktabs* and *madrassas*, the introduction of the British legal system, and new criteria of qualifications for government jobs reduced the economic and social prosperity of old service families.³⁷ British economic strategies reinforced this general erosion of their old position. Most of the towns and cities of the region, including the *qasbahs*, lay on old Mughal routes. The railways, however, were not always developed along these routes, and, consequently, towns which they did not touch suffered. Trade on the great rivers of the North Indian plain also declined with the coming of the railways. New patterns of trade and commerce led to the emergence of new towns and denied Muslim gentry their residual income from tolls and cesses. Where *qasbahs* did benefit from these economic changes, skills belonging to old

Muslim elites were rarely required, nor could they now impose local taxes which had been an important source of income in the past. On top of this, from the 1870s onwards, the importation of cheap and competitive manufactured goods from England destroyed the markets of Muslim artisans who left the qasbahs in large numbers for the emerging manufacturing centres of India, such as Bombay, Ahmadabad, Cawnpore and Calcutta. This drain added to the loss of prosperity experienced by many qasbahs during this period.³⁸

Decline, however, was by no means uniform. Certain towns managed to maintain their position, some even improved it. Muslim elites did not lose their service function totally. Indeed, many came to acquire jobs in the service of their new colonial rulers once they had come to accept that the old way of life had gone for ever. Yet, for many of the old service elites, in the Doab and in western Awadh in particular, Muslim decline was a reality. In 1857, Muslims formed 63.9% of the subordinate judicial and executive posts in the U.P.; in 1886-7, this figure had dropped to 45.1%, and by 1913, it was only 34.7% - still above their proportion of the population but a very worrying decrease from the point of view of these Muslims.³⁹ The whole question of the impact of British rule on the lives of qasbah Muslims provides an important element in the understanding of the social background of Muslim socialists. These Muslims were a product of the way in which their direct forebears had come to terms with the reality of British power. On the one hand, they were inspired by the anti-British stand taken by many of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers during the early period of British presence in the region. On the other hand, they were, for the most part, also moulded by the westernised education which their families had later come to adopt.

A number of Muslim socialists came from families with a long tradition of resistance to the British.⁴⁰ In their formative years, they were led to believe that the religious crusades, such as the struggle under the 'great saint', Saiyid Ahmad Barelwi, who died at the battle of Balakot in 1831, and the Sadiqpur

Maulanas who succeeded him, were patriotic. Socialist writers, such as Saiyid Akhtar Ahmad Orainwi, whose great-grandfather Saiyid ʿInayat Husain had been a disciple of Saiyid Ahmad Barelwi, saw their own fight against British rule as a continuation of the 'fully-fledged freedom movement' of the Sadiqpur Maulanas.⁴¹ The memory of the Rebellion of 1857 was kept alive by Muslim families who had participated in the uprising and who had suffered afterwards at the hands of the British. Jan Nisar Akhtar's great-grandfather, for instance, was Fazal-i Haq Khairabadi, Chief Justice of Delhi, who signed the *fatwa* of the Delhi ʿulama supporting the rebels of 1857. After the Rebellion, this most distinguished Maulana was despatched to the Andamans, suffering summary punishment like many other Muslims who had opposed the British.⁴² Many were hanged. *Jagirs* were resumed and pensions forfeited. The properties and lands of leading rebels were confiscated and redistributed among loyal Indians. These actions ruined many notable families. The families of Muslim socialists, such as Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi, were badly affected.⁴³ The small amount of property left in their hands became insufficient to sustain them. Subsequent generations were forced to look for employment and succumb to the patronage of the Raj in order to survive. Although they were able to regain much of their former position in this way, their resentment against the British persisted beneath the surface, and the humiliation which their families had suffered was not forgotten. Ahmad ʿAli, founder member of the PWA, talking with reverence and respect about his grandfather, recalled that

even in the defeat (of 1857) he remained unrepentant and proud. He had seen his brothers, near relatives and compatriots being killed mercilessly .. He saw his country and his city (Delhi) being occupied by the *Firangis*. He had seen women being dishonoured, their children being crushed to death. At their hands he saw the culture and grandeur of India being razed to dust. Is it then surprising that he hated the British intensely?⁴⁴

This dislike and defiance of British rule was passed on from generation to generation, until, in the minds of socialist writers, it developed into a conscious 'anti-imperialist' response. Like their ancestors, they wanted to see their country free. The difference lay in the fact that, whereas their forefathers had fought to re-establish the *ancien regime*, they wanted to build a modern egalitarian society. For some of them, socialism provided the political and ideological tools for the achievement of the complete freedom of India.

The tradition of hostility to the British had penetrated the consciousness of certain Muslim socialists to the extent that it not only determined their personal conduct but also their choice of career. Josh Malihabadi's attitude towards British authority, for instance, was uncompromising. His grandfather had fought against the British in 1857, and, after defeat, had not bowed to their authority. Instead a kind of *modus vivendi*, based on mutual respect, came to be established between the former adversaries. After his father's death, Josh was called to Naini Tal, the summer capital of the U.P. government, by Harcourt Butler, the Governor and a friend of his father. There, after having waived the regulations concerning minimum qualifications, Butler offered Josh choice of lucrative posts, such as Deputy Collector and Special Judge. Josh remained unimpressed, and straightaway refused Butler's offer. The British Government, he told Butler, was 'usurpatory', and therefore to accept employment from it was against his principles.⁴⁵

Disdain for the colonial authorities was reinforced by the attitude of sections of the Muslim religious establishment in India. On the whole, *Ulama* had reacted bitterly against British encroachments on Muslim education and legal institutions, and British interference with Muslim personal law. Although some cooperated with the British and tried to give religious sanction to their rule, many, while not actively engaged against the British, did the next best thing and remained aloof of British influence. This was the path taken by many *Ulama* of Deoband and also by

the Firangi Mahalis.⁴⁶ Both schools produced leading anti-British figures during the Khilafat Movement, while the Firangi Mahal produced several Muslim socialists. When, for instance, governments offered the *ʿulama* of the Firangi Mahal jobs, they were rejected. When governments tried to honour their scholarship, the honours were refused. This tradition was maintained during the British period. A few did serve the British, but this was frowned upon by the majority. Some were employed *hakims*, newspaper editors and even soldiers, but for the most part these families kept their distance from colonial rule. Maulana *ʿAbd al-Razzaq*, for instance, was determined not even to set eyes on a British official. If the Chief Commissioner were to visit him, he threatened to 'break his head with an axe'.⁴⁷ Non-involvement with the British was the dominant trend until shortly before the First World War. When, however, the Firangi Mahalis saw Muslim interests being attacked, they opposed the 'enemies of Islam', including the British India Government, with all the resources at their disposal. The second and third decades of the twentieth century were years of heightened Pan-Islamic opposition during which *ʿAbd al-Razzaq's* grandson, Maulana *ʿAbd al-Bari* played a central role in the Khilafat agitation. It was in this atmosphere of active opposition to government authority that the Muslim socialists, Mufti Raza Ansari and Hayat-Allah Ansari were brought up.⁴⁸

The Khilafat Movement itself was an outburst of anti-British activity which had a particularly radicalising effect on a large number of educated Muslim youth. During this period, old *qasbah* families returned to the forefront of opposition. Khwaja Ahmad *ʿAbbas'* grandfather had harboured rebels in 1857, now his maternal grandfather became a leading Khilafatist in Panipat, and provided hospitality to Gandhi when he visited the town.⁴⁹ Another Progressive Writer, Salma Siddiqi, recalled that, with members of her family in jail, even her *pardah*-observing relations became 'incensed with the British'. Her own 'conscience was awakened'. Stimulated by the movement, she contributed to Swaraj and Khilafat funds, and took the oath of

swadesh.⁵⁰ For these Muslim students, the Khilafat did not have the same religious significance that it held for the older generation and the wider Muslim masses; yet, many like Dr. K.M. Ashraf and Sajjad Zahir became stricter for a while in their religious observances.⁵¹ Dr. ^cAbd al-Alim, General Secretary of the PWA between 1938 and 1943, was so impressed by the fervour of Khilafat agitation at Ghazipur that when foreign goods were burnt, he threw his own cap on the fire and began to wear home spun. Then, disgusted with British sponsored education, he refused to study at the local government school or take the entrance examination for a university place. He relented only when his father agreed to send him to Jamia Millia Islamia, the recently established nationalist Muslim institution of higher education at Delhi.⁵² Coming at a very impressionable time in their lives, the Khilafat Movement acquired special significance for the young people of families in the smaller towns of the U.P., who, although hostile to the British, had remained politically mute in the years since 1857. It was the challenge to British rule, urging them to avenge injuries which had been inflicted on their self-respect in the past and which were still being inflicted around them, that impressed Muslim socialists most strongly. After the Movement had ended, the desire to regain their dignity had taken firm root in their minds, and in the 1930s this became articulated in the form of a secular ideology.⁵³

The condition of the qasbahs kept alive old hostility towards the British but it also forced Muslims living in them to consider new alternatives. Some left to seek jobs in Muslim principalities such as Rampur, Bhopal, Tonk and Hyderabad (Deccan), where nawabs still respected traditional learning and where Islamic institutions still required their services. Others entered British service. A substantial number of Muslim service families began to pay greater attention to westernised education. Qualifications from British-recognised institutions had become essential for government jobs, and so material considerations began to outweigh Muslim religious and cultural objections to participation in British-sponsored education. At MAO College,

Aligarh, for instance, which was set up in response to this recognition, 54% of the students between 1875 and 1895 originally came from qasbahs in the U.P.⁵⁴ Muslims who had themselves been trained in traditional intellectual skills, realised that the future prospects of their children's advancement would suffer badly if they were not given a westernised education. Many parents therefore arranged to have their sons educated at modern institutions in nearby larger towns and cities. Thus, there emerged, in centres such as Allahabad and Lucknow, Moradabad and Aligarh, a new layer of western-educated professional Muslims - civil servants, lawyers, journalists, university lecturers and teachers - the new service elite, preoccupied with the problems of colonial India. Over half the fathers of the Muslim socialists included in Appendix II worked for the government or in professions dependent on the British.

Many Muslim socialists themselves travelled the same educational path, from their village through the high school at the *tehsil* or district headquarters, and then to colleges and universities in the cities.⁵⁵ Compared with earlier Muslim socialists, the survey in Appendix II reveals that the educational standards attained by the Muslim socialists of the 1930s and 1940s were much higher. Nearly three-quarters were graduates or qualified as doctors, lawyers and teachers. A minority also went to Britain and Europe to obtain further qualification.⁵⁶ Sajjad Zahir, for instance, took a degree in European History, Political Science and Economics at the University of Lucknow in 1926. He was then sent to Oxford to prepare for the Indian Civil Service. It was there that he, like some other Indian students in Europe, became attracted to Marxism and involved in left-wing political activity.⁵⁷

The Problems of the New Muslim Elite

The new Muslim service elite was not without its own set of problems. As more Muslims were educated along western lines, there were not enough jobs to go round. Muslim socialists were among those who suffered. They also suffered from the stresses

and contradictions which people experience as they progress from an agrarian society under patrimonial government to one increasingly influenced by industrial civilisation and rule by a form of modern state.

The *Ashraf* expected to be in government service. Their training and their values supported this expectation. Traditional Muslim education was strongly biased towards the humanities and legal studies. There was an emphasis on grammar, logic, mathematics, theology and jurisprudence. The system of education introduced by the British also reinforced this expectation. The British required men qualified to run the judicial, civil and law-enforcing machinery of the state. proficiency in English and a sound knowledge of legal procedures were needed. At Aligarh, for instance, the most widely-taught subjects included English Literature, Philosophy, History and Law.⁵⁸ The overall result of this bias towards these subjects produced a surplus of graduates who could not all be guaranteed a job, and which led to increased unemployment among graduates. The economic depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s gave this growing problem a brutal twist. Joblessness among the educated middle-class layers of Indian-Muslim society increased and began to cause discontent. Educated Muslim youth became frustrated and dissatisfied with their lives. In their impatience, some looked to radical alternatives. Failure to find employment helped to drive them to think of an independent and socialist India as the only rational solution to their degraded and deteriorating position. *Naya Adab*, journal of the PWA, in an editorial entitled 'Writers and Concern about Livelihood', expressed its anxiety over the growing number of unemployed with higher educational qualification, especially among professional writers and journalists. It pointed out the connection between this situation and the 'irrational distribution and allocation of resources and wealth' in society, and suggested that the solution lay in the radical transformation of existing social structures.⁵⁹

Poverty and personal hardship were factors, both direct and indirect, in the background of certain Muslim socialists. Some came from poor families and experienced poverty at first hand from an early age. They became acutely aware of the inequalities which existed in Indian society, and the damage which this inflicted on individual potential and human relationships. They did not forget their early experiences and later made the degradation and humiliation of India's poor the subject of their works. Ahsan Danish's father, for instance, was a manual worker. He was unable to provide Danish with even his basic needs. Although Danish eventually achieved a comfortable standard of living, he always remembered the years of hardship, and wrote about poverty in his poems. His poetry was, he confessed, 'the mirror' of his own personal experiences.⁶⁰ Other writers, born into prosperous and respectable middle-class families experienced poverty 'by accident'. A.N. Qasmi and Khadija Mastur underwent unexpected hardship whilst still young following the deaths of their fathers.⁶¹ Qasmi, scion of a *pir* family, was forced to live with his uncle, an extra-Assistant Commissioner in the Panjab, after his father died because his mother could not support the family on her own. His uncle looked after him well, but 'after spending ten months of the year in comfort', Qasmi recalled,

'I would go home for two months, and life would change to degradation. At the end of the summer vacation, Mother could not afford to pay my train fare and I had to beg my affluent relatives for it.'⁶²

Qasmi, his awareness heightened, observed that his relatives, who claimed to be the spiritual mentors of the peasants, in reality exploited them. Subsequently, his own difficulties in finding a job after having obtained a Bachelor of Art's degree helped to reinforce his growing belief in socialism.⁶³ Finally, there were those socialists who became conscious of the injustices of society through incidents which brought them face to face with the contradictions between wealth and poverty. The

callous way in which the rich and powerful often treated the poor revealed how cheaply they regarded human life. At the jubilee celebrations of the Maharaja of Alwar, Dr. K.M. Ashraf saw him crash his car at eighty miles an hour into a policeman, simply because he did not wish to damage its mud-guard by striking something more solid. 'The Maharaja just turned his head and threw a glance at the dead body', Ashraf recalled, '... on our return, he ordered a pension of five rupees to be given to the widow. The matter was settled'. Ashraf, on the other hand, was marked for life.⁶⁴

Turning now to consider the stresses and contradictions which Muslim socialist writers suffered, we should remember that the emotional cost of the transition to a modern society was high. With a foot still in both camps, these Muslims suffered a wide range of problems in coming to understand where they stood. The alienation which their social backgrounds induced in them was an important factor in their espousal of socialist views.⁶⁵

Sharif child-rearing generally played down love and affection and emphasized stern authority. Yet, there was a period in early childhood when the child would receive the protection, care and warmth of a loving mother. The mother's attitude was normally in sharp contrast to the severe and restrained temperament of the father. The early lives of *sharif* children were, therefore, full of emotional and intellectual conflicts and contradictions. This tension was compounded in cases where the father practised polygamy. In the case of Mumtaz Mufti, for instance, he, his mother and his sister occupied the 'outhouses', while his father together with second wife lived in the family bungalow. The unfairness of this treatment, sympathy for the often helpless mother, increased resentment against the father, and, in some cases, became transformed into revolt against authority in general.⁶⁶

Among the secularising strata of educated Muslim elites, the differences in the attitudes of the parents was heightened by the

child's natural attachment to a deeply religious mother and the demands of an ostensibly 'modern' father. The child was torn between the 'moral' education imparted by the *maktab*, and the mother and grandmother at home, and the ambitions of the father to transform his son into a 'brown Englishman' like himself. The rigidity of the moral standards imposed by early religious education often made the compromises of the father's generation seem unacceptable. Furthermore, the subsequent transformation of the loving and tender home environment into one run on strict disciplinarian lines engendered feelings of mistrust. These attitudes at home helped to transform some into uncompromising rebels.⁶⁷ Scadat Hasan Manto (1912-1955), one of the great Urdu short story writers of his era, became one such rebel.⁶⁸ He belonged to a reputable Kashmiri family of Amritsar. His father, a trained barrister, was a sessions judge. His three elder half-brothers were educated abroad and were also called to the Bar. Throughout his childhood, Manto experienced the opposition between the temperament and character of his parents, and the contradictions of his home were reflected in his own personality. His mother, his father's second wife, was a woman of very gentle disposition, a traditional Muslim woman who was loving and affectionate to her children. She was also cultivated and artistic. From her, Manto perhaps inherited his humanism, generosity, sympathy and compassion. On the other hand, his sense of egotism and impulsiveness were probably reactions against the harshness and strict discipline imposed by his father. A man of conservative tastes, Manto's father disapproved of his interest in literary activities and games, and expected him to devote himself wholeheartedly to his studies in order to follow his brothers into a respectable and modern career. Manto, in later life, related an incident which illustrated the friction between himself and his father. As a schoolboy, Manto had formed a dramatic club with his friends so that they could stage plays. 'One day', Manto recalled,

'my father attacked us and tore apart the harmoniums and *tablas*, and he told us in no uncertain terms that he did not care for such worthless games'.⁶⁹

However, instead of submitting to his father, Manto rebelled, and, contrary to his father's wishes, wrote articles for his school magazine. With the onset of greater maturity, Manto's undirected rebelliousness developed into a search for an alternative ideology that sought to annihilate all 'evil'. He also developed a hostility towards father figures and an identification with 'underdogs', who, like him, in his view, were victims of unjust authority. This search subsequently became crystallised in his early short stories. *Tamasha* (Circus), for instance, described the 1919 Jallianwalla Bagh massacre at Amritsar as seen through the eyes of a seven year old boy. It brought into focus Manto's criticisms of unjust British oppression, and his sympathy for the oppressed. When the narrator of the story, Khalid, was told that an older boy who he had just seen fall outside his window, had been beaten by a cruel schoolmaster, his response was evocative not only of a child's cry of anguish but also the adult's condemnation of the British and his desire for freedom. 'Oh God', he cried,

I pray that the master who has beaten this boy will be properly punished and this stick that has caused bloodshed will be snatched away'.⁷⁰

Modern westernised education also led to the questioning of existing social and political structures, and, in some cases, to the emergence among the predecessors of socialist writers of opposition to British rule. Most of the western-educated Indian Muslims of this generation had a kind of love-hate relationship with the British, and this was frequently shown in their attitudes and behaviour. Emotionally, they found British rule unbearable. Saiyid Wazir Hasan 'was sympathetic to the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation movement' but 'personal property and family commitments were more important ... In practice, he was an Epicurian. He dressed fashionably, loved gourmet food, a refined social atmosphere, music and the company of beautiful women'.⁷¹ Members of this older generation adopted western life-styles, wore suits tailored abroad, and sent their children to

convents, missionary colleges and universities abroad for higher education. At the same time, they wanted to end British domination in India. Sajjad Haider Yaldram, father of Qurrat al-^cAin Haidar, tried to rationalise and embrace the contradictions of this generation of Indian Muslims, albeit simplistically, the dilemmas of his class and generation. 'The historical law', he suggested, was that

'a conquered nation under the influence of the energetic culture of the alien ruler, becomes an admirer of most of its elements, adopts its social and cultural values and customs to a certain degree, but then struggles to free itself from enslavement'.⁷²

The children of such men, who included many Muslim socialists, experienced the full force of the contradictions in their parents' lives. They were confused. They could not understand how, in the words of Qurrat al-^cAin Haidar, the older generation could both be 'proud of Ahmad^cAli', grandfather of Yaldram and rebel of 1857, and admire his brother Risaldar Nabi Bakhsh, native A.D.C. to Lord Dalhousie, at one and the same time. How could they surreptitiously hand over funds to the freedom movement and accept knighthoods for loyal service to the Raj. How could they praise Jawharlal Nehru for his uncompromising hostility to British rule, and yet admire him for having rubbed shoulders with English aristocracy on the playing fields of Harrow.⁷³ Socialist writers resolved this conflict by appealing to socialism, which provided a rigorous and rational critique not only of their society but also that of the dominant power whose unassailability they had begun to question.⁷⁴

The educational strategies of westernising Muslims further contributed to their children's rejection of prevalent values and social structures in Indian Muslim society. Muslim parents encouraged their sons to study the arts subjects most suitable for a career in government service. These young men thus absorbed a variety of western literary concepts, techniques and styles. As

a by-product, they acquired skills of critically assessing their own society. English and Russian writers spoke of liberty, the need for sensitive personal relations and the autonomy of the individual. More socially-discerning youth saw in the works of these authors a radical critique of their own society, an expose of the deadening impact on individualism of the extended family system, and the 'choicelessness' of the Indian social structure. They also found the stimulus for revolt against the oppression of their everyday lives. A sound knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Urdu acquired at home or in the local *madrassa*, and a literary atmosphere at home, suitably equipped them to express their disgust with prevalent Muslim morality. Urdu literature became the channel through which these Muslim 'rebels' declared war on prevailing social, religious and political institutions. Through it, they exposed the 'stink of familial and sexual life', poured scorn on the 'false enamel of past civilisation' and the 'false religiosity of the Mullahs'.⁷⁵ The cruelly authoritarian and 'arrogant' teaching methods of the mullahs, which helped to turn socialist writers such as Hajra Masrur against them, contrasted, sharply with that of teachers at westernised schools and colleges who who took great personal interest in their students' well-being future.⁷⁶

There were problems of another dimension which modern *sharif* children had to resolve in their own personal development. As they grew up, they suffered from the alienation which their composite social backgrounds produced. They often became lonely figures craving for emotional fulfilment which they were unable to find in their family environment. Moreover, they became conscious of their social privileges which generated feelings of guilt in them. They sought to absolve themselves of this guilt by sharing with ordinary people their privilege of learning. They attempted to end their own alienation from society and from the masses by rejecting their families ideologically and emotionally, and by providing the people with revolutionary leadership.⁷⁷ Zahir Kashmiri described how he experienced domestic violence; how he was taught the *mantras* of tradition in order to avoid the evils of insolence and revolt; and how, devastated by his personal tragic position and having

attempted an 'escape into the depths of melancholia and pessimism', he finally rejected family discipline and set out in search of a 'new brotherhood'.⁷⁸ Mumtaz Mufti, Akhtar Ansari and Akhtar Orainwi also pointed to similar stages in their intellectual development.⁷⁹

From this negative critique of their religion and society, Progressive Writers advanced in search of remedies and found socialism. Socialism, they felt, not only provided for the resolution of their own personal predicament, it also appeared to pave the way for matching and even surpassing the West. Through socialism, they felt that they would be able to win back their dignity lost through years of subjugation. yet the very form of freedom which they sought and the manner in which they wished to establish the claims of their society to worldwide respect – through modernity – was 'foreign' in inspiration, and thus to a certain extent lacked popular appeal. These mainly middle-class intellectuals remained on the margins of society, neither completely immersed in it nor totally removed from it. Modern education had transposed them intellectually to the West. Nevertheless, emotionally their hearts were rooted in India. Secure in neither India nor the West, they could not accept the 'norms' practised by either. They rejected the traditional framework prescribed by their elders, together with the modern alternative offered by the capitalist West. Instead, they tried to construct a valid synthesis based on a system which would, in their view, guarantee individual freedom and social justice for all.⁸⁰

The evolution of Faiz Ahmad Faiz, as seen through the development of his poetry, presents an excellent example of an attempt at this synthesis. His works illustrate the transition of these Muslim youth from libertarian romanticism to socialist realism. Faiz's father had served Amir 'Abd al-Rahman of Afghanistan before going on to England and qualifying as a barrister. Although never very successful, he was prosperous enough to send Faiz to the Scotch Mission School in Sialkot for

his education. Faiz later graduated from Government College, Lahore, an institution which catered primarily for the elites of the Punjab, and then went on to take his Master of Arts degree in English Literature and Arabic from the Punjab University. The blend of the classical style of Urdu poetry and modern themes was present in his early poetry, which in the 1930s reflected the essentially individualist concerns of a relatively contented middle-class young man. With the sharpening of the nationalist struggle, Faiz's sensitive mind reached out to combine his romantic disposition with anger to the injustice that he observed in society around him.⁸¹ The poems of *Naqsh-i Faryadi* were his attempt at combining what he considered to be the best features of Eastern traditional poetry with Western modernist - for Faiz, socialist - thought. In this way, he hoped to resolve his personal predicament, his guilt at being relatively well-off in an ocean of poverty-stricken humanity, in a higher synthesis. Making exquisite use of symbolism and metaphor, Faiz created an intensely powerful fusion of love and suffering in his master-piece, 'Do Not Ask From Me, My Beloved, Love Like That Former One', he pointed out that :

'There are other sufferings of time besides love,

Bodies sold everywhere in alley and market

'Smearred with dust

'Washed in blood

'Pus flowing from rotten ulcers

'The blood of the poor flows on the highroads

'No control over my heart is left to me'.⁸²

The Emergence of Women Progressive Writers

Prior to the participation of Muslim service families in government-sponsored educational institutions and the creation of social ties through the administrative structure of British India, marriage alliances had been the most important factor of

social cohesion. By the beginning of the twentieth century, institutions such as Aligarh, which encouraged a strong *esprit de corps*, helped Muslim youth to establish new personal ties, and often to consolidate and expand already existing social relations with each other and between their families. These social networks, which, in some cases, spread all over India, were strengthened through mutual hospitality and common aesthetic tastes.⁸³ Socialist writers very often came from liberal *Ashraf* networks developed in this way, but the connection was particularly strong for women socialist writers. Traditional views on the role of women in Muslim society meant that these women were very dependent on a liberal and broadminded home environment which allowed them to develop their intellectual potential.

The family of the woman writer, Qurrat al-^cAin Haidar, was at the centre of one such informal network. Her father, Sajjad Haidar Yaldram (a Sunni) and her mother, Nazar Zuhra (a Shi^ca) came from well-connected, highly-educated *Ashraf* families of Bijnor and Moradabad. Yaldram was sent to Aligarh. Nazar Zuhra was coached by a Eurasian governess. At Aligarh, Yaldram established a series of life-long friendships with liberal personalities such as Shaikh ^cAbd al-Qadir, Ghulam al-Saqlain and Saiyid Wazir Hasan. Shams al-^cUlama Saiyid Mumtaz ^cAli, the follower of Saiyid Ahmad Khan's modernist thought and a valiant fighter for the feminist cause, whose wife, Muhammadi Begam, was the editor of the women's magazine, *Tehzib-i Niswan* (Refinement of Women), knew Yaldram well and arranged his marriage with the talented woman writer whom she had come to know through her literary contributions to *Tehzib-i Niswan* and the children's magazine *Phul* (Flower). Yaldram, a staunch supporter of women's rights, compelled his wife to abandon *pardah* in 1921, and encouraged her to mount campaigns in collaboration with other westernised Muslim women against ostentation and polygamy, and in favour of female education. This collaboration was only possible because

close personal understanding had already been established through close social contact.⁸⁴

Mutual visits among modernising families were frequent, and facilitated by residence in the same exclusive 'colonies', such as University Colony at Aligarh, Qaisarbagh at Lucknow, Kucha Chailan at Delhi, and Baghbanpura and Civil Lines at Lahore. They went to the same hill resorts for their summer holidays - Mussoorie, Naini Tal, Dehra Dun and Abbotabad. This kind of interaction among intellectual Muslims created a stimulating atmosphere for their children. However, the most significant factor in the literary development of a number of socialist women writers was the close connection of their families with Urdu literature and literary enterprises. Qurrat al-^cAin Haidar's parents were both prolific short story writers and novelists. Shaikh ^cAbd-Allah and his wife Wahid Jahan, parents of Rashid Jahan, the pioneering woman communist writer, were close friends of the Haidars. Wahid Jahan edited the woman's magazine *Khatun*. With parents involved in literary work, it was hardly surprising that their children should have developed a flair and enthusiasm for writing. Imtiaz ^cAli Taj, the famous dramatist, was also brought up in this literary 'hothouse' atmosphere. His father, Shams al-^cUlama Saiyid Mumtaz ^cAli, inaugurated the magazine *Phul*. Nazar Zuhra was only thirteen when she was appointed its editor. Imtiaz ^cAli Taj and many other reputable socialist writers received their baptism in this same publication.⁸⁵

More specifically, women's magazines such as *Tehzib-i Niswan*, *Khatun* and *Asmat* were not only instrumental in disseminating modern ideas among middle-class Muslim women, they also became the means through which women writers could communicate and develop more intimate ties with each other.⁸⁶ In this way, a network of 'progressive' women writers came to be established, whose efforts encouraged subsequent generations of women to take up creative literary work. There were, however, other reasons why an increasingly

large number of Muslim women were drawn to this kind of writing. As westernised urban Muslim men began to adapt to the increasingly impersonal political and administrative institutions of British India, they found that they had little in common with secluded and uneducated Muslim girls who were most likely to become their life partners. 'We became great admirers of modern culture', recalled Sajjad Haider Yaldram,

'Muslim women lacked western education. Only a few knew (how to read and write) Urdu. And apart from a few women, hardly any of them knew about the English way of life. We desired that our life-partner should also have an aptitude for our (modern) way of living. And because this seemed a practical impossibility, we had decided that unless we could find a life partner of this kind, we would not get married.'⁸⁷

Young Muslim men were no longer prepared to accept the suffocation and frustration of the traditional home environment. Women, in order to satisfy the altered needs of men, were now required to abandon their traditional roles along with their *pardah*, and acquire a modern education. Not all men from *sharif* backgrounds could, however, completely erase the traditional attitudes towards women instilled in them from an early age, and this was sometimes even reflected in the attitude of Progressive Writers towards their wives. Jan Nisar Akhtar married Safia, the sister of Israr al-Haq Majaz, another leading socialist poet, and allowed her to work as a teacher. But he could not rid himself of the widespread view that a woman's proper place was in the home. Safia once remarked that if he felt thirsty at night, he would wake her to fetch him water. Even westernised Muslim women themselves were not able to rid themselves of the ingrained traditional view of husbands as *Majazi Khuda* (symbolic gods). Safia considered herself to be her husband's friend and companion, but she unquestioningly accepted his superiority in 'some aspects of life'.⁸⁸ The pressure on some socialist writers to maintain Islamic strictures with regard to women was so great that in some instances they were even

unable to release their own wives from practices such as *pardah*.⁸⁹

A section of Muslim modernist opinion had broken away from traditional opposition to women's education and other rights, and so had sponsored campaigns to provide for their daughters' educational needs. These modern Muslim families were the ones which produced the first women Progressive Writers. The majority of these women had fathers or husbands who had been educated at Aligarh. As their fathers were often connected with the machinery of the British government, their jobs meant that they had to move frequently to stations away from their ancestral homes, and therefore their daughters did not have to conform to tradition as strictly as they would have been forced to do under the pressure of the extended family. ^cAsmat Chughtai (b. 1915), the most famous of the women Progressive Writers both before and after Independence, was typical of this kind of modern upbringing. Her father, Qasim Beg Chughtai, belonged to a prosperous landholding family of Agra. He was one of the first graduates from Aligarh. Later, he joined the Civil Service and had to move frequently around the U.P. ^cAsmat was the ninth of his ten children. Qasim Beg was in many ways a 'broadminded' man. He believed in education for girls and gave ^cAsmat equal opportunities to develop her potential - 'horseriding, everything'. The atmosphere at home was liberal and frank. 'We never used to sit in separate groups', ^cAsmat recalled,

'women in one place, men in another. Every Sunday, we used to go on a shoot and ride, one by one, and I never thought myself to be inferior to any boy. I used to speak as boldly as my brothers. I used to climb trees ... I never had the feeling that being a woman, I should be shy and nervous ... And we discussed sex openly ... we knew about the facts of life very simply ... because they were openly discussed'.⁹⁰

While her father was stationed at Aligarh, ^cAsmat went to an English medium school and felt relatively free. Then her father retired and returned to live in the ancestral home at Agra. Here, for the first time, she felt stifled. After living in the open air', she explained,

'I again experienced the suffocation of the decaying environment of Mohall Punjab Shahi, Agra; its delapidated streets; girls with consumptive looks who would shudder at their own heartbeats. I did not get on at all well with these girls, or the old hags who were horrified at my 'prancing' around on rooftops ... In those streets of Agra, I, for the first time, realised how unfortunate it was to be a girl. Why did God create woman? What was the need for a helpless and submissive being? The washer woman was beaten every night; the sweeperess was frequently thrashed with sandals. Women in the neighbourhood were all beaten by their husbands. I would pray to God imploring, 'Oh God, please turn me into a boy, so that I will not be spanked for flying kites on the roof, playing kabaddi (tag wrestling) in the streets and freely running around after the monkeys ... But in Agra, those streets were full of relatives. And mother was terrified of them. So long as we lived in other cities, we remained free. As soon as we came back to the family home, it felt as if we had been put in chains.'⁹¹

But their stay in Agra proved to be only a short interlude. In 1928, they settled again in Aligarh, and ^cAsmat recaptured the freedoms of her earlier life. She went on to attend Isabella Thorburn College in Lucknow. The impact of western education on her was decisive. 'There', she pointed out,

'the professors were very broadminded. Even in those days, they were very sympathetic towards us and the Indian Freedom Movement. There I learnt about what the English had done to the Indians. I joined the class in Comparative Religion. It was here that they first taught me about

Aligarh also acted as a catalyst in the radicalisation of several other women. Siddiqa Begam Sehwarwi, the daughter of a middle-ranking civil servant, spent her childhood in Lucknow. then, after a short stay at Sehwarah, her ancestral qasbah, she went to Aligarh for a year. There she came into contact with the socialist movement, which, as she later explained, 'changed my life completely'.⁹³

The mothers of these women were themselves often highly educated. They held similar aspirations for their daughters. A number of them were personally convinced of the superiority of western life-styles, which they had adopted enthusiastically and which they were keen to see their daughters embrace. They abandoned pardah, organised mixed parties, designed, adapted and wore western dresses, rode horses, went out on shoots in breeches, drove motor cars, learnt to fly aeroplanes, swam in 'mixed club' swimming pools, played badminton and pingpong, sent their daughters to convents and colleges, took up professional work, and occasionally even road to their jobs on bicycles. Invariably, they displayed a keen literary interest. Prolific purveyors of all kinds of literature, they would sometimes contribute articles and poems to the more respectable periodicals. The climate at home was educational and literary, which encouraged creativity from an early age. Aisha Durrani, elder sister of the famous novelists and short story writers Khadija Mastur and Hajra Masrur, wrote her first story at the age of eleven. 'When I showed it to my parents', she recalled, 'they were very encouraging'.⁹⁴

An outstanding example of this kind of family background was that of Rashid Jahan. She came from one of the Muslim families in the forefront of intellectual and educational achievement within the Indian Muslim community. It was a home in which all the women of her mother's generation were educated either privately or in schools, and the men were deeply sympathetic to women's rights. Wahid Jahan, her mother, was the headmistress of the Girls School at Aligarh. she and her

sisters, some of whom were also employed in various professional capacities, all wrote for *Khatun*. There was, therefore, a constant exchange of ideas in Rashid Jahan's home, particularly on the relationship between the role of women in society and education, the influence of education in the development of the full potential of women, and more generally the rising tempo of the nationalist movement. Rashid Jahan also came across these issues in discussions at school, and experienced their resonance in and around Aligarh. She went to the Girls School in Aligarh, and began her literary career in the same way as many other contemporary writers by contributing short stories for the school magazine. Then she went to Isabella Thorburn College, Lucknow. While studying there, she wrote *Salma* in 1923-4 for the College anthology, *When the Tom Tom Beats*. After qualifying as a medical doctor from Lady Hardinge Medical College, New Delhi, in 1929, she was posted to Lucknow where she came into contact with Sajjad Zahir, Ahmad Ali and Mahmud al-Zafar, the *betes noires* of Lucknow's literary circle. It was here that ideas on women's emancipation, germinating in her mind since childhood, became crystallised in the shape of two short stories which she contributed to *Angare* in 1933. It was again in Lucknow that she first committed herself ideologically and politically to the cause of socialism. Soon afterwards, she cemented this commitment by marrying Mahmud al-Zafar, who had by then become an important figure in the Indian communist movement.⁹⁵

Most middle-class Muslim families, however, continued to observe *pardah*, and thus they still refrained from allowing their daughters to attend schools. Some of these families, nevertheless, did consider their daughters' education to be of importance⁹⁶, and arranged to give them a thorough grounding in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and sometimes English at home. This enabled certain women, despite restrictions imposed in Muslim society, to write creatively in well-known women's Urdu magazines. Hamida Sultana was one such writer. She came from a reputable family in Delhi, which did not customarily send its daughters to school. This was a matter of family honour, she

explained. Instead, she was coached at home. She learnt Urdu from a Persian *munshi* and English from an English governess. Before the end of her thirteenth year, she had begun to recite her own poems and write short stories.⁹⁷

Women Progressive Writers did not need to write for a living. They were usually housewives, married to rich husbands, or they came from prosperous family backgrounds. In the final analysis, writing for them was a vocation. There was a sprinkling of working women amongst them, but they were involved mainly in professions connected directly or indirectly with the creative production of literature as journalists and teachers. The majority were Shi'ca, in contrast to their male counterparts, and the vast majority came from western U.P., where the modernist influence of the Aligarh environment played a decisive role in their radicalisation. But the overall number of women involved in progressive writing remained meagre. Muslim women were traditionally discouraged from taking part in intellectual life or any other kind of creative activity apart from procreation. That some of them did participate in these endeavours was a testimony to their courage and initiative.

The majority of Muslim socialists belonged to the Muslim elites of Northern India. These elites included families which traditionally produced *ulama*, government servants and landlords, most of whom felt worse off under British rule. A significant number of these socialists, however, came from families who had moved to the larger towns and cities of the region which had acquired new importance under colonial rule. Many of these came to enjoy common cultural ties with local Urdu-speaking Hindu elites. By the beginning of the twentieth century, this elite had begun to accept the necessity of a modern education; but the westernising influences of this kind of education contrasted strongly with a family atmosphere that was still largely traditional in most cases, and in which Islamic values were of central importance. Faced with this situation, many Muslim socialists felt that they did not fit into either

world. Finding themselves on the margins of Indian Muslim society, they were able to view it critically and adopted a secular world view which distinguished them from the majority of their Muslim contemporaries.

A combination of both social environment and individual temperament ultimately determined the emergence of specific socialist writers. On the one hand, this was illustrated by the example of Muttalibi Faridabadi and his brother Hashmi. Hashmi was brought up in the rarified nawabi-style atmosphere of Delhi, while Muttalibi grew up in Faridabad and as a boy played with poor children from the *mohalla*. Hashmi became a liberal scholar and respected member of Muslim society. Muttalibi developed into a revolutionary socialist and Progressive Writer of some note.⁹⁸ On the other hand, the development of the political consciousness of Sajjad Zahir highlighted the way in which individual character played a determining factor in the emergence of these radical writers. Sajjad Zahir was one of four brothers who were raised under the same set of family influences. Of the four, only Sajjad Zahir became a committed communist; his brothers became successful civil servants, barristers and liberal politicians.⁹⁹ The similar social backgrounds which Muslim socialists on the whole shared, subsequently determined the kind of activity in which they became involved, and aided them considerably when they organised their individual actions into a concerted movement. Their connections with an influential stratum of Muslim society, which shared their cultural interests, provided them with a constituency from which they drew important support. Thus, these socialists were very much the product of Indian Muslim society as it had developed by the first half of the twentieth century, despite the fact that their political views were very different from the dominant separatist trend that was emerging among Indian Muslims

CHAPTER V

MUSLIM SOCIALISTS AND THE PWA: 1936-1947

In 1936, many Muslim socialists began to come together in a formal organisation, the Progressive Writers' Association (PWA). Between its foundation in India in 1936, and the partition of India in 1947, it was much buffeted by events. From 1936 to 1941, although Progressive Writers showed no hesitation in expressing their revulsion for the rising tide of Fascism in Europe and Japan, their most trenchant criticism was reserved for British Imperialism in India. The main thrust of their work was directed at undermining British rule in India. Opposition to Fascism and imperialism meant that the tactic of a 'united front' with social democratic and liberal forces, which the Communist International had approved in Europe, was adapted to Indian conditions through the formation of a close alliance with the Indian nationalist movement.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Britain and the Soviet Union became allies; the Communists in India felt that they could not oppose the British India Government while the war continued. The emphasis of the PWA's policies shifted from attacking British rule to attacking Fascism. In the years 1942 to 1945, Muslim socialist writers supported the British war effort. Although still opposed to British rule, they broke ranks with the Indian nationalist movement, and began to support the Muslim League. With a fine disregard for the realities of Indian politics, they called for a National Front of Congress and League, without offering any suggestions as to how this might be brought about. They stressed that the first duty of an Indian was to defend colonial India against the threat from Japanese Fascism.

The Government of India responded to these twists and turns in the strategy of the PWA in predictable fashion. While the PWA denounced British imperialism, the Government opposed it, and did so with such success that the work of the PWA was virtually wrecked. But, as soon as the PWA came to share an interest with the British - a common war against Fascism - all restrictions imposed on its activities were relaxed, and the organisation was encouraged to function with as much freedom as war conditions would allow.

The Background to the Formation of the PWA

The Progressive Writers' Movement was a continuation of experiments in new styles of writing and new forms of content made by Indian Muslims as they interacted with ideas from the West. The 'Tahzib al-Akhlaq' of Saiyid Ahmad Khan was one of the first manifestations of this trend. Another important development in this tradition was the formation of the 'Anjuman-i Panjab' (The Society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge) in Lahore¹, which aimed to advance 'popular knowledge' through the vernaculars and through discussions of social, literary, scientific and political interest. It experimented with a new kind of *musha'ira*, which endeavoured to compose poetry embracing a variety of subjects, hitherto considered outside the purview of Urdu poetry, and which introduced forms and styles that resembled poetry from the West. It debated the possibility of introducing the Roman script, and the establishment of representative institutions of government in India. However, this 'Reformist Society' did not question the colonial framework; therefore, it could not meet the new challenges of nationalism in the twentieth century, and thus faded away.

Another notable predecessor of the PWA was the 'Anjuman-i Taraqqi-i Urdu (The Society for the Advancement of Urdu) which was founded in 1903. Maulvi ^cAbd al-Haq, its leader and inspiration, was a graduate of MAO College, Aligarh, and a keen supporter of that section of the Aligarh movement which

drew its inspiration from the liberal ideas and values of Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill. Opposed to religious fanaticism and bigotry, he wished to see the greatest possible dissemination of liberal and scientific ideas through the Urdu language. Moreover, he was also sympathetic to socialism. In 1936, he paid Dr. K.M. Ashraf (a lecturer in history at Aligarh and a socialist) to write a detailed history of the evolution of socialist thought in Urdu. Although the Anjuman was primarily concerned with the promotion of Urdu literature and language it was a relatively independent organisation, and was able to deal with social and cultural problems in a wider political context. The Anjuman had already encouraged Marxist writers. For example, in 1935, it published in its magazine *Urdu*, Akhtar Husain Raipuri's pioneering article 'Literature and Revolution', which for the first time presented a Marxist approach to literary criticism. The Anjuman also published anti-colonial material. In 1935, when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, the Anjuman readily agreed to publish a collection of articles edited by two radicals, Sibt-e-Hasan and Akhtar Husain Raipuri, which condemned European colonial policies in general, and the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in particular. Maulvi 'Abd al-Haq put the considerable resources of the Society at the services of Progressive Writers. He wished the Progressive Writers to become the catalysts of radical change in India. He signed their manifesto, and in his inaugural speech at the Allahabad Urdu-Hindi Conference, he defined the role of writers in India as similar to that of the Encyclopaedists before the French Revolution.²

Another area in which the PWA was being formed was Europe. In the 1930s, Indian students in Europe, many of them the sons of prosperous families, who were preparing themselves for the Indian Civil Service or the Law, were attracted, like many of their European contemporaries to radical politics. Up to the 1920s, Indian students, studying at Oxford and Cambridge, had been involved in activities which focussed specifically on Indian problems. Organised in cultural societies, such as the Oxford Majlis and the Cambridge Majlis, they discussed the

problem of the freedom of India. These debates remained within the framework of gradual constitutional change leading to dominion status. However, during the 1920s, some of these students came under the influence of the Communist Party of Great Britain which offered them revolutionary political alternatives, and which groomed them as Communist activists for work in India.³ By the end of the 1920s, a small group of them had been gathered into a study circle based in London, which examined Indian problems from a Marxist perspective. Students such as Muhammad Din Tasir at Cambridge; Sajjad Zahir, Mahmud al-Zafar and Miyan Iftikhar al-din at Oxford; Dr. Z.A. Ahmad, Hajra Begam and, for a short while, Dr. K.M. Ashraf, in London, served their organisational apprenticeships in the Majlis and the recently-established London branch of the Congress. They gained a left-wing quorum on the committee of the Cambridge Majlis, and introduced a programme of discussions which covered such issues as 'Imperialism', 'The Government of India Act', the Language problem and the question of communalism. Thus, the Majlis afforded a useful framework in which radical ideas and practices could be tested and refined.⁴

Moreover, in the early 1930s, Oxford and Cambridge were dominated by left-wing opinion. *Oxford Outlook*, Oxford's foremost publication on literature and art, edited by Richard Goodman, a Marxist, began to feature articles and poems full of 'red flags' and 'the masses'. A similar magazine, *Cambridge Left*, started publication in the summer of 1933. Membership of Labour clubs grew enormously. Even the October Club, regarded as a joke when first established, flourished. The Indian students who were involved in these activities, later formed the core of the PWA.

These young people were influenced by the event of the early thirties. Worldwide economic depression, the rapid rise of Fascism in Germany, and the increasing danger of war, had an immense impact on their consciousness. Added to this was the hypocrisy of British political standards, which allowed them to

be free in England but chained in India. It was not unusual for such Indians to view imperialism in the form of the British Raj, as possessing strong Fascist characteristics. Nehru explained his intense and immediate opposition to Fascism and Nazism as the consequence of Indians having been 'victims for long of those very principles and methods of government'.⁵ Leftwing opinion in England agreed. 'There is very little difference between the conditions of Indian Progressive Writers today, whether he be living in voluntary and usually penurious exile, or whether he remains in his own country to face imprisonment or inquisition, and the condition of progressive writers in German Fascism', declared the *Left Review* in November 1935 in an article surveying progressive Indian writing.⁶

Awareness of inferiority was heightened, as their writings reveal, by the racial prejudices that Muslim socialist writers experienced in British society. The hostility of Indian students towards British racism may be gleaned from reminiscences and writings of many Progressive Writers.⁷ Marxism offered a rational and closely-argued explanation of this and other problems. It also offered a solution. Conversion to Marxism meant that the careers in Indian government service which had been their aims on arrival in England, were now no longer possible. Yet these students were prepared for little else. 'Most of the members of our small group wanted to become writers', explained Sajjad Zahir, 'What else could they do? We were incapable of manual labour. We had not learnt any craft and our minds revolted against serving the imperialist government. What other field was left? ...'⁸

By the time Sajjad Zahir returned to India for a holiday in 1932, he was already a communist. He had been influenced by Soviet views on literature, such as 'Socialist Realism' and 'Prolet-cult', current among socialists all over Europe. He and his friends tried to put these ideas into practice, in a rather self-conscious and naive fashion, in *Angare*, a collection of short stories.⁹ Literature, they believed, should be organised in a

revolutionary way. The call for the formation of a League of Progressive Writers in April 1933 was the logical result. The League was envisaged as a purely literary body, free of all ideological connections and frameworks. *Angare* was considered by some to be its manifesto. The authors of *Angare*, declared Mahmud al-Zafar, stood for 'the right of free criticism and free expression in all matters of the highest importance to the human race in general and to the Indian people in particular'. 'Present-day Muslim society' was 'ignorant, rotten and decaying'. While oppression existed within all Indian communities, the 'contradictions and injustice in their own systems' needed to be 'boldly exposed'.¹⁰

The Formation of the PWA in London

Between 1938, when Sajjad Zahir returned to England from his short vacation, and April 1936, when the PWA was established in India, dramatic events took place in Europe which drew radical Indian students to politics. Specifically European events such as the Reichstag Fire in Germany, the establishment of the Popular Front against Fascism in France, and the unsuccessful workers' revolution in Austria, were events of 'great significance'. 'We were witnessing all 'around us', Zahir wrote later, 'a period of great conflicts and struggles'. Most disturbing of all was Hitler's assault on the Left, demonstrated by the arrest of Communist and liberal intellectuals, and the burning of their books in the streets and squares of Germany. After this, European and American intellectuals knew that they had to organise themselves to 'save civilisation and culture from the rising tide of reaction and denegration ...' and to 'save themselves from annihilation'.¹¹ As the fascist threat began to acquire menacing proportions, communist writers were encouraged to forge alliance with diverse anti-fascist forces. The Soviet Government stopped attacking bourgeois writing, Gorky was 'rehabilitated', and the Union of Soviet Writers was formed in 1934 to pursue more tolerant and liberal policies.¹²

In England, Cecil Day Lewis and Ralph Fox, leading members of the Communist Party of Great Britain, made strenuous efforts to organise writers along similar lines. Fox was keenly interested in India, and had written a trenchant criticism of British rule there.¹³ He had been delegated by the Communist Party, along with Clemens Dutt, to conduct study circles with sympathetic Indian students. Sajjad Zahir, Dr. Z.A. Ahmad, Mahmud al-Zafar, Dr. K.M. Ashraf and Hajra Begam were all part of this group.¹⁴ They studied the classics of Socialism together, and sought to clarify its basic principles.¹⁵ In wide-ranging and detailed discussions, both formal and informal, with Fox and other members of the Communist Party, they gathered ideas on the formation of a radical literary organisation.¹⁶ 'During the years following the economic collapse of most of our accepted values', recalled the novelist Mulk Raj Anand, 'a number of young writers were to be seen talking over cups of tea in the cafes and garrets of Bloomsbury. Their talk was no longer of their personal predicament, but the realities of politics and economics, of war and Fascism. And they murmured 'organisation'.¹⁷ In 1934, a handful of these Indians met in Sajjad Zahir's London flat and formed a committee to organise a Progressive Writers' Association for India. A manifesto was drafted by Mulk Raj Anand, and thoroughly discussed. After changes and many more hours of discussion, a final draft, prepared by Sajjad Zahir, was approved. Mimeographed copies of the final version, in which slight alterations had been made, were sent to India for distribution and further discussion among writers there.¹⁸

The first regular meeting of the Association was held on 24 November, in the back room of the Nanking Restaurant in Denmark Street, Soho. Between thirty and thirty-five people were present, in the main students from London, Oxford and Cambridge. Mulk Raj Anand was elected President. Among the founding members were Sajjad Zahir and Muhammad Din Tasir.¹⁹

The manifesto, which was accepted at the meeting, noted that radical changes were taking place in Indian society, which were bound to transform it. Indian writers could play a crucial role in hastening change by criticising reaction in all its forms, political, economic and cultural. The manifesto condemned Indian literature as generally bankrupt and escapist, and suggested how it could be made more lively and more relevant. It explained that:

'the new literature must deal with the basic problems of our existence today ... the problems of hunger and poverty, social backwardness and political subjugation ... The object of our association is to rescue literature and other arts from the priestly, academic and decadent classes in whose hands they have degenerated so long; to bring the arts into the closest touch with the people and to make them the vital organ which will register the actualities of life, as well as lead us to the future.'

In short, the main objectives of the Association were to fight cultural reaction, and to further the cause of social regeneration and Indian freedom.²⁰

The London Association held its meetings every fortnight. Essays, stories and poems were read, lectures were delivered. A Bengali member read a paper in English on the poetry of Qazi Nazar al-Islam, explaining its revolutionary significance. Sajjad Zahir presented his Urdu one-act play, *Bimar* (The Sick Man), Sumit Kumar Chatterji spoke in support of replacing the Persian and Nagri scripts with the Roman. Jawaharlal Nehru addressed one of the gatherings. The Association also published a short-lived bulletin.²¹

These Indian intellectuals in English were fully conscious of the limitations of what they were doing. They knew that from London, they were unlikely either to influence Indian literature significantly, or to create any worthwhile literature themselves. 'A few exiled Indians', reflected Sajjad Zahir, 'could do little

more than draw up plans among themselves and produce an orphan-like literature under the influence of European culture.²² The Progressive Movement had to take root in India to have any impact. The founding members resolved to return to the sub-continent. They were encouraged to do so by the ideas they absorbed at the World Congress of Writers for the Defence of Culture, called in June 1935 at the initiative of the eminent French writers, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Andre Malraux and Louis Aragon. In the audience of thousands, Sajjad Zahir and Mulk Raj Anand were 'mere onlookers', but the Congress inspired them profoundly. They learnt important lessons; their faith in their mission was confirmed. Writers of different beliefs and persuasions had come together to defend the right of freedom of thought and opinion, in opposition to fascism and imperialism. They realised that a similar front of diverse forces could be constructed against British repression in India. Sajjad Zahir also noticed 'the presence of workers in large numbers'. He was much impressed because capitalist society had tended to separate writers as a group from the people, encouraging former to fear and despise the latter. The gulf which separated writers from the source of life, the life of the labouring people, had resulted in the spiritual paralysis of large part of modern literature. Literature was to be revitalised by putting it in the closest possible touch with the people, and so writers had to live amongst them.²³

Before he returned to India at the end of 1935, Sajjad Zahir visited Paris once more. He met Louis Aragon, the French poet and novelist, whose 'organisational ability' greatly impressed him. Here was a man who could teach him the art of organising writers. Aragon was the Secretary of the Association of French Writers, and the co-ordinator of eighteen different cultural associations. He was also involved in the editing of the left-wing periodical *Commune*.²⁴ Aragon offered much advice about organising writers, including the sardonic observation that it was very difficult because 'every writer wants an exclusive path for himself'. He stressed the need to secure the cooperation of patriotic and established writers. But most important was the

model of an organiser of writers which Argon presented to Sajjad Zahir. In the years to come, this young Marxist strove to emulate the Frenchman, with whom he continued to correspond. And like him, he also tried to be popular among the 'workers', while cultivating the most sophisticated and most exclusive literary circles in India.²⁵

The Establishment of the PWA in India

The manifesto of the PWA, which had been sent from England, focused the thoughts of those intellectuals and students who had begun to question the values of Indian society and literature. After Mahmud al-Zafar had received his copy, he immediately contacted Faiz Ahmad Faiz, a young lecturer at his college in Amritsar, and they began to form a progressive circle in the Panjab. Premchand published the manifesto in his magazine *Hans* of Benares. Moreover, students at Aligarh were also receptive to the message. 'When I reached there', recalled 'Ali Sardar Jafri, 'the initial imprints of the PWM were being formed, and literature and politics were about to fuse with each other.'²⁶ Among a small group of students, socialism was becoming a living passion. A study circle, resembling the one in London, was set up by Sibte Hasan, Akhtar Husain Raipuri and Hayat-Allah Ansari, which junior lecturers such as Dr. K.M. Ashraf and Dr. 'Abd al-Alim (by now committed communists) attended, and at which socialist works were read and discussed. For a while left-wing magazine, *Payam* (Message) was also brought out. The development of the movement in India followed a similar pattern to the one taken in England; indeed, even the debates followed a similar course. Many of the early participants became pillars of the PWA and 'Progressive Literature'.²⁷

As these developments were taking place, changes in the strategy of the International Communist movement helped to create an atmosphere in India in which the idea of a PWA was favourably received. The Seventh Comintern Congress, which

met in 1935, turned towards 'Popular Frontism'. Indian communists, including leading Muslim socialist writers, were instructed to throw their weight behind the national liberation movement. Ideological differences were set aside; nationalists could be considered as genuine allies in the struggle for political freedom. At the same time, the Congress under Nehru was moving to the left as a result of the failure of the Civil Disobedience movement. Its programme was becoming more radical and it was not opposed to cooperation with the Communists.²⁸

After the Communist Party was banned by the Government of India in July 1934, the organisation had little choice but to go 'underground' and to establish its influence among the Indian people through collaboration with the Congress and other mass organisations. The group of Muslim radicals, which had remained aloof from Congress because of Gandhi's leadership and what they considered to be its visible Hindu bias, found the more secular Nehru acceptable. They had fewer qualms about joining those pressure groups within the Congress (for example, the Congress Socialist Party) which were working for socialist policies. Dr. 'Abd al-Alim joined the Congress Socialist Party and became a member of its executive committee. Dr. K.M. Ashraf, Mahmud al-Zafar, Sajjad Zahir, Dr. Z.A. Ahmad and Hajra Begam joined the Congress although still receiving covert guidance from the Communist Party. They contacted Nehru, whose interest in socialism was at its peak, and who was very keen to establish a strong leftist intellectual orientation in Congress policies. He appointed Dr. Z.A. Ahmad and Dr. K.M. Ashraf to the Economic and Political Departments of the Congress. Later, Mahmud al-Zafar became one of his private secretaries, and Sajjad Zahir took charge of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee.²⁹

By the time that first All-India Conference of the PWA was held in Lucknow in April 1936, its founders had established a toe-hold in the mainstream of nationalist politics; they had assured the 'Progressive Movement' of a warm reception among

larger sections of the Indian intellectual community. More specifically, the organisers, such as Sajjad Zahir, toured far and wide to sound out the views of writers of wide-ranging ideological sympathies, in order to minimise the risk of serious opposition to the project. By presenting their case in relatively moderate terms, Muslim socialist writers were able successfully to canvass the support of established writers. Consequently, the PWA gained a respect and credibility among Indian intellectuals which it would not have had if the organisers had begun it on their own. Furthermore, in the preliminary organisation of the PWA, the pioneers took deliberate advantage of the fact that they shared a common background with the Congress leadership. Had the PWA emerged from the masses, it would have been strongly opposed. That it emerged from the professional and service classes ensured that it was regarded, not as subversive, but just as another manifestation of modernity.³⁰

To these efforts were added touches of astute compromise in a new manifesto, and in the timing of the first conference. It intentionally coincided with the Lucknow session of the Congress, and the Association profited from the publicity generated by the close involvement of its leading figures in the nationalist organisation.³¹

The organisers of the PWA made strenuous and sincere efforts to keep alive the spirit of solidarity which existed in London between writers of various Indian languages, especially Hindi and Urdu, and to establish the Association on a secular and multilingual basis. As soon as Sajjad Zahir had disembarked at Bombay, he met the Gujarati novelist, K.M. Munshi, to find out his views on the setting up of the PWA. Munshi's response was discouraging. He accused Urdu writers of suspicion and antagonism towards Hindi, and thus of hindering the development of national unity. Sajjad Zahir suspected Munshi of a latent Hindi chauvinism, of 'trying to re-erect relics of Somnath'. Undeterred, Sajjad Zahir continued to canvass writers of other Indian languages. They were invited to participate in the first All-India conference of 1936. But the response was not

encouraging. Of all the delegates from the U.P., not one represented Hindi writers. Premchand was there but only as a guest. Other reputable writers such as Babu Maithili, Sharan Gupta, Pandit Banarisi Das Chaturvedi, Samtaranaudan Pant, Subhadra Kumari Chauhan, Pandit Bal Krishan Sharma and Navin acknowledged the Association but declined to attend the conference.³²

In the 1930s, the controversy over whether Urdu or Hindi was to dominate North Indian culture had reached its peak; it was a major issue. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress socialists and the more liberal nationalists were keen to reach a compromise, but Gandhi, heeding advice of communalists such as K.M. Munshi (Gujerati) and Kaka Kalakar (Marathi), disagreed. In May 1936, he declared his preference for Hindi, thus destroying what faith a large section of nationalist Muslims still had in the secular nature of the Congress. Thereafter, the Muslim League became the custodian of Urdu, the protection of Urdu became an article of faith; while the slogan 'Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan' began to be raised with much gusto by Hindi supporters, making agreement impossible.³³

Parallel communal tendencies were rapidly emerging in literary circles as well. It appeared as if the Hindi writers were concerned about the lower status of Hindi in comparison with Urdu. By the end of the nineteenth century, a North Indian elite had emerged which comprised both Hindus and Muslims, drawn together by common social and economic interests and their involvement in government service. Its culture was essentially Muslim, and its strongest expression was Urdu literature. Moreover, the latter had gone through a period of experimentation from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, and had developed into a strong vehicle of modern ideas in literature. Thus, Hindi lacked in prestige, and was considered still relatively 'immature'. Since Urdu writers were most active in the PWA, Hindi writers resented their leadership and 'a good many of them were reluctant to enter into any cooperative endeavour' with them. Hindi 'wallahs' were

'weighed down by feelings of inferiority'³⁴, Premchand told Sajjad Zahir, and perhaps considered 'this literary movement (the PWA) as a device to trap them'.³⁵

Thus, the 'secular' intentions that the Progressive Hindi and Urdu Writers had formed in London, the solidarity with which they had begun, was not sustained in the emotionally-charged and politically-polarised atmosphere of India in the 1930s and 1940s. The PWA tried to shelve the issue in the hope that it would go away. They tried to draw attention away from the language issue by dropping the resolutions in the original manifesto which promoted the use of 'Hindustani' to describe the language of North India as opposed to 'Urdu' and 'Hindi', and which promoted the use of the Roman script for these languages rather than the Persian and Nagri scripts. Although Hindi writers subsequently took a greater interest in the activities of the Association, they never became an important part of it; the PWA was a predominantly Urdu movement. Because Urdu was the literary language of Indian Muslims, the composition of the PWA gradually became overwhelmingly Muslim, and so did its major concerns.

The Organisation of the PWA

The manifesto approved at the Lucknow conference laid down two major objectives: to free India from British rule, and to bring literature into the closest touch with life. The constitution was also approved at the conference, and was adopted with minor changes at the second All-India Conference at Calcutta in December 1938. It stipulated a broad democratic structure, with an All-India Committee, elected on a federal basis, charged with the formulation of the policy of the Association and its proper functioning. This Committee had to meet at least once a year, and appoint a General Secretary and an Executive Committee, which would meet at least every three months and be responsible for the implementation of policy. A General Secretary was in charge of day-to-day work, and answerable to the Executive Committee.³⁶

The All-India conferences of the PWA discussed literary problems, laid down practical tasks for its members and decided the broad political and social alignments of the Association in the light of the national and international situation. The first two conferences, for instance, discussed issues such as the nature and purpose of literature, intellectuals and cultural reaction, and the problems of Hindustani.³⁷ At the second conference, it was decided to disseminate the ideas of the Progressive Movement. The resolutions passed at the four All-India conferences - Lucknow (1936), Calcutta (1938), Delhi (1942) and Bombay (1943) - reveal the political colour of the organisation: the construction of 'a new social order' based on equality, freedom and peace was proclaimed; the 'anti-cultural forces of Fascism and militarism' (that is, Mussolini's aggression against Ethiopia and the Japanese attack on China) were condemned; British proscription of radical literature and its suppression of the Press and other civil liberties in India were protested against; 'British imperialism' was blamed for 'the exploitation of India', the deliberate neglect and suppression of its cultural growth, 'the illiteracy of the vast numbers of Indian people, the decay of arts and the comparative backwardness of Indian literature'; solidarity was proclaimed with the forces fighting 'reaction, Fascism and Imperialism' in Germany, Spain and China; writers were urged to 'help the forces of International Peace' by entering into working alliances with other progressive forces.³⁸

Special All-India and provincial conferences were devoted to writers of one language. These conferences dealt mainly with the specific literary and linguistic problems and the immediate tasks with which Progressive Writers of a particular language were most concerned. Three Urdu-Hindi conferences were held in the U.P. between 1937 and 1939 - the first two at Allahabad in 1937 and 1938, and the third in Lucknow in 1939. At the second of these conferences, Dr. 'Abd al-Alim read a paper on the Roman script as a feasible alternative to Persian and Devnagri, but the highlight of the gathering was a speech made by Jawaharlal Nehru, which suggested that writers should try to resolve

people's problems through artistic means, and leave the cruder rhetoric and slogans to the politicians.³⁹

Local PWA units probably did the most productive work of the organisation. It was here that the members read out their critical essays, short stories and poems, which were then followed by lively and thorough discussions. It was at these meetings that problems of literary criticism, of the need of Progressive Writers to participate in the freedom movement, of attitudes towards literary heritage, and of the value of propaganda and aesthetics in Art were discussed exhaustively. These gatherings helped to develop a common position; young writers learned how to write better, and all were kept abreast of developments within the movement as a whole.

Consider the functions of the Bombay branch of the PWA. Like most other local branches, it was only in the 1940s, when the British Government came to feel that the activities of the Association, if not directly beneficial to the prosecution of the war, were not harmful to it, that the Bombay branch really began to flourish. From 1942 onwards, its Urdu section came to comprise a large number of extremely well-known and popular writers and poets, including Josh Malihabadi, Saghir Nizami, Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas, Sajjad Zahir, ^cAli Sardar J^cafri, Kaifi A^czmi and Qudus Sehbai.⁴⁰ Its activities can be divided into four categories. Firstly, there were regular meetings of the members. These weekly gatherings used to take place at Sajjad Zahir's house in Walkeshwar Road. Their proceedings were copiously minuted by Hamid Akhtar, and reproduced by Qudus Sehbai in the Urdu weekly *Nizam*.⁴¹ Secondly, special functions were organised to celebrate or commemorate important days and anniversaries. For instance, the branch observed Premchand Day, Gorky Day and Russian Revolution Day on its own, and then Iqbal, Ghalib and Shibli Days jointly with other local fraternal organisations. Thirdly, receptions were organised for distinguished writers arriving in Bombay from other provinces or from abroad. In the 1945 to 1947 period, such functions were

organised to honour Maulvi 'Abd al-Haq, Secretary of the Anjuman-i Taraqqi-i Urdu, the English novelist, E.M. Forster, Ould Harman, the Secretary of International P.E.N., and Makhdum Muhi al-din, the revolutionary poet and trade unionist from Hyderabad (Deccan). Finally, the branch organised practical action in the community. During the famine in certain parts of the Bombay Presidency in 1946, the PWA highlighted the plight of the victims, and helped to form the broad based 'Cultural Workers Committee for Fighting Famine' to carry out relief work. Writers, artists, doctors and social workers responded enthusiastically to the appeal made by the Committee, and offered their support in raising funds and organising practical measures to alleviate the suffering. Similarly, when communal riots broke out in September 1946, the branch launched a massive campaign, denouncing communal violence. It produced and distributed thousands of anti-communal pamphlets and leaflets, and sought permission, without success, from All-India Radio to broadcast appeals for amity and harmony among the various communities. It offered to put on plays and present stories which promoted fraternal feelings and attitudes. The branch also launched a strong protest against the assaults which were being mounted by the wartime government against the civil liberties of Indians in general and of writers in particular. It condemned the Paper Control Order because this badly affected many of the 'progressive' journals which began publication after 1943.⁴²

Organising a People's Literature

Muslim Progressive Writers were committed as intellectuals to the cause of the oppressed in India, but felt that they were ignorant about the lives and ordinary experiences of those whom they wished to represent. As most had received a middle class upbringing, they knew little of the way what the poor lived, or even what they felt. 'In the present day capitalist society', declared Sajjad Zahir, 'writers as a group have been separated from the people, a little afraid of them, entertaining contempt of them in their hearts. In any case, they are unfamiliar with the

people.⁴³ Many of the Progressive Writers felt that practical measures were required if they were to reject their own social origins successfully, and enter the struggle on the side of the exploited and the suffering. In 1937, Akhtar Husain Raipuri suggested that 'the members of the Association must spend some time with the peasants or workers so that they come into direct contact with the people.' Moreover, 'the area of discussion must be expanded to include economic issues at the Association's meetings.'⁴⁴

Not all the Progressive Writers agreed entirely with these views. Faiz Ahmad Faiz argued that since in India the majority of the workers were illiterate, they were hardly in a position to write about their own problems. Under these circumstances, only the prosperous, who were also educated, could dare to expose the fundamental injustices of society. Giving the examples of Marx, Engels and Lenin, whose socialist credentials were obviously beyond doubt, he pointed out their non-proletarian backgrounds; 'not one of them had ever worked in a factory even for one day'. Although he admitted that it was true that living among workers and establishing relations with them would enable Progressive Writers to understand the peoples' problems better, in the absence of physical contact, sensitivity and the power of imagination and expression could act as adequate substitutes. In any case, Faiz rejected the obsession of Progressive Writers with workers and peasants, and asserted that it would be worth while in itself if they could only communicate their message to the middle classes - for at least these classes could think about the issues and understand their importance. After all, the fight between the worker and the capitalist was not exclusively the war of the proletariat. 'It concerns all of us' and the welfare of the middle classes was inseparably linked with that of the workers and the peasants.⁴⁵

This debate continued right up to Partition, and generated considerable heat inside the organisation. The more dogmatic group, spearheaded by ^cAli Sardar J^cafri, continued to argue for a close physical and intellectual proximity between the writers

and the masses, while the rival group, in the initial stages led by Ahmad Ali and later by Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Akhtar Ansari and Sajjad Zahir, opposed it. Some Progressive Writers either left or were expelled from the organisation as the definition of 'Progressivism' in literature was forced into a mechanical and one-dimensional version of 'Socialist Realism'.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Akhtar Husain Raipuri's proposals did gain the support of some of the authoritative Progressive Writers, primarily because the problem of the communication of social and political ideas to the Indian masses through literature could not be ignored.

Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi, an accomplished poet and a champion of peasant causes, explained why it was expedient to carry out a policy of positive discrimination in literature in favour of the rural poor. Mass mobilisations, he argued, were imperative for the victory of the national struggle. But, it would be impossible to mobilise the masses if they were unable to understand the essence of colonialism and its connection with their own social and political problems. Hitherto, literary folk had only written for small elites, and expounded philosophies which had little relevance for the lives of ordinary people. Consequently, a chasm had developed between the writers and the ordinary people. This gap between the communicators and their audience had to be bridged if the objectives of the PWA were to be realised.⁴⁷ Illiteracy among peasants and workers had to be fought, because it not only reinforced exploitation but also suppressed the general awareness of foreign rule. The cultural level of the masses also needed to be raised by the expression of their problems and experiences in the most vivid terms, if possible through their own imagery and local dialects.⁴⁸ This line of argument had been pursued practically by a number of leading Progressive Writers who had then entered mass organisations to establish their ideological influence over them. Sajjad Zahir and Dr. K.M. Ashraf became representatives of the U.P. Kisan Sabha; Mahmud al-Zafar, Dr. Z.A. Ahmad and Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi became involved in provincial and local Congress committees; and Makhdum Muhi al-din played a

leading role in the organisation of trade unions in Hyderabad (Deccan).

The PWA laid greatest stress on making the widest and deepest possible connections with the people. To emphasize its orientation towards workers and peasants, it organised a number of congresses, specifically to attract them, and introduced literary styles which had strong popular appeal. During the late 1930s, congress for peasant poets were held in West U.P. and the Panjab, and in the 1940s 'Revolutionary Musha^ciras' and other cultural functions were organised, not only in the big industrial cities of Bombay and Calcutta, but also in towns such as Moradabad, Ahmadabad, Surat, Maligaon and Gorakhpur.⁴⁹

The close relations, which the PWA attempted to establish with peasant organisations, were best illustrated by the decision of the Panjab PWA to organise its annual conference in the summer of 1937 to coincide with the annual ^c*Urs* of the Panjab Kisan Committee. That fraternal feelings were reciprocal can be judged from the fact that the Kisan Committee readily agreed to allow the PWA to use its platform at the historic Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, when the Association was refused permission to hold their conference at the Amritsar Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College hall. In terms of peasant participation, Sajjad Zahir considered the conference a great success. Another highly successful congress of village poets was held at Faridabad in West U.P in May 1938. Poets came from the districts of Bulandshahr, Muttra, Agra, Delhi, Rohtak and Kamal. Progressive Writers such as Muhammad^cAqil of Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, Professor Ahmad ^cAli from Lucknow, and Dr. Shaukat-Allah Shah Ansari from Delhi, played a prominent part in the proceedings.⁵⁰

Similar efforts were made by the PWA to organise activities which would appeal to the urban working poor. Progressive Writers introduced the 'Revolutionary Musha^cira' - a radical innovation which completely transformed the traditional

institution of the *musha'ira* from being an expression of elite culture to one of mass culture. The *musha'ira* - a poetic symposium - had always been a ceremonially fastidious occasion at the royal Court, and in the palaces and mansions of nawabs and the gentry. There was a strict protocol observed: Sitting in a crescent on a low dias, under a candle-lit canopy, the poets were called in turn to recite their ghazals; seniority ruled the order of precedence. The tumult of the encore measured the poet's calibre and genius. The *Mir-i Musha'ira*, or leader of the symposium, was the last to recite his verse. Clearly the masses had no place in this exclusive environment.

The PWA, in contrast, organised *musha'ira* which did away with past conventions, and, instead of a select few, were attended by thousands of industrial workers of Bombay and Calcutta. Here Muslim workers would recite their own poems, which, though lacking in artistic maturity, were frank and refreshing in their denunciation of foreign tyranny, and direct in describing their misery and exploitation. For instance, at an *Inqilabi Musha'ira* in Bombay in November 1942, over ten thousand workers were present, of which more than eighty per cent were Muslims from Bombay and Ahmadabad. Elated by this massive response of the Muslim poor, Sajjad Zahir commented,

'The revolutionary significance of this assembly consists in this: It is the Muslim proletariat which has come out as the leader of the most significant and vital trend of modern Urdu literature ... the proletariat has snatched the *mushara* (sic) away from the decadent feudalist and effete bourgeoisie. It has shown how our cultural heritage can be preserved, how it can be used as one of the most potent weapons to unite the people and strengthen and fortify their morale.'⁵¹

**The PWA' Confrontation with the Government:
The 'Imperialist Phase' of War, September
1939-June 1941**

Until the outbreak of the Second World War, the PWA benefitted substantially from its close cooperation with the Congress. There was patronage from prosperous Congress leaders; there was also the chance to use the nationalist platforms to disseminate 'progressive' ideas. The Association became identified in the popular mind with the major concerns of the people and gained a strength which could not easily be undermined.

In this period, both the PWA and the Congress pursued vigorous anti-fascist policies based on socialist arguments which identified Fascism as an extreme and more brutal form of imperialist capitalism. Nehru refused to meet Mussolini in March 1936, and later reacted strongly against Japanese aggression in China and the fascist onslaught in Spain. The PWA, with its connections with international anti-fascist writers' bodies, expressed its strong opposition to the rise of Fascism in Europe. It had already denounced Italy's 'rape of Abyssinia' in articles and conference resolutions.⁵² Between 1936 and 1939, it tried to rally Indian public opinion against the tragedy which was unfolding in Spain. More specifically, the Central Council of the PWA issued a statement against the 'fascist Franco and his allies' and established a committee in Delhi to provide aid to Republican Spain. This committee, apart from members of the PWA, consisted of 'various Indian democratic organisations and prominent personalities'. When Mulk Raj Anand returned from Europe in 1938, he made 'fiery speeches' in which he narrated eye-witness accounts of the fighting in Spain. He described how European progressive writers had laid down their lives (Ralph Fox and Christopher Caudwell were just two of them) in the defence of liberty.⁵³ In such ways, the PWA developed new ideas and won new members.

The anti-British policies of the PWA and the Congress in India were consistent with their anti-fascism abroad. In their view, there was no essential difference between Fascism and imperialism, the former was only a more extreme and brutal form of capitalism, the latter its highest stage. Nehru described how members of the British Cabinet and other prominent politicians in England whom he had met, found his views on Fascism and Nazism unwelcome. There was amongst the British and the French, he felt, 'not only a fear of Hitler, but a sneaking admiration for him ... In India, 'governmentarians' praised Hitler and Mussolini, and held them up as models, and cursed the Soviet Union ... with bell, book and candle'. Indians, moreover, knew from their own experience that British imperialism pursued the same 'principles and methods of government' as Fascism, though they might appear in 'a different garb', and be somewhat disguised for 'the sake of decency'.⁵⁴

Under these circumstances, it was not easy for members of the PWA to justify the Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in August 1939. By a twist of logic, they perceived it as a purely tactical move, designed to protect the Soviet Union from being consumed by the imminent war, the major responsibility for which lay at the feet of the Allies and their struggle for world domination.⁵⁵ The period of fighting which led up to the entry of the Soviet Union into the Second World War became known as the 'Imperialist Phase' to socialists in the PWA. Throughout this phase, the PWA attacked Britain as one of the Imperialist powers which was trying to carve out for itself the maximum share of the colonial world. It was exploiting, in the 'name of peace', the slogan of 'liberty, democracy and protection of small nations'.⁵⁶ The Association denounced All-India Radio with particular severity as 'a weapon of British War Propaganda'. They felt that the Radio was not being used to raise the educational and cultural level of the Indian people, but to justify British war aims. This view was given credence by broadcasts such as the paper read by Victor Kiernan on 'The Sacrifice of Art to War Aims' which showed how Art had been destroyed under Hitler's rule and subordinated

to Germany's military purpose, but which made no mention of how Indian culture was being mauled by the British in similar ways.⁵⁷

The Government of India was not prepared to tolerate Indian opposition to its war effort. A state of emergency was declared, and the Defence of India Rules were instituted which gave the Government arbitrary powers of detention and arrest. Soon after the outbreak of war, the Government attacked the PWA. The offices of *Naya Adab* were raided frequently; the homes of its leading members were searched. Gradually, all the most active and prominent members of the Association were either detained or arrested. Sajjad Zahir was arrested in March 1940, and this was followed by the arrests of Shafiq Ahmad Naqwi, Mahmud al-Zafar and Saiyid Muttalibi.⁵⁸ Then, ^cAli Sardar J^cafri, one of the editors of *Naya Adab*, was detained, tried and sentenced to six months' imprisonment on the charge of raising anti-war slogans. ^cAli Jawad Zaidi, Dr. ^cAbd al-^cAlim, Dr. K.M. Ashraf, Zahir Kashmiri and Qudus Sehbai experienced similar fates.⁵⁹ The censorship, proscription and prohibition of literature, and the ban on the importation of 'subversive' literature from abroad, which had been in force under Press laws and Customs regulations since 1910, was strengthened further. *Azadi Ki Nazmen*, an anthology of poems on freedom from Ghalib to the present (1857-1940), was banned soon after its publication in March 1940 although all of the poems had already been published.⁶⁰

The Government's assault on the PWA affected its membership in three ways. Firstly, university teachers, government employees and students, who either wanted a government job or were in some way connected to the government service, felt that, as the activities of the PWA were under official surveillance, they would become victims of the Government's wrath. The Government had already made it clear that government servants were barred from PWA membership, and so they were not prepared to risk their careers. These people

immediately distanced themselves from the organisation, and so Pandit Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University and a nominee of the Indian Educational Service, had to inform the Association that he was no longer a member.⁶¹ Similarly, Ghulam Mustafa Shah Tabassum, a lecturer at the Government Central Teachers Training College, Lahore, who had acted as the Secretary of the Panjab PWA and who had hosted its regular meetings at his home, left the Association, although he did continue to sympathise with it.⁶² Many other government servants followed suit, as did students who hoped to enter government employment also.

Secondly, government attacks set off disputes within the organisation itself. Firebrands felt that no notice should be taken of the Government's propaganda, and that there was no need to review the policies of the Association.⁶³ On the other side, there were those who felt that the Association was a literary organisation and its sole task was the creation of literature. Thus, there would be no harm if under the existing circumstances the PWA remained aloof from politics. Among those who favoured the latter view was Shahid Ahmad Dihlawi, the Secretary of the Delhi branch. The Government was already putting considerable pressure on the weaker members of this branch to dissociate themselves from the organisation. To prove the 'literary' and 'non-political' nature of the Association, Dihlawi invited the Inspector of the Secret Police to attend the branch's functions and meetings, and to judge for himself its purely literary nature and intent. This decision, which had been taken without the consent of the membership, created immediate turmoil in the branch. Dihlawi resigned and the branch faded away.⁶⁴

Thirdly, well-known figures who had supported the PWA from its beginning, interpreted the Government's allegations of treachery and conspiracy as a direct attack on their own integrity and intellectual independence, and therefore highly insulting. Consequently, they rallied round the Association with even greater support, and campaigned with some effect to neutralise government propaganda. The overall result of the Government's

attack was, in the climate of rising anti-British sentiment, to do the PWA more good than harm in the long run. Articles published in its defence provided much needed publicity for its aims and objectives. Young writers, opposed to British rule, and the existing conventions and values of Indian society, became even more sympathetic towards the PWA. Many of them began to join it in order to make their protest and to strengthen it against the opposition. All the same, the actual organisation of the PWA was badly affected. It ground to a halt, and reemerged as an effective force only during the 'People's War Phase' which began in June 1941.⁶⁵

The 'People's War Phase': 1941-1945

On 22 June 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. This caused deep confusion among members of the PWA. Should it continue with its popular front policy of cooperation with the Congress against British imperialism, or was it necessary now that the Soviet Union had joined the war on the side of the Allies to support the Allied war effort in the hope that the defeat of Fascism would change the balance of international power and so help India to achieve freedom.⁶⁶ In July 1941, Progressive Writers who were members of the Communist Party of India, held fast to, and supported the 'united anti-imperialist front'⁶⁷ Two months after the German invasion, the Communist Party of India continued to call it an 'Imperialist' war with which Indians should have no part.⁶⁸ The Party leadership debated the matter for several months. The outcome of the debate had important repercussions for Muslim socialists in the PWA for it determined their attitude to the war. The majority of the Communist leaders detained at Deoli Detention Centre felt that it had become their 'moral and political' duty to proletarian solidarity to support the Allied war effort now that the Soviet Union had come under attack.⁶⁹ Yet, members who were not in detention, and who were more in touch with the prevailing mood of the country, were reluctant to make a clean break with the nationalists, particularly since the Congress also welcomed

Anglo-Soviet cooperation against Hitler. By December 1941, supporters of the 'People's War' policy, encouraged by the Communist Party of Great Britain, had won the debate. With the threat of Communist disruption to the war effort removed, the British Government gradually released leading communists, including leading members of the PWA, and secretly negotiated with them about how the Communists could help in the war. Agreement was reached, and the Communist Party of India was declared legal on 24 July 1942. To show its good faith, the Communist Party, in opposition to all the other political parties in India, recommended the acceptance of Cripp's proposal that Indians should be given independence after the war, a concession which was found so limited and inadequate by the rest. The final break between Communist Party members and the Congress came when its communist members voted against the Working Committee's 'Quit India' resolution in August 1942. The PWA vehemently criticised the Congress leadership for having committed national suicide. Muslim socialists also praised the Muslim League for having boycotted the 'Quit India' campaign.⁷⁰

The 'People's War' policy adopted by the PWA was composed of two main elements. There was to be full cooperation in practical action with all those who opposed Fascism, irrespective of political difference. No British action, while Britain was allied with the Soviet Union, would deflect the PWA from this line. There was also to be a determined effort to establish unity among all the parties and communities in India which would demand the independence of India as well as cooperating with the Allies in the war. Aspects of this policy were contradictory. They suggested both cooperation with the Government and agitation against it; alliance with both the Congress and the separatist Muslim League. The result was that the PWA, which was now dominated by Communist members, committed itself officially to assisting the Government in the mobilisation of Indian resources for the war, and also to supporting the communal demands of the Muslim League. The All-India conference, convened in Delhi in May 1942,

unanimously approved a resolution supporting the Allied war effort, and Progressive Writers dedicated their pens and their prestige to warning the country against the dangers of Fascism.⁷¹ That the British were pleased with this favourable turn in the policy of the PWA could be judged from the enormous accolade and publicity that the proceedings, particularly the resolution on the war, received in the government-supported press. Curiously, the PWA did not think it strange that the British had come to accept their ideas thus, that they could persecute 'bourgeois nationalists', while showering fulsome praise on their 'arch class foe'.⁷²

Not everyone in the PWA accepted this change of course. In December 1942, Saghir Nizami and Josh Malihabadi issued a more 'balanced' statement condemning both British imperialism and Japanese Fascism. But the majority did accept it. Israr al-Haq Majaz, in May 1943, took up an extreme position in this respect and called on the people of India to 'participate in the war of independence', meaning the Second World War.⁷³ Encouraged by the organisation's pro-government pronouncements, Muslim socialist writers began to join the Indian Army in order to fight the Germans and the Japanese. According to Faiz Ahmad Faiz, when 'Russia joined the Allies ... the imperialists decided to recruit the youth with Progressive and left-wing ideas. Before me, Majeed Malik had joined the Army. He phoned me and said, 'Faiz, come into the Army, you are needed'. I went immediately.' In the Army, Faiz provided valuable suggestions for propaganda to motivate the troops to fight, not as a mark of loyalty to the British but as a patriotic duty to the homeland. His experiments with new propaganda techniques were extremely successful, and, pleased with his results, the British awarded him the British Empire Medal.⁷⁴ Many more joined All-India Radio to conduct war propaganda over the airways. Patras Bukhari, Director of All-India Radio, Delhi, recruited many talented and promising writers to the Radio. Amongst them Agha Ashraf, N.M. Rashid, Malik Hasib Ahmad, Hafiz Jawed, S^cadat Hasan Manto, Qadir Farid and Israr

al-Haq Majaz. Hafiz Jullundhuri was appointed Director-General of the Song Publicity Organisation, and Muhammad Din Tasir placed his services 'at the disposal of his Excellency', the Viceroy.⁷⁵

Muslim socialist writers were free to carry out antifascist propaganda to their hearts' content, as long as they kept silent about the 'ruinous activities of destruction in the country' which were the result of the 'provocative and oppressive policy of the British government'.⁷⁶ In practice, this meant that in a climate in which, according to Majaz, it was difficult even to breathe, the Progressive Writers were allowed the freedom to air only those views which were to the advantage of their British masters. Not surprisingly, these policies began to create deep schisms within the PWA.⁷⁷ Sajjad Zahir and Dr. K.M. Ashraf supported the war while non-communist Progressive Writers disagreed with this tactic. ^cAli Jawad Zaidi, Hayat-Allah Ansari and Shamin Kirhani were among those who expressed their opposition to unconditional support for the Allies. Mufti Raza Ansari, Secretary of the Lucknow branch, was also opposed to the British, but changed his views 'under pressure' from his colleagues. Akhtar Husain Raipuri could not reconcile himself to the British war effort, and resigned his job at All-India Radio as soon as the 'Quit India' movement began.⁷⁸ The divisions within the PWA continued to simmer, and a rather vague and relatively more even-handed compromise draft, prepared by Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas, which attacked both British imperialists and the fascists as culprits, was finally approved at the fourth conference at Bombay in 1943.⁷⁹ The Communists had, by now, been thoroughly discredited among the nationalists as a result of their unreserved commitment to the prosecution of the war. They were stigmatised in Congress leaflets as hirelings of the British Government. They were now even suspected of having carried out intelligence work for the British, such as spying on the opposition.⁸⁰

The Development of the PWA as an Organisation: 1942-1947

The repercussions of the adoption of the 'People's War' policy divided the PWA, but sponsorship of the organisation by the British meant that, where conditions were favourable, the PWA was able to make quite considerable progress. In 1942, after the PWA was revived from two years of 'hibernation', it began to grow. By 1947, according to Sajjad Zahir, its membership had risen to over three thousand.⁸¹ PWA branches and groups were reformed in large cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad, Delhi, Cawnpore, Ahmadabad, Lucknow, Bhopal, Hyderabad (Deccan), Agra, Lahore, Amritsar and Patna. As Communists now dominated the PWA, and as their headquarters were in Bombay, the branch there became the hub of activity. In 1943, the Central Office of the Association was transferred there. Most importantly, the Communist Party began to allocate a part of their resources to the development of the infrastructural facilities and organisational capacity of the PWA. A number of Muslim socialist writers moved to the city to work full-time for the Communist Party of India's Urdu weekly publication *Qaumi Jang* (People's War). Its three editions in Hindi, Urdu and Marathi now had a proper office, a 'staff of a dozen subeditors, two typists, clerks, a radio set, and a small library of Marxist books'.⁸² Leading members of the PWA, such as Sajjad Zahir, Ali Sardar Jafri, Sibte Hasan, Mirza Ashfaq Beg and Kaifi Azmi worked full-time for the Communist Party, and thus were able to devote much effort to the production of *Naya Adab*, now a quarterly, and the organisation of PWA functions in Bombay and elsewhere.

The publication and wide circulation of *Naya Adab* and *Nizam* in turn also contributed to the growth of the Association. The latter regularly published detailed proceedings of the Bombay branch. These reports summarised accurately the literary presentations, subsequent discussions and the social atmosphere of these meetings. PWA branches in other parts of

the country soon came to adopt the structure of the Bombay branch and its activities as a model that they could emulate. Moreover, these branches began to send reports of their own functions and meetings to *Nizam* for publication. This two-way flow of information enabled the Association to create a solid and cohesive national organisational structure, which in turn formed the basis for greater organisational and ideological unity.⁸³

The lifting of government restrictions on the Press, and the removal of censorship from all categories of literature which did not damage the war effort, led to an enormous increase in the publication of progressive books and periodicals. By 1946-47, the circulation of *Nizam* had risen to several thousand, and according to its editor, Qudus Sehbai, was in great demand from Peshawar in the remote N.W.F.P., which alone received several hundred copies of each issue, to Hyderabad (Deccan) in the south and Calcutta in the east. Translations of Chinese and Russian authors such as Lu Hsun and Gorky, collections of modern poetry and short stories, many articles on socialist literary criticism were written and widely read. Moreover, there was no dearth of publishing houses to bring them out. The communist publishers, Qaumi Dar al-Ish^cat, openly published translations of Marxist classics.⁸⁴

A substantial amount of this literature found its way into the hands of an interested readership through the network of city and town branches, reading rooms and libraries, which had sprouted in even the minor localities of the larger cities (the *mohalla* literary societies). These local organisations in turn began to organise and patronise these activities. At musha^ciras and other cultural gatherings, audiences of several thousand were not uncommon.⁸⁵

These literary conferences enabled the Association to fulfil its main function of educating the people ideologically through cultural means. But equally significant was their function as fund-raising events, either for the Association itself or for some

other cause. When the audience was emotionally roused, as frequently happened at the great musha'iras, it gave generously.

One worthy cause, for which the PWA mobilised popular opinion effectively, was the Bengal Famine of 1943-1944. Not only did it mobilise its own resources, and encourage its members to become involved in practical relief work, but also, by raising people's awareness of the scale of suffering caused, and by relentlessly exposing the corruption and callousness of businessmen and administrators, it helped to focus attention on this issue. Indeed, it did so to the extent that the British Government felt compelled to put more resources into ending the calamity. As an independent organisation, the Association only had a limited capacity to provide aid. Nevertheless, by organising exhibitions, plays and musha'iras, it was able to raise thousands of rupees for the victims of the Famine, and to bring forward many volunteers who worked selflessly to provide social relief. These efforts restored much of the credibility of the PWA as a representative of the interests of the Indian poor, which it had lost as a result of its support for the British war effort.⁸⁶

The major thrust of its strategy in this period, however, was to win over Muslim workers and intellectuals and, in so far as Muslim socialist writers were able to popularise progressive ideas through their literature, they succeeded. In many qasbah communities, their popularity was great. Yet, this popularity was based largely on emotional protests against human suffering and fervent exhortations to revolutionary action, rather than on any serious understanding of socialist theory.⁸⁷ Such support based on emotion proved to be fragile. As Partition approached, Muslim fears, insecurities and prejudices emerged and quickly overwhelmed nobler sentiment. Support for the PWA evaporated; its ideals were consumed by the flames of communal violence.

The PWA and the Demand for Pakistan

During the years leading up to Partition, the PWA became more sympathetic towards the Muslim League. Muslim socialist writers were misled by their own understanding of 'self-determination' to interpret 'the feeling of Muslim communalism in India for something representing the organised expression of Rehri-Pak-Pathan nationalities for self-determination'; they 'conveniently forgot the whole history of British imperialism and communal politics'.⁸⁸ On this basis, the PWA supported the demand for Pakistan, and even celebrated Pakistan days. Its total opposition to the Muslim League of the late 1930s was now transformed into generous support. Leading members of the Association, such as Mufti Raza Ansari, although personally unconvinced by the arguments of the PWA leadership, were compelled to join their city branches of the Muslim League 'to do necessary work among Muslims' and to fight communal prejudices.⁸⁹

However, this somersault in its attitude towards the Muslim League could not remove the distrust with which the PWA had come to be regarded in Muslim League circles. Many Muslims had long opposed the Association.⁹⁰ Ever since the *Ulama* of Lucknow and Aligarh had attacked *Angare* in 1933, traditional, mainly communal, circles had been obsessed with its progress. They had criticised it for being anti-religious, immoral, obscene and pro-Congress. Even between 1942 and 1945, when the PWA had moved away from the nationalists, it was suspect. Particularly scathing was their accusation that the PWA encouraged pornography in literature. Once the PWA had retaliated by pointing to the reactionary motives of its critics, but now the leaders of the Association became defensive and attempted to parry these attacks by making distinctions between the modernists and the progressives, disowning the works of the former. When this approach failed, the PWA went even further towards accommodating traditional literary opinion by introducing a formal motion at its Urdu Conference held in Hyderabad (Deccan) in October 1945, which condemned

pornography in literature. But that unrepentent radical, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, widely considered a devout Muslim, found this capitulation unacceptable, and pressed successfully for the withdrawal of the motion.⁹¹

When in 1946-47, the leadership of the PWA began to support once again the emergence of a united Indian nation at Independence, the Muslim League became more hostile and contested literary and political issues whenever the opportunity arose. At the Ahmadabad Urdu Conference, for instance, when [©]Ali Sardar Jafri presented his paper on Iqbal, the pro-Muslim League elements in the audience started to heckle, alleging that Jafri had wrongly presented Iqbal as a communist and that his interpretation was extremely disturbing to the Islamic spirit of the [©]Allama's message. Although this attempt to disrupt the proceedings failed, it showed the depth of sentiment which the communal mentality had created among Muslims, and with which the PWA had to contend. Overall, therefore, the PWA failed to make any significant gains among the Muslim community despite its temporary concession to separatist sentiment.

Partition performed the coup de grace to the PWA. Many PWA members themselves succumbed to the communal spirit. Muhammad Din Tasir assaulted the Association's resumed opposition to Pakistan; Ahmad [©]Ali joined the Pakistan Foreign Service.⁹² In India, Hindi was made the national language, and Urdu, in which Muslim socialist writers had expressed themselves most freely and most widely, declined. In Pakistan, the government distrusted the secular political ideology of the PWA, a distrust which had some foundation when leading 'Progressives' in Rawalpindi were caught plotting against the State. Such ideas and activities could not be tolerated in a state so young and insecurely based. In the 1950s, the PWA was banned.

CHAPTER VI

THEMES IN MUSLIM SOCIALIST LITERATURE

The Muslim socialists who became Progressive Writers were especially concerned with the problems of contemporary Indian Muslim Society. They developed a socialist critique of the values and conventions of Muslim society - in particular, of the moral framework presented by the mullas and the treatment of women as second-class citizens. Nevertheless, their outlook was fundamentally secular and non-communal; they would not ignore the major concerns of Indian society as a whole. They focused their attention on the poverty of their countrymen, on the need to bring an end to colonial rule; they looked forward to being citizens of a united and free India. Inevitably, their secularism was severely tested by the pressures of communal politics and the demand for a separate Muslim state. Even so, between 1936 and 1947, they made a unique contribution to the discussion and popularisation of an alternative vision of society which ran counter to that cherished by most Indian Muslims. Moreover, they made their point not just in what they wrote but also in how they wrote it - in style as well as in content. Indeed, there was an organic relationship between the two, the one being inextricably part of the other.

The cornerstone of Muslim socialists' literary outlook was the belief that literature was a reflection of life, and thus a product of the social, political and cultural struggles which were taking place in society. The material conditions of life provided the initial impetus for class struggle which in turn stimulated the production of creative literature and art. Progressive literature, therefore, had first and foremost to be concerned with the realities of life. 'Revolutionary literature cannot survive if it

remains separated from life'¹ they declared, for it was the 'product and servant of life'.²

Thus, literature had to give expression to the changes which were taking place in Indian life. Rather than treating love in terms of a morbid and unattainable desire, as Urdu poets had always done, they wrote of it in terms of a healthy passion, a desirable and attainable goal, and did so without inhibition. They dealt realistically with questions of family, religion, sex, war, society, communalism, racial antagonism and the exploitation of man by man. They explained rationally existing institutions and customs, social environment and human situations. They portrayed with precision social injustices, problems of freedom from foreign rule and the suffering of peasants and workers. They were determined that literature should reveal all the filth, degradation and bitterness of the life of ordinary people, embrace their social and cultural crises, and encourage them to struggle to better their material and 'spiritual' conditions.

The Progressive Writers were challenged by the main body of Muslim intellectuals who wrote in Urdu. The challenge was especially strong from those who stressed the importance of 'form', and considered it to be the determining quality of literature. These proponents of 'Art for Art's sake' argued that the real purpose of literature was to satisfy aesthetic taste, and not to reform society or propagate beliefs. Their challenge sparked off a heated controversy within the PWA over the proper definition of 'Progressive Literature'. The more extreme elements defined Art as propaganda. They asserted that aesthetics and other formal technicalities and constraints were the creations of writers who in the era of social decline became alienated from their social environment, and who, demoralised by the pessimistic future prospects of their society, sought refuge in innovations of literary form. Those who disagreed argued that while literature was intimately related to life, 'life was itself a dialectical process which had two contradictory facets'. Thus, literature, 'a department of life', was also a dialectical process with two

contradictory aspects; 'one external or practical or utilitarian and the other internal or imaginative or aesthetical. The function of the artist is to maintain a balance and harmony between these two apparently contradictory tendencies'.³ Still the majority of Muslim socialist writers insisted that the content of literature was paramount. Nevertheless, they were prepared to accept that its aesthetic aspects could not be completely ignored. As the old 'forms' were not equal to dealing with the full range of contemporary subjects and emotions, it was necessary to develop new forms and to modify old ones in order to expand the scope of their writing.⁴

In pursuing these aims, Muslim socialist writers contributed substantially to four main developments in 'form' and style. Firstly, they developed new literary forms in order to communicate contemporary themes and progressive concerns. Secondly, they laid great emphasis on 'Realism', as they sought a deeper understanding of the individual and his place in society. Thirdly, they fashioned a style of 'revolutionary romanticism' which they felt did justice to the urgency of their message. Finally, they created a proletarian style in order to reach new audiences through their literature.

A. New Literary Forms

In Chapter III, we have demonstrated that, after 1857, writers began to respond to changing social and cultural conditions. Reformers such as Altaf Husain Hali attacked the ghazal, declaring that the ornateness of its words destroyed its meaning, while the structural constraints imposed by the predetermined metre and rhyme-scheme inhibited any expression of ideas. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, poets explored western free verse and the sonnet to give freer range to their ideas and feelings. They also experimented with new arrangements of words and rhymes, to the extent of some 'amateurish' attempts to introduce blank verse. Such experiments continued in the 1920s and 1930s,

stimulated by a veritable explosion in the translation of English poetry and European prose into Urdu.

At this time the old forms of story-telling such as the *dastan*, *qissa*, *hikayat* and *kahani*, which in the past had entertained the people with stories of genii, fairies and other mystical and supernatural characters, were already being replaced by fiction dealing with human experiences in the real world. Now writers began to employ much more widely the techniques of the western short story to interpret realistically the thoughts and feelings of the individual in conflict with society and his position in a changing world. They began to describe living characters, and through the actions and relationships of these characters provided an understanding of the major concerns of their times and their society. Parallel to the Romantics' style of short story writing, which expressed the opposition of the individual to existing conventions and morality, and relayed his cry of anguish for individual freedom from the constraints of the family, there developed a style of realism exemplified in the works of Premchand. This style, though modified by Premchand's particular kind of moral idealism, broadened the canvas of prose fiction to include the countryside. Although he made his work somewhat artificial embodiments of his moral vision by rigidly imposing his values on the structure of his plot and the nature of his characters, through his realism Premchand opened up great possibilities for the criticism and discussion of issue affecting rural society.

By the 1930s, many western literary techniques had become quite well-established in Urdu literature. Some traditional forms of poetry such as the quatrain, the *masnawi* and the *maqt'a* were also revived. Progressive Writers took up the techniques already under scrutiny, expanded their use, and popularised them. As their own study of western literature deepened, they widened the range of experimentation with style to embrace the broadest possible spectrum of inner and external human experience.

Muslim socialist writers, however, discovered that there were limits to the extent to which they could abandon old forms. Initially, they rejected the ghazal, arguing that it had too many 'feudal' characteristics to be of use for revolutionary themes. They followed Hali and Josh Malihabadi who had argued that its structure limited the expression of social and political issues because its rigid conventions and 'medieval spirit' restricted the range of words which could be used to express contemporary ideas. The ghazal allowed little scope for 'modern' emotions and imagination; it certainly was not equal to a major subject like patriotism.⁵

The most important criticism was that the ghazal was most useful to the strata and institutions in society which sustained a traditional way of thinking and above all which supported British rule. 'Here', 'Ali Sardar Jafri declared.

'British imperialism is still carrying around the rotten corpse of feudalism, whose stench and filth is producing poisonous matter in our culture and literature. Consequently, the Ghazal, with all its feudal characteristics is still resting on the back of Urdu literature.'

But, towards the end of the 1930s, as Muslim socialist writers acquired greater maturity, their attitude towards the ghazal changed. They came to appreciate that it was as popular among the lower classes of Muslim society as it was among the elite. They realised that if they wished to communicate their ideas effectively, they would have to employ the form. The poor loved the ghazal in part because of its lyricism but in part too because of the subjects it covered. There were ghazals which honoured the Sufi rebels of the past, such as the 'blasphemous' al-Hallaj; which ridiculed the commanders of moral authority; and which celebrated the 'anathemas' of wine, music and love. These ghazals tended also to show contempt for wealth, social status and the holders of practical power. Most importantly, from the point of view of Muslim socialist writers, they interpreted the love of God as essentially entailing the love of

Man. So they found that they could not ignore the ghazal. They began to see that it could be transformed to express the impoverishment and inner anguish of a colonised people. They discovered how modern imagery, symbols and metaphors might be introduced into the ghazal to give meaning to existing discontents and socio-political protest. Instead of describing the snares of love, the poet could tell the community about the causes of poverty, thus raising its political consciousness. Consequently, along with the *nazm*, some Muslim socialist writers developed a new kind of ghazal which conveyed ideas and arguments in logical progression rather than fragmented images. Thus, Majruh Sultanpuri adapted the ghazal to convey his political message:

'I had started walking towards my destination all alone
'But people kept joining me and it became a carvan'.⁷

It was a couplet which gained great popularity as Muslims came to understand that Majruh's 'destination' was the establishment of an egalitarian society. Through political ghazals of this kind, Muslim socialist writers reconciled their ideological commitment to progress with an apparently archaic poetic form.⁸

However, the initial hostility of socialist writers to the ghazal had meant that other forms of poetry were considered in its place. Free verse was taken up and absorbed enthusiastically from English to Urdu poetry because it allowed much greater freedom of expression. For similar reasons, the use of the *nazm* expanded. Other traditional literary forms - the *dastan*, *kahani*, *hikayat*, *qissa* and *masnawi* - were developed to express revolutionary themes. The traditional prose forms were used allegorically with the aim of transforming their moral approach into message about the conflict between the oppressor and oppressed in modern Indian society. ^cAli Sardar J^cafri, for instance, in his long dramatic *masnawi*, *Nai Dunya Ko Salam* (Salute the New World), not only changed the usual theme from one of romantic heroism to one of patriotic duty, but, by making use of free verse for rhetoric and rhymed verse for lyrical effect,

and by varying the metres, also greatly reduced the monotony which had characterised earlier *masnawis*.⁹

Poets who wrote in the established styles, such as Mahir al-Qadri, attacked the Progressive Writers' use of free verse as unsuitable, opposed and harmful to the temperament and nature of Urdu poetry', and condemned all efforts to introduce it as 'murderous poison for Urdu'.¹⁰ Progressive Writers rejected these criticisms, contending that the temperament of a language could not be predetermined. As the subject of literature change with time, so did the form and style of its presentation.¹¹

Realism

From the late nineteenth century on, there had been a steady move towards a more realistic portrayal of life in Urdu literature.¹² Nazir Ahmad's didactic approach in his novels was an early example of social realism. In his works, he dealt with the problems of the Muslim service classes in order to persuade Muslims from this background to come to terms with the impact of the modern world. Premchand focused on the rural environment and introduced into Urdu prose a sensitivity and sympathy for the problems of the peasant. The 'romantic' writers of this period were more concerned, however, with the conflicts faced by the individual than dealing with those of society as a whole. But, their criticism of conventional morality and their desire to make love into a respectable and realistic emotion, influenced Muslim socialist writers greatly. Combined with the earlier attempts at social realism, Romanticism contributed to the development by Progressive Writers of realism in sexual and psychological matters.

According to Progressive Writers, Indian culture had lost all its vitality because it had taken refuge from reality in 'baseless' spiritualism and idealism 'Indian literature', declared the manifesto adopted by the second conference of the PWA in 1938,

'since the breakdown of classical literature has had the fatal tendency to escape from the actualities of life ... The result has been that it has produced a rigid formalism and a banal and perverse ideology'.¹³

It encouraged mystical romanticism and camouflaged the healthy expression of human emotions. By resorting to fantasies, legends and romances, and by turning a blind eye to the conditions of life and experiences of ordinary people, it had stripped literature and art of their life-blood. Defeatism and a sense of inferiority and self-pity, reflecting the pessimism associated with the crumbling 'feudal' order, had become its predominant features.¹⁴ All this had to be changed. Thus, they consistently emphasised the necessity for realism in literature. This realism covered a range of contemporary issues. On the one hand, some Progressive Writers absorbed the style of European socialist writers, and employed it to deal with social issues in a revolutionary way. They rejected the earlier suggestions of reform and moral salvation prescribed by Nazir Ahmad and Premchand. Instead, they highlighted the class conflict in society, treating the poorer classes with sympathy and the rich with contempt. They stressed a humanism based on economic equality and social justice for all. On the other hand, Progressive Writers also employed realism to describe the inner turmoil produced by contemporary life. Drawing upon advances in psychological and sexual theory in the West by people such as Freud, Havelock Ellis and Jung, and inspired by the new styles in European literature which were themselves affected by these advances, they depicted realistically the workings of the mind and the part played by emotion in human relations. ^cAsmat Chughtai's *Terhi Lakir* (Crooked Line) was a penetrating analysis of the havoc that moral restrictions and sexual repression played in the life of an intelligent middle-class Muslim girl. The sarcasm used against various characters and conventions of society amounted to an honest critique of her society. ^cAziz Ahmad also revealed the sexual and psychological complexes of a middle-class Muslim youth buffeted by the

values of the East and those of the West.¹⁵ Other Progressive Writers exposed the hollowness of the values and institutions of their society through the techniques of the 'interior monologue' and 'stream of consciousness'.

Thus, Progressive Writers drew together various strands of realism already present in Urdu literature, and informed it with their own deeper study of modern western writing. Whereas in the past, attempts to employ specific kinds of literary realism had been made on an individual basis, the Progressive Writers created a strong and broader theoretical framework for it which they were then able to apply to literature in all its various forms. In this way, realism became a firmly organised and popular tendency within Urdu literature, a tendency which has persisted to the present day.

Revolutionary Romanticism

Urdu poetry in the first two or three years after the establishment of the PWA was violently propagandistic. Under the combined effects of criticism and increased maturity, however, the extremeness of the expression of Progressive Writers became mellowed. Initially, the destructive elements of the revolution predominated in their imagery. Burning coals, sparks, flames, fire, storm, blood, revolt and chains abounded.¹⁶ Rebelliousness itself became a virtue. There was an explicit call to destroy the world of capitalism, and an insistence on smashing everything and everybody who 'stinks of oppression and violence'. The poet 'screamed' with hatred and demanded revenge,

'Snatch life away from the world
If this is what the world amounts to'.¹⁷

The young radical poets during the early period of Progressive writing shunned individual romance. In contrast to their 'romantic' predecessors, who had written of personal needs and salvation, their love was transmuted into the abstract

concepts of revolution and freedom, heroism and sacrifice. In their view, the only feasible alternative in the era of imperialism, was the liberation of their homeland.¹⁸ Romantic love had to be sacrificed in the struggle for liberation. 'Ali Sardar Jafri implored his beloved not to wait for him because he was involved in a life-or-death struggle for the freedom of India.¹⁹ Most of the progressive output of this early phase reflected the immaturity of the authors' outlook, their intellectual confusion and their impatience with the existing social order. Not surprisingly, this approach attracted much criticism from traditional writers such as Mirza Jafar 'Ali Khan Asar.²⁰ They accused Progressive Writers of inciting class hatred and of trying to settle the contradiction between the writer and the capitalist in the field of literature, and in particular poetry. Thus, they held Progressive Writers responsible for ruining this form of art. These accusations were strongly refuted. According to the radicals, anger, hatred and love were precisely the emotional material from which the poet carved 'out the sculpture of his ideas in the form of words'.²¹ Therefore, a revolutionary poet was not stepping outside the bounds of poetic expression when he gave full reign to his emotional experience. However, such criticism did not go totally unheeded. Indeed, in time it had a sobering effect on Progressive Writers. The more developed and mature minds in the movement quickly sensed the dangers inherent in this violent approach which had already begun to alienate a large cross-section of the Indian intelligentsia. In 1939, the organ of the PWA, *Naya Adab* condemned the 'worship of destructiveness' as 'literary terrorism'.²² Sajjad Zahir, on another occasion, stated,

'We are prepared to confront ... capitalism, but we should emphasise that it is we who are the standard bearers of peace, humanity ... If we fight, it is because we are forced to; in defence. If we make a revolution, it is to rescue the world from a global holocaust, for the protection and construction of humane culture, to save millions of people from starvation and unemployment.'²³

He attacked slogan-mongering as contrary to artistic creativity, and pointed to the danger of a backlash, advising that poems in the forms of addresses to youth, workers and peasants should stop. If it was necessary to explain simply the principles of socialism to the people, then there were already textbooks available for that purpose.

Thus, the subsequent production of Muslim socialist writers became more creative and positively constructive. Later poems concentrated more on the complex aesthetic literary values and poetic structures, rather than simply relying on the content of their work to make the required impact on people's feelings. Human suffering, revolution capitalist exploitation and their interrelationship were presented in ways which not only instilled the need for revolutionary change, but which were so expressed artistically that they penetrated the depths of the audiences' consciousness, compelling them to act.

The Emergence of a Proletarian Style

Bearing in mind the Progressive Writers' socialist principles, their concern to deal with the lives and problems of ordinary people and the importance of the working classes in the process of socialist revolution, it is not surprising that they paid great attention to raising popular awareness through their literature. Thus, before turning in greater detail to the specific content of progressive writing, it is important to look at the way in which Progressive Writers tried to reach a popular audience with their ideas.

Progressive Writers realised that, as the vast majority of workers and peasants were illiterate, poetry was a more effective means of communication than prose. Although poetry sometimes lacked the depth and range that they desired in order to transmit their message clearly, it possessed emotional and popular appeal which made it a powerful channel for the transmission of progressive ideas. In order to make the

maximum impact on the consciousness of their audiences, progressive poetry had to be geared to popular taste. These poets felt that poetry had become an elitist art form, recited in *darbars* and separated from the ordinary people. As the masses could not be expected to have any knowledge of High Urdu, Progressive Writers tried to develop literary styles which the people could understand with ease.²⁴ As a result, the debate over the ghazal and other traditional forms of poetry took place within the Movement. The more politically-extreme sections of the PWA consciously chose to identify with the lives of the people, and considered that it was their first duty to pay special attention to their compositions in order to make them both intelligible and enjoyable for their new audiences. The people who attended their symposiums were not trained in classical dictions, and therefore did not find it easy to understand fully the subtleties of refined literary style. According to Latif al-din Ahmad, literature needed to be written for a new purpose, and therefore its mode and the criteria by which it was to be guided had to be altered. In time, simple and delicate words, suitably adapted from everyday usage, would acquire the softness which was identified with classical poetry. Even if this process meant a temporary lowering of aesthetic standards, it had to be accepted without fear because ultimately it was this literature which would become 'national literature' in the true sense, and hasten the cultural education of the masses.²⁵

In line with this literary policy, the development of rural poetry - *dihati shaciri* - was encouraged. Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi, who was known for his poetry on rural themes, pioneered the promotion of village poets and the popularisation of rural dialects. A 'peasant' and 'worker' style began to develop in Urdu poetry, with an imagery and language that was firmly rooted in the rural environment. Among village poets, the tendency was to compose verses on matters of immediate concern. There were vivid descriptions of poverty;

'Eight months of hunger, Sher Bahadur, long months of hunger 'No tattering rags, no clothes to wear, hayya hayya.

'Here we go, hayya hayya, hunger will hurt, hayya hayya.'²⁶

Workers also portrayed their struggles in literature. As far as literary formalities were concerned, their efforts were often no more than 'the utterances of a child who had recently learnt to talk'. Nevertheless, they did contain fresh hopes of a 'proletarian literature ... in the initial stages of blooming'.²⁷ A particularly interesting example was 'Qulin Nama' (Diary of a Coolie) by Mazhar Miyan, himself a coolie. Written intermittently on scraps of paper, the reverse sides of advertisements and receipt vouchers, in a style which followed few aesthetic constraints or poetic principles, this poem described to the coolies the story of their strikes. What distinguished it from most of the other poems written by worker poets was the clarity with which it separated the 'friends' from the the 'foe', those who tried to break the strike and their defenders in the courts of law, the process of negotiations with the employer-contractor, the employer's ploys to defeat the strikers by buying off some of the workers, the help with which was employer as the exploiter received from the government and its agents, and, finally the sustained solidarity of the workers in the face of adversity.²⁸

Some worker and peasant poets reached higher levels of political consciousness and wrote on nationalist and revolutionary themes. They wrote on the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, and against the 'worship of Fatalism'. They discouraged people from placing their faith in superstitions and the supernatural. Displaying some sophistication in their understanding of the class nature of society, they pointed out that freedom was only worth fighting for if it led to the abolition of their poverty and oppression, and if they became masters of the land on which they laboured.²⁹ They realised that it was possible to win the struggle only if they came together to pursue their objectives. 'Arise: Peasant comrades', they urged,

'Arise: Workers
 'You have slept for too long
 'Wake up
 'Unite and organise.'³⁰

It was, however, primarily the Progressive Writers from the service classes who made the most substantial contribution to the dissemination of the revolutionary message. Their poems tended to follow a certain pattern. They opened with descriptions of the miserable conditions of the lives of ordinary people. Then there usually followed explanations of the real causes of this suffering. These poems often ended with an exhortation to rise up and confront the oppressors, overthrow their rule and destroy the system which perpetuated their domination.³¹ Jamil Mazhari, for instance, explained that it was the people who produced the wealth for the rich, and that religious and state institutions served the interests of the rulers alone:

'Rejected by wealth, we serve the wealthy
 'We are the working men, we are the stepsons of destiny
 'We have no mat to lie upon, we are so ill-fated
 'Perhaps those who rest on comfortable couches
 'They are God's own sons
 'The market place of culture is theirs
 'The universe of politics is too
 'The institution of religion is theirs
 'Theirs is the court and judiciary'.³²

The transmission of these ideas was meant to make working people aware of the fundamental causes of their oppression, and also to inspire them to act to

'Break the bond of slavery
 'Change the pace of time'.³³

Such widespread encouragement and sponsorship of working class styles and writers had no parallel in the past. The

work undertaken by Progressive Writers was therefore an important innovation. One indication of the success of their aim at raising popular awareness can be measured by the emergence of poets from among the ranks of workers and peasants on whom the Progressive Writers had concentrated their efforts. Another indication can be gauged from the popularity of the hortatory style of middle-class Progressive poets. 'Ali Sardar Jafri, Kaifi Azmi, Makhdum Muhi al-din and Israr al-Haq Majaz drew huge Muslim audiences to gatherings at which they recited their poems. Majaz's poem 'Red Flag' was reported to have been sung by thousands during important strikes in Bombay and Cawnpore.³⁴ It was the simple language, fiery emotion and concern for the needs of the poor which made this poem and many other similar works so popular.

B. Content of Progressive Literature

The Progressive Writers confronted in their work the major issues of the day, religion and morality, the oppression of women, poverty and exploitation, British imperialism and communalism. They dealt with these subjects from a socialist standpoint, regarding them as inter-related problems which required a complete change of the economic and social framework of society. As Muslims, they concentrated their critique of religion on Islam in particular, and also concerned themselves with the specific problems of Muslim women. However, although their cultural context remained Muslim, the other issues taken up by them were ones which faced Indian society as a whole.

Religion and Morality

Progressive Writers, deeply influenced by their socialist outlook, the western emphasis on rational thinking and secular ideas of democracy and freedom, considered that religion stood as a major obstacle in the path of human progress. They, as Muslims, however, limited their criticisms to contemporary Muslim religious conceptions and practices about which they

felt that they knew most. Although they remained consistent in their vehemence, the object of their criticism underwent certain changes. Whereas during the earlier phase of Progressive Writing, they tended to criticise Islam as a whole, by the late 1930s and early 1940s, this had made way for a more concerted attack against the 'hypocritical' aspects of orthodox Islam.

From the outset, Progressive Writers argued that the style of theological education received by the average Muslim child placed an intolerable burden on the inquisitive faculties of his mind, and compressed his world view into a series of unsubstantiated axioms. The custodians of Islam in India had created a rigidly dogmatic framework of beliefs, rituals and practices which left little room for any kind of reasoned acceptance of religion. Instead, belief had come to be based on the abject fear of force.

The first major attack on religious institutions appeared in *Angare* in 1933.³⁵ Particularly objectionable to the religious establishment were the short stories written by Sajjad Zahir. *Nind Nahin Ati* (Can't Sleep) and *Jannat Ki Basharat* (Vision of Heaven) were considered especially 'abusive' towards God. The authors were 'lampooned and satirised, censured editorially and in pamphlets, and were even threatened with death'.³⁹ The book was eventually banned by the government in the United Provinces at the end of March 1933⁴⁰, the Mullahs wanted all the copies burned, and the controversy was brought, temporarily to a close.⁴¹ Conventions, rituals, superstitions, religious bigotry and hypocrisy, however, continued to be criticised unsparingly by Progressive Writers. Poets such as Josh Malihabadi declared the concept of God to be 'obsolete', and rejected the idea of the Day of Judgement. Josh refused to give religion any validity on the grounds that it was opposed to reason; indeed, he asserted,

'It is an established tradition in intellectual circles that things which cannot be perceived are unaccepted'.⁴²

Arguing in favour of materialism as the basis of all philosophy, Josh asserted that Man's 'imagination could not go beyond the limits of matter' and that God was in actual fact the creation of Man. Pursuing the same line of argument in his long poem 'Irtiqa' (Evolution), he explained evolution as a process of

material change, and that 'the rational person should not be deceived by the Spirit', but 'bow before Matter'. ^cAli Sardar J^cafri expressed similar views in 'Waiham wa Khayal' (Superstition and Imagination). Salam Machchlishehri also derided superstition and questioned the belief in the existence of God.⁴³

By the end of the 1930s, however, lessons were learnt by Progressive Writers from the results of their early bold but somewhat immature attempts to defy the religious establishment. Gradually, under pressure, their criticism of religion assumed a more indirect form. Progressive Writers now concentrated their attack on institutional Islam, reserving the most sustained and convincing criticism for its 'self-canonised' guardians, the Mullas, whom they considered a relic of the decadent and degenerate past, who exploited religious ignorance and prejudice for their own material interests, collaborating with the British when necessary. In *Mulla Ki Khidmat-i Jalila* (The Illustrious Services of a Maulvi), the Mulla is shown assuring the British India government of his loyalty and devotion. His catalogue of 'services offered' included the disruption of meetings, acting as an informer and diverting the attention of Muslims from politically relevant issues into 'blind alleys'.⁴⁴ Progressive Writers also brought out the lack of sympathy of Mullas for the poor, together with their grasping material outlook. Wajahat ^cAli Sandelwi underlined this attitude in his short story *Gustakh Shaitan* (Insolent Devil). All that the Mullas offered as a panacea for starvation and misery was a further dose of fatalism, together with the timeworn advice that Muslims should accept with patience their suffering as the will of God. Another of his work, *Aik Jhalak* (A Glimpse), a discussion between a Mulla, Buddhist priest and a Christian padre, explained how religion created devisions between people in the way that each particular religion stressed the necessity to follow its own specific brand of rituals as the only way of attaining salvation.⁴⁵

Progressive Writers also suggested that Mullas were morally bankrupt by pointing to the contradictions in their social and sexual conduct. Their works were full of Voltairean pungency

and sarcasm. In *Shikast-i Zuhd* (The Defeat of Piety), Wajahat Ali Sandelwi revealed the failure of piety in the face of sexual attraction. Similarly, in *Badnami* (Notoriety), the Mulla, bound by religious dogma to spurn sexual attraction and intercourse outside marriage, tried to suppress his sexual desire during his waking hours, only to succumb to it during his dreams. Even the Mulla's vision of Paradise was shown in the works of Niaz Fatehpuri to be 'boring', 'grotesque', even 'repulsive'.⁴⁶

The orthodox religious establishment was outraged at these damaging attacks on its character. They tried to undermine the arguments of Progressive Writers by 'exposing' and emphasizing their atheism. But, although some of the Progressive Writers were atheists, they denied that they were opposed to religion itself: what they were fighting was the way in which religion hindered social development. They insisted that the religion which they fought was that of the capitalists and not that which favoured the oppressed and the poor. Surely, they argued, the brand of religion which not only considered oppression and plunder legitimate but even deemed such actions to be necessary, was indeed contemptible. It was the concoction of 'dacoits' and thieves, and the vehicle for the 'criminal activities of the Mullas. It also acted as the cloak which hid the 'nefarious' activities of capitalists and landlords. Thus, it was the duty of Man to hate such 'religion' and crush it with all his energy in order to pave the way for future progress.⁴⁷

The Position of Muslim Women

One of the key social questions in which orthodox Islam played an important part was in the formation of Muslim attitudes and behaviour towards women. Until the Progressive Writers, especially women Progressive Writers, boldly, almost breathlessly, smashed through the citadels of male-oriented sexuality and religious conventions, these complex themes had remained the closely-guarded preserve of men. The institutions of *pardah* and polygamy, combined with arranged marriages and the lack of female education, had created conditions of oppression for women.⁴⁸ Women Progressive Writers, in particular, attacked all the ideas, prejudices and practices which

they believed had perpetrated the domination of women by men. The problems of female sexuality, the complexities of the psychology of Indian women, and some of the cultural and domestic facets of middleclass Muslim society came to be explored both frankly and with insight.

Socialist women writers, in particular Rashid Jahan, attempted to apply the concept of purposive literary expression as a tool in the class struggle, in which they saw the oppression of women playing an important part. They sought to expose the callous treatment meted out to Muslim women by their husbands. They criticised traditional Muslim attitudes particularly towards childbearing. A doctor by profession, Rashid Jahan's major concerns were women's education, health and birthcontrol problems and the encouragement of female social and political awareness. Her rise to fame, or, more appropriately, to 'notoriety', was based on her two contributions to *Angare*. In *Dilli Ki Sair*, she successfully brought out the insensitivities of a Muslim husband to the feelings of his pardah-clad wife whom he dumped on the railway station platform. While he spent the day with a friend, his wife had to contend with a variety of sexual abuse from strangers. In the second piece, *Parde Ke Piche*, she highlighted the way in which women were seen merely as vehicles for the production of children, with birthcontrol rejected simply on principle even if its absence led to the severe deterioration of the wife's health.⁴⁹ Child-bearing occasionally led to tragic consequences for women. Progressive Writers showed them to be victims of superstitions and practices sustained by the male religious establishment.⁵⁰

For Progressive women, pardah was another social disease which required immediate treatment. 'The aim of Purdah in India', declared one Muslim woman writer of the 1930s, was 'to imprison the woman in the four walls of the house so that neither was she able to experience the outside world, nor was the world at large able to see her'.⁵¹ The psychological distortions that this could produce among women were enormous. Some felt that they could neutralise the influence of the mullas by attacking the religious underpinning of the practice of pardah.

To strengthen their argument, they invoked relevant verses from the Qur'an. They asserted that Islam was in fact 'even-handed' on the question of modesty, and that the pardah prescribed by it was equally applicable to Muslim men. Furthermore, by delving into ancient history, they attempted to show that pardah, as practised in India, had evolved out of native Indian social conditions. It had, therefore, to be rooted out because it had become obsolete in modern Indian society. In *Lihaf* (The Quilt), for which ^cAsmat Chughtai was taken to court on the charge of obscenity, she told the story of a bitterly disappointed middle-class pardah women. Neglected by her husband and cut off from all other social and sexual interaction she sought release in a lesbian relationship with her maidservant.⁵² Chughtai stressed the irresponsible attitudes and behaviour of the typical Indian Muslim man, insensitive to the feelings and needs of women. Engrained with this lack of concern, and combined with their willingness to exploit the weaker position of women in society, Muslim male ideas of superiority were thus fortified by religion.

Islam was conveniently interpreted, in the view of Muslim socialist writers, by men to give moral authority to the idea of inequality in male-female relationships through the practice of polygamy and the laws of inheritance. Progressive women writers, therefore, felt duty bound to fight these injustices. Rashid Jahan, in her drama ^c*Aurat* (Woman), made a significant contribution to the debate on women's rights. In it, she tackled the problems of polygamy and the opposition of Muslim women to it. ^cAtiq-Allah, Fatima's husband and a Maulvi by profession, wanted to take another wife because Fatima had not been able to provide him with a male heir. Moreover, he wished to install the second wife-to-be in the same house as his first wife even though the property belonged to her. Fatima resisted this unreasonable demand, and so ^cAtiq-Allah tried to impose it by physical force. Fatima stood up to her husband's threats with courage, and as a result achieved a measure of equality through 'bold resistance'.⁵³ Other Progressive Writers expanded this theme to expose the double-standards of sexuality which they considered were prevalent in middle-class Muslim society. Women who had pre-marital or extra-marital sexual encounters

work undertaken by Progressive Writers was therefore an important innovation. One indication of the success of their work at raising popular awareness can be measured by the emergence of poets from among the ranks of workers and peasants whom the Progressive Writers had concentrated their efforts on. Another indication can be gauged from the popularity of the hortatory style of middle-class Progressive poets. 'Ali Saif-ud-Din, Jafri, Kaifi Azmi, Makhdum Muhi al-din and Israr al-Majaz drew huge Muslim audiences to gatherings at which they recited their poems. Majaz's poem 'Red Flag' was reported to have been sung by thousands during important strikes in Bombay and Cawnpore.³⁴ It was the simple language, fire and emotion and concern for the needs of the poor which made this poem and many other similar works so popular.

B. Content of Progressive Literature

The Progressive Writers confronted in their work the major issues of the day, religion and morality, the oppression of women, poverty and exploitation, British imperialism and communalism. They dealt with these subjects from a social standpoint, regarding them as inter-related problems which required a complete change of the economic and social framework of society. As Muslims, they concentrated their critique of religion on Islam in particular, and also concerned themselves with the specific problems of Muslim women. However, although their cultural context remained Muslim, other issues taken up by them were ones which faced Indian society as a whole.

Religion and Morality

Progressive Writers, deeply influenced by their social outlook, the western emphasis on rational thinking and secular ideas of democracy and freedom, considered that religion stood as a major obstacle in the path of human progress. They, as Muslims, however, limited their criticisms to contemporary Muslim religious conceptions and practices about which they

felt that they knew most. Although they remained consistent in their vehemence, the object of their criticism underwent certain changes. Whereas during the earlier phase of Progressive Writing, they tended to criticise Islam as a whole, by the late 1930s and early 1940s, this had made way for a more concerted attack against the 'hypocritical' aspects of orthodox Islam.

From the outset, Progressive Writers argued that the style of theological education received by the average Muslim child placed an intolerable burden on the inquisitive faculties of his mind, and compressed his world view into a series of unsubstantiated axioms. The custodians of Islam in India had created a rigidly dogmatic framework of beliefs, rituals and practices which left little room for any kind of reasoned acceptance of religion. Instead, belief had come to be based on the abject fear of force.

The first major attack on religious institutions appeared in *Angare* in 1933.³⁵ Particularly objectionable to the religious establishment were the short stories written by Sajjad Zahir *Nind Nahin Aiti* (Can't Sleep) and *Jannat Ki Bashaarai* (Vision of Heaven) were considered especially 'abusive' towards God. The authors were lampooned and satirised, censured editorially and in pamphlets, and were even threatened with death.³⁹ The book was eventually banned by the government in the United Provinces at the end of March 1933⁴⁰, the Mullahs wanted all the copies burned, and the controversy was brought, temporarily to a close.⁴¹ Conventions, rituals, superstitions, religious bigotry and hypocrisy, however, continued to be criticised unsparringly by Progressive Writers. Poets such as Josh Malihabadi declared the concept of God to be 'obsolete', and rejected the idea of the Day of Judgement. Josh refused to give religion any validity on the grounds that it was opposed to reason; indeed, he asserted,

"It is an established tradition in intellectual circles that things which cannot be perceived are unaccepted."⁴²

Arguing in favour of materialism as the basis of all philosophy, Josh asserted that Man's 'imagination could not go beyond the limits of matter' and that God was in actual fact the creation of Man. Pursuing the same line of argument in his long poem 'Irtiqā' (Evolution), he explained

ed relevant verses from in fact 'even-handed' on jah prescribed by it was ermore, by delving into hat pardah, as practised ian social conditions. It it had become obsolete (The Quilt), for which the charge of obscenity, ited middle-class pardah d cut off from all other ght release in a lesbian

Chughtai stressed the of the typical Indian gs and needs of women. ind combined with their on of women in society, hus fortified by religion. d, in the view of Muslim l authority to the idea of s through the practice of ice. Progressive women o fight these injustices. oman), made a significant s rights. In it, she tackled osition of Muslim women d a Maulvi by profession, atima had not been able to er, he wished to install the se as his first wife even ner. Fatima resisted this Allah tried to impose it by ner husband's threats with easure of equality through ve Writers expanded this ds of sexuality which they dle-class Muslim society. a-marital sexual encounters

were immediately cast beyond the 'pale' of civilised society and looked upon as little more than whores. Men, on the other hand, unconcerned about the consequences of their actions, were free to enter into any number of 'casual' affairs without any moral compunction.

Thus Progressive Writers, in pursuit of their aim of equality between the sexes, sought to expose the way that men abused women's sexuality. Muslim men were given to understand by their society that women were mere 'playthings' which could be used and re-used at their pleasure. Maidservants in particular were easy prey for the young men of middle-class households because as 'chattels' they were expected to provide this 'service' as well as perform their other tasks. Rashid Jahan's *Shila* and Āsmat Chughtai's *Gainda*, together with Āli Sardar Jāfri's *Sard Mohri* (Indifference), were fine exposes of the callous male treatment of women. An even more explicit condemnation of Muslim male hypocrisy and the institution of the arranged marriage, was made by Wajahat Āli Sandelwi in *Muhabbat Ki Bhul Bhulaiyan* (The Labyrinth of Love). Rihana was not allowed to marry Asghar, her cousin and the man whom she loved. Her marriage, arranged instead with Jamal Miyan, was happy until he fell ill, and, in his confinement, became involved in an affair with his nurse. Jamal Miyan felt obliged to make a clean breast of his unfaithfulness, and so in turn Rihana confessed her love for Asghar whom she had begun to meet secretly. Both were depicted as extra-marital affairs, but, whereas Jamal Miyan expected his wife to accept his 'fling' as a matter of course, he was not prepared to condone similar action on the part of Rihana, and immediately raised the subject of divorce. 'You must remember', he asserted, 'that a woman is weak and the man protects her. The existing principles of society are most stringent for women and after being divorced once, her life is finished.'⁵⁴

The Muslim woman's social, economic and emotional dependence on her male relations became a major subject in progressive Urdu fiction. As part of their attack on orthodox religion, Progressive Writers were keen to point out the

correlation between orthodox religious tenets and the socially, culturally and, most importantly from their socialist standpoint, economically debilitating consequences that these tenets produced for women. *Pardah*, for instance, meant that women could not acquire a modern education, nor could they earn a respectable living. In most cases, their role was that of 'caged domestic pets'. All avenues to economic independence were blocked. To these writers, female economic dependence on men was at the heart of women's overall oppression. The position of women like that of the working classes was, in their opinion, intimately linked to the whole question of economic control in society. Therefore, in a variety of situations, these authors attempted to show that whenever a woman was able to achieve a measure of material independence, she was able to overcome to some extent her social and cultural handicaps.⁵⁵

Yet, so deeply had notions of supremacy become embedded in the male mind that even Progressive Writers were swept away by their cultural conditioning, and found it difficult to sympathise with women's problems and accept women as equal human beings. Josh Malihabadi, although extremely progressive on many other issues, continued to portray women as merely sex objects. For him, the hearth had to be the centre of a woman's universe, and her role was limited to that of being a mistress, a housewife or a mother. His magazine *Kalim* published a number of poems which celebrated women as either the very epitome of loyalty, faithfulness, modesty and innocence, or as a 'thing of pleasure'. In the first case, it was the woman's motherly love which was most admired. In the second case, the physical aspects of her beauty were stressed in particular. Descriptions of her delicacy as a fragrant flower or a bright and colourful butterfly abounded in the pages of the magazine. Even the treatment of the 'whore' in some cases was blatantly traditionalist, holding the woman responsible for all of men's 'sins'. She was submissive, 'like a disloyal (female) snake you (lovingly) embrace, who in return injects you with her venom. Her existence is the supreme example of devil's industry'.⁵⁶ During the early period of their development, even such

progressive writers as ʿAli Sardar Jʿafri, Makhdum Muhi al-din and ʿAli Jawad Zaidi occasionally lapsed into attitudes to women's roles in society conditioned by tradition. Their poems of revolutionary action cast women in passive and subordinate roles, only capable of understanding romantic love.⁵⁷ As they acquired a deeper understanding of the nature of the social contradictions in Indian society, and a more thorough study of Marxist theory, however, they began to express condemnation of existing views on women in much more consistent terms, emphasizing the material causes of their subjugation in capitalist and colonial India. Israr al-Haq Majaz's 'Pardah Aur ʿAsmat' (Seclusion and Honour) was a strident criticism of the system of pardah, and both this poem and 'Naujawan Khatun Se' (Address to a Young Woman) were exhortations to women to abandon their traditional self-perceptions and join the revolutionary forces struggling for emancipation. ʿAli Sardar Jʿafri in 'ʿAurat' (Woman) also denounced traditional modes of women's own thinking, and suggested that unless they themselves broke 'the magic of prevalent cultural ideas', they would remain no more than sexual objects.⁵⁸

Among the Progressive prose writers, Sʿadat Hasan Manto's treatment of the complexities of the situation of a socially-wronged and sexually-exploited woman, was perhaps the most sympathetic and rounded. He brought to the problem of women's oppression some fresh insights and jarring realism. A very significant proportion of his writing was devoted to the portrayal of prostitutes. Their situation was regarded by Progressive Writers as a microcosm of all the facets of Indian women's experience. The attitudes and expectations of this experience was seen to encourage passivity, social, economic and emotional dependence, as well as the prostitute's perception of herself as a mere sexual object, devoid of feelings and hungry solely for male attention and respect. *Hatak* described in almost sickening detail the stark and sordid realities of the prostitute Saugandhi's social and economic situation - the dirt and degradation of her physical environment, and the paucity of the share of the earnings given to her after the pimp and the rent had been paid. In this story, Manto alluded to the fact that the economic and

emotional position of the prostitute was not significantly different to that of a respectably married woman. Saugandhi was 'married' to Madhu, her pimp, in all but name. In her relationship with him, she behaved like a devoted wife. There was no charge for sexual favours and she constantly looked to him to reassure her of her human worth. Conversely, Madhu exploited her sexually and economically, and thus established a pattern of male-female relations which was seen to be typical of the rest of society.⁵⁹

Progressive Writers, therefore, tended to regard the equality of women as an essential part of progress towards a more equal and just society. They condemned the treatment of women by attacking the main 'ideology' which supported it. Orthodox Muslim values were seen as the principle instruments of 'oppression', and so many of the Progressive Writers' arguments on the position of women were closely bound up with their views on the role and relevance of religion in Muslim society.

Poverty and Exploitation

Literature in the past had expressed the joys and sorrows, dreams and desires, and the friendship and enmities of the wealthy and the powerful. The ordinary people, their lives and experiences, had, by and large, remained beyond artistic and literary imagination. Since Progressive Writers were explicitly sympathetic to workers, peasants and all the other oppressed people of India, the literature which they created had to have different priorities. Progressive literature had to oppose consciously the 'enemy' classes. It had to express the trials and tribulations, as well as the desires and aspirations of the poor and deprived. It had to endeavour to create among the oppressed the realisation that the solution to their basic problems lay in the revolutionary transformation of society, and to encourage them to increase their revolutionary powers and their chances of success by becoming united and organised.

Progressive Writers tried to reveal through their work aspects of the suffering of the common man, which caused or resulted from his poverty; social deprivation, ignorance, unemployment, loss of dignity, hunger, disease and death were

the subjects which they embraced. They contrasted the anguish of the poor with the parasitic and hedonistic lifestyles of the rich. ^cAli Sardar J^cafri, in 'Mazdur Larkiyān' (Working Women), captured the pain of the labourers' toil and the devastating effect of this on their physical health and their mental attitudes:

'The heat of the midday sun beating down on their heads
 'Searing winter breeze
 'Dry lips, pale checks, sunken eyes, consumption-ridden faces,
 'Peppered with fresh wounds
 'Victims of oppression, indifferent to religion or nation
 'Their beds, their graves; their dresses, their shrouds'.⁶⁰

Other writers such as Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Israr al-Haq Majaz and Muhammad Din Tasir in poetry, and Hayat-Allah Ansari in prose, conveyed the suffering and unfairness of poverty with similar sympathy.⁶¹

It was the tragedy of the Bengal Famine of 1943 which really stirred the Progressives' world.⁶² Progressive Writers could not ignore the human devastation that had taken place. On a visit to Calcutta at the end of 1943, Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas told of:

'Young, old, men, women, children - with bloated stomachs, dark-eyed babies dying of rickets ... the feeble whine of 'Mango ... Pahaan do!' (please give us some rice water) became the dirge of Calcutta. And yet the Newspapers such as the Statesman advertised 5-star hotels, promising '30-course dinners' while people lay dying in front of luxury hotels and expensive restaurants ... Everywhere the stench of death! On roads, in parks, on footpaths, people lay dying'.⁶³

The 'hopelessness', the degrading dehumanising process of begging for food or selfishly fighting for leftovers like dogs, and women selling their bodies was described in detail. The hoarding of foodstuffs by merchants, and the marketing of women's bodies were taken to be characteristic of the repugnant facets of

the crisis. 'The banias are sitting hoarding their grain in cellars', declared Wamiq Jaunpuri in his popular poem 'Bhuka Bangal' (Hungry Bengal),

'A beautiful girl, starving, sells her shame in every house,

...

'Bengal is hungry,

'O friend, Bengal is hungry'.⁶⁴

Thus, Progressive Writers denounced capitalism for its indifference to human suffering. Above all they wanted to make the poor aware of the fundamental causes of their plight. They wanted to lay bare the essential fabric of social relations which, in their view, generated and perpetuated this exploitation. This they did, perhaps most successfully, in their exposure of the unequal social relations which prevailed in the countryside. ^cAli ^cAbbas Husain and Suhail ^cAzimabadi revealed the inhumane exploitation which the peasant suffered at the hands of the landlord. They brought into sharp focus the decadence of rural culture, its ignorance and its 'moribund' religious practices. They depicted in all its nakedness the brutal terror of the government and its agents in suppressing the efforts of the peasants to emancipate themselves.⁶⁵ Sahir Ludhianwi, the son of a typical zamindar, had himself observed his father's unjust behaviour towards his peasants, and, therefore, was in a very good position to reveal the mentality of the landlord. He did so with considerable clarity in his poem 'Jagir' (The Estate). In it, he first alluded to the debauchery of the *zamindar* who was shown using the peasants' wives and daughters for his sexual gratification, and wondering

'how these half-dead peasants give birth
'to these marble bodies in these dingy hovels'.

Then, Ludhianwi described the *zamindar's* sense of power and control over his domain:

'These meadows ... these cattle, these peasants
 'All mine ...
 'Their labour is mine, also the product of their labour
 'I am the God of this unlimited space
 'The wave of the cheek is mine, the swell of the tresses also
 belongs to me'.

Finally, Ludhianwi attempted to show the way in which the *zamindar* had been able to retain his hold on the land and its people. He had always traded his country's freedom for personal luxury and comfort, proudly declaring himself to be 'the descendant of those ancestors who have always supported the shadows of a foreign nation'. Thus, by presenting the landlord in his true light, Ludhianwi implied that the only way that people could emancipate themselves was by shaking off their indolence and timidity, and rising up to resist tyranny.⁶⁶

For a number of Progressive Writers, the important task was not just to present their audiences with a comprehensive ready-made guide on how to carry out the revolution. Instead, they had to make people understand the realities of the society in which they lived. Only through their own realisation of oppression, could they be brought to the necessary level of awareness. These writers were concerned to show how people actually responded to their social circumstances, and confronted or acquiesced in their own poverty. They illuminated the way in which the existing system of exploitation strengthened itself by dividing the poorer classes, and used the example of the 'Robin Hood' style of unlawful activity as a means of drawing people's attention to their moral and social responsibilities. Other Progressive Writers introduced characters into their work, through whom they transmitted the concept of organised activity as the means of overcoming the 'oppressors'. They introduced the concept of the peasant and the worker as the natural leaders of the socialist revolution.⁶⁷

British Imperialism

Vigorous opposition to British rule in India was also a logical corollary of the socialist values which were upheld by the majority of Progressive Writers. Socialism implied, in their view, the development of society to the stage where human beings were able to enjoy unlimited freedom. The prerequisite for the achievement of this goal was the elimination of British imperial rule in India. The idea of national political freedom had already become firmly rooted in the minds of the vast majority of Indian intellectuals. The Progressive Writers, however, felt that the kind of freedom which the Congress nationalists had in mind would not serve the needs and aspirations of the Indian people. Unless, ordinary people of India were properly mobilised to participate fully in the freedom movement, the chances of its benefitting them would remain small.⁶⁸

The personal sense of outrage at being treated as inferior beings was vividly expressed in the novels and short stories of Progressive Writers who had suffered racial abuse and humiliation at first hand. Sajjad Zahir, in his novel *Landan Ki Aik Rat* (One Night in London), written at the end of his stay in London during the early 1930s, described the air of superiority which was assumed by the 'Imperial Race' in relation to students from colonial India. It showed how tormented and agonised the Indian youth felt as members of a subject people, the victims of crude insults and abuses inflicted both in public and, more subtly, in private conversation.⁶⁹ Increasing consciousness of political servitude created a feeling of hatred towards the British who were seen as responsible for the economic backwardness of India and the impoverishment of her people. Lenin's theories of imperial plunder made convincing inroads into the literary repertoire of Progressive Writers. This conviction enabled them to produce some of the most emotionally-charged and politically powerful short stories and poems of their time. Josh Malihabadi was the most incisive exponent of this kind of poetry. He repeatedly made virulent attacks on imperial policies, exposing the hypocrisy of the British and their strangle hold

over freedom in India. In 'To the Sons of the East India Company', Josh feigned amazement at British concern for the future of mankind, under threat from Hitler. He asked rhetorically,

'When you came here to trade
 'Were you not aware of the future of mankind
 'Was there no spirit of freedom among the Indians
 'Tell us the truth - were they not part of humanity?'

Then Josh recalled the atrocities committed by the British during their rise to power in India, from the very first 'criminal period' of the East India Company, right down to the hanging of Bhagat Singh. Was it not ironic, he asked, that,

'Having forgotten all oppression, you now sing of justice
 'Is your own house on fire (now) that you have started
 screaming?'⁷⁰

This exposure of British tyranny and injustice was seen by Progressive Writers as the first step towards creating and expanding the emotional motivation to act against imperial rule. Its purpose was to show that liberty was so essential that it could shake the 'self-respecting' Indian youth out of their lethargy and produce the necessary determination to fight for the freedom of India.⁷¹

Suitable literature, therefore, had to wean Indian youth away from irrelevant, unimportant and debilitating pursuits, and stimulated among them a passion for the liberation of their homeland. This new literature consciously rejected leisure and comfort, and instilled the sort of courage required for patriotic sacrifice. 'By raising the national flag on the Himalayas', they declared, 'we shall compel the flag of the enemy to submit.'⁷² Progressive Writers anticipated a period of revolutionary nationalist struggle in their writings. Furthermore, they gave credence to this idea by asserting that the fight against alien rule had already begun, and that the enslaved masses of India were

already involved in the process of 'breaking their chains'.⁷³ Yet, these writers were compelled by their socialist consciousness to highlight the differences between their concept of freedom, which grew logically out of the theory of class cleavages in a capitalist-colonial society, and that proposed by the nationalists which was based on supra-class ideas. They, therefore, set out in their work the differences between bourgeois political independence and socialist emancipation. The political freedom of the nationalists, in the view of Progressive Writers, would mean merely the replacement of imperial rule by that of the indigenous capitalists and landholders who were anyway in collaboration with the British. The freedom which the Progressive Writers envisaged was the establishment of a qualitatively different society. For them only the victory of the oppressed sections of society would ensure the transfer of social and economic benefits to them. While the first kind of nationalism would lead to the continuation of existing tyranny in a new guise, the second would be the prelude to the destruction of the political, social and economic structures on which the ruling classes had hitherto thrived. The constitutional changes offered by the British in the India Act of 1935 did not seem to alter significantly the quality of life of the ordinary man. This was tinkering with the system of imperial control to prolong British domination of India. 'By ever changing the legislation', they warned, only 'new chains' had been forged'.⁷⁴ They warned against the conspiracies of their colonial rulers, and advised Indians to 'beware' of the 'fresh monstrosity' which was about to descend on them in the shape of the 1935 legislation.⁷⁵

The most persuasive attempt to shatter the illusion that the India Act of 1935 had somehow transformed the colonial structure of relationships between the British and the Indians, was made by S^cadat Hasan Manto in his masterful short story *The New Constitution..* Mangu, a tonga driver, awaited the 1st of April 1935, the day on which real change in the laws of the country would be introduced, which, he felt, would protect him against the superiority presumed by the British in every walk of life. Confident of fair treatment, Mangu retaliated physically

when an abusive and provocative 'Tommy' struck him with his cane because Mangu had dared to insist upon the correct fare. 'My boy', asserted Mangu, 'we are the rulers in this country now. You better look out ... it is our raj now'. Mangu was quickly arrested for his insolence but he still felt confident of fair treatment under the new constitution. This confidence was shattered when he was locked up at the police station. The New Constitution had brought no change; it was the same old one in a different guise.⁷⁶

Between 1936, when the PWA was founded in India and 1947, when independence was achieved, the message transmitted by the Progressive Writers took different forms. In the pre-war period, they laid stress on promoting the idea of freedom as the birth right of every human being, and on creating hostility towards British rule by exposing its inhuman character. During the first phase of the Second World War, up to the time of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Progressive Writers intensified their opposition to the British. They objected to the way in which the Viceroy had declared war on behalf of India without the consent of the Indian people. They also felt that the main aim of the war was to carve up further the colonial world for capitalist profit. The war was 'a dance of death' to satisfy the greed of the capitalist-colonial powers. Progressive Writers contradicted British claims that Britain was fighting for peace and the future of mankind, and denounced British efforts to recruit Indians to fight the Germans.⁷⁷ While the British ruled, they claimed, Indians became 'cannon fodder'.⁷⁸ They asked why Indians should support an imperial power which had committed untold atrocities against them. Why should they sacrifice their lives in a war whose purpose was to perpetuate their servitude. During this period, the view gained ground that while the imperialist countries were 'off-guard', confronting each other in the West, this was an opportune moment to strike against British rule in India.⁷⁹ Progressive Writers who had become members of the Communist Party of India were especially convinced that the crisis created by the war ought to be utilised for the achievement of national freedom by

transforming it into a war of national liberation. ^cAli Sardar J^cafri instructed the masses to ignore the war, and to intensify the movement for the emancipation of their homeland. 'Time has come ... , he told them,

'When the emperor's throne is shaking, the crown is about to fall

'At each step, Imperialism is staggering'.⁸⁰

The invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany in the summer of 1941, resulted in a tremendous upheaval in the emotional and intellectual orientation of the main Progressive Writers. The Communist International, by this time little more than an instrument of Soviet foreign policy, instructed the Communist Party of India to support the British war effort as now the first concern of the proletariat had to be the defence of the Soviet Union. During this phase of the war, progressive literature played down the nationalist aspirations of the previous period and highlighted instead the dangers of Fascism. Makhdum Muhi aldin in 'Jang-i Azadi' (War of Liberation) wrote that 'this war is a war of Freedom ... a war of the people of India ... of the peasants and the workers'. ^cAli Sardar J^cafri now advised Indians to join the Allied war effort. Kaifi A^czmi, Zafar Kashmiri and Israr al-Haq Majaz followed suit. In this period, the idea of freedom was replaced, in the minds of these Indian intellectuals, by identification with and participation in the struggle of their masters. Some even went to the extent of attacking the nationalists for continuing the fight against the British. Faiz Ahmad Faiz in 'Siyasi Lidar Ke Nam' (To the Political Leader) criticised the Congress-led 'Quit India' movement because he thought that it would result in the victory of Fascism over the Soviet Union, and thereby extinguish the only 'web of light' in the world.⁸¹

A number of the more independently-minded Progressive Writers did not accept the rationalisations which were thus foisted upon them. Despite pressure on leading Progressive

Writers to conform to the support of the Communist Party for the war effort, Josh Malihabadi and Saghir Nizami issued a statement on the question of the war which expressed the same degree of contempt and antagonism towards both the British and the Japanese. If the Japanese were the 'dacoits' on the border, they argued, then the British were definitely the thief inside the house.⁸² Other writers, confused by this somersault, chose to remain silent on the issue. The mental turmoil led to a sense of helplessness and demoralisation, which, in turn, led to a reduction in their literary production. The enthusiasm and vigour of the earlier period was replaced by despondency and exhaustion, which was only brought to an end by the tragedy of the Bengal Famine.

Communalism

The Progressive Writers' Movement had, in line with its anti-separatist, secular and populist vies, initially adopted a general stance of opposition to the rise of the All-India Muslim League and all for which it stood. The Muslim League was, in the opinion of Progressive Writers, not a broad based Muslim political organisation but the representative of *zamindars*, *taluqadars*, bureaucrats and nawabs which acted in their economic interests. The League was completely compromised by its association with the British Raj. It was seen to fan communal prejudices, thus acting as a wedge between the different religious communities of India.⁸³ They considered that imperial policies of 'divide and rule' were served very effectively by communal strife. In this way, the revolutionary mood of the masses was being channelled into inter-communal civil war. Progressive Writers felt that all freedom-loving Muslims should oppose the Muslim League because it divided the 'united front' against the British, strengthened the communal tendencies in the Congress, and confused the Muslim masses by asserting that the rights, demands and interests of Muslim capitalists and landlords were identical to their own. The Muslim League, therefore, obstructed the organisation of the Muslim masses along class lines.⁸⁴ The task which left-wing Muslim intellectuals set

themselves was to oppose the Muslim League and all that it encouraged. The freedom of India could only be won on the basis of inter-communal harmony. It seemed to them that the Indian National Congress under Nehru was much more serious about waging a campaign for the complete independence of a united India, and also prepared to carry out some sort of economic reform in the country. Yet, despite the influence of Nehru, the Progressive Writers still felt that the Congress was basically a coalition of landlord, bourgeois middle-class and popular layers. It was the duty of radicals to join and make all possible efforts to transform it into a revolutionary socialist organisation.

During the mid-1930s, some of the key figures of the PWA, armed with this argument, became prominent members of the Congress Socialist Party. By 1937-38, Sajjad Zahir had been appointed a joint secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, as well as a member of the All-India Congress Committee. Dr. K.M. Ashraf was given an important position in the office of the All-India Congress Committee, and, during the late 1930s, directed the Congress's Muslim Mass Contact Campaign designed to wean Muslims away from the Muslim League. Mahmud al-Zafar became private secretary to Jawaharlal Nehru.⁸⁵

In the fields of culture and literature, the Progressive Writers tried very hard to show that a complete Hindu-Muslim framework had come about through centuries of the two communities living together. They made attempts to resolve the long-standing Hindi-Urdu language controversy, which in the previous few decades had acquired communal overtones. It was argued by them that, contrary to the communal and elite view, Hindi and Urdu were essentially one language. The differences in script were artificial and the direct result of the 'divide and rule' policy of the British. To resolve the controversy, they considered that there was a sound case for abolishing both the Persian and Devanagiri scripts, and replacing them with the Roman script. The Turkish language was cited as a recent and pertinent

example where the Roman script had replaced the Arabic in order to break with the worthless traditions of the past and build a new nation.⁸⁶

But the unequivocal position of the PWA on communalism became confused during the early 1940s, when the Communist party of India, to whom the dominant elements in the PWA were affiliated, began to describe India, not as a homogeneous nation, but as a multi-national state. Invoking Stalin's theories of the State and Nationalities, which had been worked out in 1913, the Communist Party leadership now asserted that 'new national urges' had begun to appear in India, and that the Hindu-Muslim problem had to be set within this framework. Applying Leninist theses on the National Question to the religious divide in India, and asserting that the Muslims of India formed a separate group distinct from the Hindus, it was argued that the demand of Muslim self-determination was justified. 'This demand becomes the progressive lever, by means of which alone the various nationalities can be rallied for the rightful demand of India. Here diversity becomes the lever for unity'.⁸⁷ By mid-1942, on the basis of these rationalisations, Muslims of India were recognised as a distinct nationality and therefore the Communist Party conceded the validity of Muslim demands for autonomy and even secession.⁸⁸ The call for a Muslim state was not accepted on the grounds of the separatists' theory of dividing India into two nations on the basis of religion. It was seen as the best way of encouraging the growth among Muslims of an anti-imperialist nationalist consciousness, and as 'a step towards welding Hindus and Muslims into a firm anti-imperialist unity'.⁸⁹ The Muslim League was now proclaimed an anti-imperialist organisation which represented the democratic urges of the Muslim masses. The League, according to Sajjad Zahir, moved 'the Muslim masses on the path of progress and democracy' and in it lay 'the salvation of millions of our Muslim countrymen'. The League, like the Congress, now represented 'the finest and highest aspirations of various nationalities which inhabit our land'.⁹⁰

Congress-League unity was the key to national unity against the British.

The leaders of the PWA, who were committed to the Communist Party, were prepared to subordinate their attitude on this very strategic and sensitive issue to Communist Party discipline, and so declared their support for the Pakistan demand. They urged Congress to accept it as just and democratic.⁹¹ They pressed members of the PWA and other Muslim nationalists to join the Muslim League in order to win the Muslim masses, who were mobilising under the flag of the Muslim League, to socialism. Until the end of the Second World War, these Progressive Writers remained staunch supporters of the concept of Pakistan. They wrote enthusiastic poems praising the League for its contribution towards awakening the spirit of freedom among Indian Muslims, and expressed the hope that an independent Pakistan would be the harbinger of a socialist future.⁹² On the question of language, the Progressive Writers also made a subtle adaption towards the communal cultural view of Urdu. They no longer insisted on the unity of the languages of Hindi and Urdu as a precondition for unity, but recognised their separateness, justifying the retention of Urdu by Muslims as a necessary step in the free cultural development of the various communities in a multi-lingual India. 'Ali Sardar Jafri admitted after Independence that 'on the question of Pakistan, we surpassed the most communal-minded Muslims'. This 'abberation' in their political stance, Jafri explained, had taken place, not because they had changed their minds overnight, but because of the weakness of their understanding of the Marxist approach to the communal problem.⁹³

As a result, some Progressive Writers were caught up in the communal atmosphere of the 1940s. Hajra Masrur remembered that during the days of the 'direct action Movement', launched by the Muslim League to press for the acceptance of Pakistan in summer 1946, Israr al-Haq Majaz led agitational marches in Delhi, reciting his stirring national anthem - Pakistan Ka Milli

Tarana - for the future state of Pakistan.⁹⁴ The anthem, apparently an up-dated version of Makhdum Muhi al-din's 'Hamara Pakistan'⁹⁵, blatantly drew on the imagery of the Islamic invasions and conquests of India. The 'bright crescent', soldiers marching with green flags, 'the Qur'an', Turks and Afghans were translated into 'the warriors of Pakistan', and expressed the collective aspirations of Muslims 'raising their heads from the oceanic depths of their sub-consciousness'.⁹⁶ In Hyderabad (Deccan), some progressive Writers, notably Ibrahim Jalis and Nazar Haiderabadi, severed their relations with the Communist Party and the PWA. They joined instead the Majlis-i Ittehad al-Muslimin, a communal political organisation which claimed an independent Muslim state in Hyderabad (Deccan). They took over its propaganda department.⁹⁷ As Ibrahim Jalis subsequently confessed.

'I fell into the abyss of communalism ... with blood in my eyes, I was suddenly a Muslim, a proud Muslim, a *Ghazi* Muslim, a crusading Muslim. Not the Muslim of Islamic teachings but a Muslim found in the novels of Sadiq Husain and 'Abd al-Halim Sharar. I came out of the PWA and Communist party offices and entered *Dar al-Islam*'.⁹⁸

One consequence of the Pakistan demand was rapidly to increase the hostility between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. After the war, as the tragedy of communal mass murders began to unfold, a number of Progressive Writers began to realise that the 'tiger' they had tried to ride was quickly running out of control. They saw that they had unwittingly fuelled the flames of 'communal hatred'. As the magnitude and gravity of the danger dawned on them, they made desperate attempts to salvage the situation, and launched one last concerted attack against the Muslim League and its demand for Pakistan. This group now regarded the demand for Pakistan as contrary to the right of self-determination. The Pakistan which the League demanded was that of the capitalists and 'feudal' lords, and would not be obtained through the mobilisation of Muslim masses but by

reaching agreements with British imperialists and Congressite capitalists and *jagirdars*. They accused the Muslim League of justifying, through warped rationalisations, the riots which, they claimed, had cleared the way for Pakistan. Communal conflict, it seemed, had become part of the Muslims' war of independence. Moreover, Progressive Writers alleged that the League was fanning a communal civil war by diverting the fervour and zeal of ordinary Muslims from attacks against the British to the slaughter of fellow Indians. Thus, they argued that the League was playing into the hands of the British. Indeed, real liberty for India could only be attained by implementing a programme of radical agrarian and industrial reforms to which the League was totally opposed.⁹⁹

Despite these 'pendulum-like' swings in attitudes towards the demand for Pakistan, most of the Progressive Writers displayed consistency in their opposition to the question of communal violence. It was to meet the challenge of this complex and delicate issue that they had to draw upon their reserves of progressive ideology and intellectual capacity. Progressive Writers tried meticulously to be even-handed in apportioning blame on the various communities involved in this internecine warfare. To maintain objectivity and balance, Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus were all held equally responsible for the communal massacres. Disgust was expressed at the stark brutality of violence, and progressive writing depicted the horrifying beastliness of Man. Progressive Writers denounced the savage acts of the 'lovers' of the 'Qur'an, Gita and Granth', who 'tore out the breast-feeding babies, slaughtered innocent lives in their mothers' laps, raped daughters in front of their fathers, brought out processions of women bereft of their clothing, carved Pakistan and Jai Hind on their private parts, and practised the most unimaginable forms of torture'.¹⁰⁰ They attempted to demonstrate that these acts of violence directed against other communities contained the seeds of brutality against their own people. For instance, in *Ferris Lane*, Akbar unconsciously addressed a girl, whom his mob had just raped, as 'Sister', and was shocked when he realised that she could indeed have been

one of his relatives abused at the hands of a similar gang of Hindu youths. Similarly, in Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas's *Intiqam*, Hari Das finally got hold of a Muslim woman in order to take revenge on the Muslims who had cut out his daughter's breasts, but found to his horror that the victim's breasts had already been ripped out. Spontaneously, he cried out in anguish, 'My daughter'.¹⁰¹

On a more positive note, Progressive Writers highlighted amidst this human carnage, the bravery, sacrifice and sheer humanity of many Indians from among all the communities. In Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas's *Sardarji*, a Sikh died fighting to save the life of a Muslim; while in ^cAziz Ahmad's *Kali Rat* (Black Night), a newly married couple preferred to kill themselves rather than lose their honour.¹⁰² On the political plane, Progressive Writers blamed the massacres on British imperialism 'playing its last desperate game ... of fratricide, of civil war'.¹⁰³ They now denounced Congress-League connivance with imperialism in encouraging the blood bath for their own opportunist ends, and called again for communal harmony.¹⁰⁴ Krishan Chandar's collection of short stories *Ham Wahshi Hain* (We are Savages), and Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas's *Ajanta* were two notable examples of the many admirable contributions towards countering the communal fear, hatred and bitterness which was taking a huge toll of life in the various communities.¹⁰⁵ Yet, these pleas for peace met with little real success, and the deluge of killing continued. In this climate of apprehension about the future, a large number of Progressive Writers actually migrated to Pakistan in spite of the fact that it seemed that in order to remain consistent with their political principles they should have remained in India. A deeper analysis of the motives which were important factors in the decisions of these writers to leave their homeland, reveals a very complex situation.

Among those who went to Pakistan, there were Progressive Writers who had been instructed by the Communist Party of

India to migrate in order to organise the Party and the PWA there. Sajjad Zahir, for instance, together with Sibte Hasan and Dr. K. M. Ashraf went for this reason. For them, it was a matter of party discipline, and of duty of their political cause. There were also those who had been eye witnesses to large scale massacres of their community, and who were, therefore, living in fear of their lives. Maulana Shahid Ahmad described in detail the indiscriminate mass murders all around him in Delhi, which compelled him to leave to save himself from death. Akhtar Husain Raipuri opted for Pakistan under similar circumstances.¹⁰⁶ Finally, there were those who had come to the conclusion that Muslims had no place in independent India. Earlier ingrained fears of a 'Hindu Raj' had been further accentuated by the communal excesses of the period leading up to and immediately following Independence. The tension between communities was razor-sharp, and hostility towards Muslims had reached a new peak, fuelled by the arrival of Hindu refugees with their own tales of woe. These new factors were sufficient to tip the balance in favour of a new life in Pakistan, whatever their emotional attachments to a united India might have still been. Even so, economic considerations can not be ignored in assessing the motives for migration to Pakistan. Shaukat Siddiqi stated frankly that economic calculations were decisive in his move to Pakistan. There were no career prospects in India, whereas Pakistan was 'virgin' territory and clearly offered the opportunity for personal advancement.¹⁰⁷

Those Progressive Writers who had never been fully committed ideologically to a secular socialist India, for instance Aziz Ahmad, Mumtaz Shirin and Ibrahim Jalis, did not find the transition to a sophisticated communal outlook difficult. Their individualism quickly asserted itself. Yet, their decisions to go to Pakistan were not presented in terms of purely economic and opportunist calculations. They were rationalised and justified by the growing threat of 'Hindu rule' in India, in which they feared that Muslims would be reduced to the status of 'slaves'. The migration of these Progressive Writers was regarded by them as their 'escape to freedom'.

Despite their various decisions, Progressive Writers on both sides of the new border had grave doubts and reservations about the kind of freedom which had been achieved.¹⁰⁸ Faiz Ahmad Faiz expressed poignantly the doubts, uncertainties and accompanying sense of gloom with which many of the Progressive Writers perceived the future:

'This leprous daybreak, dawn night's fangs have mangled
 'This is not the long looked-for break of day,
 'Not that clear dawn in quest of which those comrades
 'Set out believing that Heaven's wide void
 'Somewhere must be the star's last halting-place
 'Somewhere the verge of night's slow washing-tide
 'Somewhere an anchorage for the ship of heartache
 ...
 'Let us go on, our goal is not yet reached'.¹⁰⁹

CONCLUSION

Muslim socialist activity in India between 1917 and 1947 can be divided clearly into two phases, which differed according to the kinds of Muslim involved, the way in which they came into contact with socialist ideas, and the action they took. The first Muslim socialists emerged from those agitated by the heightened Pan-Islamic feeling in the period from the Balkan Wars of 1911-12 to the mid-1920s. Most began opposing the British to defend Islam against Western encroachments, but, as Pan-Islamic fervour died, the toppling of British rule came to be an end in its own right. In this situation, socialism offered an alternative and coherent set of ideas which included, high among its priorities, the need to overcome Western colonial domination, and the right of all peoples to self-determination. Such ideas encouraged these Muslims to play a leading role in the formation of the Communist Party of India and in its activities during the 1920s.

Yet there were difficulties in using socialism as an instrument for securing India's freedom. As socialists, they relied heavily on directives from the international socialist leadership. But, when they did so, they found that these did not always match the requirements of the Indian situation. This dependence on external guidance combined with British repression and the shaky ideological commitment of some to restrict their capacity to win a solid mass following. As individuals, however, they did demonstrate that it was possible for Indian Muslims completely to disentangle Islam from their political vision.

Opposition to the British also contributed to the emergence of the second batch of Muslim socialists from the early 1930s onwards. But, whereas their forerunners had been drawn largely from the lower service classes of Bengal and Panjab and the Frontier provinces, they came primarily from prosperous and top-ranking service families of the U.P. They had a more

intellectual approach to socialism. They recognised that national freedom was not in itself enough to secure freedom and rights for all of India's people. Independence had to be accompanied by far-reaching economic and social changes for there to be any real change in the condition of life of the ordinary Indian. They used literature to communicate their political message, forming part of that Muslim tradition which, since the advent of British rule, had sought to popularise western, modernist ideas through verse and prose. Their use of literature as a political weapon was also influenced by their social origins. On the one hand, they were brought up in the most refined traditions of North Indian Islamic culture. But, on the other, they were given western education to equip them with the skills required for service under the British Raj. Often this bifurcation of cultural experience and vision generated sharp and distressing conflicts of values and of outlook. Many were to be alienated from their backgrounds, rejecting Islam and all that it had come to represent to them, in favour of socialism and a secular outlook on life.

Men from the second batch of Muslim socialists played the major part in organising the Progressive Writers' Association; they dominated the Progressive Writers' Movement. Their common social backgrounds, their strong system of networks and ties, formed the platform on which the Movement and its Association rested. Those most strongly involved in the Communist Party of India had most say in the Association's policies. This said, there is little evidence to support the argument of Overstreet and Windmiller that the Association had been established as a 'front' for Communist Party activity.¹ Nevertheless, its leading members tended to be communists, and, by the time of the Second World War, its leadership was carrying out instructions issued by the Comintern. Not all Muslims associated with the PWA followed these directives, but official Association policy mirrored the decisions taken by communist groups elsewhere in the world during this period.

Thus, the PWA took a fiercely nationalist stand up to the summer of 1941, but, after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, began to cooperate with the British although the nationalists continued to oppose them. They could now move, speak and write more freely, but their break with the nationalists alienated much of their potential support. Furthermore, their unwavering support for Comintern policy led them to an action of great paradox; they came to support the Muslim League's demand for an Islamic state of Pakistan. They did so on the grounds that Indian Muslims constituted a people and had the right to self-determination. Contemporaries charged them with communalism, but, on the whole, they remained secular in outlook and approached the question of a separate Muslim state from an ideological rather than a theological point of view.

If the political impact of these Muslim socialists was small, their literary impact was great. They continued the process of innovation in style and in content which had been initiated by the Aligarh Movement. But the way in which they did so changed the course of Urdu literature. Its scope was greatly expanded. It was given a powerful part to play in the progress of twentieth century Indian Muslim society.

These conclusions shed some light on broader aspects of both Indian Muslim history and that of Islam itself. We see that Muslims in India were able to place themselves outside the Islamic framework and patterns of thought. Whereas Muslim modernists in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attempted to embrace secular ideas within the Islamic world-view, Muslim socialists felt that their religion inhibited 'progress' and hindered social and political evolution in India. Thus, they rejected it.

Muslim socialists were also able to contribute to the secular nationalist movement on a strictly non-religious basis. Some Muslims in India, in spite of Islam's strong emphasis on the corporate identity of its believers as a world-wide religious community, supported the nationalist struggle. But their

participation was based on arguments which gave the preservation of the Muslim community foremost importance. Alien rule was to be resisted because it prevented Muslims from leading properly Muslim lives. In this respect, they were acting no differently from their brethren in Algeria, Egypt and Indonesia.² The Khilafat Movement was the high point of their efforts. Impressed by such reasoning, many Muslims came to support the Congress. But nationalist politics in India was unable to free itself from the conundrum of communal identities, in which the Congress was perceived to have acquired a partisan existence. Muslim socialists wished to break this mould by establishing completely secular coordinates for future nationalist action. At one stroke, they felt, socialism would resolve the problem of Indian unity necessary for a concerted struggle against the British. At the same time, it would also present Muslims with alternative ways of looking at social and cultural issues; it would circumvent the narrow theological approach, which had proved, in their view, to be the break on the development of India.

Yet, paradoxically, Muslim socialists were helped into a secular mould of thinking by strands in Islamic ideology. Islamic values of brotherhood, equality of all believers and the necessity to struggle against tyranny had close affinity with socialist principles. These Muslims disapproved of the hierarchical structure of Indian Muslim society and its values which forced them to conform. They were attracted to the West's ideas of freedom, equality and individual choice. But they felt that an uncritical acceptance of the Western intellectual framework would be tantamount to the acceptance of their subjugation by the British. Socialism's radical critique of the values of the West met their need. Socialism provided them with the intellectual tools to analyse their own society. Moreover, it showed a promising way in which that society might progress in some degree of harmony with the Islamic values of which they approved.

Nevertheless, a distinction needs to be drawn between the circumstances which moved some Pan-Islamists to become the first Muslim socialists and those which moved Muslims towards socialism during the 1930s and 1940s. In the case of the former Muslims, a combination of unpleasant experiences in Muslim Afghanistan and Central Asia, followed by ideological disillusionment, provided the initial impulse for the change in their view. Encouragement and skillful handling of their anti-British feelings by the Bolsheviks provided the necessary impetus which finally helped them to embrace socialism.

The experiences of later Muslim socialists were very different. They too experienced mental turmoil. But the confusion in their minds was caused by the conflict between their western liberal education and the 'suffocating' practices of their community. Finding themselves at variance with Muslim conventions, with social, moral and sexual codes, and especially the repression both of the individual and of women, they sought to establish a new order in which the basic conflicts in their lives might be resolved. Here, as in so many other contexts, we find strong links between social alienation and the creation of 'revolutionary' personalities.

Muslim socialists in India succeeded in eliminating religion from their own political outlook. But, despite their rejection of Islam as a religion, they retained much of their Muslim cultural identity. Significant in their determination to cling to aspects of Muslim culture was the awareness of the minority status of Muslims in India. While Muslims who lived in communities where they formed the bulk of the population pursued secular modernist projects confidently because the threat of being overwhelmed by another culture was not considered great³ Indian Muslims, ruled by one 'alien' culture and anticipating the future dominance of another, could not afford to be as socially or culturally ambitious. Muslim socialists' knowledge of Muslim culture restrained them from promoting atheism and influenced them to concentrate their attack on religious hypocrisy and superstition. They found that they could combine elements of

their Muslim culture with the pursuit of their socialist aims. Their attitude towards religion was similar to that of Muslim secular thinkers in other parts of the world. The Muslim National Communists in Soviet Central Asia, for instance, most notably, Sultan Galiev (1880--1939?) were hostile to all religions but wished to preserve Muslim culture. Islam, they argued, had to be secularised, not destroyed. It had to be purged of its outdated and objectionable aspects while its strong moral, social and political influence were retained.⁴

Urdu literature was the aspect of Muslim culture which these Indian Muslim socialists treasured. They used it to disseminate their ideas. Like similar movements elsewhere -- such as the efforts of Sadridin Aini (1878--1954) in Central Asia during the early twentieth century -- they combined traditional Muslim respect and love for literature, especially poetry, with radical ideas in order to appeal to their audience.⁵ But involvement in literature was mainly an *Ashraf* activity, confined, on the whole, to a minority of well-to-do Muslims. It was, therefore, perhaps a naive hope for Muslim socialists to believe that they could successfully use literature as an instrument of 'enlightenment' and to win popular support. Though they communicated their message to many Muslims, they singularly failed to break the hold of orthodox religious practices and customs over the vast majority of Muslims in India.

Analysis of Muslims who were attracted to socialist ideas makes one further point. It is commonly accepted that the Muslims of the minority province of the U.P. initiated and to a great extent led the separatist movement which culminated in the creation of Pakistan. But there were other non-communal movements which U.P. Muslims led. The All-India Nationalist Muslims' Party, the All-India Mumin Conference and the Shi'a Political Conference attracted much support. However, for a period after the election of 1936 and until mid-1938, Muslim socialists succeeded in drawing large sections of the U.P. Muslims into the Congress on the basis of its secular and populist policies. Rejecting the communal basis of politics,

men such as Dr. K.M. Ashraf sought to protect the 'exploited and poor masses', both Muslim and Hindu, through an 'indivisible ... anti-imperialist struggle'.⁶ They felt that if Indian Muslims united with Hindus on the secular basis of their social classes, they would be able to safeguard their fundamental interests. This view had much in common with the reactions of minority communities in other parts of the world. Salama Musa (1887-1959), for instance, a member of the Christian Copt community in Egypt, and a leading social theorist, Fabian-style socialist and proponent of purposive literature, called for the radical secularisation of Egyptian society as a means of overcoming differences between the country's Muslim and Christian communities, and ensuring that Muslim culture and political hegemony did not suppress the Copts' sense of identity or deny them their social rights and share of political power.⁷

Separatism was not the only political strand which developed among the Muslims of India. Muslims responded in many different ways to the ideological and political challenges presented by British rule. The path of religious and political separatism was just one way forward. There were others -- the nationalist and the socialist -- which also found sources of legitimacy to a greater or lesser extent in Islamic ideas. This study has been concerned to explore the development of the socialist current.

APPENDIX I

Appendix I contains the biographies of Muslims who became socialists or sympathised with socialist ideas during the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Men have been included (a) if they left India as Pan-Islamists and became socialists, often returning via the Soviet Union, or (b) if they remained in India but became politically active as a result of Pan-Islamic, anti-British agitation.

Biographical information has been drawn from the following sources: Government of India Public and Judicial, and Political and Secret Records, and Home Political Proceedings at the India Office Library and Records; Foreign Office Records at the Public Record Office, Kew; Official Government Publications such as: *The Ghadr Director* (New Delhi, 1934), James Campbell Ker, *Political Trouble in India: 1907--1917* (Delhi, 1917), Sir Cecil Kaye, *Communism in India: 1919--1924* (Calcutta, 1971), Sir David Petrie, *Communism in India, 1924--1927* (Calcutta, 1972), H. Williamson, *India and Communism* (Calcutta, 1933); Newspapers, magazines and journals in Urdu, in particular: *Akhbar-i Jahan* (Karachi), *Chatan* (Lahore), *Chingari* (Lahore), *Jang* (Karachi) and *Mazdur Dunya* (Lahore). Further information has been gleaned from autobiographies, memoirs and biographies, such as: M. ^cIrfan, *Barkat-Allah Bhopali* (Bhopal, 1969), Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti*, Vol. I (Lahore, n.d.), Maulana ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi, *Kabul Men Sat Sal* (Lahore, 1955), and MSS. autobiographies of Shaukat ^cUsmani and Amir Haidar Khan in the possession of the Communist Party of India Library, New Delhi. Finally, works covering the history and development of the Communist Party of India, in particular G. Adhikari, ed., *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, Vols. I, II, IIIA, IIIB (New Delhi, 1971, 1974, 1978, 1979), and Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India: 1920-29* (Calcutta, 1970) have provided valuable additional data.

MAULANA MUHAMMAD BARKAT-ALLAH (1859--1927)**Home Town:** Bhopal.**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Father, Maulvi Muhammad Shuja ^cat-Allah came to Bhopal from Badaun (West U.P.) at the end of 1857 having suffered the consequences of the Rebellion. Had only an elementary knowledge of Oriental subjects. Became a teacher at a *madrassa* in the qasbah of Sehur. After being dismissed, he settled in Bhopal. Employed in the State Police Department.

Education and Career:

Initially taught by his father. Admitted to Madrasa-i Sulaimanya. Qualified in 1878. Appointed a teacher at the Madrasa, 1879-80. While Jamal al-din Al-afghani was passing through Bhopal at the end of 1882, Barkat-Allah met him and was much impressed by his ideas. In January 1883, he disappeared suddenly and mysteriously from Bhopal. First went to Hushangabad, and then secured employment at a Christian Mission at Jabalpur (G.P.). Subsequently, spent four years, acquiring modern education at Bombay. Left for London in 1887. Met Krishanwarma, a socialist and nationalist at the India House. Taught Arabic and learnt French, German and Japanese. Invited to Liverpool by ^cAbd-Allah Ku'ailam, an English convert to Islam, who had set up the Muslim Institute of Liverpool. Visited Liverpool in 1895. First taught at the Institute, then at the Oriental College of Liverpool University. Here also established contact with Nazar-Allah Khan, brother of the Amir of Afghanistan. In London, attended meetings of the Muslim Patriotic League in 1897. With Gladstone's anti-Turkish stance on the question of Armenians, Barkat-Allah's

growing anti-British feelings became intense. Made critical speeches, and as a result his movements in England were restricted by the government. Went to New York in 1899 and taught Arabic for six years. Also became active among anti-British Indian circles. His letters to Maulana Hasrat Mohani stressed the British plunder of India, the economic causes of its backwardness, and the need for Hindu-Muslim unity to defeat the British. Reached Japan in 1909, and was appointed a teacher of Hindustani in the University of Tokyo. Brought out *The Islamic Fraternity*, a militant Pan-Islamic and anti-British periodical in 1910. Visited Constantinople, Cairo and St. Petersburg in 1911. On his return to Tokyo, resumed publication of his magazine. After its suppression, brought out *El Islam* in 1912. Banned in India. Published an anti-British pamphlet, *The Sword is the Last Resort* in 1913. In 1914, under pressure from the British Government, Barkat-Allah's appointment at the University was terminated. He responded by publishing *The Deceit of the English*. Joined Yugantar Ashram in San Francisco and worked with the Ghadr Party. Accompanied Turko-German Mission to Kabul in 1915. Joined forces with Maulana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi and Raja Mahendra Pratap to form the Provisional Government of India in which he became the Prime Minister. Met Lenin in 1919, and sought aid for India's freedom. In June 1919, in his address, 'To Muslim Brethren', he praised the Bolsheviks and deemed the fight against the White Guards as a fight for the freedom of all oppressed nations. He also wrote a pamphlet *Bolshevism and Islamic Body Politick* which attacked European capitalism and advised Muslims to follow 'brother Lenin'. Worked in Moscow in 1922 in conjunction with M.N. Roy. Went to Berlin and joined the Indian Revolutionaries. In 1923-24, travelled to Lausanne and attempted to bring about reconciliation between Turks and Arabs. Published *The Khilafat*, outlining its relevance to the modern age, in November 1924. Brought out *Al-Islah*, an Arabic paper first from Berlin in July 1925 and then from Paris. Deported by French government for spreading Bolshevik and anti-French ideas, 1926. Set up the Indian Independence Party. Attended the Brussels Conference of the

League Against Imperialism and Colonial Freedom in February 1927 as a delegate for the Ghadr Party. Died on his way to San Francisco in order to organise revolutionary campaign for India's freedom.

GAUHAR RAHMAN DARVESH(1897--)

Home Town: Darvesh (distt. Hazara, N.W.F.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a respectable Pathan family of Haripur (distt. Hazara); the Tarin tribe owned considerable land and provided non-commissioned officers for the British India Army. His father, ^cAziz Khan was a retired *risaldar*.

Education and Career:

Migrated to Afghanistan during the *Hijrat* movement in May 1920. Before his departure, he was a *havildar* in the army. Went to Tashkent with party of Muhajirin. Trained at Indian Military School, 1920--21. Studied at Moscow's Communist University of the Toilers of the East. Joined G.P.I. in Moscow. Returned to India in 1922, arrested in March 1923. Tried on conspiracy charges, and sentenced to two year rigorous imprisonment. After release, became politically active in the Punjab. With ^cAbd al-Majid (q.v.), edited *Mehnatkash*, an Urdu weekly from Lahore in 1926--27. Movements restricted by N.W.F.P. government. Initiated with British communist Philip Spratt, the preparation for the organisation of a Workers' and Peasants' Party in the Punjab in July--August 1927. In November 1927, appointed member of All-India T.U.C.'s Council of Action 'to organise a mass movement of workers and peasants'. In charge of communist work in upper India and

communications with the Third International. Participated in the Labour Conference held at Lahore under the auspices of the Indian National Congress in December 1929. Leading member of Lahore Naujawan Bharat Sabha in 1930. Supervised distribution of communist literature, 1931.

DR. ʿABD AL-HAFIZ (C. 1889-1964)

Home Town: Lahore.

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Son of Maulvi Ilahi Bakhsh, pleader of Hoshiarpur (East Punjab). Belonged to *Ara'in* family from Mohalla Namadgaran, Lahore. Connected with a well-known Baghbanpura family.

Education and Career:

Education at MAO College, Aligarh. Close to ʿAli brothers and Raja Ghulam Husain. After F.Sc., went to England to study mining engineering. M.Sc. from Birmingham university in 1910. Ph.D. in chemistry from Leipzig in 1912. While in England, attracted to radical nationalists, Har Dayal, Dhingro and others of India House party. On return from U.S.A. at outbreak of First World War, in touch with Turks and became member of the revolutionary Berlin Indian Committee. In Germany, trained as arms and explosives expert. Expelled from Switzerland in 1915 for aiding Italian anarchists' efforts of sabotage. In charge of Constantinople branch of Berlin Committee in 1916. In same year, sentenced in absentia in a bomb conspiracy case at Zurich to four years imprisonment and a fine of 2000 francs. Until 1918, specialised in study of explosives in Constantinople. Rose to rank of captain in Turkish Army. Invited to Afghanistan in early 1920 by Turkish exiled leader Jamal Pasha. In touch with Soviet Government. When Afghan Government approved project for explosives manufacture, returned to Berlin and

Vienna to buy machinery. In October 1920, while in Berlin, proposed as member of Central Executive Committee of Indian Revolutionaries in Europe. Married an Austrian. Dismissed by Kabul authorities in 1923. Refused return to India. In 1924 while in Germany and Vienna, worked closely with M.N. Roy. In 1925, was asked to teach explosives manufacture at Bokhara by Soviet Union. In 1926, reapplied to return to India from Austria. Head Chemist at Turkish Military Department in Constantinople in 1930. Promised help to Ghadr Party. In October 1930, Secretary of State for India, on intervention of Muslim delegate at Round Table Conference, recommended his return to India, but in view of his association with M.N. Roy and Ghadr Party, Government of India felt his presence undesirable. Settled in Pakistan after Partition.

ABD AL-HALIM (1901-1966)

Home Town: Village Shardauga, Birbhum (West Bengal).

Sect: Sunni.

Education and Career:

Little formal education. Taught himself English and Bengali. Worked as tally clerk in Shipping firm. In 1921, with Khilafat-Non-Cooperation agitation at its peak, resigned job and joined agitation. Arrested in December while picketing and imprisoned for six months. With collapse of movement, political outlook grew more radical. Joined Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Samiti, a literary society in Calcutta. Met Muzaffar Ahmad (q.v.). One of the founders of the C.P.I. and the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. Did much of the management and editorial work of the W.P.P.'s periodicals *Langal* and *Ganavani*. Elected to the Central Executive of the C.P.I. in 1927. After the arrest of Muzaffar Ahmad in the Meerut Conspiracy Case in 1929, Halim took charge of the Bengal W.P.P. One of the main figures in the organisation of the General Strike at Calcutta in 1929. His major concerns during 1929-30, were collection of funds for the

defence of Meerut prisoners and publication/dissemination of Communist literature. Convicted for publishing leaflet 'To the Workers and Citizens of Calcutta' in April 1930. After release in 1931, helped to form Bengal Peasants League. Elected General Secretary of the All-India 'Red' T.U.C. which had come into existence after the 'split' at the Calcutta session of the All-India T.U.C. in July 1931. In line with the purist position of the Comintern, formed the Workers' Party of India in Feb. 1932. Elected President of the Bengal Jute Workers Union. A key member of Bengal Match Factory Workers Union. Put on trial in 1934 for 'rioting' at a Congress meeting. Continued as one of the leaders of the C.P.I. After the 1964 split within the party, joined the C.P. (Marxist) of India.

°ABD AL-HAMID (1892-)

Home Town: Ramgarh Sarai Haru (distt. Ludhiana, East Punjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Brother, Ghulam Rasul Khan, B.A., L.L.B., was a pleader at Ludhiana.

Education and Career:

One of the fifteen Mujahirin students of Lahore who migrated to Kabul in Feb. 1915. At the time, Hamid was studying at King Edward Medical College, Lahore. Joined °Ubaid-Allah Sindhi's revolutionary group. Appointed Lt. Colonel in the 'Army of God'. Taught Urdu at school in Kabul. Travelled to Tashkent. Studied at Indian Military School. Went to Moscow's Communist University of the Toilers of the East. Decided to enter India via the Pamirs in 1922. Failed in his attempt and returned to Moscow. Worked with M.N. Roy's group in Moscow in 1924. Joined the emigre Indian Communist Party. Returned to

India in 1926. Arrested and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. On appeal, acquitted by the High Court. became politically inactive.

SHAMS AL-DIN HASAN (1892-)

Home Town: Lahore.

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background: Kashmiri family of Lahore.

Education and Career.

Came to notice as sub-editor of the socialist newspaper *Inqilab* (Lahore) in 1922. Also acted as publicity secretary of the Railway Workers Union. Became leading member of the Lahore group of Communists in the early 1920s. Edited the socialist Urdu periodical *Nusrat* in 1923. Together with Ghulam Husain (q.v.) suggested to other socialists the formation of a radical left-wing party in 1923. Although at first included in the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case of 1924, charges against him were dropped before the trial began. Elected Provincial Secretary of the All-India T.U.C. Chief organiser of the Punjab Lahore Board. Took a prominent part in North Western Railway strike of 1925. Attended the Cawnpore Communist Conference in Dec. 1925. Elected Provincial Secretary at Lahore. Contributed anti-British and anti-capitalist articles to left-wing Urdu periodicals in Lahore and Bengal. Visited Calcutta in June 1926 and despatched a list of books on socialism and Bolshevism to be printed at the Langal press. In Oct. 1926, brought out *Khawar*, an Urdu paper representing the views of working people. Elected member of the five-man committee set up to draft the constitution of the C.P.I. Later became involved in communal issues and was expelled from the C.P.I. at the end of 1927.

GHULAM MUHAMMAD °AZIZ HINDI (1891-)**Home Town:** Amritsar (East Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:** Father originally from Kashmir. Traded in carpets.**Education and Career.**

Learnt Arabic and Persian at home. Matriculated from Islamia High School, Amritsar. Participated in the Rowlatt Bill agitation. Composed and recited 'seditious' poems at protest meetings held at Amritsar. Arrested and sentenced to transportation for life. Released under the Royal Amnesty in December 1919. Joined Khilafat agitation. Became one of leaders of *Hijrat* movement. Superintended the departure of Muhajirs from Peshawar and in June 1920 migrated to Kabul himself. Joined the Indian Revolutionary Party in Kabul and took part in anti-British propaganda. As the Afghan Amir grew hostile towards the Muhajirin, °Aziz took refuge in Chamarkand (N.W.F.P.) in January 1922. Attempted to recruit Indians to form an army to free India. Met with little success. Returned to Kabul. Interned briefly before appointed Inspector of Schools in Jalalabad. Continued in revolutionary work and was in touch with the Russian Legation at Kabul, 1925-30. Infiltrated back into India in 1930 and spoke at meeting of the Amritsar War Council exhorting the audience to fight for India's independence. Decided to form a communist organisation of Northern India and have it affiliated to the Third International. Interned in August 1930. After his release, dropped out of communist circles and engaged mainly in religious missionary work. After Partition, worked for Liaqat °Ali Khan, first Prime Minister of Pakistan.

GHULAM HUSAIN (1894-)**Home Town:** Gujrat (West Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Came from Khilji Pathan family. Grandfather, Allah Ditta, was an eye-surgeon who had worked for the Government. He had good connections with Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor of the Panjab in the early 1920s.

Education and Career:

Studied at Government College, Lahore. Took an M.A. from Panjab University. In 1919, working as a signaller in the North Western Railways at Lahore. Initiated the anti-Rowlatt strike action by railwaymen from Lahore on 11 April 1919. Worked briefly for the nationalist newspaper *Nation*. Taught at Edwards Mission College, Peshawar. Employed by the Afghan education authorities in Kabul in February 1922, but appointment was a cover arranged by Muhammad Ali Sipassi (q.v.) to discuss communist plans for India. Agreed to bring out a paper and set up a communist centre at Lahore. Substantial sums of money were provided and financial support was promised for the future. Joined North-Western Railway Workers at Lahore and edited *Inqilab* (Lahore in September 1922. Translated M.N. Roy's pamphlets into Urdu. Used Lahore National College as a propaganda centre. *Inqilab* stopped publication in April 1923. In touch with communist groups and individuals around India. Suggested conference of important communists at Lucknow to discuss formation of radical left-wing party. Arrested by the British. Filed a mercy petition. Under interrogation, confessed that he had misappropriated communist funds received from the Third International to further his personal interests. Pardoned by the British. Worked for *Muslim Outlook*, a Pan-Islamic

newspaper in 1926 and exhibited little interest in communism apart from publishing an article 'British Rule in India as viewed by Karl Marx' in the magazine. Subsequently, dropped out of politics.

OAZI NAZAR AL-ISLAM (1899-1976)

Home Town: Churulia (distt. Burdwan, West Bengal).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestors came from Patna during the reign of Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, where they had served as *qazis*. The family fortunes had since declined. Nazar's father was the keeper of the local shrine and village mosque.

Education and Career:

Learnt Arabic and Persian at local *maktab*. Won a scholarship to Siarsal Raj High School. Advised by his teacher, a member of the terrorist Jugantar Party, Nazar joined the Army in 1917. Served as Quartermaster *Havildar*. Returned to Calcutta when his regiment was disbanded. Wrote folk dramas and composed poems while at school. Influenced by news of the Russian revolution while in Army. Began writing politically-radical pieces. In 1920, became president poet at Calcutta's Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Samiti (Bengal Muslim Literary Society). With Muzaffar Ahmad (q.v.), edited left-wing Bengali daily *Navayug*. Selection of articles published in book form as *Yugarani*. Proscribed by Government in 1922. Brought out *Dhumketu*, a Bengali twice-weekly magazine in August 1922. Nazar was arrested for his poem 'Anandmeyir Aganwiri', and sentenced to six month's imprisonment, 1923. One of the founders of the Labour-Peasant Swaraj Party of the I.N.C. at the end of 1925. This body later became known as the Bengal Workers and Peasants Party. Associated with the W.P.P.'s

newspapers *Langal* and *Ganavani*, 1925-26. The latter continued Publication until 1928. President of Muslim Youth Conference, Sirajganj, 1932. Faridpur District Muslim Students Conference, 1936. Wrote romantic and revolutionary poetry in Bengali. Also novels and dramas. Translated Persian poetry. After son's death in 1930, turned increasingly to spiritualism. Crippled by a brain disease in 1942. Awarded Jagatharini Medal for best original creative writing in Bengali literature by Calcutta University in 1945. Awarded pensions by both the Governments of India and of Pakistan. Buried with full state honours by Bangladesh Government at Dacca University, 1976. Married twice. Second wife was a Hindu.

◌ABD AL-JABBAR KHAIRI

Home Town: Delhi.

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from an old and respected family of Delhi, engaged in the 'learned professions'. Father, ◌Abd al-Hamid, a staunch supporter of the British, was a Deputy Collector.

Education and Career:

Left India in 1901 and settled in Beirut. Set up an Islamic College in opposition to the American College there. Attended World Congress of the Socialist International in 1907-8. Before the First World War, Pan-Islamic schemes were patronised by Enver Beg, a Turkish Pan-Islamist. At beginning of war, shifted to Constantinople with his brother, ◌Abd al-Sattar. Together, brought out *Akhuwat* (Brotherhood) in Urdu and English. Monetary help provided by Dr. ◌Abd al-Hafiz (q.v.) from German sources. The paper attacked British rule in India, and urged Indian Muslim soldiers fighting in the Middle East to refuse to fight other Muslims, shoot their English officers and

desert to the Turks. Inside India, it stood for mass subversion. Set up pro-Khilafat Indian Muslim Committee, Constantinople, asking German Kaiser for arms and ammunition to launch an insurrection in Kashmir against the British, and calling for Hindu-Muslim cooperation in India in order to oust the British in 1917. Went to Stockholm. elected President of Indian Mussalman Patriots, November 1917. Went to Copenhagen in early 1918, and made anti-British speeches. After Turkey's defeat in the war, went to the Soviet Union, November 1918. Met Lenin. Asked Central Executive of the Soviets for assistance to free India and to disseminate Bolshevik ideas in India. Addressed an international meeting in Petrograd, December 1918. Joined the Soviet Propaganda Centre at Petrograd and worked in its Indian section in 1919. Applied to the British Government to return to India from Berlin in 1925. Permission granted but no amnesty promised. At Aligarh during the 1930s, Jabbar called himself the Caliph of India. Formed a secret Pan-Islamic society among students. Became interested in Sufism later in life.

°ABD AL-QAYYUM KHAN (1898-)

Home Town: Peshawar (N.W.F.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father, Khan Bahadur °Abd al-Hakim Khan was a Deputy Superintendent of Police in the Railways, stationed at Lahore.

Education and Career:

A student at Panjab University when he decided to perform *hijrat* in summer 1920. As a student, he had become acquainted with the ideas of Marxism. Also possessed a sound knowledge of Urdu literature. From Kabul, travelled to Tashkent in the batch of Muhajirin led by Muhammad Akbar Khan (q.v.).

Admitted to Indian Military School; supported the more communist strand against the majority of the more nationalist-inclined Indians led by Muhammad Akbar Khan. Studied at Moscow's Communist University of the Toilers of the East. Joined emigre C.P.I. Adopted Soviet citizenship. Went on to take High Command courses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Became officer in Red Army. Translated a speech of Stalin's into Urdu and copies were prepared for circulation in India; 1925. Settled in town of Kalinin and married a Russian. Worked in railway transport.

°ABD AL-RAZZAQ KHAN (1900-)

Home Town: Hakimpur (24 Parganas, West Bengal).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a strictly *Wahabi* background. Great-grandfathers on both sides fought in *Wahabi* campaigns against the British and two were killed. Married daughter of Maulvi Muhammad Akram, a staunch Khilafatist and editor of the pan-Islamic newspaper, *Muhammadi* (Calcutta).

Education and Career:

Studied Arabic and traditional subjects at the Calcutta *Madrasa*. During the First World War, he joined the Indian Defence Force to acquire military training to fight the British. Also formed a 'Silk Letter' circle with encouragement from Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad. Supervised the recruiting centre for volunteers in Calcutta to go to Kabul to join Maulana °Ubaid-Allah Sindhi's (q.v.) 'Army of God'. Became interested in journalism. Brought out daily Urdu newsheet. Participated actively in the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation. After the campaigns were called off, he became associated with the nationalist daily *Roznama Hind* (Calcutta). A leader of the Calcutta Seamen's Union, he was

appointed General Secretary of Bengal Peasants and Workers Party, 1927. Leading member of the Bengal Jute Workers Union, 1929. One of the founder members of the C.P.I. in Bengal. Member of the Calcutta Committee of the C.P.I. in 1930. Served imprisonment and detention in 1921, 1930-38, 1941 for his opposition to the British. Member of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and All-India Congress Committee, 1938-40. Member of Indian National Congress Committee, 1938-39. Member of Central Calcutta Congress Committee, 1940-41. Vice President of Provincial Kisan Sabha, 1939-53. President in 1954. Communist member of Rajya Sabha, 1957. C.P.I. member of State Assembly, 1969, Minister for Relief, West Bengal Government, 1969-70.

AMIR HAIDAR KHAN (1900-)

Home Town: Kalian Syalan (distt. Rawalpindi, West Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from the Chib Rajput caste, converted during Muslim rule. Grandfather owned considerable land. Father deprived of his inheritance by his brother-in-law, the village headman, in whose guardianship the property had been left. Father started afresh as peasant farmer. The family was poor, devout and respected in the community. Amir's father died while he was still a child, and his mother remarried his paternal uncle. Amir rebelled and left home briefly.

Education and Career:

Step-father refused to send him to the government school. Learnt the Qur'an at the local mosque. Also learnt Persian classics. Maulvis were extremely cruel. Amir began to 'detest every form of Mullaism'. Tried to join the army at the beginning of the First World War. Fled to Bombay and worked in the docks. Joined

various shipping lines as a seaman. Ultimately deserted his ship at New York. Joined a locomotive plant at Buffalo, received military training, also training in aviation and marine engineering. Went to sea again and travelled extensively, joining the Ghadr Party. Met Agnes Smedley and joined the Friends of Freedom for India Association in New York in 1920. Participated in anti-British demonstrations over Jallianwala Bagh massacre. Converted to communism by Walter, a German exile and Ruthenburg, an American. Went to the Soviet Union, January 1926. Trained in Moscow until 1928. Landed in Bombay and contacted local communist leaders; attempted to introduce communist literature from abroad. Warrants issued for his arrest in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Went underground. Surfaced in Madras in March 1931, and established a local branch of the Young Workers' League, a nucleus of Communists. Set up study circles and formed cells in factories. Sent cadre for training at Moscow. Arrested 1932. Openly stated that he was a communist and that it was his aim to destroy the established system of government in India. Released in July 1934 but rearrested in August after the banning of the C.P.I. Detained for six years. Although he remained loyal to the C.P.I. (wrote articles in 1944 praising the Soviet Union), he refused to criticise the nationalists for their opposition to the British during 'People's War Phase' of the Second World War. Worked in trade union movement in Bombay. After Partition, continued to organise workers in Rawalpindi. Built a Post Office and Middle School on his lands at Kalian Syalan.

ASHEAO-ALLAH KHAN (1900-1927)

Home Town: Shahjahanpur (West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to a prosperous Pathan family of Shahjahanpur. Father died while Ashfaq-Allah was still a child. Mother wanted him to be a high ranking civil servant.

Education and Career.

Went to Mission High School, Shahjahanpur. Studied up to Eighth Standard. Left school during Khilafat Movement in 1920 and participated actively in mobilising support for it. Joined the Revolutionary Terrorist Movement of Bhagat Singh and Chandar Sekhar Azad; became leading member of the Hindustan Republican Army, with the aim of freeing India from British rule by revolutionary action. Took part in terrorist raids including the famous Kakori Train Armed Robbery of 1925, in order to raise cash to purchase arms and ammunition for revolutionary activities against the British in India. Attempted to escape to the Soviet Union in 1926. Arrested and hanged at Fyzabad in 1927. While a convinced Muslim, he professed to be a socialist and sworn enemy of the British. He was also a poet with 'Hasrat' as his *nom de plume*.

MUHAMMAD ^cABD-ALLAH KHAN (1887-)

Home Town: Jullundur (East Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Education and Career.

Came to prominence during the North Western Railway strike of 1920. Previously an assistant station master. Made common cause with the Khilafatists and mobilised railway workers in support of the *Hijrat* movement of 1920. Appointed General Secretary of the North Western Railway Association. After dismissal from job, became active member of the *Inqilab* group of Lahore-based communists, 1922-23. Edited a socialist Urdu newspaper *Nusrat* from Lahore, 1923. elected to executive of the All-India T.U.C. Organising secretary of the All-India

Railwaymen's Federation, March 1923. Asked permission to defend Shaukat Usmani (q.v.) in the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case, 1924. Regularly received communist literature from abroad. Showed interest in the communal *Tanzim* movement. General Secretary of the North Western Railway Union in 1925.

MUHAMMAD AKBAR KHAN (1895-)

Home Town: Haripur (distt. Hazara, N.W.F.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a landed loyalist family. Father, Khan Bahadur Hafiz-allah Khan was a risaldar. Had worked for British Intelligence and provided information on the revolutionary colonies of Samasata and Chamarkand in the Tribal Belts of the N.W.F.P.

Educational and Career:

Studied at Islamia College, Peshawar. Failed his B.A. finals. Possessed a good knowledge of English and Persian. Led a *Qafila* to Afghanistan during the *Hijrat* movement of 1920. From Kabul, led a batch of 80 Muhajirin to Tashkent. Admitted to the Aviation class of the Indian Military School. Though he did accept the programme of the Indian communists at Tashkent, he did not join the C.P.I. founded there in October 1920. Secretly returned to India via Kabul and Chamarkand during summer 1921. Attempted to set up a printing press in the independent Tribal Zone of the N.W.F.P. in order to produce revolutionary literature. Established contacts with some workers' unions at Lahore, in particular the press workers' union. Arrested in September 1921. Sentenced first to three year's imprisonment in 1922, and then, while in jail, to a further seven year's imprisonment on charges of conspiracy. Little known about his activities after his release.

°ABD AL-QADIR KHAN (SEHRAI) (1901-)**Home Town:** Peshawar (N.W.F.P.).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Father, Muhammad Hasan was a garrison *kotwal* at Peshawar. °Abd al-Qadir's cousins, °Abd al-°Aziz and °Abd-Allah Jan had both performed *hijrat* before him, and at the time of his arrest, were with °Abd al-Rab (q.v.) at Moscow.

Education and Career:

Had read up to Matriculation standard. passed necessary government examinations to teach Indian vernaculars to British civilians and military officers. Lecturer in Pushtu and Hindustani to R.A.F. officers at the Military Staff College, Mhow, Central India. Joined *Hijrat* Movement in summer 1920. Reached Tashkent via Merv and Bukhara. Admitted to Indian Military School. Joined emigre C.P.I. in October 1920. Elected one of its candidate members. Travelled to Moscow and studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East for two and a half months. Returned to India with a batch of Moscow-trained students in 1922. Surrendered at the Chitral border. Not prosecuted in the Peshawar Conspiracy Case in April 1923, which raised suspicions that he had been a British spy. Taught Pushtu at the London School of Oriental Studies from 1930 onwards.

DR. SAIF AL-DIN KITCHLU (1888-1963)**Home Town:** Amritsar (East Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:****Belonged to a landed Kashmiri family of Amritsar.****Education and Career:**

Matriculated from Amritsar. Further education at Agra and Aligarh. Admitted to Peterhouse College, Cambridge in 1907. B.A. Hons. in History. Called to the Bar in 1911. Received Ph.D. in History from university in Germany. Returned to India in 1915. Became Municipal Commissioner of Amritsar and joined the nationalist movement. Externed from Calcutta on charges of seditious speeches. Led the anti-Rowlatt agitation in Amritsar in 1919. Arrested and tried in 1921 at Karachi (one of the famous Karachi seven) and sentenced for inciting Indian soldiers to revolt against the British. Vehemently opposed Gandhi's calling off the Non-Cooperation movement. After release, elected president of the All-India Khilafat Committee; appointed General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in 1924. President of the Panjab Provincial Congress Committee. Involved in communal *Tanzim* and *Tabligh* campaigns as a reaction to the Hindu communalism of the *Sangathan* and *Shuddi* movements, 1925. In 1929, resumed his active participation on the Left of the Congress. Addressed Naujawan Bharat Sabha meetings and praised Bhagat Singh, the terrorist, for his violent opposition to British rule. Seconded its Full Independence resolution. Stressed that the problem of India was not religious or merely political, but essentially economic. Considered 'the peasants, tillers of the soil, labourers, and the workers' as the future masters. Fought the 1937 elections for the Panjab Provincial Legislative Assembly as an independent

candidate. In the 1940s, opposed the demand for Pakistan as a 'surrender of nationalism in favour of communalism'. After Independence, practised law at Delhi. Became critical of the Congress and drew closer to communism. President of the All-India Peace Council and on the Presidium of the World Peace Council. Awarded the Stalin peace Prize in 1953. Donated the prize money of Rs. 100,000 to the Indian Peace Committee. Died in impoverished circumstances.

GHULAM AMBIYA KHAN LUHANI (1893-)

Home Town: Sirajganj (distt. Pabna, East Bengal).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father, Ghulam A^czam Khan was a lawyer in the subordinate court at Sirajganj. Wielded considerable influence in the area. Supported the partition of Bengal in 1905. A loyalist in the extreme.

Education and career.

Matriculated from Banwarilal High School, Sirajganj. Studied at Aligarh, 1908-9. Rusticated from Aligarh for not attending prayers. Went to Muir Central College, Allahabad. Spoke English, Bengali and Urdu with fluency. Contributed articles to *Modern Review* of Calcutta. Graduated and went to London in 1914 to study law. Joined Socialist Club and became involved in Indian nationalist circles. Made fiery anti-British speeches at Hyde Park. Worked with pro-communist Workers Welfare League of India, and organised Indian seamen in London, 1919. Went to Paris and made contact with Indian radicals there, 1920-21. Joined the Indian Revolutionaries of the Berlin Committee in 1921. Went to Moscow as a member of the Berlin committee in June 1921 and attended the Third Congress of the Comintern. Drafted theses on the Indian Revolution with

Virendranath Chattopadhyay, the leader of the Berlin committee, and Kahnkhoji. Appeared before the Commission of the Comintern and denounced the emigre C.P.I. as 'bogus' and suggested that 'the party be struck off the rolls of the Third International'. Turned against Chattopadhyay and became one of M.N. Roy's proteges in Europe. Before joining Roy's centre in Europe, worked briefly for the Information department of the Comintern in Moscow. Settled in Moscow in November 1925. Contributed to Indian revolutionary magazines such as Roy's paper from Paris, *The Masses of India* (1926) and the Comintern's organ *Inprecorr*, on the Indian struggle, 1926-27. One of the ten Indian delegates to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928. First defended the theory that Britain would attempt gradually to industrialise and decolonise India, and, then, in line with the ultra-left turn of the Comintern, repudiated his support for Roy. Never returned to India. Married a Russian and died in the Soviet Union at 'an old age'.

MIR ^cABD AL-MAJID (1901-1980)

Home Town: Lahore,

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a Kashmiri family. Father was a silk merchant and manufacturer.

Education and Career:

Studied up to matriculation at Sheranwala High School, Lahore. Received his diploma of *Munshi Fazil* from MAO College, Lahore. Migrated to Afghanistan during the *Hijrat* movement of 1920. Studied at the University of the Toilers of the East at Moscow. Attempted to infiltrate back into India. Arrested at border, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in 1923. After release, became leading trade union organiser in the

Panjab. Held the Soviet Union up as example for other countries desiring emancipation from foreign control. One of the founders of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in 1926. In April 1927, brought out *Mehnatkash*, an Urdu weekly for a brief period to disseminate socialist ideas. Leading member of the newly-formed Kirti Kisan Party in 1928, and helped to organise its branches in the Panjab countryside. One of the key accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, 1929-33. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Drifted away from communism and trade unionism. After Partition established a printing press and concentrated on his business affairs.

MAULANA °ABD AL-RAZZAQ MALIHABADI (1895-1959)

Home Town: Malihabad (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to the nobility of Malihabad. Father, maulana °Abd al-Hamid Khan Malihabadi was *zamindar* and °*alim*. He was a disciple of the well-known Sufi Maulana Fazl al-Rahman Ganj Moradabadi; Razzaq was the cousin of Josh Malihabadi (see Appendix II).

Education and Career:

Initially learnt Arabic and Persian locally. Then went to Dar al-°Ulum Nadwa al-°Ulama, Lucknow. Here he read Abu'l Kalam Azad's newly-published newspaper *Al-Hilal* and was much impressed. In 1913, he went to Egypt to receive education under the prominent Muslim modernist Rashid Rida at his *madrassa*, Dar al-Dawa wal Irshad; political differences between Rida, supporter of Arab nationalism, and Razzaq, a Khilafatist, compelled the latter to set up independently in Egypt and establish contact with Indian rebels such as Lala Har Dayal and

Maulana ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi (q.v.). Had already developed a dislike for British rule in India. During the First World War, he carried out subversive work among Indian troops based in Egypt, and successfully persuaded many soldiers to desert. After four years in Egypt, he returned to India in 1918. After the war, joined hands with Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad and edited his anti-British periodicals at Calcutta. In *Paigham* (Calcutta) he published substantial pro-Bolshevik news. Deeply moved by the Jallianwala bagh massacre at Amritsar. Arrested on charges of sedition. Actively participated in the Khilafat Movement. In 1920, brought out his own weekly newspaper in Urdu called *Hind*, which adopted an anti-British, nationalist, socialist and anti-communal standpoint. Banned frequently by the Government. Razzaq considered Islam to be a socialist faith and wrote many articles in support of communism and the Soviet Union. Extremely sympathetic to the PWA. provided patronage for its activities in Calcutta. The offices of *Hind* served as the centre for the Urdu-speaking Progressive Writers in Calcutta. For a period during the 1930s, *Hind* was controlled by communists. Razzaq supported the Congress against the Muslim League. After Independence, he moved to Delhi and became the editor of *Saqafat al-Hind*, the Arabic periodical of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. Also in charge of the Arabic section of All-India Radio. Wrote reminiscences and memoirs of his companionship with Abu'l Kalam Azad. Translated works by Italian and French writers.

FEROZ AL-DIN MANSUR (1903-1959)

Home Town: Shaikhupura (West Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father was a tailoring contractor for the Army regiments stationed at Shaikhupura.

Education and Career:

Little education before migrated to Afghanistan in the *Hijrat* movement of 1920. Influenced by Pan-Islamist orator, ^cAta-Allah Shah Bukhari. Joined Military School at Tashkent. Taken to Moscow for further ideological training at the University of the Toilers of the East. While on his way back to India, arrested at the Afghan border and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. On release in April 1924, joined Horniman's nationalist newspaper *Indian National Herald* at Bombay as a proof reader. Worked for *Desh Bhagat* (Meerut) in 1927; as a clerk in the office of *Pratap* (Lahore) in 1928; and briefly at *Daily Congress* (Delhi). Secretary of the Delhi branch of the Workers 'and Peasants' Party. Edited the organ of the Kirti Kisan Party, *Urdu Kirti* at Amritsar in December 1928. Emerged as one of the leaders of the Kirti Kisan Party. Elected Secretary of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Amritsar, in January 1929. Imprisoned for seditious activity. Released November 1930, and helped to set up Rajsi Widya Parcharak Ashram at Amritsar, which was declared unlawful. Re-arrested as principal of the Ashram in January 1931. Elected member of the Working Committee of the Provincial Kirti Kisan Party in July 1931. One of the organisers of, and lecturers at the Workers Home in February 1932. A leading theoretician of the Panjab communist group, he published *What Young India Stands For* and *Mustaqbil-i Siyasat-i Hind* (Future Politics of India) in 1932. Split from Kirti Kisan Party in March 1933, and established the Anti-Imperialist League which was banned by the Panjab Government in July 1934. Worked through the Radical League. Coordinated industrial work of the C.P.I. in the trade unions of the Panjab until his arrest in 1941. Released in 1943. Continued to organise workers at Lahore until Partition. Became first Secretary of the C.P.I. in West Pakistan. Arrested by Pakistan Government in 1951. After release, published radical critique of Islamic fundamentalism as expressed in Maulana Maududi's thought in 1952. Elected General Secretary of the Pakistan Communist Party in the 1950s.

MAULANA HASRAT MOHANI (1881-1951)**Real Name:** Saiyid Fazl al-Hasan.**Home Town:** Mohan (distt. Unao, Awadh).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Hasrat's ancestor, Saiyid Mahmud came from a small village, Mohan near Nishapur in Iran in 1214-15, and founded its namesake in Awadh. Mohan, during Muslim rule, developed into a flourishing qasbah. Saiyid Mahmud's descendants were held in great respect and excelled in medicine, poetry and religious learning. At different times, they held the position of royal physicians to the Court of Awadh. The women in the family were well versed in Persian and Urdu, and enjoyed poetry. Hasrat's family were prosperous landholders. His father, Saiyid Azhar Hasan, had inherited three villages in district Fatehpur from his mother.

Education and Career:

Received early education in religion, Arabic and Persian at the family *maktab*, where his teacher Miyan Ji Bulaqi, a devout, austere and abstemious man, made a deep impression on him. After early schooling at Mohan, he went to the Government High School, Fatehpur, and matriculated in 1895. Joined MAO college, Aligarh. Here, developed a deep-seated hatred of the British and a hostile attitude to British rule became a cornerstone of his politics. After taking his B.A. in 1903, he founded *Urdu-i M^culla*, an Urdu monthly which was published intermittently until 1942; its Pan-Islamic and virulently anti-British views became popular among Aligarh students. Sentenced to two years' imprisonment, which was reduced to one and a fine of Rs. 500, for publishing an article entitled 'The Educational Policy of the English in Egypt' which had appeared in the April 1908 issue of

the magazine. An admirer of Tilak, he attended the Surat Congress as an extremist, a leader of the revolutionary pan-Islamists. Hoping to become a Major-General in the 'Army of God' of ʿUbad-Allah Sindhi (q.v.), he was arrested on his way to Kabul and imprisoned from 1916 to the end of the war. Demanded complete independence at the All-India Khilafat Conference and the Congress at Ahmadabad in December 1921. Called for guerilla warfare to overthrow British rule. Imprisoned for the third time on charges of sedition in 1922. During the mid-1920s, became attracted to communism. Prominent at the communist conference at Cawnpore in 1925. member of the C.P.I. until 1927. Much involved in Civil Disobedience in the 1930s. A leading member of the All-Indian Muslim League from 1937. As a poet, he made an important contribution to the development of the modern Urdu ghazal. One of the pioneers of political poetry. Wrote considerable amounts of socialist verse. Attended the inaugural conference of the PWA at Lucknow in 1936, and supported its manifesto, which he defended against the attacks of the government and traditionalist critics. When the PWA began to succumb to 'puritanical' pressures, he exercised his moral authority to counter this tendency. *Murid* of Maulana ʿAbd al-Wahhab of Firangi Mahal. Performed *Hajj* thirteen times. A devout Muslim and very independent-minded man. Considered himself a sufi and a 'Muslim communist'.

MUZAFFAR AHMAD (1889-1973)

Home Town: Sandwip (distt. Naokhali, East Bengal).

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Came from a respectable but impoverished *Thakur* background. Father, Munshi Mansur ʿAli was a *mukhtiar* in the Sandwip court.

Education and Career:

Initially had little religious education as his father, a relatively 'progressive' man, did not insist on it. Went to the local *madrassa* of his own accord and learnt Persian and some Arabic grammar. Studied at Sandwip Middle English School, 1905-10. Matriculated from Noakhali Zilla School, 1913. For further education, went first to Hughly Mohsin College, and then to Bangabashi College, Calcutta. Having failed in his intermediate examination, he stopped studying; worked as a clerk in the Bengal Government Press and later as a translator in the Home Department of the Government of Bengal. Also worked as a tutor. Became interested in nationalist politics in 1916; attended meeting demanding release of political prisoners. In 1917, attended sessions of both the Congress and the Muslim League. Communalism did not interest him. Took charge of the administrative work of the Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Samiti at the end of 1918. Remained in that position until 1920. Took over editorship of *Navayug* in 1920. Established contacts with M.N. Roy and other communist groups in India. Began to organise a communist circle in Calcutta. Wrote for *Dhumketu*. Arrested in May 1923. Tried in Cawnpore Conspiracy Case, 1924. Sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Released September 1925 due to ill health. Attended the first Cawnpore Communist conference in December 1925. Founder member of the C.P.I. in India. Organised the Bengal Workers and Peasants Party in 1926 and edited its weekly papers *Langal* and *Ganavani*, 1926-28. Played leading part in organisation of trade unions during the 1920s. Elected Vice-President of All-India T.U.C., 1928-29. Prominent during strike wave of jute, textile and railway industries in Bengal. Arrested and tried in Meerut Conspiracy Case, 1929-33. Sentenced to three years' imprisonment. After release, organised the All-India Kisan Sabha in June 1936. Elected its President. Member of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, 1926-27 and 1937. Member of All-India Congress Committee, 1927-29 and 1937. Externed from Calcutta and industrial areas during the Second World War. Imprisoned for one month in February 1942. Elected member of

Central Committee of the C.P.I. in 1943. Imprisoned without trial, 1948-51. Again detained in 1962. After the split in the C.P.I., joined the C.P. (Marxist) of India, and was elected member of its Central Committee in 1964.

HABIB AHMAD NASIM

Home Town: Shahjahanpur (West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Belonged to a *Saiyid* family of Shahjahanpur. Father, Mushtaq Ahmad was superintendant at the R.A.F. office at Simla. Prosperous.

Education and Career:

Passed his matriculation examination in 1917 from Delhi. At Agricultural College, Cawnpore, when he decided to join the *Hijrat* movement. Spoke English fluently. Crossed into Russian Turkestan from Afghanistan, and finally joined the Infantry class at the Indian School at Tashkent. Went to Moscow's University of the Toilers of the East in 1921. Joined the C.P.I. Returned to India via the Pamirs. Apprehended at the border and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in the Peshawar Conspiracy Case. After his release, continued to work for the C.P.I. in Delhi. In 1928, travelled together with Shaukat ^cUsmani (q.v.), Muhammad Shafiq (q.v.) and Masud ^cAli Shah (q.v.) to Moscow to attend the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. Attended the Congress of the Young Communist International. Remained in the USSR and worked as a teacher.

MUSHIR HUSAIN QIDWAI (1877-1937)**Home Town:** Gadia (distt. Bara Banki, Awadh)**Sect:** Sunni**Family Background:**

Ancestor, Qazi Qidwat al-din came to India with the caravan of the Sufi saint, Khwaja M^cuinal-din Chishti during the reign of Sultan Shahab al-din Ghauri. Went to Delhi as *Qazi al-Qazzat* for a year. Went to Awadh and settled around Bara Banki. Established a *jagir*. In 1857, Qidwai's family fought the British, their lands were confiscated but later returned. Father, Shaikh Ahmad Husain was *taluqadar*. Brother, Maqbul Husain, was a Deputy Collector, and later Minister of Revenue in Kashmir State. Qidwai inherited thirteen villages with a substantial annual income.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Colvin Taluqadar College, Lucknow. Went to England, 1897. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. Returned to India in 1904. Decorated by the Sultan of Turkey at Constantinople in 1905. Practised law at Lucknow. Became interested in politics and joined the Indian National Congress, 1907-8. Sent to England in 1910. Interested in Pan-Islamism. Founder of the Anjuman-i Khuddam-i Kaaba, 1913. Close family contacts with Maulana ^cAbd al-Bari of Firangi Mahal, leading Khilafatist, Qidwai's brother was the Maulana's private secretary. In England from 1913 to 1920. Involved in the Woking Mosque. President of Awadh Khilafat Conference, May 1920. Yet ignored Non-Cooperation and enrolled as an advocate at Allahabad High Court in 1921, and became advisor to the British Indian Association. Joined Swarajists, 1923. President of 'socialist' group of Legislative Assembly members formed in March 1924. Secretary of the British Indian Association, Awadh. Three times Labour representative of the Council of

State. Senior Judgeship of Lucknow Bench. International reputation as an 'ultra-radical' in 1930s. Attended Round Table Conference, 1930. President of non-communal All-India Independent League. Author of *The Miracle of Muhammad* (Lucknow, n.d.), transcript of a paper read to Pan-Islamic society in London, 1905; *Women (Under Different Social and Religious Laws)* (Lucknow?, n.d.); *Islam and Socialism* (London, 1913); *Swaraj and How to Obtain it* (Lucknow, 1924); *Pan-Islamism and Bolshevism* (London, 1937). Also brought out a Pan-Islamic weekly news sheet *Muslim Outlook* (London) which, in 1919-20, favoured the Bolsheviks.

FAZAL-JILAHLOURBAN (1902-1959)

Home Town: Lahore.

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father, a member of the Kakeza'i clan. An employee in the Panjab Government Press.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Islamia High School, Lahore. Migrated to Afghanistan during *Hijrat* Movement in 1920. Proceeded to Tashkent and then to Moscow, 1921. Graduated from the University of the Toilers of the East, 1925. Married a Russian. Went to Germany and studied engineering. Worked with M.N. Roy, communicating communist literature to India. In December 1926, travelled to India. Arrested at Bombay. Imprisoned for three years. Released in 1929, and became active in Naujawan Bharat Sabha, working in its training school at Amritsar. Played leading role in trade union organisation at Amritsar, Lahore and Okara during the late 1930s. Candidate for Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937 elections. Defeated. Panjab's C.P.I. delegate to All-India T.U.C. Elected Vice-President of All-India T.U.C.

in 1939. Arrested in 1940. Presided over its 1945 Congress. Vice-President of Railwaymen's Federation. Visited USA at invitation of International Labour Organisation and spoke in favour of Pakistan. In the late 1940s, moved very close to the Muslim League. Raised the idea of a separate Communist Party for Pakistan in 1947. After Partition, remained active in trade union movement and edited *Mazdur Dunya* during the early 1950. Gradually drew away from communists.

MAULVI ʿABD AL-RAB

Home Town: Peshawar (N.W.F.P.)

Sect: Sunni.

Education and Career:

Acquired education up to B.A. level. Fluent in English and Persian. Also competent in Turkish. Worked as a gazetteer assistant in 1903-4, investigating conditions in the Makran area of Baluchistan for the Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series. At the beginning of the First World War, he was an official at the British Embassy in Baghdad. When the Embassy was closed down during hostilities, Rab, swayed by prevalent Pan-Islamic fervour, went to Turkey and worked with the Berlin Committee during the War. In 1918, came to Kabul and joined the Indian Revolutionary group with ʿUbaid-Allah Sindhi (q.v.) At the end of 1918, went to the Soviet Union with Maulana Barkat-Allah (q.v.). Tashkent in March 1919. Met Lenin in May 1919 as part of an Indian delegation seeking help against the British. Built wide contacts among Indian traders and deserting soldiers in Soviet Central Asia during 1919. Established branches of the Indian Revolutionary Association at Tashkent, Bukhara, Samarkhand and Baku, 1919-20. Sponsored an Urdu periodical *Azad Hindustan Akhbar* at Baku. Went to Kabul but fell out with ʿUbaid-Allah Sindhi over future strategy of anti-British struggle. Persuaded some Muhajirin to migrate to Soviet Union and Provided them with some financial assistance. Returned to

Tashkent during 1920. A persuasive speaker, he initially won support from more-educated Muhajirin. Came into conflict with M.N. Roy over the leadership of the Muhajirin. Although claimed to be a communist, was excluded from the newly-formed C.P.I. by Roy in October 1920. Went to Moscow with a separate batch of Muhajir supporters to that of Roy, and tried to persuade the Comintern leadership that the struggle for national independence of India was the most important priority of the emigre Indian revolutionary groups. Worked with the American Relief Mission in Moscow, 1922. Left the Soviet Union for Germany. As his wife was Turkish, he was allowed to settle in Constantinople where he later died.

RAFIQ AHMAD (1899-)

Home Town: Bhopal.

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to a sayid family. Father, Nur Ahmad, was granted a pension of Rs. 20 for state services of the family. Worked as a schoolmaster.

Education and Career:

Rafiq secured the qualification of Munshi Fazil in Persian. Worked as private tutor to Ubaid-Allah Khan, a nawab in the state of Bhopal. Attended the Khilafat Conference at Delhi in April 1920. Inspired by the rhetoric instead of returning home, he and his brother decided to join the *Hijrat* Movement. Travelled to Kabul and then Tashkent. While trekking across Soviet Turkestan, fought on the side of the Red Army at Kirkee. Admitted to the Infantry class of the Indian Military School. Studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East at Moscow. Joined the emigre C.P.O., 1921. Returned to India via the Pamirs and Chitral, December 1922. Arrested and

sentenced to one year's imprisonment, April 1923. After release, worked for a period with Habib Ahmad Nasim (q.v.) for the C.P.I. at Delhi. Returned to Bhopal, and took up a job in the state government. Kept under surveillance. In the absence of a C.P.I. branch at Bhopal, did little Party work. Kept in touch with M.A. Majid (q.v.) until Partition. After Partition, narrated his reminiscences of his experiences in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union to Muzaffar Ahmad (q.v.) who recorded them in his book, *The Communist Party of India and its Formation Abroad* (Calcutta, 1962). Honoured by the Soviet Union in 1967. Throughout, remained sympathetic to communism.

°ABD-ALLAH SAEDAR (1895-)

Home Town: Peshawar (N.W.F.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father, Shaikh °Abd al-Qadir, originally from Sialkot, was a secretary of the District Board at Mianwali.

Education and Career:

°Abd-Allah was studying for his B.A. degree at Government College, Lahore when he decided to migrate with fourteen other Muhajirin students from Lahore to Afghanistan in February 1915. Was the link for Maulana Fazal-i Ilahi Wazirabadi, the representative in the Panjab of the Hindustani Fanatics who had set up an anti-British armed base in the Independent Territories on the Indo-Afghan border. Later, travelled to Kabul where came into contact with °Ubaid-Allah Sindhi (q.v.) and the Bolshevks. Reached Tashkent and studied at the Indian Military School. A protege of M.N. Roy, he graduated from the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow. Received higher education in Marxist theory at the Institute of Red Professors. Contributed an analytical article on Hindu-Muslim strife to the *Communist International*, March 1927. Returned to

India in 1933. Opposed the formation of a central committee of the C.P.I., and suggested the setting up of only an organisational council. Remained underground. Worked for Roy in the Panjab before the Second World War. Left India for the Soviet Union during the early part of the war.

MUBARAK SAGHIR (1905-1967)

Home Town: (distt. Batala, East Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father was a carpenter. Mother died while Mubarak was a child.

Education and Career:

Learnt the Qur'an at a local mosque. Went to Gobindpur primary school, and then M.B. High School, Batala. Jallianwala Bagh massacre made a deep impression on him. Began to write poetry with freedom of India as main theme. Teachers paid the printing costs of his first collection of poems. Many political gatherings and congresses were inaugurated by his recitation of a revolutionary poem. After father died, could not continue education because of financial hardship. Went to Jullundhur and secured a job with a businessman. Resumed his studies. Met Maulana Fazal-i Ilahi Wazirabadi, the leader of the Hindustani Fanatics. Became convinced that the British could be thrown out of India by force. Matriculated and joined Islamia College, Lahore. Set up a secret student society to send 'patriots' to Chamarkand (N.W.F.P.) to train for armed insurrection. Headmaster at a school in Karachi for a brief period. Came back to Lahore, met Bhagat Singh and Ahsan Ilahi of the terrorist Group. Decided to go to Turkey. Denied exit by Government at border and returned to Lahore. Joined Naujawan Bharat Sabha. Became its last President before it was declared illegal. Formed together with other socialists the Panjab Congress Socialist Party

in May 1936. Elected its President. Jailed during the Second World War. After release, continued to work for the socialist party. At Partition, became a victim of communal violence, opposed to communalism. Wanted to stay in India but was pressed to migrate to Pakistan by the Governor of East Panjab. At Lahore, worked in refugee camps. In 1949, formed a socialist party at Karachi, and brought out *Socialist*, a weekly newspaper. Arrested when Martial Law was declared in 1958. Again arrested in 1960 while addressing Biri Workers Fedeation, protesting against rising prices. Acquitted. Remained a socialist all his life.

MUHAMMAD SHAFIQ (1900-.)

Home Town: Akora (Nowshera, distt. Peshawar, N.W.F.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Education and Career:

In 1919, was a clerk in the irrigation office at Peshawar. Influenced by the anti-Rowlatt Act agitation, in May 1919, Migrated to Kabul. Met 'Ubaid-Allah Sindhi (q.v.) and cAbd al-Rab (q.v.) and was much impressed by Bolshevik ideas. On 'Abd' al-Rab's suggestion, crossed over into Soviet Union via Mazar-i Sharif, 1919-20. Brought out *Zamindar*, an Urdu-Persian propaganda sheet. Only one issue appeared. Attended Second Congress of the Comintern as an observer, July 1920. Founder member of the C.P.I. at Tashkent in October 1920. Elected its first secretary. Trained at Moscow's Communist University of the Toilers of the East. Returned to India secretly by sea in November 1921 on a false passport. Fearing arrest, he left again for Kabul. Surrendered to the British Mission in Seistan, Iran at the end of 1923. Sentenced in April 1924 to three years' imprisonment. After release in 1927, his movements were restricted by the British India Government. Left for Moscow at the beginning of 1928. Accepted as a

delegate from India at the Sixth Congress of Comintern, September 1928. His speech to the Congress was published in *Inprecorr*. Returned to India in 1932. Does not seem to have taken any further active part in politics.

MASUD ʿALI SHAH

Home Town: (distt. Meerut, West U.P.).

Sect: Shiʿa.

Family Background:

Belonged to an aristocratic Afghan family which had settled in India. Father had powerful British connections.

Education and Career:

Joined the *Hijrat* Movement in 1920. Travelled to Tashkent with a Muhajirin Party. Trained at Indian Military School. Admitted to the newly-formed C.P.I. as a candidate member at Tashkent in December 1920. One of M.N. Roy's most trusted students. Studied at Moscow's Communist University. Returned to India via Iran in December 1921. Surrendered to British authorities. Agreed to spy for them in the Soviet Union. Returned to Moscow in June 1922, and then went to Berlin to meet Roy. Attended Fourth Congress of the Comintern. Arrested by Soviet authorities, escaped and went to Berlin where he met Roy again. Returned to India in 1923. Contacted A.V. Ghate, a leading Indian Communist at the end of 1925. Disappeared. Contacted Ghate again in 1926 and confessed to him that he was working for the police. British appointed him *na'ib tehsildar* in district Meerut. Resigned in 1928. Made contact with Habib Ahmad Nasim (q.v.), Muhammad Shafiq (q.v.) and Shaukat ʿUsmani (q.v.), and went to Moscow with them to attend the Sixth Comintern Congress. Attended the Congress of the Young Communist International. Surrendered to the Soviet authorities in April 1929 and probably executed.

MUHAMMAD AKBAR SHAH (1900-)**Home Town:** Badrashi, Nowshera (distt. Peshawar, N.W.F.P.)**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Father was a Pathan peasant farmer.

Education and Career:

By the time that Shah joined the *Hijrat* Movement in summer 1920, he had already matriculated and was reading for his intermediate at a Peshawar college. From Kabul, crossed into Soviet Turkestan and joined the Indian Military School at Tashkent. Attended the Congress of Eastern Peoples held at Baku in September 1920. Elected as candidate member of the newly-formed C.P.I. at Tashkent in December 1920. Transferred to Moscow for further ideological education. After four months, he entered India at the Persian border and reached home secretly in summer 1922. Arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment in May 1923. After release in 1925, went back to his studies and graduated from Peshawar. Qualified as a lawyer from Aligarh Muslim University and set up practice at Nowshera. In 1939, joined the Forward Bloc and helped Subashchandra Bose to leave India through the N.W.F.P.

MUHAMMAD IOBAL SHAIDAI**Home Town:** Sialkot (West Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Father, Ghulam Nabi, was a teacher.

Education and Career:

Passed his intermediate in 1914. Member and later Treasurer of the Sialkot branch of the Anjuman-i Kaaba. Movements restricted by Government until November 1918. In 1920, migrated to Kabul and joined ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi (q.v.) and Maulana Barkat-Allah (q.v.) in anti-British revolutionary activity. In August 1921, went to Tashkent en route to Anatolia but returned to Kabul. At end of 1922, expelled from Kabul with ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi and other Muhajirs. Arrived in Moscow. Travelled to Angora in March 1923. Visited Paris and Rome. Joined M.N. Roy's group and worked at Marseilles and Paris, 1927. Attended meeting of the League Against Imperialism at Frankfurt in 1929 as the representative of the Indian Revolutionary Association. Worked closely with Ghadr Party in 1930 and was involved in disbursement of arms to the border tribes on the North West Frontier of India. Acted as a channel between Kabul, American Ghadrites and Moscow. Deputed by Soviet government to work among the Indian Hajis. A naturalised Turkish subject.

MAULANA ^cUBAID-ALLAH SINDHI (1872-1944)

Home Town: Chianwali (distt. Sialkot, West Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a Sikh family who had in the past been goldsmiths, government servants and moneylenders. Father, Ram Singh died when ^cUbaid-Allah was four months old. Brought up by maternal uncle, a *patwari* at Jampur, district Dera Ghazi Khan.

Education and Career:

Went to Jampur Urdu Middle School in 1878. Read *Tuhfat al-Hind* in 1884, a work of Islamic theology, and was much impressed by it. Afterwards studied *Taqwiat al-Iman* by Maulana Isma'īl Shahid and Maulvi Muhammad Lakhnawi's *Ahwal al-Akhurat*, and converted to Islam in 1887. Pursued by relatives, 'Ubaid-Allah escaped to Sind. Stayed for some months with Hafiz Muhammad Siddiq. of Bharchundi; went to Dar al-'Ulum, Deoband in 1889 and studied there for approximately two years before returning to Sind. Established *madrasas* and taught Islamic theology, 1891-1909. Appointed teacher at Deoband, established Deoband Old Boys Association. Went to Delhi on advice of Maulana Mahmud al-Hasan, the principal of Deoband, and set up a religious seminary Nizarat al-M'uarif in 1913, from where he propagated his ideas on *jihad* against the British. Together with Indian Pan-Islamic leaders, devised plan to oust British with outside help. Reached Kabul in October 1915. Established Provisional Government of India and 'Army of God'. Involved in Silk Letter Conspiracy. Established contact with Soviet Government in 1919. Set up branch of Congress in Kabul. Expelled from Afghanistan, 1922. Reached Moscow, December 1922. Studied Soviet society. Went to Constantinople. Drafted constitution for Indian Republics which stipulated the destruction of capitalism, nationalisation of land, public utilities and major means of production, and workers' control over national affairs, September 1924. Went to Mecca, 1926-37. Returned to India in 1939. Settled at Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, 1939-44. Supported the Congress Socialist programme. Died at Dinpur (Bhawalpur State).

KHUSHI MUHAMMAD alias **MUHAMMAD 'ALLSIPASSI**

Home Town: Nawanshahr (distt. Jullundur, East Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Education and Background:

After F.Sc. from Government College, Lahore, proceeded to read medicine at King Edward Medical College, Lahore. Provoked by British 'insults' against the Ottoman Caliphate, he was one of the Muhajirin students who left India in order to join the Turks against the British in the First World War. Reached Kabul via Chamarkand and joined Maulana ^cUbaid-allah Sindhi (q.v.) in 1915. Sent in March 1916 on an anti-British mission to Russian Turkestan with letters for the Tsar and the Russian Governor-General at Tashkent. Major-General in the 'Army of God', and active 'inciting' the tribes to fight against the British during the third Afghan War in 1919. Attracted to Bolshevik principles. Became key figure in Maulana ^cAbd al-Rab's (q.v.) Indian Revolutionary Association at Kabul. Crossed into Russian Turkestan again. One of the founders of the C.P.I. at Tashkent in 1920. Worked closely with the Bolsheviks at Kabul and in 1922 was the lynchpin of the Third International efforts to secure a foothold in India. Funnelled financial assistance and propaganda material to sympathisers in India. Expelled from Afghanistan by King Aman-allah along with ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi. In February 1924, arrived at Pondicherry as an emissary of M.N. Roy. Hounded by French authorities so left for Antwerp. One of the three members constituting the Foreign Bureau of the C.P.I. with its headquarters at Paris. In 1925, engaged at Marseilles in despatching communist literature to India through seamen. Married a Rumanian. Executed when Hitler's army occupied Paris.

MAULANA AZAD SUBHANI (1873-)

Home Town: Cawnpore (Central U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father, Maulvi Murtaza was originally from Ballia (East U.P.), taught as an *ʿalim* at Cawnpore.

Education and Career:

Received traditional education at Madrasa-i-Ilahiyat at Cawnpore. Rose to prominence in the Pan-Islamic agitations of 1913-14. Led the Cawnpore Mosque agitation. Joined Anjuman-i Khuddam-i Kaaba. Became one of the leaders of the Jamiat-i ʿUlama-i Hind. In 1920, set up Halqa-i Adabiya in Cawnpore to promote Urdu literature. Signed the *fatwa* declaring it unlawful for Muslims to serve in the Indian Army, 1920. At the Awadh Khilafat Conference in May 1920, declared sympathy for Bolshevism. In January 1922, he moved the resolution demanding complete independence at the Muslim League session, and in July organised the Moplah relief fund. Became Vice President of the U.P. Congress Committee. Favoured a more secular approach to politics. After collapse of Khilafat-Non-Cooperation movements, concentrated on organisation of workers in Cawnpore. Attended first Communist conference at Cawnpore in December 1925. Elected Vice President of the Central Executive of the C.P.I. Wrote articles for *Samyavadi* (Cawnpore), a Hindi fortnightly paper, calling for the organisation of workers and peasants, 1926. Active among Cawnpore workers, 1927. Opposed to Nehru Report as he considered its demand for Dominion Status against the spirit of independence in Islam, 1929. Attended the All Peoples Muslim conference. During the 1930s, postulated a close similarity between Islam and Bolshevism. In May 1936 and March 1937, wrote a two part article, 'Rabbani Inqilab', which, couched in a religious language, advocated a socialist revolution. Though never a member of the Muslim League, he supported the Pakistan demand in the 1940s through his Jamiat-i ʿUlama-i Islam. Toured Europe and America in 1945-46. Like Hasrat Mohani (q.v.) did not migrate to Pakistan. Passport confiscated

by government of independent India for his pro-Pakistan views. Wrote quite considerable, mainly Sufistic, poetry.

SULTAN MAHMUD (1899-)

Home town: Rehana (distt. Hazara, N.W.F.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to the notable Tarin ribe of the Haripur Tehsil, distt. Hazara. Father was a *zamindar*, and uncle a retired *risaldar*.

Education and Career:

Studied up to Matriculation standard, and spoke English fluently. Performed *hijrat* with Muhammad Akbar Khan (q.v.). Went from Kabul to Tashkent. Admitted to the Aviation class. Went to Moscow with other Muhajir students and studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. His instructors included M.N. Roy and his wife Evelyn. Passed written and oral examination. Travelled to Baku in spring 1922. Returned to India via the Pamirs and Chitral. Surrendered to the Border Officer in late 1922. Sent to Peshawar for trial. Sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in April 1923. After release, dropped out of politics.

SHAUKAT USMANI (1901-1978)

Home Town: Bikaner (Rajputana)

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to a Rajput clan which had converted to Islam. Traced descent from Ustad Rukun al-din, a famous artist of the late

seventeenth century. Grandfather was employed as an artist in the Bikaner Court. Grandmother was staunchly opposed to the British. Father, Baha al-din was a stone mason. Parents died while Shaukat was still a child. Brought up by his maternal uncle and a Hindu woman.

Education and Career:

Went to a local *maktab*. Refused to learn the Qur'an because its meaning was not being explained. Studied at a Jain temple. Protested when later sent to Dungar College, Bikaner, because it was run by 'British infidels'. Became fluent in English and Persian. Read nationalist newspapers such as the *Bombay Chronicle* and *The Independent*, 1917-20, and acquired staunchly nationalist views. Distributed Khilafat literature and posters. Changed his name to Shaukat 'Usmani meaning the Glory of the Ottomans. Joined the *Hijrat* Movement in summer 1920. Reached Tashkent via Kabul having fought in Soviet Turkestan on the side of the Red Guards, and joined the Indian Military School. Went to Moscow's University of the Toilers of the East. Joined the C.P.I. Attempted to set up communist groups at Benaras and Cawnpore after returning to India on an Iranian passport at the end of 1921. Arrested in May 1923. Tried in the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case in 1924. Sentenced to four years' imprisonment. After his release in 1927, published *From Peshawar to Moscow*, his reminiscences of the *Hijrat*. Attended Eighth session of the All-India T.U.C. in November 1927. Set up news agency to distribute news about revolutionary activity in the Far East. Went to Moscow with forged credentials and against the wishes of the C.P.I. leadership in order to attend the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928. Accepted as a delegate and participated in the crucial debate on Colonial Policy on the side of Stalin. Wrote for *Inprecorr*. Elected to the Presidium of the Comintern. Returned to India in December 1928. Attended the first All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference at Calcutta. brought out *Pāyam-i Mazdur*, a socialist paper from Bombay in 1929. Arrested in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Imprisoned for three years. While undergoing trial, put up

as a Parliamentary candidate by the Communist Party of Great Britain to oppose Sir John Simon. Left the C.P.I. in 1932. Active among political workers of Ajmer, 1935. Elected President of B.B. & C.I. Railway Union, 1938. Cooperated with the Congress Left at Agra. Rearrested under Defence of India rules in July 1940. After Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, drafted an application at Deoli Detention Centre that he should be allowed to fight for the Soviet Union. Government refused and transferred him to Fatehpur Jail while the C.P.I. leadership were released. Refused to cooperate with the British. After release in 1945, joined Congress Council at Agra and supervised its labour section. Externed from the U.P. At Bombay, elected Genral Secretary of the Muslim Nationalist Parliamentary Board, 1945-46. Opposed Partition. Elected General Secretary of the Seafarers' Union, Bombay, 1946. Joined Revolutionary Socialist Party, and, under its instructions, resigned membership of the Congress and travelled to Pakistan. Returned to India 1952. In 1953, wrote *I Met Stalin Twice*, about his experiences at the Sixth Comintern Congress. Travelled abroad widely during the 1950s and 1960s. In his own words, he 'never ceased to be an ideological communist'.

HABIB WAFA (1900-1936)

Home Town: Ludhiana (East Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father was a government employee.

Education and Career:

Wafa received higher education. Began writing poetry and earned wide popularity for his verses on the Jallianwala Bagh massacre at Amritsar in 1919. Performed *hijrat* to Afghanistan in 1920. Reached Tashkent with a batch of Muhajirin. After

education there, went to Moscow for further studies. Taught at the Nasimor Institute of Oriental Studies. Wrote poetry, dramas and novels on India's freedom. Toured Soviet factories making anti-British speeches. Wrote play in Urdu which described the horrors of British rule, 1925. Married a Russian. Died in the Soviet Union.

ZAFAR HASAN (1895 -)

Home Town: Karnal (East Punjab)

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Belonged to an *Ara'in* family. Ancestors were *zamindars*. Father, Hafiz ^cAzim al-din left farming and went to Dar al-^cUlum, Deoband; then proceeded to Bhopal. Learnt the Qur'an by heart and acquired traditional Muslim education. Returned from Bhopal and secured government employment. Remained staunchly religious. Zafar's brother was an Assistant District Inspector of Schools.

Education and Career:

Learnt the Qur'an at local mosque. Matriculated from Karnal High School, 1911. Very strict in religious observance. Won a scholarship to Government College, Lahore. Influenced by pre-First World War Pan-Islamic fervour. Became increasingly anti-British. While studying for B.A. finals, migrated to Afghanistan with fourteen other Muhajirin students in February 1915. Became Lt. Colonel in the 'Army of God' of ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi (q.v.). Fought on side of Afghans in Afghan War of 1919. Issued a number of anti-British leaflets. Accompanied ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi to Moscow after expulsion from Kabul in November 1922. Attended second session of the Fifth

Comintern Congress. Returned to Kabul later, and corresponded with Ghulam Husain (q.v.) on behalf of M.N. Roy. Moved to Constantinople. Early in 1924, wrote to a Calcutta paper urging the organisation of labourers and peasants and the use of revolutionary tactics. In September 1924, together with 'Ubaid-Allah Sindhi, drafted the 'Programme of the Mahabharat Sawarajia Party', which stipulated the destruction of capitalism and the nationalisation of land, public utilities and the main means of production and control of national affairs by workers. In 1927, assisted Teja Singh Sutantar, a Panjab Communist, with correspondance. In 1928, contributed left-wing articles to Indian nationalist papers. Assumed Turkish nationality and secured a commission in the Turkish Army. Retired as a Captain in the Artillery.

FIDA 'ALI ZAHID

Home Town: Peshawar (N.W.F.P.)

Sect: Shi'a.

Family Background:

Belonged to the Kizilbash tribe. Uncle was camp superintendant in the Chief Commissioner's Office. Acted as Fida's guardian.

Education and Career:

Studied up to matriculation. Went to Kabul in the *Hijrat* Movement of 1922. Travelled to Tashkent with a group of Muhajirin. Studied at the Indian Military School in the Aviation class. Reached Moscow in late summer 1921, and studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. Returned to India to propagate communist ideas. Reached Peshawar, December 1922. Surrendered to the British authorities and turned state witness in the Peshawar Conspiracy Case.

RAHMAT 'ALI KHAN ZAKARIA (1896 -)**Home Town:** Gujranwala (West Panjab)**Sect:** Sunni**Family Background:**

Father, Karam Ilahi, was a clerk in the office of the Finance Commissioner at Lahore.

Education and Career:

One of the fifteen Muhajirin students of Lahore who migrated to Kabul in February 1915. At the time, he was studying at King Edward Medical College, Lahore. At Kabul, appointed Minister of Communication in Provisional Government of India, and a Lt. Colonel in the 'Army of God'. In November 1917, went to the Soviet Union, converted to Communism, 1917-19. Worked closely with the Afghan Government and the Bolsheviks in Kabul. Tried to establish an anti-British alliance between Kabul and Moscow, 1920. Addressed the Third Congress of the Turkestan Communist Party, June 1920. Worked with M.N. Roy in Moscow, 1920-22. After his training at the Communist University in Moscow in 1922, Secretary of Central Committee of the 'Hindi Communist Party' at Moscow, July 1922. Left Moscow in autumn 1922 for Persia to organise the secret despatch of communist literature to India, and, if possible, to enter India himself. Corresponded with Nalini Gupta, Roy's courier in India, June 1923. Arrived in Berlin via Moscow, where had been working for the Eastern Department of the Comintern, at the end of 1923. Translated communist literature into prominent Indian vernaculars. Deported from Germany and moved to Marseilles in May 1925. Organised despatch of communist literature to India. Paris, summer 1927. Settled in France. Studied at the Sorbonne, and gained a doctorate for his thesis, *The Hindu-Muslim Problems Through Marxist Eyes*.

**After the Second World War, he suffered increasing poverty.
After Partition, he went to live in Pakistan.**

APPENDIX II

Appendix II includes Muslim socialists and Muslims sympathetic towards socialist ideas who were associated with the activities of the Progressive Writers' Association, 1936 to 1947. It comprises important patrons of the PWA, those involved in its formation, its leading organisers, ordinary 'rank and file' members, and sympathisers.

The main sources of information have been general biographical compilations of Indians, for instance, the Sahitya Academy's *Who's Who of Indian Writers* (New Delhi, 1961), S.P. Sen, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, 4 Vols. (Calcutta, 1972-74), N.K. Jain, ed., *Muslims in India, a Biographical Dictionary*, vols. I & II (New Delhi, 1979, 1983), ^cAbd al-Wahid, *Jadid Sh^cura-i Urdu* (Lahore, 1958), Malik Ram, *Tazkira-i M^casirin*, Vol. I, II, III (New Delhi, 1972, 1976, 1978). This data has been supplemented by material contained in autobiographies, memoirs and biographies of Muslim socialist writers, such as Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, *I am not an Island, An Experiment in Autobiography* (New Delhi, 1977), Josh Malihabadi, *Yadon Ki Barat* (Lahore, 1975), I^cjaz Husain, *Meri Dunya* (Allahabad, 1965), Ahsan Danish, *Jahan-i Danish* (Lahore, 1975), Mirza Adib, *Miti Ka diya* (Lahore, 1981), ^cAsmat Chughtai, *Kaghzi Hai Parahan* (Lahore, n.d.), Qurrat al-^cAin Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai* (Bombay, 1977), Sardar J^cafri, *Lakhnau Ki Panch Raten Aur Dusri Yaden* (Lucknow, 1964), Abu S^caid Qureshi, *Manto* (Lahore, 1955), and Sehba Lakhnawi and Shabnam Romani, eds., *Armaghan-i Majnun* (Karachi, 1980). Detailed information about individual writers is also available in a number of Urdu magazines, in particular *Afkar* (Karachi), with special numbers of Josh (Nov. 1961), Faiz Ahmad Faiz (April 1965) and Ahmad Nadim Qasmi (Jan. 1975); similarly *Aligarh Magazine* (Aligarh), special number on Israr al-Haq Majaz (1955-56), and *Nuqush* (Lahore), *Shakhsiyat* number. (Jan. 1955) and *Ap Biti* number. (Jun, 1964). Further

Information was obtained from personal interviews with Muslim socialist writers in India and Pakistan, as well as interviews published in English and Urdu magazines such as *Journal of South Asian Literature* (East Lansing, Michigan), *Kitab* (Lucknow), and *Ajkal* (New Delhi). Finally, private papers of Muhammad din Tasir, Hajra Begam and Sajjad Zahir provided additional personal data.

KHWAJA AHMAD °ABBAS (1914-)

Home Town: Panipat (East Panjab).

Sect: Shi^ca.

Family Background:

Khwaja Malik °Ali, his ancestor, migrated to India from Afghanistan in the reign of sultan Ghayas al-din Balban in the thirteenth century A.D. He was a scholar of Persian and Arabic. Received with honour by the Sultan; appointed *Qazi* of Panipat and awarded a big *jagir* which comprised almost one fourth of the land around Panipat. °Abbas's great-great-grandfather, Khwaja Ahmad °Ali was a *tehsildar*. °Abbas's father's maternal grandfather, Mir Ashraf Husain became commander of Holkar's army. Defeated by the British and made peace. Mir Ashraf Husain was excluded from the list of commanders pensioned off by the British because of his explicit anti-British attitude. His grandfather, Khwaja Ghulam °Abbas was strongly anti-British. In the Rebellion of 1857, he gave refuge to fleeing Muslim rebels. The ultimate impact of 1857 turned him into a deeply religious man. However, his conviction that the Muslim community was in need of social reform overcame his antipathy to western education and he sent his son, Ghulam al-Sibtain, Khwaja Ahmad °Abbas's father, to Aligarh. After graduating from Aligarh, Ghulam al-Sibtain became a teacher and subsequently tutored a prince. He was a man of austere living and staunchly religious. He considered ostentation un-Islamic,

and possessed a 'furious passion for social justice'. Altaf Husain Hali was ^cAbbas's great uncle. The Shi^ca-Sunni composition of the family meant that religious tolerance was firmly practised.

Education and Career:

Primary education at Panipat. Claimed to have learned the Arabic text of the Qur'an by the time that he was four years old. Matriculated with first class degree from Aligarh in 1933, and gained L.L.B. from same university in 1935. Brought out the first university students' weekly in India called *Aligarh Opinion*, which was banned by the Vice-Chancellor for objectionable material against the British. Re-started the magazine under the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Ross Masud. Took up journalism. Served apprenticeship in the *National Call*. Joined the staff of the nationalist English daily, the *Bombay Chronicle*, and became its assistant editor. Also worked as a film critic, and contributed to *Filmindia*. Wrote several scripts for films. Began his career as a film producer by converting the script of *Dharti Ke Lal* - a popular play about the Bengal Famine. Directed and wrote plays for the I.P.T.A. Has written many short stories, and a number of novels in Urdu. Founding member of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934, the PWA and the I.P.T.A. Considered himself a Marxist.

MIRZA ADIB (1902-)

Real Name: Mirza Dilawar ^cAli Beg.

Home Town: Lahore.

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Born in 'old' Lahore. His grandfather, Mirza Ghulam Husain was held in high respect by the neighbourhood. A literary man, he was considered an ^calim. His library contained many old

manuscripts. Mirza Adib's father, Maula Bakhsh was not educated. Did not have a proper job. Spent much time outdoors with friends. Unpleasant at home. Mother was extremely loving and religious.

Education and Career:

Primary education at local school. Went to Islamia High School, Bhati Gate, Lahore. First poem was published in *Hilal*, an Urdu weekly of Lahore while he was still at school. Regularly visited Akhtar Shirani for poetic guidance. Recited nationalist poems. After matriculation, went to Islamia College, Lahore. Prominent in Bazm-i Farogh-i Urdu, a literary society at the college. Edited the college magazine *Crescent*. Changed from poetry to short story writing. After taking his B.A., took up the editorship of the Urdu journal *Adab-i Latif* in 1935, which expressed the views of the PWA. During the 1940s, worked in all-India Radio, Bombay. After Partition, again joined *Adab-i Latif*. Wrote romantic psychological short stories and dramas and articles on literary criticism. Major intellectual influences included Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad, Niaz Fatehpuri, Lam Ahmad and Sajjad Haidar Yaldram.

ʿAZIZ AHMAD (1914-1978)

Home Town: Bara Banki (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a traditional and prosperous ʿulama family of Bara Banki. Father was a lawyer. ʿAziz married against his family's wishes.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Husainabad High School, Lucknow. Went to Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan). Wrote his first novels *Hawis* and *Murmur Aur Khun* while still a student in 1932-33. Also translated Ibsen and Omar Khayyam into Urdu. Graduated in 1934, and won a scholarship to study in England. Took his B.A. in English Literature and Persian from the University of London in 1938. Attended some of the meetings of Progressive Writers in London. Returned to India and taught English at Osmania University. During the 1940s, acted as private secretary to the Nizam's daughter-in-law, Dureshehwar. After partition, migrated to Pakistan and worked as a director in the department of films and publications. Resigned in 1957 and came to England. Taught Urdu at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in 1962. Went to the University of Toronto, Canada, and taught there until his death. His novels *Gurez* (1943), *Aag* (1946), *Aisi Bulandi Aisi Pasti* (1947) and *Shabnam* (1949) are considered important contributions to social and sexual realism in urdu literature. Wrote many short stories and translated Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Aristotle's *Botiqa* and a number of French Realist short story writers into Urdu. His *Taraqqi Pasand Adab* (1945) is recognised as one of the major works in Urdu literary criticism. His work *Iqbal: Aik Na'i Tashkil* is a convincing attempt to interpret Iqbal's thought from a socialist perspective. In the West, he is known primarily as a historian of Indian Islamic intellectual and cultural history. Major intellectual influences: E.M. Forster, Aldous Huxley, Sigmund Freud, W.H. Auden and Stephen Spender.

DR. Z.A. AHMAD (1908-)

Home Town: Lahore (West Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a respected *Maulvi* family of Lahore. His mother belonged to a landed family. His father, Maulvi Zia al-din took an M.A. and then L.L.B. from the University of Lahore. Appointed Deputy Superintendent of Police and rose to the position of Inspector General of Police in Sind. A strong strain of Muslim nationalism ran in the family. Z.A. Ahmad's father admired Lenin. He was also sympathetic to the Khilafatists. Not a very religious man himself. Ghulam Husain Hidayat-Allah, Z.A. Ahmad's uncle, was a minister in the Sind Government during the late 1930s and premier during the 1940s. Maulvi Salah al-din, another uncle, was a Muslim nationalist and the editor of the respected Urdu magazine, *Adabi Dunya*. He was held in high esteem by radical Muslim youth.

Education and Career:

Born at Mirpurkhas (Sind), he went to a *madrassa* in Naushera Feroz (disst. Nawabshah). Father, a rationalist, did not insist on the ritual learning of the Qur'an. Went to Nawalra Hiranand Academy, Hyderabad (Sind), for secondary education. Went to Aligarh in 1924. Set up the Radical Club in 1926-27 to debate radical philosophical issues. Took B.A. Honours in 1928. Sent to England to prepare for ICS examinations. Walked out of examinations and wrote to his father that he would not serve the British. Became a communist and joined a group of Indian communist students in London. Took B.A. in Economics from University College, London in 1931, and a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics before returning to India. Taught for a while at Hyderabad (Sind), and then joined Jawaharlal Nehru's secretariat of the Congress. Worked in its Economic Information Department, 1936-37. Member of the Kisan Sabha, U.P. Member of the National Executive of the Congress Socialist Party, 1937-40. Under detention, 1940-42. Member of the Secretariat of the C.P.I., U.P., 1943-48. Has written Marxist pamphlets on political and economic problems relating to India.

Major intellectual influences: Bertrand Russell, George Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb and H. Laski.

SIMAB AKBARABADI (1880-1951)

Real Name: Ashiq Husain.

Home Town: Agra (West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father, Maulana Muhammad Husain Siddiqi, was considered a learned man. He was chief officer of the Ajmer branch of the Times of India Press.

Education and Career:

Initially acquired basic knowledge of Arabic, Persian and logic. Then went to a modern school and on to college. His training in poetry was supervised by Dagh Dihlawi, one of the foremost poets of his time. Edited an Urdu literary magazine *Misra* (Agra). Subsequently took over the editorship of *Agra Akhbar* (Tondlah). In 1921, he established a publishing house in Agra called 'Qasar al-Adab'. Here, he also supervised promising young poets. Among his pupils was Saghir Nizami (q.v.) who later became an active Progressive Writer. Simab laid the basis of the 'Agra School of Poets'. He dropped the traditional form of Urdu poetry and introduced modern ideas and forms of presentation in his ghazals. He also wrote in the *nazm*, and borrowed literary ideas from English poets such as Pope, Dryden and Johnson. Wrote prolifically and extensively.

SAIYID HAMID AKHTAR (1924-)**Home Town:** Ludhiana (East Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Ancestors came from Central Asia to Uch in southern Panjab and then travelled to Delhi. Claimed descent from the great mystic, Khwaja Qutub al-din Bakhtiar Kaki, *khalifa* at Delhi of Muin al-din Chishti of Ajmer. His great-grandsons settled in Ludhiana during Akbar's reign. Hamid Akhtar's grandfather was a *pir*. His father, Rahmat ^cAli Shah, was a scholar of Persian and Arabic, and died in 1927.

Education and Career:

Learnt the Qur'an by heart at the family *maktab*. Matriculated from Government High School, Ludhiana, in 1941. Went to Government College, Ludhiana for further education. Along with another Progressive Writer, Sahir Ludhianwi (q.v.), became active in socialist and nationalist student politics. Worked for the Muslim League on the instructions of the C.P.I. Went to Bombay to work in the film industry in 1946. Secretary of the Bombay branch of the PWA in 1946-47, and Secretary to the Lahore branch from 1947-54. Worked for the Urdu daily newspaper *Imroz* (Lahore) for twenty five years.

SAIYID IAN NISAR AKHTAR (1914-1976)**Home Town:** Khairabad (distt. Sitapur, Awadh).**Sect:** Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to the family of logicians and philosophers who brought greatest fame to the Khairabad school of ^ʿulama. They were traditionalist in their views on women; pardah was strictly observed. Girls' education at school was not favoured. His great-grandfather, Maulana Fazal-i Haq Khairabadi had come out against the British in 1857 for which he was exiled to the Andamans. His grandmother was a poetess, her pen name was Hirman. She was also very knowledgeable in *fiqh*, logic and the *Hadiths*. Jan Nisar's father, Maztar Khairabadi was a poet of high standing. He became a civil judge and rose to the position of Sessions Judge at Gwalior. Married three times. Jan Nisar was born to his third wife at Gwalior.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Victoria Collegiate High School, Gwalior in 1930. Went to Aligarh Muslim University. His poetry became popular among students. Active in the student literary societies such as Anjuman-i Urdu-i M^ʿualla. Edited the *Aligarh Magazine*. Graduated in 1937 and took his M.A. in Urdu in 1939. Taught at Victoria College, Gwalior from 1940-47. Head of Urdu department at Hamidia College, Bhopal from 1947-50. Song writer for films at Bombay, 1950-76. A marxist, he attempted to explain his materialist philosophy of existence and social evolution in poems such as 'Dan'a-iRaz'. With the split in the Communist movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s, his views became much less dogmatic and his poetry took aesthetics much more into account. Married the woman of his choice and allowed her freedom to work. A leading member of the PWA.

SAFIA AKHTAR (d. 1953)

Home Town: Rudauli (distt. Bara Banki, Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Sister of Israr al-Haq Majaz (q.v.). The family accommodated to British rule. Daughters were educated at schools. Mother, encouraged by Aligarh environment, had acquired an artistic and liberal disposition. Safia's sister Hamida was a lecturer at Aligarh.

Education and Career:

Early education at Rudauli. Matriculated and then graduated from Lucknow. Taught at Aligarh. Married Jan Nisar Akhtar (q.v.) in 1943-44 held 'progressive' views on marriage. Corresponded with her husband before marriage. Considered him not to be a 'god' but a friend and an intellectual companion. For her, the ugliest aspect of married life was the husband's assumption that wives were their property. Taught at Hamidia College, Bhopal from 1947 to 1953. Her collection of letters *Harf-i Ashna* is considered an important contribution to Urdu literature in letter writing.

SHAKILA AKHTAR

Home Town: Arul (distt. Gaya, Bihar).

Family Background:

Came from a prosperous *zamindar* family. Both parents had a highly developed literary taste. Married Akhtar Orainwi (q.v.) in 1933.

Education and Career:

Initially went to the local *maktab*. Read the Qur'an and Urdu. There she could also study popular literary magazines such as *Nairang-i Khayal* of Lahore and *Asmat* of Delhi. Put into *pardah* at the age of nine. At first, wrote sketches. First short story which was published was 'Rahmat' in *Adab-i Latif*

(Lahore) in 1936. Two collections of short stories, *Darpan* and *Ankh Machuli* were also published before Partition. Had become acquainted with the short stories of Nazar Sajjad (mother of Qurrat al-^cAin Haidar (q.v.)) and Hijab Isma'il (later Hijab Imtiaz ^cAli (q.v.)).

DR. ^cABD AL-^cALIM (1905-1976)

Home Town: Ghazipur (East U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to a reputable religious family of Ghazipur which claimed its descent from ^cAbd-Allah al-Ahrar, a notable Sufi of the Naqshbandi order. His father, Muhammad ^cAzim, was a forthright lawyer in the town. There was no literary tradition in the family.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Ghazipur High School in 1920. At school, he had already acquired a literary taste. Having read the Urdu novelist, ^cAbd al-Halim Sharar, he consumed Scott and Dickens. Impressed by the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation movements. Refused to study at government institutions. Insisted on going to Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. At Jamia, ^cAlim read Arabic for his degree. Spent his spare time reading English translations of French novelists such as Victor Hugo and Anatole France. Later, he also read translations of Russian novels. In Urdu literature, he was much influenced by Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad, Iqbal and Ghalib. Graduated in 1926. Became fellow of the University. In 1929, went to University of Berlin for postgraduate work. Here he became interested in socialism. On his return to India after he had completed his Ph.D., he joined Lucknow University as a lecturer in Arabic. One of the founders

of the Congress Socialist Party and the PWA in India. °Alim's house at Barrow Road in Lucknow became the organising centre of the PWA. In 1936, at the second conference of the PWA in Calcutta, °Alim replaced Sajjad Zahir (q.v.) as its General Secretary. At the same time, he jointly edited the pro-Congress Urdu socialist weekly, *Hindustan* from Lucknow with Hayat-Allah Ansari (q.v.). In addition, he contributed original pieces on Marxist literary criticism in Urdu. In 1940, he was arrested along with many other Progressive Writers for his opposition to the British government's involvement of India in the Second World War. At the fourth All-India conference of the PWA held in Bombay in 1943, Sajjad Zahir replaced °Alim as the General Secretary of the Association. Remained a key organiser. Declared himself a Marxist.

AHMAD °ALI (1910-)

Home Town: Delhi.

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a prominent *Saiyid* family of Delhi. His grandfather was virulently anti-British and maintained all the traditions of the past. He was opposed to English education, so much so that when Ahmad °Ali's uncle expressed his desire to acquire it, he was ordered to leave the house. The British atrocities during the 1857 Rebellion were still fresh in his mind. Ahmad °Ali's father, Saiyid Shuja al-din was a middle-level civil servant in the British Indian government. When he died in 1918, Ahmad °Ali's upbringing passed into the hands of his zealously orthodox uncle, Baha al-din, a Deputy Collector.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Government High School, Mirzapur, and the Mission School, Azamgarh. Matriculated in 1925 from Aligarh. Graduated in 1930, and secured an M.A. in 1931 in English Literature from Lucknow University. Appointed Lecturer there. Taught at Agra College in 1933-34, and Allahabad University in 1934-36, before returning to Lucknow. Left Lucknow University again in 1941. Served as Representative and Director, BBC, New Delhi, 1942-44. Appointed Professor and Head of English Department, Presidency College, Calcutta in 1944 and remained there until Partition. Rejected the identification of 'Progressivism' with Socialist Realism, which he felt narrowed the true meaning of the former. In an important essay, 'Art, Siyasat Aur Zindagi' (Art, Politics and Life), he set forth his definition of progressivism, which, while radical and humanist, was not Marxist. Has produced several collections of short stories, anthologies of translations from classical Urdu poetry, and two novels, *Twilight in Delhi* and *Ocean of Night*. He was a close friend of E.M. Forster.

CHAUDHRI BARKAT ALI (1902-1952)

Home Town: Lahore.

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a respectable and prosperous family.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Islamia High School, Bhati Gate, Lahore. Graduated from Government College, Lahore. Became actively involved in the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movements, and left his M.A. in History unfinished. Broke the Hindu monopoly of

the publishing business in Lahore by setting up his own *Maktab-i-Urdu*, which published a translation of Engel's *Socialism, Utopian or Scientific*; also published Indian Muslim socialist writers' works. Staunchly anti-British. Refused to serve the Government. Supported the Congress and the Ahrars. Encouraged Progressive Writers. Offered them generous royalties and published their works. In 1935, brought out *Adab-i-Latif*, an Urdu weekly from Lahore, which became the spokespiece for Progressive Writers. Imprisoned by the Government for allegedly publishing 'obscene' works. The magazine was edited by Progressive Writers such as Mirza Adib (q.v.) and Rajindar Singh Bedi between 1935 and 1947.

HILAB IMTIAZ ^cALI

Home Town: Hyderabad (Deccan).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Originally Hijab's ancestors were *Saiyids* who had migrated to Ellore in South India from U.P. Her grandfather was a large landholder and Deputy Collector under the British. Her father Saiyid Muhammad Isma^cil was a scholar of Sanskrit, and had been invited to lecture at Cambridge. Rose to the position of first secretary to the Nizam. It was a rapidly westernising family. Hijab's mother, ^cAbbasi Begam, who also belonged to a nawab family of Hyderabad, had acquired a considerable reputation through her literary contributions to *Tehzib-i Niswan* (Lahore). Her novel, *Zuhra Begam*, a protest against the subordinate status of women and in particular arranged marriages, was highly acclaimed. She and her sisters never observed pardah. Hijab's uncle, Nawab Yar Jung was an architect of high repute. Hijab herself also did not observe pardah and during her youth wore western dresses.

WAQAR AMBALWI (1904)**Real Name:** Nazim ^cAli:**Home Town** Milana (distt. Ambala, East Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Ancestors came to India from Iran with the Mughal Emperor, Humayun. Lineage claimed to go back to a companion of the Prophet, bin Ishaq. Milana was awarded as a *jagir* to Waqar's ancestor, Mulla Muhammad Tahir by Mughal emperors. The qasbah's original name was Chinar. Changed to Mughalana in the reign of Shahjahan. Through rural use, became Milana. Waqar's grandfather, Qudrat ^cAli, served as a prison officer at Peshawar. Learned in Persian and Urdu poetry. Waqar's father, Safdar ^cAli married a second time in the Shi^ca family of Nawab Ahmad Mirza Dihlawi. Thus, Waqar acquired a good knowledge of Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir's *marsiyas*. Stepmother was a good poetess.

Education and Career:

His journalistic career began when he started writing columns in Congress papers, *Pratap*, *Milap* and *Wir Bharat*, all from Lahore. Resigned from these papers due to differences of opinion. Joined the daily newspaper *Ahsan* (Lahore) in 1939, and remained its editor until 1947. Contributed to *Naya Adab*, organ of the PWA. Visited the Middle East in 1940, and Malaya in 1941 as a journalist. After Partition, brought out his own Urdu paper, *Safina*. Banned in 1951. Again resumed charge of *Ahsan* as editor. In 1953, became editor of the daily Urdu newspaper *Afaq* (Lahore). When it closed down, he returned to *Ahsan*. Wrote satirical political verse. Also wrote vividly about rural life.

AKHTAR ANSARI (1909-)

Home Town: Badaun (West U.P.)

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to an ^ʿulama family. Maternal grandfather was a staunch ^ʿalim of the Ahl-i Hadith school, and sometime Professor of Arabic at Bareilly College. Resigned from his post because he could not perform his religious rites in the afternoon. Father graduated from Aligarh in 1898. Qualified as a medical doctor from King Edward Medical College, Lahore and worked for the government. Was greatly influenced by Saiyid Ahmad Khan's rationalist arguments on Islam and vehemently opposed the traditional arguments of the Maulvis. Authoritarian in outlook towards his children. His mother, on the other hand, was very affectionate.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Anglo-Arabic High School, New Delhi in 1921. Graduated from St. Stephens College, Delhi, in 1930. Went to England but returned shortly afterwards. Read law unsuccessfully before taking up teaching as a profession. Qualified as a teacher from Aligarh Muslim University in 1934 and took his M.A. in 1947. Taught at the City High School, Aligarh from 1934-47. Lecturer in the urdu Department of AMU from 1950. Has written *ghazals*, *nazms* and *qitʿas*. First collection of poems, *Naqhma-i Ruh*, published in 1932. One of the important progressive short story writers and respected socialist literary critic in Urdu. In his earlier poetry, he was influenced by Josh Malihabadi (q.v.), Akhtar Shirani (q.v.), short stories resembled those of Qazi ^ʿAbd al-Ghaffar (q.v.). A widely-read man, his western intellectual influences included the nineteenth and early twentieth French and Russian short story

writers, and English socialist critics such as Christopher Caudwell and Ralph Fox.

FARID AL-HAQ ANSARI (1895-1966)

Home Town: Muhammadabad (distt. Ghazipur, East. U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestors came to India in the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325-51). Settled at Yusufpur (distt. Ghazipur). The family had close connections with Dar al-^Ulum, Deoband, particularly Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and Maulana Mahmud al-Hasan. Active in the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movements. Possessed a small landholding.

Education and career:

Matriculated from St. Stephens College, Delhi. Further education at Aligarh Muslim University and St. Catherines College, Oxford. Called to the Bar at Middle Temple Inn, London, in 1925. A staunch nationalist, he joined the Congress in 1927 and was a member of the All-India Congress Committee, 1927-32. Founder member of the Congress Socialist party, 1934. Defended many of the 'seditionists' between 1930 and 1932. Participated in the Civil Disobedience of 1930-34, and in the 'Quit India' movement of 1942. Member of the National Executive of Praja Socialist Party, 1948-58. Member of the Rajya Sabha, 1958-64.

HAYAT-ALLAH ANSARI (1911-)

Home Town: Lucknow (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to the Firangi Mahali family of ^ᶜulama. Father, Wahid-Allah (d. 1929) was a pure sufi. Disciple of Haji Waris ^ᶜAli Shah of Dewa Sharif (distt. Bara Banki) - a most popular shrine established in the nineteenth century. This was important because by taking this action, he stepped outside the family tradition. Since Waris ^ᶜAli Shah took into account the rhythms of the Hindu countryside, Wahid-Allah, by taking *ba'it* with him, was taking a firm step away from the family sufi tradition. Spent much time in the company of courtesans. Hayat-Allah married out of the family - an unusual step - to the daughter of Qazi Bashir al-din Ahmad of Meerut, whose family had close connections with the ^ᶜAli brothers and Gandhi.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Madrasa-i Nizamiyya, Firangi Mahal, and Jubilee Intermediate College, Lucknow. Went to Aligarh in 1932 and graduated in 1934. Joined the film industry. Formed a communist study circle. Brought out a pro-Congress Urdu socialist weekly, *Hindustan* (Lucknow) in 1937. Forced to stop publication by government censorship in 1942. Went underground. Until 1945, worked as an occasional script writer at Bombay. Returned to Lucknow in 1945, and edited the nationalist urdu daily *Qaumi Awaz* until 1972. Staunchly anti-Muslim League. Although sympathetic to Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, he favoured a classless society. Hayat-Allah was one of the first Muslims to employ socialist realism in his short stories. Wrote his first piece *Budha Sud Khur* (Old Moneylender) in 1929, and *Anukhi Musibat* (1939). Since partition, elected to Rajya Sabha. Awarded Sahitya Academy Award for his novel *Lahu Ke Phul* (Flowers of Blood). Has pioneered methods of teaching Urdu and worked untiringly to promote interest in the language in independent India.

MUFTI MUHAMMAD RAZA ANSARI (1917 -)**Home Town:** Lucknow (Awadh)**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Belonged to the ^ʿulama family of the Firangi Mahal who trace their ancestry through the great scholar and mystic Khwaja ^ʿAbd-Allah Ansari of Herat, to Ayub Ansari, the Prophet's host at Medina. The scholarship of the family was acknowledged by Emperors Akbar and Aurangzeb, both of whom made generous grants to support their work. Raza's grandfather, Maulana Salamat-Allah was a member of the Anjuman-i Khuddam-i Kaaba, and was closely involved with Maulana ^ʿAbd al-Bari in his religious and political activities. In 1930, he was a member of the Muslim Nationalist Party. Raza was brought up by Maulana ^ʿAbd al-Bari, major leader of the Khilafat Movement. Married the daughter of Sibghat-Allah Shahid, a member of the learned family of Barkat-Allah Raza.

Education and Career:

Educated at the Madrasa-i Nizamiyya, Firangi Mahal. Graduated in 1936. Between 1936 and 1943, taught at the Madrasa. Became involved in radical nationalist political literary activities which aroused opposition within the Firangi Mahal family forcing him to resign from the Madrasa. Edited the pro-socialist magazine, *Manzil* in 1943-44, while *Naya Adab*, the organ of the PWA was under government ban. Also officiated as branch secretary of the PWA at Lucknow. Many of its meetings were organised at the Firangi Mahal. In 1944, on instructions from the CPI, Raza joined the Muslim League, but he did so for tactical reasons. At heart, he remained opposed to Muslim separatist politics and a nationalist. In 1946, he graduated from Aligarh in English. In 1948-49, he went to Pakistan to work for the Anjuman-i Taraqqi-i Urdu. Returned to India in 1951.

Appointed lecturer in Sunni theology at Aligarh Muslim University in 1969, and worked there until his retirement. Apart from many articles, his major work before Partition was the translation of Taha Husain's *Al-Adab al-Jahili* (The Literature of the Jahaliya) in 1946.

NASIM ANSARI (1928-)

Home Town: Lucknow (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to the 'ulama family of the Firangi Mahal. Father, Maulana Shafi was extremely liberal in his religious views. Nasim's sisters married not only outside the family but outside the Muslim community. Wasima married a Hindu. Khadija married Gupta, a communist; she teaches at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Rashida married a Muslim communist from Wasimabad (distt. Lucknow); after his death, she remarried a Bengali Muslim communist.

Education and Career:

Studied medicine at Aligarh. Became convinced of communism but was not politically active. Joined the PWA. Rapidly moved towards sufism. Professor of Surgery, Medical College, Aligarh. President of Aligarh Polo Club

SHAUKAT-ALLAH SHAH ANSARI (1908-1972)

Home Town: Yusufpur (distt. Ghazipur, East U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from the reputed Ansari family of Yusufpur, who had served in high positions in many past governments. His uncle, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, a doctor of medicine from Edinburgh University, who adopted him, emerged as one of the most important Muslim nationalist leaders. Another uncle, ^cAbd al-Wahab was a follower of Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, and a third uncle, ^cAbd al-Razzaq was a close friend and advisor of Maulana Mahmud al-Hasan, and instigated Hasan to leave India in 1915, paying for his trip to the Hijaz and his family's expenses while he was away. Razzaq was also involved in the Silk Letter Conspiracy. Shaukat-Allah's father, Amjad-Allah Shah was a district judge. Shaukat-Allah married Zahra Begam, Dr. M.A. Ansari's adopted daughter.

Education and Career:

Sent for his early education to Geneva, Switzerland. Qualified as a doctor of medicine from Paris. Practised medicine in Delhi until Partition. During the 1940s, was a leading Muslim nationalist. Supported and organised peasant conferences on behalf of the PWA. His book, *Pakistan - A Problem of India*, written in 1944, offered a non-separatist Muslim view. Congress member of the Lok Sabha from 1952-57. Chairman of the International Commission for supervision and Control, Laos and Vietnam. Ambassador to Sudan, 1960. Governor of Orissa, 1968-71.

SULAIMAN ARIB (1922-1970)

Home Town: Hyderabad (Deccan).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestors arrived in South India from Hadramaut in the Arabian Peninsula. Father, Sulaiman bin ʿAbd al-Razzaq was a *risaldar* in the Nizam's army. Mother was a Akuza'i Pathan. Sulaiman Arib married twice, the second time to Safia, who had an M.A. She married him against the wishes of her middle-class father, having met Arib at various musha ʿiras.

Education and Career:

Formal education did not go further than common entrance level. But began reciting poetry from an early age. From 1942, he devoted all his time to Urdu literature. At first, he also wrote short stories and novels. Later, he concentrated solely on poetry. Was a leading member of the PWA. Became its Secretary in 1950. Worked as editor of many Urdu magazines. Joined the C.P.I. in 1948. At the height of the Telangana peasant movement in Andhra Pradesh, he was imprisoned for two years. Totally opposed to the communalist Muslims of Hyderabad (Deccan).

DR. K.M. ASHRAF (1903-1962).

Home Town: (distt. Aligarh, West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to the Malkana community, an old Rajput warrior clan. His family had close relations among Hindu Rajputs. His grandfather and father each had a Muslim and Hindu name. Uncles respected the old traditions of the Chatri religion. But his father had studied Arabic and Persian, and adhered strictly to the *Shariʿa*. He was a loyal soldier of the Raj. Fought in the First World War at the Dardanelles Front in Turkey.

Education and Career:

Studied at a Muslim school in Moradabad (West U.P.) and learnt Arabic and Persian. During his school days, joined Ubaid Allah Sindhi's Hizb-Allah which called for *Jihad* against the British. Volunteered to participate in the *Hijrat* movement but eventually decided not to go. Went to MAO College, Aligarh in 1920. At the call for the boycott of British sponsored institutions, left the College and joined Jamia Millia Islamia. Actively participated in the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation movement. Dabbled in sufism for a while. Disillusioned by Gandhi's decision to call off the campaign. Graduated and rejoined A.M.U. Took his M.A., qualified as a lawyer and went to England for further education in 1927. Became a Marxist. Finally returned to India in 1932 with a doctorate from London University for his thesis on the life and conditions of the people of Hindustan from 1200 to 1500 A.D. Appointed lecturer in the History Department of A.M.U. Established a Marxist study circle at Aligarh. Elected member of the Executive of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. Joined Jawaharlal Nehru's secretariat with responsibility for Muslim Mass Contact after the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1936. Closely associated with the organisation of the PWA. Presided over the All-India Students' Federation, Calcutta session in January 1939. Secretary to Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad while he was President of the Congress. Imprisoned between 1939 and 1943 for his opposition to the war effort. Became leading member of the C.P.I. At the Nationalist Muslims' Conference at Delhi in May 1944, supported the demand for Pakistan. After Partition, went to Pakistan to organise the C.P.I. there. Arrested. Not allowed to enter India. Went to England. Returned to India during the 1950s and became head of History Department at Kirori Mal College, Delhi. Visiting Professor at Humboldt University, East Berlin, in 1962.

SUHAIL ^cAZIMABADI (1911-1979)**Real Name:** Mujib al-Rahman.**Home Town:** Patna (Bihar).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Belonged to a *zamindar* family. Mother died when he was only one year old. Brought up by her upper class family. They censured him from mixing with children from lower classes which he resented. Family owned nearly three quarters of the whole village. Had participated in the *Swadeshi* campaign.

Education and Career:

Became interested in dastans while still very young. At school, encouraged by Maulvi Khurshid Hasan, the father of Jamil Mazhari (q.v.), a poet, to write creatively. Matriculated from Muzaffarpur in 1930. After an initial period of poetry writing, branched out into short story writing in 1930. First works published in the Urdu magazine *Chandan*. Deeply influenced by Premchand's works, and wrote in his style. Supported more radical wing of the Congress. Though a non-communist, he was sympathetic to communist ideas. Member of the PWA, though critical of its dogmatic tendencies. Opposed to communalism and Pakistan as damaging to Muslims.

KAIELA^cZMI (1924-)**Real Name:** Athar Hussain Rizwi.**Home Town:** Village Mijwan (distt. Azamgarh, East U.P.).**Sect:** Shi^ca

Family Background:

Belongs to a small *zamindar* family. Father, Fatch Husain Rizwi, was a middle-sized landholder. Extremely fond of poetry and encouraged his sons to excel in it by rewarding pieces which he considered good. Organised regular poetry gatherings at his house. *Marsiyas* had pride of place. Of his five sisters, four died while in their youth - some of consumption. Kaifi later thought that the strict *pardah* which kept them permanently in closed quarters was the main cause of their illnesses. The periodic death of loving sisters left him with a profound sense of suffering. Married Shaukat Khanum, from a liberal Sunni family of Hyderabad (Deccan), after a tempestuous romance.

Education and Career:

Sent to Sultan al-Madaris, Lucknow, to learn Arabic and Persian. But he could not put up with the attitude of the Maulvis there, ostensibly 'pious' yet listened to the stories of *Angare* behind closed doors. Led the first student strike at Madrasat al-Wa'izin - the famous Shi'a seminary at Lucknow. Recited his first ghazal at the age of eleven. First *nazm* published in the daily *Sarfaraz* of Lucknow. Later wrote poems for the Communist weekly, *Qaumi Jang*. In 1943, he arrived in Bombay to work for the Communist Party. Quickly became one of the most popular revolutionary poets in Urdu. Worked actively for the PWA. Was one of the editors of *Naya Adab* at Bombay. His wife became one of the leading players in the radical Indian People's Theatre Association. Since Partition, A'zmi has acquired fame as a lyricist in the film world. His daughter, Shabana A'zmi is a very well known actress in the Indian cinema. Still works for the C.P.I. His poems have been collected in *Jhankar*, *Akhir-i Shab* and *Awara Sijde*.

IBADAT BARELWI (1920-)

Real Name: Dr. Ibadat Yar Khan Lodhi.

Home Town: Bareilly (West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestors came from Afghanistan, they were Pathans. Big landholding family. Rebelled against the British in 1857. Greatgrandfather led anti-British operation. Some were killed in action and many were hanged afterwards. Their *jagirs* were confiscated though some were later returned. Opposed to western education. Father, a *zamindar*, matriculated and became an official at the Lucknow chief court. Recited his own poetry. Tended increasingly towards sufism as he grew older.

Education and Career:

Initially learnt Arabic and Persian at home. Mother taught him the Qur'an. Matriculated from Jubilee College, Lucknow. Teachers included renowned Urdu scholars Hamid-Allah Afsar and Saiyid Akhtar Tilhari. Graduated from Lucknow University in 1941. Took his M.A. in Urdu in 1942. Awarded Ph.D. for his thesis 'The Development of Urdu Criticism' at Lucknow in 1946. Taught Urdu at Lucknow University from 1942-44. Head of Department of Urdu, Anglo-Arabic College, New Delhi, 1944-47 and at Delhi University, 1947-49. Taught in various capacities at Panjab University, Lahore until 1973. Also Principal, University Oriental College, Lahore, from 1970. Influenced in his student days by leaders of the Ahrar organisation during the late 1920s and 1930s, such as Maulana Habib al-Rahman Ludhianwi and Ata-Allah Shah Bukhari. While at university, he was attracted to Congress Socialists and Ihtesham Husain (q.v.), the Marxist. A prolific Progressive

Writer, he made a significant contribution to the theory of literary criticism in Urdu.

HAJRA BEGAM (1910-)

Home Town: Rampur (West U.P.)

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a Ruhila Pathan family. Related to the Nawab of Rampur. Father, a *na'ib tehsildar* in the State of Rampur. Mother was a descendant of Nawab Najib al-daula. Died in childbirth in 1921. Hajra was in strict pardah from the age of seven till her first son was born in 1931. She was engaged to a cousin at the age of fourteen. Married to ^cAbd al-Jamil Khan, a police officer in 1929. Asked for a divorce and obtained it in 1932. Elder brother was a communist and a friend of K.M. Ashraf (q.v.) during the 1920s and 1930s. Re-married to Dr. Z. A. Ahmad (q.v.), a leading communist, in 1936.

Education and Career:

Studied at home - the Qur'an, Persian and Urdu - from private tutors between 1910 and 1920. Admitted to Queen Mary College, Lahore - a residential pardah school for the daughters of Indian ruling families. Matriculated in 1926. Went to England in 1933. Obtained a teaching diploma at Montessori College in London in 1935. While in England joined the Indian Communist students group in London, which included Dr. Z.A. Ahmad, her future husband. Visited the Soviet Union in 1935. On her return to India, taught at the Karamat Husain Girls's College, Lucknow. Helped to organise the first conference of the PWA in 1936. Joined the C.P.I. and worked full-time for the party in Allahabad. Became a member of the Congress Socialist Party as a part of C.P.I. policy, between 1937 and 1940. Wrote for *Naya Adab*. Organised Civil Liberties Union at Lahore, and the

Women's Self-Defence League in the Panjab. Elected organising secretary of the All-India Womens Conference in 1942. Provincial organiser of the C.P.I. at Cawnpore in 1944. Secretary of the Women's faction of the C.P.I. at Bombay in 1945. Acted as reporter for the C.P.I. periodicals *Qaumi Jang* and *Peoples War* on women's questions. Edited the All-India Women's Conference magazine, *Roshni* in Urdu and *Hindi* from Lucknow, 1946-47. Imprisoned in 1949. Elected to Central Commission of the C.P.I. in 1958. Continued in that position until 1982. Awarded the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet Jubilee Medal in 1970.

FARIGH BUKHARI (1917-).

Home Town: Peshawar (N.W.F.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a *Saiyid* family. Father, Saiyid Amir Shah had a silk business. Respected in the community for his knowledge of *Hadith* and *fiqh*. Maternal uncle, Sikandar Shah R^cana was a well-known poet in Persian. Held radical views and was strongly opposed to British rule.

Education and Career:

Father died while Farigh was very young and so poverty forced him to discontinue his education. Religious education at home. Later reacted against religious practices because he was forced to comply while young. Worked as compositor at a press in Peshawar. Left and travelled widely in India and Burma. In Calcutta, he was introduced to the literary circles there in 1935. Returned to Peshawar. Joined the Writers Circle. Published a collection of short stories *Aurat Ka Gunah* in 1936. Passed his *Adib Fazil* in 1941; *Pashto Fazil* and matriculation in 1947. During the 1940s, he brought out a number of Urdu magazines

from Peshawar. Drew close to the Progressive Writers' Movement. Began writing revolutionary poetry in 1945. Influenced in style by Akhtar Shirani (q.v.) and Josh Malihabadi (q.v.). Became a strong proponent of cultural revolution in the sub-continent. After Partition, with another socialist Raza Hamdani, brought out a left-wing literary magazine *Sang-i Mil*. Subsequently, it was banned by the government and Farigh was jailed. Practised homeopathy for a number of years. Many collections of poetry to his name.

PATRAS BUKHARI (1898-1958)

Real Name: Ahmad Shah Bukhari

Home Town: Peshawar (N.W.F.P.)

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Patras's ancestors originally came from Kashmir. His father, Saiyid Asad-Allah Shah worked as a *munshi* to Khwaja Kamal al-din a prominent lawyer and religious figure of Peshawar. Asad-Allah was interested in poetry and composed many poems, and encouraged his sons to take up writing.

Education and Career:

Patras went to an English medium school at Peshawar, and then went to Government College, Lahore for higher education. Here he became intensely interested in literature, and adopted 'Petro Watkins' as his nom de plume as a token of his admiration for his teacher, Watkins. As a student, he wrote for the daily newspaper, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and subsequently for many Urdu magazines on literature, philosophy, humour and the fine arts. In the 1920s, he went to Cambridge to read English Literature. On his return to Lahore, he was appointed

lecturer in English Literature, first at the Central Training College and then Government College. Here he initiated and encouraged many cultural projects and with Saiyid Imtiaz ^cAli Taj (q.v.) an up-and-coming young dramatist, he translated many English plays, including George Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man* into Urdu. In 1937, he was appointed Assistant Controller of All-India Radio at Delhi and by the end of the Second World War he had become the Director-General. While at Delhi, he gathered around him a large number of talented literary men, including many of the Progressive Writers, and gave them much encouragement. After Partition, Patras became Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

ASMAT CHUGHTAI (1915-)

Home Town: Agra (West U.P.)

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Came from a Mughal family. Her mother's family claimed descent from the third of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, ^cUsman, and the great Indian Sufi, Salim Chishti. Paternal grandfather was a big *jagirdar*. Maternal grandfather, Munshi Umrao ^cAli was one of the popular early novelists in Urdu. Father, Mirza Qasim Beg Chughtai, a graduate from Aligarh, was Deputy Collector in U.P. and was awarded the title of Khan Bahadur in 1911. A liberal man greatly influenced by Saiyid Ahmad Khan's ideas, he became an atheist. Her elder brother, ^cAzim Beg Chughtai was a major satirist who also wrote polemics on *pardah* and against the religious establishment.

Education and Career:

Read the Qur'an at home with a strict *Maulvi*. Regularly read *Tehzib-i Niswan*, especially the romantic short stories of Hijab Isma'îl (later Hijab Imtiaz 'Ali (q.v.)). Matriculated from Aligarh. Read *Angare* at Girls College, Aligarh. Went to Isabella Thorburn College, Lucknow. Became interested in communism through study of comparative religion at the College. Also influenced by Rashid Jahan (q.v.). Attended the inaugural conference of the PWA at Lucknow in 1936. Graduated and qualified as a teacher from A.M.U. Appointed headmistress, Islamia High School, Bareilly, 1937. Wrote her first short story, *Saqi* (Cupbearer) at school; also wrote dramas for small cultural gatherings. Her first published work was the drama 'Fasadi', published in *Saqi* (Delhi) in 1939. Contributed short stories to *Naya Adab*. First novel, *Ziddi* (1941). Her short story 'Lihaf' (Quilt) which appeared in *Adab-i-Latif* in 1942, created an uproar among traditional writers for its sexual frankness and lesbian undertones. Tried for obscenity in 1944 and acquitted. Married another Progressive Writer and film director, Shahid Latif in 1942. Wrote scripts for films. During Second World War, she wrote her most significant novel, *Tehri Lakir*, which dealt with the lives of Indian middle-class Muslim women, their status and their sexual and psychological conditions. Sympathetic to communism-but not a member of the C.P.I. Major western literary influence was George Bernard Shaw.

AHSAN DANISH (1912-1982)

Home Town: Kandhla (distt. Muzaffarnagar, West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Father, Qazi Danish ^cAli had inherited some land in Baghpat (distt. Meerut). Not sufficient to make ends meet. Became a soldier and then foreman for contractors of canals. Not very well read but knew hundreds of ghazals and some of the well-recognised books of Urdu by heart. Maternal uncle came from respectable family of Kandhla, fallen on hard times. Lived in a 'crumbling' *haveli*. His uncle was also a soldier.

Education and Career:

Learnt the Qur'an from a local *Maulvi*; joined the *tehsil* school. Left because of poverty. Worked in several menial jobs - peon at a municipal office, inkman at a press in Delhi, mason, gardener and watchman at Lahore. Became aware of unequal nature of relations between employers and employees. As he expressed the concerns of the socially underprivileged, he came to be called the 'Workers' 'Poet'. Though he was considered a Progressive Writer, he was never formally a member of the PWA. In Lahore, ran a publishing house.

SHAHID AHMAD DIHLAWI (1906-)

Home Town: Delhi

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Grandfather was Deputy Nazir Ahmad, one of the first novelists in Urdu, and the son of a poor *Maulvi* of *qasbah* Rehar, distt. Bijnor. A brilliant student at Delhi College, he rose to be a Deputy Collector. His son Bashir al-din Ahmad joined the Nizam's bureaucracy in Hyderabad (Deccan). He married twice, the second time under pressure from the family because there were no children from the first wife. The family was very

prosperous. Bashir al-din became the first *‘aluqadar* of distt. Raichur. Wrote history of Delhi in three volumes. Awarded title of *Khan Bahadur* which he refused because those who accepted it were considered traitors to India. Had close relations with pioneering journalists such as Saiyid Mumtaz ‘Ali, editor of *Tehzib-i Niswan*, and Mahbub ‘Alam, editor of *Paisa Akhbar*.

Education and Career:

Went to a convent at Raichur. An English governess also employed to teach privately. Went to MAO College Aligarh in 1916, and then studied at Arabic School, Delhi for four years. Matriculated in 1923. Father wanted sons to be lawyers, doctors and engineers. Passed intermediate from Foreman Christian College, Lahore. Graduated with honours in English from Delhi. Also achieved a high standard in Persian. Opened a publishing house which published works of Progressive Writers such as S‘adat Hasan Manto (q.v.) and ‘Asmat Chughtai (q.v.) Charged for publishing obscene material and fined. In 1930, brought out an Urdu monthly, *Saqi*, which published the work of young and promising radical Urdu writers. Set up the Delhi branch of the PWA, and dedicated another periodical *Shahjahan* as its spokespiece. Developed differences of opinion with the PWA leadership and gradually faded out of PWA activities.

FAIZ AHMAD FAIZ (1912-1984)

Home Town: Sialkot (West Panjab).

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Ancestors came from Afghanistan and settled around Sialkot - a centre of learning during Muslim rule. His maternal grandfather was considered a *ra‘is* in the area. His father, Sultan

Muhammad Khan left early in life for Afghanistan where he rose to a high position in the service of the Amir, 'Abd al-Rahman (1844-1901). Having fallen foul of his royal employer, and escaped in disguise, he reached England where he was called to the Bar. Returned to India and set up a moderate practice. Follower of the Sufi saint, Mujaddid Alf-i Sani (Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi). He was also a man of literary leaning and taste. Knew 'Allama Iqbal. Faiz's mother was very loving. His childhood was spent in prosperous circumstances. After his father's death, lived in very straightened conditions.

Education and Career:

Learnt the Qur'an at the local mosque, and studied Persian classics at home. Went to Scotch Mission School and passed his intermediate from Murray College, Sialkot. Chiefly studied Arabic and English Literature at Government College, Lahore. Took B.A. in Arabic in 1931, his M.A. in English Literature in 1933 and another M.A. in Arabic in 1934. Appointed lecturer in English Literature at MAO College, Amritsar. In 1939, edited the radical Urdu magazine, *Adab-i Latif*. In 1940, joined Hailey College of Commerce at Lahore. In 1941, married an English woman, Alys Catherine George. In 1942, accepted commission in the British Indian Army and worked as a Lt. Colonel in its Directorate of Public Relations. Appointed editor of the Lahore daily, *Pakistan Times* in 1947.

Arrested in 1951 on the charge of anti-state activity and imprisoned for four years. After release, worked in various educational and cultural capacities. Also participated in trade union activity. Leading organiser of the PWA from its inception in 1936. A marxist literary critic. First collection of poems, *Naqsh-i Faryadi* was published in 1939. The major literary influences on him were Akhtar Shirani (q.v.), an Urdu Romantic poet; Keats and Shelley, the English Romantics; Stephen Spender, Louis McNiece, Gorky, Steinbeck and Dos Passos. Sympathetic to communism. Awarded M.B.E. during Second World War, and Lenin Peace Prize in 1962.

SAIYID MUTTALIB FARIDABADI (1893 - 1978)**Home Town:** Faridabad (qasbah of Delhi region).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Belonged to a highly respectable *Saiyid* family of Faridabad, well-known for its religious and literary knowledge. Large *jagirs* had been granted to the family by the Mughals. His great-grandfather, Saiyid Amjad ^cAli was a *risaldar* in the army of the Nawab of Gwalior. His father, Nawab Ahmad Shafi Nayyar owned several villages and many shops in Delhi. By the time that his father died at the age of 39, most of the prosperity had gone. Faridabadi's mother, Razia Begam was the daughter of the Wali of Luharu State, Nawab Ala al-din Ahmad Khan Ala'i. His father was a *nechari* in the tradition of Saiyid Ahmad Khan, he was a poet and a writer. His pen name was *Nayyar*. A pupil of Amir Mina'i. Brought out an Urdu monthly, *Tehzib*. Faridabadi's elder brother was a nationalist poet.

Education and Career:

Educated at vernacular Middle School, Faridabad, and then for a while at Islamia High School, Sheranwala Gate, Lahore. Because of his father's death, he was forced to look after the family lands. Appointed zil^cadar and an honorary magistrate. During the Khilafat Movement, developed differences with the British, and resigned his position. During the 1920s, became an ardent supporter of the *Tabligh* campaign but became disillusioned. Organised the Mewati peasants against the Maharaja of Alwar in 1933-34. Became a Marxist in 1935, and joined the C.P.I. During the 1930s, an activist in the Congress Party, and organised trade unions and Kisan committees in the Punjab. Elected member of the Executive Provincial Congress committee. Arrested during the 1942 'Quit India' campaign.

Migrated to Pakistan in 1948. Leading member of the Pakistan Socialist Party. Pioneer of peasant poetry, he promoted its cause within the PWA. Organised many large-scale conference of Haryanwi peasant poets. Wrote *Kisan Rut*, a poetic drama, depicting moneylenders' oppression. In 1939, published *Pinhari*, a long poem describing the suffering of the peasant. His other works included *Hayya Hayya Aur Dusri Nazmen* and *Beha Darya*, an Urdu translation of Sholokov's *And Quiet Flows the Don*.

MUOIM AL-DIN FARUQI (1917 -)

Home Town: Ambehta (Distt. Sahranpur, West U.P.)

Sect: Sunni

Education Career:

M.A. from Delhi University. Joined Law course. Expelled for organising anti-British strike. President of Delhi Students Federation, 1939-40. General Secretary of the pro-Communist all-India Students Federation, 1939-40. General Secretary of the pro-communist All-India Student Federation, 1940-41. Secretary of the Delhi State Council of the C.P.I., 1945-71. Arrested many times for 'subversion' between 1941 and 1947. At present, member of the Central Executive of the C.P.I.

NIAZ FATEHPURI (1887 - 1965)

Real Name: Niaz Muhammad Khan

Home Town: Fatehpur (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

From a Pathan family of Fatehpur. Father, Muhammad Amir Khan wrote poetry in Persian. For higher education in traditional subjects, Amir had been sent to Lucknow and Delhi. Afterwards appointed a *peshkar* at Cawnpore, and then, until his retirement, worked for the police. A prosperous man Amir, during his younger days, enjoyed the usual nawabi pastimes of poetry, women, dance and kite-flying. Later, he gave up these pleasures and became engrossed in religion. Yet, he remained 'broadminded' in his moral outlook, and considered the exploration of sexuality as an aid to individual mental and physical development.

Education and Career:

Early education was at home in Arabic and Persian. Then admitted to Madrasa-i Islamia at Fatehpur. Here, the 'irrational' attitude of some of the *maulvis* stimulated him to investigate religious matters independently. After matriculation, served as a police officer before resigning to take up the position of headmaster at the Madrasa-i Islamia. After 1905, worked in various capacities for some of the state governments, and benefitted from the patronage of the Begam of Bhopal. By 1921, he had already become an important writer of romantic short stories. In 1922, he brought out the Urdu magazine *Nigar*, in which he attacked the orthodox views of Islam, for which he outraged the *maulvis*, but became very popular with radical thinkers because his argument attempted to reconcile 'reason' with 'revelations'. In politics, he was opposed to the Muslim League and supported the Congress. Involved in the PWA, gave encouragement to young Progressive Writers.

QAZI^c ABD AL-GHAFFAR (1888-1956)**Home Town:** Moradabad (West U.P.)**Sect:** Sunni**Family Background:**

Came from leading family of Moradabad. Father, Khan Bahadur Qazi Abrar Ahmad, was a large landord in the district , with important political connections. Ghaffar was marreid to the sister of Sir Muhammad Yaqub, a leading member of the Muslim League who became president of the Legislative Assembly in 1930.

Education and Career:

Took a degree from Aligarh and joined government service. But, he was temperamentally unsuited for such a job and resigned this position; then joined the staff of Muhammad^cAli's *Hamdard*. Went to Calcutta and worked for several Urdu journals. Externed from Bengal after the Calcutta riots of 1918. Became a staunch Khilafatist. Went to Hyderabad (Deccan), where he brought out a daily Urdu newspaper, *Payam*, which expressed a liberal position. Ghaffar held nationalist views and was 'totally opposed to religious superstitions, social restrictions, and outdated conventions'. A humanist and unitarian, he was very sympathetic to the Progressive Writers' Movement, and provided considerable patronage for both individual writers and the PWA. Opposed to puritanism in sexual matters.

MAINUN GORAKHPURI (1904-)**Real Name:** Ahmad Siddiq**Home Town:** Basti (East U.P.)

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Belonged to reputable *zamindar* family. Brought up in the *jagirdar* tradition. Father was educated at Aligarh and was an M.Sc. in Mathematics. Taught at Aligarh. Chief spokesman for the Muslim League in East U.P. Paternal grandmother was very learned in Arabic and Persian. Her brother, Muhammad Ishaq was equally competent in *manqulat* and *m^caqulat*, and was also a great *mutakallimi*. Mother's family was deeply immersed in learning.

Education and Career:

Grandmother taught Majnun Arabic, Persian and Hindi. By the age of twelve, when he was admitted to Mission School, Gorakhpur, he could recite verses fluently. Also knew the principles of poetry. Early education at St. Andrews School, Gorakhpur. Matriculated in 1921. Passed F.A. in 1929. Took his M.A. in English from Agra University, 1934, and an M.A. in Urdu from Calcutta University, 1935. Taught English at St. Andrews College, Gorakhpur, 1932-35. Head of Department of Public Relations, Aligarh Muslim University, 1935. Taught English and Logic at Miyan Sahib George Islamia Intermediate College, Gorakhpur, 1936-37. Professor of English and Head of the Urdu Department, St. Andrews College, Gorakhpur, 1937-58. Assistant Director, A.M.U., and Reader in the Department of Urdu there, 1958-68. Professor Emeritus at Karachi University, 1968-78. A romantic and a rebel, Majnun had already experienced 'a dozen' love affairs by the time that he was twenty; drank 'best liquor'; became closely associated with Firaq Gorakhpuri, a Kayasth progressive ghazal poet in 1924-25. Also knew Niaz Fatehpuri (q.v.). Studied Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and was impressed by their writings. In the late 1920s, set up a publishing house at Gorakhpur and brought out *Iwan*, an Urdu literary magazine. Wrote romantic short stories and novels, a number of which were adopted from or heavily influenced by

Thomas Hardy and George Bernard Shaw. Began to focus on Urdu literary criticism in 1930. Many of his articles were written from a marxist view point. Considered by Progressive Writers to be part of their movement, although he was not a member of the PWA itself. Before 1930, he wrote a considerable amount of poetry. Stopped reciting poetry in 1930, but still continued to organise large musha'iras at Gorakhpur. Translated Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, Tolstoy, Byron, Shakespeare and Milton into Urdu.

PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB (1895-1971)

Home Town: Lucknow (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Second son of Muhammad Nasim, a leading lawyer of Lucknow. Brother of Muhammad Mujib, the historian, and Muhammad Wasim, the lawyer. Married Suhaila Tayabji, daughter of ^cAbbas Tayabji, Judge at Baroda, in 1927.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from MAO Collegiate School, Aligarh, in 1911. Graduated from MAO College, Allahabad University in 1915. Went to New College, Oxford in 1916, and took his degree in 1920. Called to the Bar at Lincoln Field's Inn. A historian, he did his research work on medieval India at Oxford. President of the Oxford Majlis. Called to India by Maulana Muhammad ^cAli and Motilal Nehru to become involved in the nationalist movement. On his return, joined Jamia Millia Islamia. In 1922, joined Aligarh Muslim University. Retired from there as Professor and Head of the History Department. Together with K.M. Ashraf (q.v.), set up a Marxist study circle at Aligarh. Remained a left-leaning historian all his life. His sympathy for

the destitute and his 'large-hearted' tolerance 'held aloft the traditions of medieval Muslim mystics'.

OURRATAL-^cAIN HAIDAR (1927-)

Home Town: Nehtur (distt. Bijnor,, West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father's ancestor, Saiyid Kamal al-din was supposedly descended from the Prophet's family. Came to Delhi from Tirmiz (Iran) during the invasion of Shahab al-din Ghuri. Finally settled in Nehtur. Mother's ancestors came from Meshad (Iran). Great grandfather, Mir Ahmad ^cAli, a soldier in the East India Company service at Meerut, mutinied in 1857. 15,500 acres of hereditary land was confiscated. Escaped from prison just before he was to be hanged. Pardoned in the general amnesty. On mother's side, great-great-grandfather was a *Nazim* and *Chakladar* in the state of Awadh. Paternal grandfather was Deputy Superintendent of Police at Jhansi. Maternal grandfather was an agent for Logistic Supplies to the British India Army. Father, Saiyid Sajjad Haidar Yaldram was a pioneering romantic short story writer and a Muslim modernist thinker. Mother, Nazar Zuhra, from a Shi^ca family of Moradabad, was the most reputable woman writer of social and reform novels in the early twentieth century. Both parents played a leading role in the social and literary reform movements of their time. Nazar, in particular, campaigned extensively for women's rights.

Education and Career:

Primary religious and classical education at home. Went to a convent at Dehra Dun. Further education at Isabella Thorburn College, Lucknow. Graduated and took her M.A. in English Literature from Lucknow University. Wrote her first short story at the age of six. Her first published short story 'Aik Sham'

appeared in the Urdu magazine, *Adib*. First novel, *Mere Bhi Sanam Khane*, which came out in 1947, won her considerable acclaim. At Partition, migrated to Pakistan. In 1951 went to England and worked as a reporter on the *Daily Telegraph* and in the Urdu section of the B.B.C. Returned to Pakistan for a brief spell but then returned to England in 1960, finally settling in Bombay. Editor of *Imprint* in the mid-1960s. Assistant editor of *The Illustrated Weekly* in 1969. Visiting Professor at Aligarh Muslim University during the early 1980s. Most acclaimed work was the epic novel, *Ag Ka Darya* (1959). Has translated Henry James's *A Portrait of a Lady*, T.S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, and several Soviet authors including Sholokov. Awarded Soviet Land Award in 1969. Regards herself as a 'Progressive'.

ANSAR AL-HAQ HARWANI (1916-)

Home Town: Rudauli (distt. Bara Banki, Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father, Siraj al-Haq was an Excise Inspector. Harwani is the younger brother of Israr al-Haq Majaz (q.v.).

Education and Career:

Secondary education at Aminabad High School and Church Mission School, Lucknow. Further education at St. Johns College, Agra and Aligarh Muslim University. At Aligarh, he became a radical nationalist. Close friend of Khwaja Ahmad 'Abbas (q.v.). Founder and first General Secretary of the pro-communist All-India Students Federation, 1936-39. President of the all-India Youth League, 1946-52. Worked for the Congress English daily, *National Herald* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta. Imprisoned in 1940. After release, participated in the 'Quit India' movement. Arrested again in 1942, and remained in

jail until 1946. Congress member of the Lok Sabha, 1957-67. Resigned from the Congress in 1977.

MIRZA ZAFAR AL-HASAN

Home Town: Singareddy (Hyderabad, Deccan).

Sect: Sunni.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Government School, Singareddy. Class fellow of Makhdum Muhi al-din (q.v.). Went to City College, Hyderabad, and graduated from Osmania University. While at university, elected Secretary of the Students Union. Worked in Deccan Radio as announcer, programme organiser and assistant station director. Introduced many Progressive Writers and their works to the Radio. Migrated to Pakistan in 1950 and worked for Radio Pakistan at Karachi. Also Deputy Election Commissioner. First article 'Rousseau's Social Contract' was published in the Urdu daily *Payam* in 1935. First collection of short stories, *Muhabbat Ki Chaun*, published in 1939. A close friend of Makhdum Muhi al-din and Sibte Has an (q.v.), and an active member of the PWA in Hyderabad (Deccan).

MUHAMMAD HASAN (1926-)

Home Town: Moradabad (West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestor, Makhdum Sam^ca al-din came to India during the reign of the Lodis. His annual *'Urs* is celebrated at Mehrauli. Nawab Pura (distt. Moradabad) was founded by Hasan's family. It initially owned two hundred villages. Confiscated in 1857 for aiding the rebels. Less than twenty villages returned to his great-

grandfather. Hasan's father inherited a large amount of property. The atmosphere at home was *jagirdari*. Maternal grandfather was a reputed *Calim*. Urdu newspapers read at home were *Zamindar*, *Ahsan* and *Madina*. Father was very close to Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani and supported the Congress.

Education and Career:

No religious background as his father was keen to give Hasan a thoroughly modern education. Matriculated from Hewitt Muslim High School in 1939. Became interested in politics. A reaction to his father's 'obscurantism', he supported the 'modernist' Muslim League. But his opposition to its communalism led him to join the Congress. Not allowed to go to AMU by his father. Rebelled against all conventions. Refused to go to the local college. Passed the Persian and Intermediate examinations after studying privately for two years. Also became an atheist as a reaction to his failure in a love affair. Met a communist from Moradabad who introduced Hasan to progressive literature. Read many progressive magazines. Wrote two dramas for All-India Radio, Lucknow, in 1942. One short story was broadcast from Lucknow in 1944. Another was published in *Ajkal* (Delhi) in 1945. Read *Nigar*. Went to Lucknow University in 1942. Supported the 'Quit India' movement. Although emotionally close to 'socialist inconcolasm', he did not agree with the C.P.I.'s policy of cooperation with British war effort 1942. Did not accept also the C.P.I.'s support for the Muslim League and the Pakistan demand. Came closer to the Congress Socialist Party. Took his M.A. in Urdu from Lucknow in 1946. Closely associated with the PWA in Lucknow after 1946. Most impressed by his Marxist Urdu teacher at Lucknow, Saiyid Ihtesham Husain (q.v.). Began to concentrate on literary criticism and published articles in *Nagar* and *Shahrah*. Joined the C.P.I. after Partition; he became an active member of the PWA, although he did not fully agree with communist ideas on literary theory. Worked as sub-editor of *Pioneer* for a while before entering university teaching. Awarded Ph.D. Taught at University of Lucknow. At present, Head of the Department of

Urdu at Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi. Major intellectual influences included Lenin and Christopher Caudwell.

SAIYID SIBTE HASAN (1916-)

Home Town: Village Ambari (distt. Azamgarh, East U.P.).

Sect: Shi^ca.

Family Background:

Belongs to *Saiyid* family. Two brothers of great-grandfather were hanged by the British after the 1857 Rebellion. Grandfather, Mir Basharat ^cAli, was a *zamindar*. His confiscated property was returned to him, and he became a most loyal supporter of the British Raj.

Education and Career:

Early education was at home. Matriculated from Mission High School, Azamgarh, and went to Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, in 1929. Graduated and went to Aligarh Muslim University in 1933. Took M.A. in History and Ancient Philosophy. At same time, qualified as a lawyer. At university, became interested in socialist ideas under the influence of Dr. K.M. Ashraf (q.v.), Khwaja Manzur Husain and Prof. Muhammad Habib (q.v.). Served a six month apprenticeship in the nationalist daily newspaper, the *Bombay Chronicle*. Went to Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1936, and joined Qazi ^cAbd al-Ghaffar's (q.v.) liberal Urdu daily, *Payam*. Organised a Progressive writers' circle in Hyderabad. At the beginning of the Second World War, political difficulties forced Sibte to return to Lucknow. Brought out *Naya Adab* in conjunction with ^cAli Sardar J'afri (q.v.) and Israr al-Haq Majaz (q.v.). Also worked for the Nehru-owned newspaper, *The National Herald*. Became deeply involved in the activities of the C.P.I. After August 1942, when *The National Herald* was closed down because of the Congress's 'Quit India' call, Sibte went to Bombay and

became a fulltime worker for the C.P.I. Translated a number of marxist classics in conjunction with ʿAli Sardar J'afri, K.M. Ashraf and ʿAli Athar. Also worked on the staff of the communist journal, *Qaumi Jang*. Went to the United States in 1945. Correspondant for the Communist Party paper while studying at the University of Columbia. Spent two years there, then returned to Pakistan via Europe and Bombay in May 1948. Worked for the Communist Party from 1948 to 1954. Edited the liberal Urdu weekly, *Lail wa Nahar* (Lahore) in 1956. Has published marxist works on cultural and historical subjects.

MAULVI ʿABD AL-HAQ (1870-1961)

Home Town: Hapur (distt. Meerut, West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestors were Kayasth Hindus of Hapur, responsible for the financial administration of the Mughal period. The family was converted to Islam during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan. Granted several *muʿafis*, which continued up to 1945, when they were voluntarily surrendered. Father, ʿAli Hasan was an inspector in the Panjab Finance Department.

Education and Career:

Became interested in the Aligarh Movement while still at school in Hapur. Read *Tehzib al-Akhlaq* and was much impressed. Persuaded his father to send him to Aligarh, despite tremendous opposition from the rest of the family. Continued his schooling and higher education at Aligarh, and graduated from the University of Allahabad in 1894. Contributed to *Tehzib al-Akhlaq*. Appointed Headmaster of Asafia School, Hyderabad (Deccan) and then became Inspector of Schools. Later appointed Head of the Urdu Department at Osmania University. Elected

Convenor of Anjuman-i Taraqqi-i Urdu in 1912, and remained its pivot until the partition of India. Was part of that tradition of enlightenment which had its roots in the philosophical liberalism of Herbert Spencer and J.S. Mill. Opposed to religious revivalism and wished to see modern liberal thinking and scientific ideas propagated in Urdu. He also viewed modern socialism favourably and sponsored many socialist writers. His presidential address to the Allahabad Conference of the PWA in 1937 became one of the historic documents of the Association.

CHIRAGH HASAN HASRAT (1904-1955)

Real Name: Chiragh Hasan

Home Town: Bamyar (Kashmir).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Born into a Kashmiri family with a tradition of learning in the classical languages. Grandfather, Hasan and father, Shaikh Badr al-din were both knowledgeable in Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

Education and Career:

Initially taught Arabic, Persian and Urdu at home. Matriculated from a secondary school at Poonch, the district headquarters. Graduated from Lahore in 1924. Taught Persian at a *madrassa* before taking up journalism in his career. In Calcutta, he edited popular periodicals such as *Asar-i Jadid*, *Jamhur* and Abu'l Kalam Azad's paper *Paigham*. Zafar Ali Khan, the owner of *Zamindar* persuaded him to come to Lahore and work for him. In Lahore, apart from *Zamindar*, he edited *Insaf*, *Ahrar*, *Tehzib-i Niswan* and *National Congress Panchayat*. Chiragh was a strong supporter of the Congress and favoured the Nehru Report as a solution to the communal problem. He was sympathetic to the PWA and attended many of its meetings and conferences. At the

beginning of the Second World War, he joined the British India Army, primarily in order to improve his economic circumstances, and edited its propaganda sheet *Fauji Akhbar*. Nevertheless, he still claimed that he considered 'British Imperialism worse than German Nazism'. Attended inaugural and other PWA conferences.

HAFIZ HOSHIARPURI (1912-1973)

Real Name: Muhammad ^cAbd al-Hafiz Salim.

Home Town: Hoshiarpur (East Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from an impoverished family of Hoshiarpur. Father, Shaikh Fazal Muhammad Khan found employment with a *zamindar* of Diwanpur (distt. Jhang, West Panjab) where Hafiz was born. Brought up in Hoshiarpur under the literary guidance of his maternal grandfather, Shaikh Ghulam Muhammad, a scholar of Persian. After his grandfather died, he was guided by his elder brother, Rahil Hoshiarpuri, a poet.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Islamic High School, Hoshiarpur. Began to recite poetry at the age of eleven. Passed his entrance examination in 1928. His translation of Shelley's 'A Widow Bird' into Urdu as 'Ta'ir-i Mahjur' appeared in *Humayun* in 1930. His first published poem, 'Tajdid-i Muhabbat' appeared in *Khayalistan*. Passed his Intermediate in 1931 from Government College, Hoshiarpur, and B.A. from Government College, Lahore in 1933. M.A. in Philosophy from Panjab University in 1936. Besides financial help from his maternal uncle, a cloth merchant of Hoshiarpur, he subsidised his higher education by giving private tuition and writing for the local Urdu periodicals.

Joined Anjuman-i Urdu, Panjab, as Assistant Secretary in 1937. Also worked for *Adabi Dunya*. In 1938, joined All-India Radio as a programme assistant. After Partition, worked in broadcasting at Lahore, and then as programme director at Karachi. He returned to Lahore as Station Director. Retired as Deputy Director General at Karachi in 1967. Much impressed by his lecturers, Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum (q.v.) and Patras Bukhari (q.v.) at Government College, Lahore. Encouraged to read English Literature. Wrote poems in English while at college. Tended to write mainly romantic verse in Urdu, but during the 1930s, along with Ahmad Nadim Qasmi (q.v.), he also wrote some political poems for *Inqilab*. Intellectual influences included Robert Browning, Shelley and T.S. Eliot. One of the founders of Halqa-i Arbab-i Zauq at Lahore in 1940.

DR. SAIYID ʿABID HUSAIN (1896-1978)

Home Town: Bhopal (Bhopal State).

Sect: Shiʿa

Family Background:

His ancestor, Saiyid Hasan Bandagi came from Tirmiz in the sixteenth century. Settled at Da'ipur between Farrakhabad and Cawnpore near Qanauj, where he built a *khanqah*. Husain's great-grandfather, Saiyid Mehdi ʿAli was a lawyer in the central Indian state of Sambhar. Husain's grandfather, Saiyid Mehdi Husain (1837-1915) was a junior civil servant (*nazir* to the Collector) under the British. Father, Saiyid Hamid Husain married the daughter of a small ʿaluqadar of Mohan (distt. Unao). The family's economic situation declined; in order to go to England for studies, Husain had to secure a loan from the government of Bhopal.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Jahangiria High School, Bhopal. Gained a B.A. in Philosophy, Persian and English Literature from Muir Central College, Allahabad in 1920. Went to England to read Philosophy at Oxford. Financial difficulties. Went to Berlin to do research. Ph.D. in 1925. Returned to India in 1926, and appointed lecturer in Arabic at Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi. Did translation work of Anjuman-i Taraqqi- Urdu to supplement his salary. As a student, he was married to his cousin. Came under pressure from his family to remarry as no children had been born to the couple. In 1933, married to Misdaq Fatima, youngest daughter of Khwaja Ghulam al-Saqlain, who belonged to the family of Panipat which had produced the eminent poet Hali, and, in Husain's generation, the educationalist Ghulam al-Saiyidain and the Progressive Writer Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas (q.v.). Became a distinguished nationalist historian. Sympathetic to the PWA, and had signed its 1936 manifesto.

SAIYID IHTESHAM HUSAIN (1912-1972)

Real Name:Saiyid Ihtesham Husain Rizwi.

Home Town:Shi^ca.

Family Background:

Related to Saiyid Sibte Hasan (q.v.) and, by marriage, to Shamim Kirhani (q.v.). Father, Saiyid Abu J'afar, a *zamindar* of average means, was a well-read man. For his loyalty to the Raj, he was rewarded with arms and considerable revenue-free land. In 1940, Ihtesham married into a reputable family of Nigran (distt. Lucknow).

Education and Career:

Initially went to village *maktab* to learn Qur'an, Arabic and Persian. Secondary education at Wesley High School,

Azamgarh. Matriculated in 1930. Further education at Government Intermediate College, Allahabad, and Allahabad University. Graduated in 1934. Took M.A. in Urdu in 1936. As a student, strongly influenced by the nationalist upsurge of the 1930s. Wrote a strongly anti-British article - when the Collector asked him to retract it if he wanted his father's property to remain free of taxation, he refused. Began writing short stories and critical literary essays. Joined the Persian and Urdu Department of Lucknow University in 1938. Reader at Lucknow up till 1963, and Professor and Head of the Urdu Department, Allahabad University, 1963-72. Contributed short stories to *Naya Adab*. His collection of short stories, *Wirane* was published in 1944. Began to write articles on the theory of Marxist literary criticism during the 1940s. 'Tanqidi Jaize' came out in 1945, and 'Riwayat Aur Baghawat' in 1947. also one of the foremost members of the PWA from its inception. Sympathetic to the C.P.I. and followed its 'People's War' policy.

SALIHA^c ABID HUSAIN (1913-)

Home Town: Panipat (East Panjab).

Sect: Shi^ca.

Family Background:

Family had been settled in Panipat for seven centuries. Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas (q.v.) was her first cousin. Mother was Hali's granddaughter. A learned woman, she was much impressed by the ideas of reform on women's questions. Grandfather, Khwaja Sajjad Husain, one of the first graduates of MAO College, Aligarh, was an educationalist who helped to set up a girls school at Panipat. Father, Ghulam al-Saqlain, editor of *Asar-i Jadid*, one of the leading Muslim intellectuals of the early twentieth century produced by Aligarh, was active in the Muslim League and a member of the Provincial Legislative Assembly,

1913-15. Came from a composite Shi'a-Sunni background. Strict pardah in family. Married Saiyid 'Abid Husain (q.v.)

Education and Career:

Religious and classical education at home as there was no girls school in Panipat at the time. Took the middle examination privately. After her marriage in 1933, passed her *adib fazil* from Panjab University and also matriculated. Elder brother, Ghulam al-Saiyidain, a leading educationist who favoured women's education, encouraged her. Became interested in Urdu literature by reading women's magazines such as *Razia Sultan*, *Saheli* and above all *Tehzib-i Niswan* and also popular women novelists such as 'Abbasi Begam, Muhammadi Begam and Nazar Zuhra. her first short story appeared in *Nur Jahan* in 1928. Her first published novel 'Azra, which came out in 1941-42, dealt with the theme of women's rights. Her husband, Saiyid 'Abid Husain, though opposed to pardah, did not compel her to abandon it. She did so voluntarily in 1947. Organised a women's association at Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi. Major literary influences included Premchand, Hali and Mir Anis.

SAIYID I'JAZ HUSAIN (1899-1975)

Home Town:Rajapur (distt. Allahabad, East U.P.).

Sect: Shi'a.

Family Background:

Father, Muhammad Shafi, belonged to a poor family. Obtained employment in the police department after marriage. I'jaz's mother's family was extremely prosperous. Her ancestors were *zamindars* in Rajapur. Her grandfathers fought against the British in 1857. Her father accumulated considerable wealth as the *kotwal* of the Cantonment at Delhi during Lord Curzon's Vice-royalty. He was opposed to modern education. He was an

ʿalim of Persian, knew Arabic and was a poet with Fanq as his pen name. Also a disciple of the famous Urdu poet of the Lucknow school, Khwaja Atish. Became increasingly impoverished due to extravagant expenditure. Iʿjaz, who was brought up by him, experienced considerable hardship as he grew older. Married into a staunchly religious family in 1922.

Education and Career:

Received a grounding in Urdu and Persian at home. Matriculated from Calcutta in 1919. Passed his intermediate from Aligarh Muslim University and graduated from Munir Central College, Allahabad, in 1924. Taught Urdu to the British, and contributed to Urdu periodicals in order to pay his way through college. Took an M.A. in Urdu from Allahabad University in 1928. Appointed lecturer there in 1929, finally retiring as Professor and Head of the Urdu Department in 1961. When a branch of the PWA was established at Allahabad in 1938, he was appointed its secretary. Out of the discussions at the branch meetings came his first work on literary criticism, *Na'i Adabi Rujhanat*. Although never a card-holding member of the C.P.I., he was very sympathetic to it. Provided shelter to those members of the Party who had to go underground from time to time to escape arrest.

SAIYID MUMTAZ HUSAIN (1918-)

Home Town: Moza Para (Distt. Ghazipur, East U.P.).

Sect: Shiʿa.

Family Background:

Ancestors arrived in the reign of Muhammad Shah Tughlaq. A loyalist family, his grandfather, ʿAli Jan was a *zilʿadar* at Bahraich (Nanpara State). Also a small landholder. Husain's

father, Fayyaz Husain was educated up to the middle school level in Persian. He was a *sarishtadar*.

Education and Career:

Taught Persian by his father. Matriculated from City High School, Ghazipur, in 1934. Went to Queen's College, Benaras and then to Ewing Christian College, Allahabad. Passed his intermediate in 1936. Graduated from Allahabad University in 1938. Spent some time studying first for his M.A. and then law. Graduated in teaching from Aligarh Muslim University in 1942. Taught at Quetta, and at Colvin Taluqadar College, Lucknow. Became involved in the PWA in 1938 at Allahabad. Initially wrote romantic short stories. Studied French and Russian revolutionary writers. Also read about Marxism. Impressed by its philosophical content more than its political import. Became member of the All-India Students Federation and the Congress Socialist Party. Actively involved in the PWA. In the 1940s, moved towards Realism, and wrote on themes of poverty and against communal violence. Major intellectual influences included Henri Barbusse, Andre Malraux, Dos Passos, Alexei Tolstoy, Maxim Gorky, Christopher Caudwell and Bernard Shaw. Subsequently came to acquire a reputation as a major socialist literary critic in Urdu. First article, 'Marxist Tanqid' was published in *Nigar* in 1944. In 1946, appointed Assistant Director of the Anujuman-i Islam Urdu Research Institute, Bombay. After Partition, taught at various colleges and retired as Principal of Siraj al-daula College, Karachi in 1976. Attached as an expert to the Research Department of the National Book Foundation.

ALL ABBAS HUSAINI (1897-1969)

Home Town: Moza Para (Distt. Ghazipur, East U.P.).

Sect: Shi'a.

Family Background:

Ancestor, Saiyid Masud Husaini is claimed to have founded Ghazipur in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. 'Ali 'Abbas's father, Maulana Saiyid Muhammad Saleh Husaini was brought up in a traditional environment and given a traditional education. Nevertheless, he 'read the modern short stories with interest and enthusiasm' and considered his son's work 'with sympathy and care'.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Madrasa-i Sullaimanya, Patna. Matriculated from Mission School, Allahabad in 1915. Graduated from Canning College, Allahabad in 1919. Took a teaching qualification from Allahabad University in 1921. Awarded an M.A. in history in 1925. Joined government service in 1921. Then, headmaster at Government High School, Ghazipur in 1946. His short story, 'Jazba-i Kamil' appeared in the September 1925 issue of *Zamana* (Cawnpore). Was considered to belong to the Premchand school of short story writers. Major western literary influences included Dickens, H.G. Wells, Balzac, Thomas Hardy, Chekhov and Tolstoy. Participated in the inaugural conference of the PWA at Lucknow and became a member. Later he was severely criticised by the extremists within the Association. Nevertheless, he always remained sympathetic to Progressive Literature.

MIYAN IETIKHAR AL-DIN (1907-1962)

Home Town: Lahore

Sect: Sunni

Family Background:

Belonged to the Miyan family of the Arain tribe of the Panjab. The tribe had migrated from Arabia to Egypt and then to the

sub-continent in the eleventh century. Settled at the village of Ishaqpur near Lahore, which was acquired by Emperor Shah Jahan as the site for the Shalamar Gardens. In exchange, the family was granted two revenue-free villages and the custodianship of the Shalamar Gardens. The family built a new village called Baghbanpura nearby and settled there. Maintained powerful connections throughout Sikh and British rules. Many members of the family were educated at Oxford and Cambridge. Iftikhar al-din's father, Khan Bahadur Miyan Jamal al-din, was a rich landlord.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Aitchison College, Lahore, a school established for the ruling families of the Panjab. Went to Balliol College, Oxford. Graduated and returned to India in 1932. Joined the Indian National Congress in 1935-36. Became a member of the Congress Socialist Party in 1938. Elected President of the Panjab Congress, 1940-45. Member of various assemblies, 1938-57. Interned for Satyagraha in 1940, and also during the 'Quit India' movement, 1942-45. Resigned from the Congress in September 1945 because of his view that the Congress was tending increasingly towards the Hindus and his attraction for the socialist programme put forward by the Panjab Muslim League in 1944. Joined the Muslim League. Elected President of the Panjab Muslim League, November 1947. Refugee Minister for West Pakistan, 1947. Remained non-communal. Expelled from the League in 1951. Founded the Azad Pakistan Party, a left-wing organisation. Founder member of the National Awami Party in 1957. Led Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement, 1946. Attended the first PWA Conference at Lucknow in 1936. Signed its manifesto. Set up the left-wing English daily, *The Pakistan Times* in 1947, the Urdu daily *Imroz* in 1948 and the Urdu weekly, *Lail wa Nahar* in 1957. A socialist, he remained a patron of the PWA before and after Partition.

AKHTARAL-IMAN (1915-)

Home Town: Qila-Najibabad (Distt. Bijnor, West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a poor *maulvi* family. Father, Fateh Muhammad was a *hafiz*. As the family's economic circumstances worsened, Akhtar was forced to leave home to earn a living and if possible to continue his education.

Education and Career:

Left home in 1930. Entered orphanage of Mawayyad al-Islam, Delhi. Learnt to write ghazals. Left orphanage in 1934 and joined Fatehpur Muslim High School. Graduated from Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi. Studied for M.A. in Persian at Meerut for a while but gave it up because of financial difficulties. Worked for the Supplies Department of the Government of India, Delhi. Resigned and studied at Aligarh. Subsequently joined Shalamar Pictures, Poona, in 1944 was 'scenario' writer. Moved to Bombay in 1946 where he has since been connected with films as a song writer and director. Active in the All-India Students Federation while still at school. Expelled from Delhi College for organising a student strike. Closely associated with the PWA but did not agree with 'sloganism' in Urdu poetry, favoured by many communist poets. Also adopted the modernists' technique of free verse. Considers himself a socialist.

'ALLSARDAR J'AFRI (1912-)

Home Town: Balrampur (Awadh).

Sect: Shi'a.

Family Background:

Came from a *Saiyid* family. Father was a servant on the Balrampur estate. Extremely religious but also celebrated Hindu festivals with enthusiasm. Also managed villages which had been given to the family on contract to supplement the family income. *Muharram* was considered the most sacrosanct month of the year. Children in the family were encouraged to write and recite *marsiyas*. As managers, members of the family were duty bound to exploit the peasants to the full, and thus exhibited considerable brutality in their attitudes and behaviour.

Education and Career:

Studied the Qur'an from a Bihari *Maulvi* who used the cane frequently. Also learnt to recite *marsiyas*. Parents wanted him to become a *maulvi*. Sent to Dar al-^Ulum Sultan al-Madaris at Lucknow to learn Persian and Arabic. Left the Madrasa in 1925 and joined Balrampur High School. Went to Aligarh Muslim University. Became interested in radical literature. In 1935, read a paper 'Modern Literature and the Trends among the Youth' which had the imprint of the OWA's London manifesto. Founder member of the radical All-India Students Federation in 1936. Participated in a students' strike and was expelled. In 1938, graduated from Arabic College in Delhi, and came to Lucknow to study for an M.A. Again involved in radical politics. In 1939, brought out *Naya Adab* with Sibte Hasan (q.v.) and Israr al-Haq Majaz (q.v.). Arrested and imprisoned in 1940. After release, settled in Bombay and engaged in the cultural work of the C.P.I. After Partition, edited its literary magazine, *Indian Literature* from Bombay. Began as a short story writer. Became one of the most popular revolutionary poets in Urdu. Was also a recognised Marxist literary critic. His major works included *Manzil*, a collection of short stories; *Nai Dunya Ko Salam* and *Khun Ki Lakir* (poems), *Taraqqi Pasand Adab* (essays on Marxist literary history), and *Lakhnau*

Ki Panch Raten (Reminiscences). Has recently edited the Urdu literary magazine *Guftugu* (Bombay).

RASHID JAHAN (1905-1952)

Home Town: Aligarh (West U.P.)

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father, Shaikh Muhammad °Abd-Allah (1874-1965) was a Kashmiri Brahmin who converted to Islam in 1891. Deeply influenced by Saiyid Ahmad Khan's ideas during his student days at Aligarh. Graduated and qualified as a lawyer. Set up practice in Aligarh. In 1902, married the daughter of Mirza Ibrahim Beg. Wahid Jahan Begam was an educated woman from an enlightened Mughal family of Delhi. °Abd-Allah came to be recognised as the 'founder of the women's movement' in India.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Muslim Girls School, Aligarh, which was founded by her parents in 1906. Went to Isabella Thorburn College, Lucknow, in 1922. Wrote her first short story in English which was published in the college's anthology, *When the Tom Tom Beats*. Studied medicine at Lady Hardinge Medical College, New Delhi, 1924-29. Here she directed an English play, *Lala Rukh*. Joined the U.P. Medical service. Met Sajjad Zahir (q.v.), Ahmad °Ali (q.v.) and Mahmud al-Zafar (q.v.) in 1934. Contributed two short stories to the 'notorious' Urdu anthology, *Angare*, published in 1933. After a short affair, she married Mahmud al-Zafar in 1934. Key role in the preliminary organisation of the PWA, especially in the Panjab and the U.P. In 1937, her first collection of short stories and plays, °*Aurat Aur Dusre Afsane*, was published, marking the beginning of radical criticism of male Muslim attitudes towards women. Many of her later short stories were published in *Naya*

Adab. As a communist, she analysed and approached women's problems as part of the class conflict in society. From 1942 until her death, she concentrated the greater part of her efforts on highlighting the question of women's emancipation. Died of cancer in the Soviet Union and was buried in Moscow in 1952.

IBRAHIM JALIS (1923-1977)

Home Town: Gulbarga (Hyderabad, Deccan).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father was a *tehsildar* in the government of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Gulbarga High School and went to Aligarh Muslim University. Father wanted him to enter the civil service but Jalisi became involved in Urdu literature. Wrote his first short story while still studying for his degree. After graduating, he returned to Gulbarga. Published his first collection of short stories *Zard Chehre* (Pale Faces) at the age of twenty. Possessed a quicksilver temperament. Intensely emotional, he was a rebellious author, who wrote against social injustice. Married into a prosperous and respected family of Gulbarga. Worked as Publicity Officer in the Nizam's government for a few months but resigned after a quarrel with the Minister responsible for his department. Joined the PWA during the 1940s and became one of its leading members in Hyderabad (Deccan). Wrote on the Bengal Famine of 1943. His novel, *Chalis Crore Bhikari* (Four Hundred Million Beggars), a devastating satire on Indian poverty, won him much praise in Urdu literary circles. Much influenced by the communal atmosphere of Partition, he, along with many other Progressive

Writers, joined the Majlis-i Ittehad al-Muslimin (a rabidly communal organisation in Hyderabad) and worked as a volunteer in its propaganda department. In 1948, migrated to Pakistan. Admitted in his reportage, *Do Mulk Aik Kahani* (Two Countries, One Story), that he was mistaken in his support for Muslim communalism. Jailed for opposition to the Government. Began writing a satirical column for the daily newspaper, *Jang* (Karachi). Directed films and became editor of the Bhutto-owned daily newspaper *Musawat* (Karachi).

WAMIO JAUNPURI (1910-)

Real Name: Ahmad Mujtaba.

Home Town: Kajgaon (Distt. Jaunpur, East U.P.).

Sect: Shi^ca.

Education and Career:

Took his B.A. and law degrees from the University of Lucknow. Taught at Aligarh Muslim University. Acquired prominence in the Progressive Writers' Movement during the 1940s, particularly with his stirring anthem 'Bhuka Bangal' (Hungry Bengal) which he composed during the Famine of 1943. After Partition, published a number of poetry collections, including *Chikhen* (1948) and *Jaras* (1950).

JAZBL (1912-)

Real Name: M^cuin Ahsan.

Home Town: Lucknow (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Great-grandfather, Hamza ^cAli was an ^calim and lived at Meerut. The family was forced to disperse in the 1857 Rebellion and settle at Danapur (Bihar). Grandfather, Dr. ^cAbd al-Ghafur Mutir sought employment in the U.P., and finally settled at Lucknow. Father, Ahsan al-Ghaffur graduated from Aligarh and worked in the education department. Retired as Deputy Inspector of Muhammadan Schools at Jhansi. Family boasted of a literary tradition. Grandfather recited poetry. Maternal aunt, who brought Jazbi up after his mother's death, was married to Rashid al-Khairi, the editor of ^cAsmat, and she used to contribute articles regularly to *Tehzib-i Niswan* and ^cAsmat.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Jhansi. Later went to St. John's College, Agra where he became a close friend of Israr al-Haq Majaz (q.v.). Then studied at Lucknow and Delhi. Graduated from Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi in 1936. Worked in Bombay, Lucknow and on the editorial board of *Ajkal* (Delhi) until 1940. M.A. in Urdu from Aligarh, 1940-42. Appointed lecturer in the Urdu department of Aligarh Muslim University. Awarded Ph.D. for his thesis, *Hali Ka Siyasi Sh^caur*. Retired as Reader in Urdu at the University. Started writing poetry in 1929; came to notice with his ghazal published in *Humayun* in 1933. At Delhi and Aligarh, he met ^cAli Sardar J^cafri (q.v.) and Jan Nisar Akhtar (q.v.). Became active in the PWA. Contributed poems to *Naya Adab*. As a Marxist, he accepted the relationship between human experience and poetic creativity, but he also felt that aesthetics possessed an autonomy which was denied by some of the more extreme writers. Major literary influences were the sufi-influenced classical poets Asghar Gondwi and Fani Badayuni.

HAFIZ JULLUNDHURI (1900-)**Real Name:** Muhammad Hafiz.**Home Town:** Jullundur (East Punjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Came from a Rajput family which converted to Islam two centuries earlier.

Education and Career:

Early education was informal. Subsequently obtained guidance in ghazal poetry from Maulana Ghulam Qadir Garami, who coached him in its technical and aesthetic aspects. But the first major intellectual influence on his thought was that of 'Allama Iqbal. Later, he was impressed by 'progressive' trends in poetry. His collections, *Soz wa Soz*, and *Talkhabah-i Sh'iria* contain many poems which express man's suffering. Although he received a grant from the State of Hyderabad (Deccan), he was not afraid to criticise the Nizam. During the Second World War, he joined the Song Publicity Organisation in Delhi and directed this field of British propaganada.

ZAHIR KASMIRI**Home Town:** Aluf (Distt. Amritsar, East Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Came from a lower middle class family. Impoverished, authoritarian and traditionalist. Experienced violence at home.

Education and Career:

Matriculated in 1936. At college, he became involved in the activities of the All-India Students Federation and joined its study circle. Influenced by socialist ideas. After graduating, became part of the Progressive Writers' Movement. Arrested under the Defence of India Rules in 1941. Studied Marxism in jail. After release, worked in local, provincial and national labour organisations, 1942-45. Imprisoned twice during this period. Parents threw him out in 1946. Recited a political poem at the All-India Bhakna Kisan Conference for which he was much criticised. Read, among others, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Gorky, Ralph Fox and Christopher Caudwell on literary criticism and aesthetics. Migrated to Lahore in mid-1945 out of economic necessity. Became literary consultant for film companies. Wrote *Adab Ke Madi Nazariye* (1946) (Marxist literary criticism). Also attended meetings of the modernist literary circle, Halqa-i Arbab-i Zauq. After Partition, wrote political songs and ghazals on current themes. Settled finally in Lahore.

SHAMS AL-DIN HAIDAR SHAMIM KIRHANI (1913-1975).

Home Town: Kirhan (distt. Azamgarh, East U.P.).

Sect: Shi^ca.

Family Background:

Came from a revered *Saiyid* family. Home environment was literary, religious. Traditional knowledge was respected. Father, Saiyid Muhammad Akhtar was a *zamindar* and a poet. Uncles were also known poets. Ihtesham Husain (q.v.) was his brother-in-law.

Education and Career:

After a short stay with his elder brother at Gorakhpur, he was admitted to Wasiqa Arabic School, Fyzabad. Here, apart from conventional religious education, he acquired sound knowledge of Persian and Arabic. Passed the *Maulvi* and *Kamil* examinations. Later, also secured matriculation and intermediate qualifications. Taught Persian and Urdu at D.A.V. High School, Azamgarh. Resigned and went to Lahore. Wrote lyrics for Pancholi Pictures. After Partition, taught at Anglo-Arabic Higher Secondary School, Delhi. In accordance with family traditions, he participated in *soz khwani* and wrote *salams* and *nuhas*. Arzu Lakhnawi, a well-known traditional poet (d. 1951), instructed him in poetic diction. Preferred ghazal and *nazm*. Deeply influenced by Josh Malihabadi (q.v.) and began writing poetry on contemporary political themes. First collection of poems, *Raushan Andhere*, devoted to the 'Quit India' movement, was published in 1943, the costs being underwritten by Rafi Ahmad Qidwai (q.v.). Important member of the PWA.

SAHIR LUDHIANWI (1921-1980)

Read Name: ^cAbd al-Haye.

Home Town: Ludhiana (East Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Grandfather, Fateh Muhammad, a big *zamindar* of Sekhewal (distt. Ludhiana). Sahir's father inherited the huge property and wealth. Sahir's maternal grandfather was an important contractor. Sahir's father, a loyalist, drank excessively and womanised. Relations between parents soured and his mother obtained a divorce. After legal proceedings, Sahir's mother was given custody of the child.

Education and Career:

Admitted to Malwa Khalsa High School, Ludhiana. Learnt Persian and Arabic. Matriculated in 1938. Went to Government College, Ludhiana. Read philosophy and Persian. Became deeply involved in nationalist politics. Also came into contact with the activists of the All-India Students Federation. In 1942, while in his B.A. finals, he left Ludhiana and joined Dayal Singh College in Lahore. Elected President of the Students Federation. Compelled to leave the college by the authorities before he could sit in his examinations. Joined *Adab-i Latif*. Later worked for *Shahkar* and *Sawera*. Between 1945 and August 1947, lived in Bombay; wrote lyrics for the film, 'Azadi Ki Rah Par'. Immediately after Partition, migrated to Lahore, but soon returned to Delhi. Brought out the progressive magazine, *Shahrah* in 1948. In 1949, settled in Bombay and built a considerable reputation as a major lyricist in the world of the Indian cinema. Began writing agitational poetry in 1938. As editor of *Adab-i Latif*, he matured as a Progressive Writer. Attended the All-India Conference of Urdu Progressive Writers in October 1945. Participated in PWA activities at Bombay. Contributed poems and critical articles to *Naya Adab*. His most significant work was *Talkhiyan*, the latest edition containing his poems from 1945 to 1974. Much impressed by Faiz Ahmad Faiz.

‘ABD AL-SALAM SALAM MACHCHLISHEHRI (1921-1973).

Home Town: Machchlishehr (distt. Jaunpur, East U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a family respected for traditional learning. Ancestor Maulvi Muhammad Isma'îl Jaunpuri was a scholar of *Hadith*. Father, however, broke with the family ethos and became a cloth merchant. Desired, nonetheless, that his son became an *ʿalim*.

Education and Career:

Memorised the Qur'an at an early age. Passed his middle examination from the District Board Middle School in 1935. Won a scholarship to Forbes High School, Fyzabad. Failed his matriculation at first attempt. Retook it successfully in 1939. Briefly edited *Naghma* (Fyzabad). Employed as a clerk in the library of Allahabad University in 1942. Joined All-India Radio, Lucknow in 1943. Also edited Lucknow University's Urdu magazine, *Mizrab*. In 1951, transferred to Srinagar. Returned to Lucknow, then posted to Delhi. At the end of his career, worked as Producer of the Urdu section. Began reciting poems as a student. First poem published in *Nairang-i Khayal* (Lahore) in 1935. First collection, *Mere Naghme*, consisted of two parts - 'Phul', a collection of romantic poetry was published in 1940, but 'Angare', comprising political poems, was not published for fear of confiscation as seditious literature. Between 1943 and 1973, produced two further collections of songs and poems, a collection of dramas and a novelette. In 1973, the Indian Government awarded him the literary honour of 'Padma Shri'. Closely associated with the PWA throughout his literary career.

SAHIBZADA MAHMUD AL-ZAFAR (1908-1955)

Home Town: Rampur (West (U.P.))

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from the royal family of Rampur. Father, Sahibzada S^caid al-zafar Khan, was a modern man and a medical doctor. He was also the Principal of the Medical College at Lucknow.

Education and Career:

Initially educated in private schools in India. Then sent to Sherbourne School, Dorset for further schooling. Went on to read English Literature at Balliol College, Oxford in 1928. Here he became interested in socialism. Returned with his B.A. degree to India in 1931. Refused to sit in the Indian Civil Service examinations. Abandoned European dress in favour of *khadar* and improved his Urdu. Appointed Vice-Principal of MAO College, Amritsar in 1935. Played an important part in setting up the PWA. Read papers on cultural issues at PWA conferences. Resigned his post at Amritsar in 1937 and became private secretary to Jawaharlal Nehru. Wrote critical articles on capitalism, Fascism and communalism in the Urdu communist journal, *Chingari* (Saharanpur) and *Congress Socialist*. Subsequently devoted himself totally to the C.P.I.

ISRAR AL-HAQ MAJAZ (1911-1955)

Home town: Rudauli (distt. Bara Banki, Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Grandfather, Chaudhri Ahmad Husain was an average-sized zamindar in the qasbah. He knew Arabic and Persian. Father, Chaudhri Siraj al-Haq matriculated privately and then after graduating from Lucknow, qualified as a lawyer. Appointed as Excise Inspector and was posted at various times to Agra, Aligarh and Lucknow. A sober man, he tended towards mysticism.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Amindabad High School, Lucknow. Went first to St. John's College, Agra in 1929, and then to Aligarh Muslim University. Graduated in philosophy, economics and Urdu in 1935. Appointed sub-editor of All-India Radio's magazine, *Awaz* at New Delhi. Experienced an unsuccessful love-affair in Delhi, resigned and went back to Lucknow in 1939. Worked on the editorial board of *Naya Adab*. Nervous breakdown in 1940. After convalescence, accepted the post of Assistant Librarian at Hardinge Library, New Delhi. Second nervous breakdown in 1945. Became an alcoholic. Died in 1955. Majaz's poetry followed in the revolutionary romanticist tradition of Shelley and Josh Malihabadi (q.v.). His first collection, *Ahang* was published in 1938. His commitment to socialism was emotional rather than intellectual.

ABD-ALLAH MALIK (1920-)

Home Town:Lahore.

Sect: Ahl-i Hadith.

Family Background:

Came from a clan of horse traders (Chabuk Sawar); supplied horses to the Mughals, Sikhs and British. A very religious family. Grandfather was a staunch follower of Ahl-i Hadith, trustee of their largest mosque. Initially employed as a *nazim* in the district court. Retired as Civil Judge in 1901. Became part of the city elite. Father matriculated from Sheranwala School, Lahore. Worked as a clerk in the Telegraph Office. Used to attend Congress meetings, 1929-32. A close friend of the communist veteran, Fazal-i Ilahi Qurban (see Appendix I).

Education and Career:

Read the Qur'an at home, and was punctual in his prayers. His early religious training influenced him greatly in his later political development. Went to Mission School and then to Sheranwala School. Matriculated in 1937 and admitted to Government College, Lahore. Transferred to Islamic College in 1940. Initially interested in politics through the populist and anti-British speeches of the leaders of the pro-Congress religious organisation, the Majlis-i Ahrar. His nationalism matured further through participation in the All-India Students Federation at Government College. His study of socialist literature and the Amritsar resolution of the Majlis-i Ahrar which strongly opposed what it called the Imperialist War, stimulated his interest in communism. Between 1936 and 1940, met Muhammad Din Tasir (q.v.), Mahmud al-Zafar (q.v.) and Faiz Ahmad Faiz (q.v.), read considerable amounts of progressive literature, and became attracted to Marxism. In 1938, wrote a pamphlet, *Sarmayadari* (Capitalism) which was published in 1939. By 1940, had become associated with communists. Fazal-i Illahi Qurban and Feroz al-din Mansur (see Appendix I). When the C.P.I. was declared legal in 1942, became a full time cadre of the Party. Remained closely associated with the PWA both before and after Partition.

JOSH MALIHABADI (1898-1982)

Real Name: Shabbir Hasan Khan Josh Malihabadi.

Home Town: Malihabad (Awadh).

Sect: Shi'a.

Family Background:

Ancestors were chiefs of the Afridi 'Ali Khel tribe in the Khyber Pass. Great-great-grandfather, Muhammad Buland Khan migrated to U.P. and settled at Qaim Ganj (distt. Farrukhabad).

The family moved to Tonk (Rajputana) and then Josh's great-grandfather, Nawab Faqir Muhammad Goya bought a *qasbah* a mile from Malihabad, named it Mirza Ganj and settled there. Josh's grandfather fought the British at the battle of Basharat Ganj but he was not penalised. Given a *taluqadari* and appointed an honorary magistrate. Strong tradition of poetry within the family. Josh's father, Nawab Bashir Ahmad Khan Bashir was a noted poet of Lucknow. Though Josh's ancestors were Sunnis, Josh, under the influence of his Shi'a grandmother, converted to Shi'ism in 1907. But his faith in God later declined and he came to be a humanist.

Education and Career:

Learned Arabic from the novelist, Mirza Hadi Ruswa, and Persian and Urdu from Maulana Qudrat-Allah Beg Malihabadi. Wrote his first poem at the age of nine. Was taught English privately. Went to various English medium schools including St. Peter's College, Agra, and studied up to Senior Cambridge. Managed the family estate from 1918-25. Worked at Dar al-Tarjuma, Hyderabad (Deccan) after 1925. Took up drinking as part of his rebellion against existing morality. Forced to resign in 1934 because of his criticism of the Nizam's 'autocratic' rule. Brought out a radical Urdu weekly, *Kalim* from Delhi between 1936 and 1939. Merged with *Naya Adab* in 1940. From 1943-48, Josh worked in the film industry, mostly from Poona. One of the leading literary figures in the PWA. Migrated to Pakistan in 1958. Prolific poet throughout his life. First collection of poems and prose, *Ruh-i Adab*, published in 1921. Given the title of 'Poet of Revolution' in 1930. Recited stirring poems against the British. Wrote many pro-Congress and anti-Muslim League articles. Committed to socialism. A fiercely independent thinker, he refused to support the British war effort even when pressed by his communist friends to do so. A revolutionary romanticist; intellectual influences included Omar Khayyam, Hafiz, Shelley, George Bernard Shaw, Karl Marx, Nietzsche, Darwin, Nazir Akbarabadi, Allama Iqbal and Tagore.

S^cADAT HASAN MANTO (1912-1955)**Home Town:** Sambrala (distt. Ludhiana, East Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Descended from a distinguished family of lawyers. Father was also a reputed lawyer who rose to be a Sessions Judge at Amritsar. He was severe and authoritarian with his children. Mother was Manto's father's second wife; she was traditional, loving and affectionate.

Education and Career:

Received his early education at Muslim High School, Amritsar. After matriculation, continued his studies at Hindu Sabha College in 1931. Admitted to Aligarh Muslim University in 1934. Returned to Amritsar after a bout of illness 1935. Manto's literary career began with the translation of Victor Hugo's *The Last Days of the Condemned* in 1933. Followed it with the translation of Oscar Wilde's *Vera* in 1934. Worked briefly for Amritsar's Urdu newspapers *Musawat* and *Ahsan*. Put together a collection of Russian short stories in translation, *Rusi Afsane*. His first short story in Urdu, *Tamasha* was published in *Khalq* soon afterwards. At Aligarh, Manto moved sharply towards revolutionary thought. In March 1935, he wrote 'Inqilab Pasand', which appeared in the *Aligarh Magazine*. Edited *Paras* (Lahore), 1935-36; and *Mussawir* and *Samaj* (Bombay) from late 1936 to August 1940. Also wrote scripts for films between 1937 and 1941. Came close to the Progressive Writers, and, although never formally joined the PWA, was in substantial agreement with its aims. Joined the Urdu service of all-India Radio, Delhi, in 1941, and wrote a number of dramas and features for it. Left the Radio over an amendment to the script of his drama, *Awara*. Returned to Bombay in 1942. Wrote short stories and film

scripts, 1942-48. With the growth of communal tension, migrated to Lahore. Wrote humorous sketches for *Imroz* (Lahore). Drank excessively and died of liver haemorrhage. His short stories written in the 1940s and 1950s concentrated on the plight of women starkly reflected in the lives of his main characters, predominantly prostitutes, and communal violence to which he was opposed. His stark realism brought him into conflict with the British India Government. Between 1943 and 1947, he was tried on charges of obscenity on several occasions. Major intellectual influences included Guy de Maupassant and Maxim Gorky.

HAJRA MASRUR (1929-)

Home Town: Lucknow (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a family of Yusufzai Pathans. Father, in spite of being a government employee, had a fine literary taste and political understanding. Mother was a good essayist and poetess. Her works were occasionally published in *Asmat* (Delhi), a popular women's magazine, and *Suhail* (Aligarh). Parents encouraged Hajra's interest in literature.

Education and Career:

Received religious education from *maulvis* who were strict and authoritarian. Also taught Urdu, Persian, English and History at home by various teachers. After father's death in 1937, the family became increasingly impoverished and schooling could not be continued. Began writing at an early age. Contributed to progressive periodicals such as *Saqi* (Delhi), *Adabi Dunya* (Lahore), and *Adab-i Latif* (Lahore). Attended PWA meetings of the Bombay branch in the 1940s. After Partition, migrated to Pakistan and settled in Lahore. Brought out *Nuqush*, a magazine

which in this period was devoted to Progressive Writers, with Ahmad Nadim Qasmi (q.v.) in 1949. *Nuqush* was soon banned under the Safety Act. Has written several novels and collections of dramas, with the degraded position of Indian Muslim women as her central theme.

KHADLIJA MASTUR (1928-1982)

Home Town:Lucknow (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Sister of Hajra Masrur (q.v.). Girls were not allowed inside the kitchen. Khadija spent her childhood outside home, away from Lucknow, in the qasbahs of U.P., 'climbing trees' and playing with 'urchins'. Brought up by maternal uncle after father's death.

Education and Career:

Had read the Qur'an by the time that she was nine years old. Also read persian at home. Wrote her first short story in 1942. Later wrote an article ironically favouring pardah, condemning those who abandoned it as 'shameless'. After 1945, attracted to the ideas of the PWA: Attended PWA meetings in Bombay. Her short story, *Hunh*, drew praise from a reputed Marxist literary critic. After Partition, migrated to Lahore. Her novel, *Angan*, which dealt with the position of women in middle-class Muslim society, was much acclaimed, in particular for its realism.

JAMIL MAZHARI (1904-1980)

Real Name:Saiyid Kazim ^cAdi.

Home Town:Patna (Bihar).

Sect: Shi^ca

Family Background:

Family claimed that its origins went back to the seventh Shi'a Imam, Musa Kazim. A branch of the family first settled in the Sabzwar area of Iran and then migrated to India. Saiyid Salar Ghazi, the founder of Ghazipur, was claimed as Jamil's ancestor. Jamil's great-grandfather was the Imam of Gulzar Bagh Mosque at Patna. Grandfather, Mazhar Hasan, was educated at Patna, Lucknow and Calcutta, in the traditional subjects. Was appointed *madar al-maham* in the state of Husainabad. A reputed *marsiya* poet. Family had large landholdings. Jamil's father, Khurshid Husain, was a big *zamindar*. Jamil's mother belonged to the well-known 'graduate' family of Azimabad.

Education and Career:

Initially taught the Qur'an and Persian, Arabic and Urdu by private tutor. Admitted to Sulaimanya School, Patna, and then studied at various schools in Bihar. Matriculated from Tal Tallah High School, Calcutta, 1923. Intermediate from St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, 1925. Graduated from Islamia and Bangbashi Colleges, 1928, and took an M.A. in Persian from Calcutta University in 1931. Joined 'Abd al-Razzaq Malihabadi's Urdu daily newspaper *Al-Hind*, as editor. The paper was closed down by the government after two months. Although a Congress supporter, wrote a column for *Asr-i Jadid*, a pro-Muslim League paper until 1937. When the Congress formed the provincial government in Bihar, he joined government service as Publicity Officer (Urdu). Resigned in 1942, and joined the 'Quit India' movement. Arrested but released after one month. Worked closely with Josh Malihabadi (q.v.) in films, 1943-47. After Partition, appointed Deputy director, Publicity and Films section by the government of Bihar. From 1950-74 worked variously as lecturer and academic scholar. Early poetry tended to be romantic. First poem, 'Malan Ki Beti' was published in *Nishtar* (Calcutta), 1924-25. Then turned to philosophical subjects. Expressed sympathy in some of his poems for workers and

peasants. Was also to some extent impressed by marxist ideas. Though considered by many to be an atheist, there were too many contradictions in his religious beliefs to be more than an agnostic. Sympathetic to Progressive Literature but never a formal member of the PWA.

YUSUF J̄AFAR MEHERALLY (1903-1950)

Home Town: Bombay.

Sect: Ismaʿili Shiʿa.

Family Background:

Father, J̄afar Meherally, was a prosperous businessman.

Education and Career:

Primary education in Calcutta. Secondary education at St. Xavier's High School and New High School, Bombay. After matriculation in 1920-21, joined Elphinstone College, Bombay and graduated in 1925. As a student, he organised the Young India Society. Was one of the leading organisers for the youth conference held in Bombay in 1928, which proposed full independence as the main objective of the congress. Organised a demonstration against the Simon commission in which he was badly hurt. In 1929, launched the National Militia, a voluntary military organisation, with himself as General Commanding Officer, primarily to mobilise Indian youth to become involved in the freedom movement. Took part in the Civil Disobedience of the early 1930s. Arrested and charged with conspiracy to overthrow the Raj in 1934. A founder member of the Congress Socialist Party. Attended inaugural conference of the PWA in Lucknow in 1936. Wrote prolifically on socialist subjects and personalities. Contributing editor of the *Congress Socialist*. A product of liberal western education, he was an atheist.

MUMTAZ MUFTI (1905-)**Home Town:** Batala (distt. Gurdaspur, East Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Family was immersed in tradition. Ancestor was *Mir Munshi* in the Mughal court. Great-grandfather was a teacher at a *madrassa* in Lahore. Grandfather died while young. Father, who began his career as an official in the education department, subsequently became the headmaster of a government high school. Married twice. While Mumtaz lived with his mother and sister in the outhouses, his father and second wife lived in the bungalow.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from his father's school. Studied at B.D.P.M. College, Batala, Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar and Islamia College, Lahore. Graduated in Economics and Philosophy in 1929. Worked without a salary as stenographer of Commissioner, Rawalpindi. Qualified as a teacher from Central Training College, Lahore in 1931. Taught at various schools for the next twelve years. Left teaching in 1945 and joined All-India Radio. In 1947, went into films at Bombay. After Partition, migrated to Pakistan. Worked briefly for Kashmir Radio before joining the Department of Information. First literary attempt was a satirical review for *Nakhlistan* (Multan). Then wrote for the Gujra High School magazine where he taught. First short story published in the annual Number of *Adabi Dunya* in 1936. *Saqi* later published several of his stories. Joined the ranks of Progressive Writers. His major novel, *Alipur Ke Aili* won much acclaim. Wrote mainly on philosophical, psychological and sexual themes. Among European writers, he read Bertrand Russell, Haldane, Nietzsche, Bergson and Freud. Biggest intellectual influence was Dostoyevsky.

MAKHDUM MUHLAL-DIN (1908-1969)

Real Name: Abu S^caid Muhammad Makhdum Muhi al-din Hazri.

Home Town: Village Andol (distt. Singareddy, Hyderabad, Deccan).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestors claimed descent from Abu S^caid Hazri, a companion of the Prophet. They came to Hyderabad with the armies of Aurangzeb. Makhdum's great-grandfather was one of the best reciters of the Qur'an in the region. Father, Ghous Muhi al-din was a clerk in the *tehsil* office at Andol. He died when Makhdum was only four. Mother remarried and makhdum was brought up by his uncle. Home environment was very relig.ous. Uncle was a staunch supporter of the Khilafat Movement.

Education and Career:

Learnt the Qur'an from his grandfather. Then went to madrasa Fauqaniyya, Singareddy, to receive a grounding in Persian. Matriculated from Singareddy High School in 1929. At the same time, also qualified in the *munshi* examination from Madrasa Shabina. Went to Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan). Came into conflict with the religious instructor and was expelled. For the next few years, worked as a tutor, clerk and hawker. Homeless, he slept on the floor of a mosque. Married a relative's daughter in 1933. Took M.A. in Urdu drama in 1936. founded Progressive Writers circle at Hyderabad. Appointed lecturer in Urdu at the City College in 1939. Resigned in 1941 as attacks from the Establishment on his political views intensified. Became the moving spirit of the Marxist Study Circle and Comrades Association, a democratic grouping of radical youth. Elected Vice-President of the Railway Workers

Union in 1942. Emerged as one of the revolutionary leaders of the trade union movement in Hyderabad (Deccan). Elected to the Hyderabad legislative Assembly in 1956 and remained leader of its communist group until his death. Began his literary career as a dramatist. Wrote his first poem, 'Pila Doshala' in 1933. first published poem was 'Tur' in Majnun Gorakhpuri's (q.v.) magazine *Iwan* in 1934. Although his early poetry was basically lyrical and romantic, he quickly developed a stridently revolutionary style. *Surkh Sawera*, his first collection of revolutionary poems, was published in 1944.

SAGHIR NIZAMI (1905-)

Real Name: Muhammad Samad Yar Khan.

Home Town: Aligarh (West U.P.)

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestor, Sardar Shehbaz Khan was commander in chief of the nawab of Jhajhar's army. Hanged by the British in the 1857 Rebellion. Father, Ahmad Yar Khan, was a medical doctor in government service.

Education and Career:

Acquired a knowledge of Islam, Persian and urdu at home. matriculated from Government High School, Aligarh. Studied for a brief period, studied at MAO College, Aligarh. Began participating in musha'iras at the age of thirteen. Maulana Simab Akbarabadi (q.v.) was his literary guide. In partnership with the maulana, he brought out a magazine called *Paimana* (Agra) in 1923. It was closed in 1926. Between 1926 and 1930, edited a variety of humorous, literary and political journals from Aligarh. From 1930-32, stayed with his parents at muzaffarnagar and Meerut, wrote poetry and participated in nationalist politics.

At Meerut, he founded a publishing house, a library and an Urdu press. Also brought out a left-wing urdu monthly, *Asia*, 1935-43. Participated enthusiastically in musha'iras organised by Progressive Writers. Wrote film scripts for a film company at Poona while still editing *Asia*. After Partition, settled first in Bombay, then moved to Delhi. Wrote *nazms* in a simple, attractive style, portraying Indian emotions and experiences realistically, choosing images and metaphors which the ordinary people of India could comprehend. A large part of his poetry focused on the freedom of India. He patronised Progressive Writers and encouraged their works in his journal. Sympathetic to socialist ideas. Contrary to the communists, he was opposed to India's involvement in the Second World War.

AKHTAR ORAINWI (1910-1977)

Home Town: Kako (distt. Gaya, Bihar).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Family claimed descent from the Jajaizai tribe of Arabia. Came with the Bakhtiyar Khilji's invasion of Bihar. Ancestors' shrine in Monghyr district, but sons settled at Orain. Have been settled there for eight hundred years. Soldierly was the family's traditional occupation. More recently adapted to agriculture. Great-grandfather was a disciple of Saiyid Ahmad Barelwi; grandfather, a big *jagirdar*. Grandmother was a considerable sufi. Father converted to Ahmadiyyah (a heretical reform movement within Indian Islam). Home environment was extremely religious. No one in the family had ever served the British, and Akhtar agreed that such service was a 'curse'.

Education and Career:

Initial religious education took place under mother's guidance. Read English at Monghyr. Matriculated from Patna in 1926. Joined medical college but had to leave due to ill health. Became a farmer. Reading became his pastime. Began his studies again in 1932. Married Shakila Akhtar (q.v.) in 1933. Graduated in 1934. Suffered relapse of consumption. While recuperating at a sanatorium, studied socialism and western literature, and was transformed intellectually. Turned from romanticism to realism. Took his M.A. in Urdu in 1936. Joined the circle of socialists at Patna but remained a 'believer'. Economic circumstances 'forced' him into employment in 1938. Rose to be Professor of Urdu at Patna University. His first publication was *Shahanshah-i Habsha* (1938), a drama based on the invasion of Abyssinia by Mussolini. His first collection of short stories *Manzar wa Pashmanzar* appeared in 1942 and was quickly followed by *Kalyan aur Kante*. An active member of the PWA, he contributed many short stories to its publications including *Naya Adab*.

AHMAD NADIM QASMI (1916-)

Real Name: Ahmad Shah.

Home Town: Angah (distt. Shahpur, West Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestors came to India from Iran with the Arabs and settled at Islamabad near Multan, and propagated Islam. The village was destroyed by Tamerlane at the end of the fourteenth century. The family was widely revered for its piety, and had a large following in Kashmir and Gujrat and Sialkot districts. Nadim's father, Ghulam Nabi, following in the family tradition, was a respected pir.

Education and Career :

Read the Qur'an at Angah and went to the village primary school. After his father's death in 1923, brought up by his paternal uncle, Khan Bahadur Pir Haidar Shah, an extra-Assistant Commissioner at Campbellpur, north-west Panjab. Haidar Shah was learned in Persian and Arabic, and also had a taste for religious poetry. Thus, Nadim received a proper training in poetic diction. Matriculated from Government High School, Shaikhupura in 1931. Studied at Egerton College, Bahawalpur, 1931-35. Graduated from Panjab University in 1935. Worked as a *muharrir* in Reforms Commissioner's office at Lahore, 1936-37. Then briefly as a telephone operator. Served as Excise Sub-Inspector between 1939 and 1942. Resigned. Edited *Tehzib-i Niswan* and *Phul*, 1942-47. Also edited *Adab-i Latif*, 1943-45. Arrested in 1944 for publishing an 'objectionable' article in *Adab-i Latif*. Acquitted in 1945. After Partition, worked for Peshawar Radio, also edited radical magazine, *Sawera*, 1947-48, and with Hajra Masrur (q.v.) *Nuqush*, 1948-49. The latter was banned under the Safety Act. Nadim was detained in 1951 and again in 1958-59. Edited *Imroz*, 1953-59., and *Funun*, 1963-77. Began reciting poetry at the age of fifteen. Received literary guidance from his uncle, maulana ^cAbd al-Majid Salik (q.v.), and Akhtar Shirani (q.v.). His poem on Muhammad ^cAli's death was published in *Siyasat* (Lahore) in 1931. Several collections of poems. Active in the PWA during the 1940s and after Partition. Much impressed by social realism. His short stories are an accurate reflection of the social relations in the Panjab countryside. Major intellectual influences included ^cAllama Iqbal, Goethe, Tolstoy, Bertrand Russell and Sigmund Freud.

RAFLAHMAD OLDWAI (1894-1954)

Home Town: Masauli (distt. Bara Banki, Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

His lineage went back supposedly to Qazi Qidwat al-din, one of the seventy ^ʿulama and sufis who arrived in India under the leadership of Khwaja M^ʿuin al-din Chishti in the reign of Shahab al-din Ghuri. For a year, he was *Qazi al-Qazzat* at Delhi. then he went to Awadh and settled in Bara Banki. Rafi Ahmad's father, Imtiaz ^ʿAli, was a leading *Tehsildar*. He had financial worries. His lands gradually slipped out of his possession and passed into the hands of moneylenders. A major influence during Rafi's adolescent years was that of his nationalist uncle, Wilayat ^ʿAli.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Government High School, Bara Banki in 1914. Joined Aligarh College and graduated in 1918. During the Non-Cooperation movement, organised Congress Committees and the Volunteer Corps. Arrested in 1922. After his release in 1923, left home as the government warned him of retaliatory measures against his family. Joined C.R. Das's group in the Swaraj Party. Elected to the Central legislative Assembly. Became a leading Congress organiser in the U.P. A close ally of Jawaharlal Nehru and a minister in his administration. Opposed Partition. Favoured the abolition of *zamindari* and desired the establishment of a socialist system of government. Like Nehru, he provided patronage to Progressive Writers. In the late 1930s especially, he arranged finances for *Hindustan*, an Urdu weekly of Lucknow, edited by Hayat-Allah Ansari (q.v.) and Dr. ^ʿAbd al-Alim (q.v.)

CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD ^ʿALI RUDAULWI (1182-1959)

Home Town: Rudauli (distt. Bara Banki, Awadh).

Sect: Shi^ʿa.

Family Background:

Father, Chaudhri Ahsan Rasul, belonged to Shaikh Siddiqi family and was a *taluqadar* of Amirpura. An extremely colourful man who died aged 28. Grandfather was a Sunni though grandmother was a Shi'a. Father converted to Shi'ism.

Education and Career:

Taught the Qur'an by sunni *Maulvis*. Otherwise, Shi'a rituals and practices were strictly observed. Nevertheless, the atmosphere at home was that of tolerance towards other faiths. His own approach to religion was liberal and rational; later elaborated in his book *Mera Mazhab* (My Religion). Studied at Colvin Taluqadars' College up to matriculation. At 25, his inherited property was returned to him by the court of Wards, and for the rest of his life, its supervision occupied a great deal of his time. Married twice. Wrote frankly on sexual concerns at a time when the word 'sex' was taboo. His short stories were a biting satire on the moral hypocrisy of Indian Muslim society; many appeared in the PWA magazine *Naya Adab*. Although his formal education was limited, he was an extremely widely read man who would discuss Freud and Marx with equal facility. His library acquired considerable fame in Lucknow. Chairman of the Reception Committee of the inaugural conference of the PWA, and remained one of its important patrons.

SAIYID AKHTAR HUSSAIN RAIPURI (1912-)

Home Town: Raipur (Central Provinces).

Sect: Shi'a.

Family Background:

Ancestors came from Iran to Delhi and finally settled at Patna. Raipuri was the descendant in the sixth generation of Mir Mazhar, commander of Nawab Siraj al-daula's forces against Robert Clive at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Grandfather, Saiyid Shuja'at Husain was *jagirdar* of Patna who had opposed the British in the Rebellion of 1857. Much of his property was

confiscated. Father, Saiyid Akbar Husain went to Aligarh College, despite his father's intense opposition to western education. Much influenced by Saiyid Ahmad Khan's religious rationalism. Took a diploma in engineering from Thompson Engineering College, Roorkee (West U.P.) and worked for the government irrigation department at Raipur. Married into a landed family of Raipur, but his wife died when Raipuri was three years old. Raipuri's elder brother, Muzaffar Husain Shamin, was a poet and worked as a journalist for *Asr-i Jadid* (Calcutta).

Education and Career:

Refused to go to the *maktab* as the Maulana there would not explain the meaning of the Qur'an. His father did not make him go. Matriculated from Raipur and went to Calcutta for higher education in 1928. Met, among others, Hasan Hasrat, Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad and Qazi Nazar al-Islam. Also came under marxist influences. In 1932, he went to Aligarh and helped to set up a students marxist study circle there. After graduating, he worked for the Anjuman-i Taraqq-i Urdu in Hyderabad (Deccan). His essay '*Adab Aur Zindagi*', first published in *Urdu* in 1935, was the first major attempt at Marxist literary criticism. Went to the Sorbonne in Paris in 1938 and received his doctorate for his thesis 'Life of Ancient India in the Mirror of Sanskrit Literature'. On his return from Europe, he worked as Vice-Principal at MAO College, Amritsar. In 1945, he joined the Indian Educational Service. After 1947, he continued in the educational department. In 1953, joined UNESCO at Paris and remained in it until his retirement. First collection of short stories, *Muhabbat Aur Nafrat*, was published from Delhi in 1938. His literary articles, *Adab aur Inqilab* were published in 1944. Translated into urdu, Kali Das's classic *Shakuntala* in 1938; Qazi Nazar al-Islam's poems, 1939; and the autobiography of Maxim Gorky, 1941-45. Both at Hyderabad (Deccan) and Delhi, helped to organise the PWA during the mid-1930s. As the PWA became more doctrinaire in its policies, Raipuri gradually drew away. Major intellectual influences from the West included George Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell.

N.M. RASHID (1910-1975)**Real Name:** Nazar Muhammad**Home Town:** Akalgarh (distt. Gujranwala, West Panjab).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Came from a reputable *Maulvi* family. Ancestors had been religious scholars for generations. Treated with respect during Sikh and British rule. Grandfather was a medical doctor, used to recite poetry in Persian and urdu. Rashid's father worked in the government education department and retired as District Inspector of Schools.

Education and Career:

Matriculated from Government High School, Akalgarh, 1926. Intermediate from Government Inter College, Lyallpur, 1928. Graduated from Government College, Lahore, and then took an M.a. in Economics in 1932. Edited *Nakhlistan* (Multan), a magazine on rural welfare, 1932-34. sub-edited *Shakar* (Lahore), 1935. Worked as a clerk in the Commissioner's Office, Multan. Joined the volunteer Khaksar movement and became the district commandant. Appointed Programme Assistant, all-India Radio, Lahore, 1939. Transferred to Delhi where he was promoted to the post of programme director. During the Second World War, became captain in the Army. Returned to All-India Radio as Assistant Station Director. After partition, he was adviser public relations and regional director, peshawar. Worked for the United Nations, 1952-74. After his father his first wife's death, married a European teacher at the New York United Nations School. In contravention of islamic custom, and according to his own wishes, Rashid was cremated when he died in London. Wrote his first poem in 1917. At Government College, lahore, he was elected the secretary of the literary society, Bazm-i Sukhan and editor of the Urdu section of *Rawi*, the college magazine. In his first collection of poems, *Mawara*, he shocked the Urdu literary

world by discussing sexuality openly in his poems. Rashid broke with traditional styles of poetry and attempted to popularise free verse. There was also condemnation of alien rule, moral and social repression and religious dogmatism in his work. Many Progressive Writers claimed him as one of themselves, but later denounced him when he criticised and rejected their 'propagandistic' attitude towards literature.

SALAMAT-ALLAH (1913-)

Home Town: Sahayal (distt. Etawah, West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father possessed a little land. Family suffered considerable economic hardship. Both parents were illiterate.

Education and Career:

Initially educated at the local *madrassa*. Won a scholarship to the middle school. Matriculated from A.K.K. High School, Tirwa (distt. Farrukhabad), 1932. B.Sc. from Aligarh Muslim University in 1936. Took M.Sc. in Mathematics in 1938 from Aligarh. qualified as a teacher in 1939. Attracted by the freedom movement at school and Inter College. Read congress Socialist Party literature at Aligarh and became interested in socialism. Also impressed by M.N. Roy's journal, *Independent India*. Taught at Jamia Millia Islamia, 1939-48. Influenced by All-India Students Federation and communist literature. Translated the 1936 constitution of the USSR and Stalin's speech into urdu. Opposed to Fascism. Also against the 'Quit India' movement. Attended the C.P.I. congress at Bombay in 1943. Member of the Friends of the Soviet Union Society in 1946. Never a member of the C.P.I. Went to Columbia University on a research scholarship. Awarded a Ph.D., in Education in 1948. Essentially an educationist, he edited the the Urdu monthly *Na'i Talim*, official organ of the nationalist body, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, 1941-43. Has served in various top academic jobs, such as

Acting Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia, 1973, and Consultant, National Council of Educational Research and Training, 1976-77.

MAULANA ʿABD AL-MAJID SALIK (1895-)

Real Name: ʿAbd al-Majid Khan.

Home Town: Batala (distt. Gurdaspur, East Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Great-grandfather was a petty *zamindar* in district Gurdaspur. Moved to Batala and started a soap factory. Grandfather, maulvi Mir Muhammad, a religious man, was a scholar of Oriental studies. A competent poet, calligraphist and physician. Father, Munshi Ghulam Qadir was secretary of the Pathankot municipal committee. Knew Persian well. Occasionally recited poetry. Interested in current trends, and subscribed to periodicals such as *Kakeza'i Social Reformer*. Closely connected with the anjuman-i Himayat-i Islam, a reformist Muslim organisation. Interested in the ideas of Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Shibli Nʿumani and Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad.

Education and Career:

Learnt Persian from his grandfather. Primary education was at Pathankot. Passed entrance examination from Batala. In 1914, brought out a literary magazine called *Fanus-i Khayal* from Pathankot which did not last more than nine or ten months. In 1915, Salik came to t Lahore and became sub-editor of the well-known women's magazine, *Tehzib-i Niswan*, and the equally popular children's periodical, *Phuyl*. When *Zamindar* restarted publication in 1920, he joined the editorial board. In 1921, he was arrested in connection with the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation movement and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Studied English while in prison. Graduated in 1922. Invited by Ghulam Husain, one of the early Muslim communists, to edit *Inqilab*, but refused. Although he was sympathetic to socialism, he did

not feel committed enough to bring out a communist paper. In 1927, in collaboration with Maulana Ghulam Rasul Mihr, brought out the daily *Inqilab*, totally unconnected with the earlier project. The first issue published a poem by ^cAllama Iqbal on the struggle between the capitalists and workers. Although opposed to the Congress and in favour of Muslim separatism, it, on the whole, maintained an anti-British stand. Later also brought out a special edition on the Revolutions of the World. admired Maulana ^cUbaid-Allah Sindh's 'enlightened' thinking which interpreted Islam in a socialist way. Wrote poetry from the age of 14, and recited his poems initially at musha^ciras at Pathankot and Batala - a centre of Muslim learning for centuries. His style was influenced by ^cAllama Iqbal. the content of his work was mainly nationalistic. Attended the exploratory meeting to set up the PWA at Lahore and responded favourably to the project.

WAJAHAT ^cALL SANDELWI (1916-)

Home Town: Sandila (distt. Hardoi, Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestors came to India with Tamerlane. Rose to high position during Mughal rule. *Zamindari* granted by Akbar. Great-grandfather was a *chakladar*; great-uncle rebelled against the British in 1857. After initial retribution, appointed *t^caluqadar* of two hundred villages. Grandfather, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Nusrat ^cAli was secretary of the British India Association, 1880-1910. Father, a *zi^cadar* and *zamindar* of six *mōz^cas*, initially went to Colvin Taluqadar School, Lucknow, and then Aligarh. Did not obtain a degree but was competent in Oriental studies. Much impressed by Saiyid Ahmad Khan's ideas. Gave his daughters education and encouraged them to read Urdu literature. *Pardah*, however, continued to be observed. Although

not politically-minded, he subscribed to nationalist journals such as *Pratap* and *Bande Mataram*.

Education and Career:

Taught the Qur'an and other school subjects at home by a private tutor. Matriculated from Christian College, Lucknow in 1932. Graduated from Lucknow University in 1934. Took his M.A. in 1936 and qualified as a lawyer in 1938. Participated in student strikes; elected Vice-president of the Lucknow University Students Union. Member of the Radical Association. Read communist literature. Practised law at Sandila. Became active in the freedom movement. Elected member of the Provincial Congress Committee, and worked keenly in the Muslim Mass Contact Campaign, 1937-39. Participated in the 'Quit India' movement. Began writing against conventional Muslim morality in the 1930s. Wrote biting satire against traditional *maulvis* in Josh Mālihabadi's (q.v.) *Kalim* (Delhi), 1936-39. Also contributed to *Naya Adab*. His collection of short stories, *Tasht az bam*, published in 1946, was much praised in progressive literary circles. Actively involved in the work of the PWA at Lucknow.

QUDUS SEHBAI (1910-)

Real Name: Abd al-Qudus Khan.

Home Town: Bhopal.

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a lower middle-class military family. Very traditional religious and pro-British. Ancestors had come to India in mid-nineteenth century with a marauding Pathan band from Swat (N.W.F.P) and secured employment in the army of

the Nawab of Bhopal. Father was also an army officer. After his retirement, the family suffered much economic hardship.

Education and Career:

According to tradition, memorised the Qur'an as a child. Used to lead its recitation at the local mosque in the month of *Ramzan*. Matriculated from Aligarh Muslim University in 1928. After passing his intermediate from Aligarh, granted a scholarship to Bombay University. Graduated with honours in 1933. Assisted financially by the Khilafat Committee, Bombay. Worked on the journal, *Khilafat* and went on strike demanding unpaid salary. Returned to Bhopal and participated in the pro-Congress campaign for 'Responsible Government'. Arrested 1934-35, and, while in jail, became attracted to socialist ideas. After release, joined *Madina* (Bijnor) as assistant editor in 1936. Became chief editor of the radical daily *Hind* of Calcutta, 1937. Opposed the imposition of C.P.I. line on editorial policy. Resigned in 1938; spent two years as a journalist in Sind and Baluchistan. Externed and sent to Delhi, 1939. Returned to Bhopal, arrested in 1940 and imprisoned for two and a half years. While in jail read extensively, including George Bernard Shaw, Tolstoy, Maxim Gorky, Thoms Hardy, H.G. Wells, Premchand and Maulvi ^cAbd al-Haq. After release, became editor of the pro-Congress daily *Ansari* (Delhi), 1943-44. Edited *Shahbaz* (Peshawar) for the following twenty-five years. Wrote a study of Trotsky, *Tratski Aur Maujudat Rus'* a biography of the Russian anarchist, *Kropotkin*; and a collection of short stories in 1943-44. Translated Maupassant's short stories in 1946 and produced another collection of his own short stories in the same year.

SIDDIOA BEGAM SEHWARWI (1925-)

Home Town: Sehwar (distt. Bijnor, West U.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a middle-class family. Father was a civil servant.

Education and Career:

Spent childhood in Lucknow and Sehawara. Then, came to Aligarh. Became involved in the socialist movement under the influence of Rashid Jahan (q.v.). Began writing short stories. Her collection, *Hichkiyan* appeared in 1945.

PARVEZ SHAHIDI (1910-145)

Real Name:Saiyid Muhammad Ikram Husain.

Home Town:Patna (Bihar).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father was a prosperous *zamindar*, he was also a poet.

Education and Career:

Early education took place at home under private tutors. Completed most of the Arabic and Persian syllabus of Dars al-Nizamiya. Matriculated from Calcutta University in 1925. Passed his B.A., M.A. (Urdu and Persian) and L.L.B. examinations. Had love affair in 1935 but the girl's parents refused permission for the couple to marry. Left Patna and took up teaching as a career. Taught at various schools in Calcutta and, after qualifying as a teacher in 1938, taught at Midnapur College, 1941-46, and Surendranath College in Calcutta, 1947. After Partition, joined the C.P.I. Arrested. After release in 1951, worked as headmaster in Calcutta until 1957, Appointed lecturer in Urdu at Calcutta University, 1958. Taught there until his death. Married a Bengali teacher in 1958. One of the founders of

the PWA. Main early influence was Josh Malihabadi (q.v.). His socialist verse, mainly in *nazm* form, was essentially propagandistic; his ghazals, on the other hand, contained personal emotions and experiences.

AKHTAR SHIRANI (1905-1948)

Real Name: Muhammad Daud Khan.

Home Town: Tonk (Rajputana).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to family of Pathans of the Shirani tribe. Ancestors emigrated from Dera Ismail Khan in the N.W.F.P., and settled in Jodhpur. Great-grandfather, Haji Chand Khan came to Tonk. His son, Muhammad isma^cil Khan then acquired traditional education and was first appointed a *Na'ib Mir Munshi*, and then *Kamdar* to the Nawab's wife. Father, Mahmud Shirani was born at Tonk in 1880 in the reign of Amin al-daula - a period of great cultural activity. Mahmud Shirani took his *Calim* and *Munshi Fazil* qualifications in Persian from the University of the Panjab in 1894 and 1901 respectively. Later, he went to England for higher education and worked as a research assitant to Prof. T.W. Arnold. Returned to India in 1913. After a period at Tonk, taken up mainly with supervising inherited property, he went to Lahore in 1921, and, for the rest of his life, taught Persian at the Islamia College. Married twice. A thorough scholar, he became famous for his research into the development of Urdu in the Panjab. Died in 1946. Akhtar Shirani was born to his first wife at Tonk.

Education and Career:

Condcuted privately until the age of fourteen. Studied the Qur'an, Persian and Urdu literature. In 1921, called to Lahore by his father where he passed his *Munshi Fazil* and *Adib Fazil*

examinations in Persian from the Oriental College. Although did not matriculate, his knowledge of English literature was good enough to provide him with insights for creative work in Urdu literature. To improve his style, he received guidance from Allama Tajur Najibabadi, who, at the time, was the editor of the classic Urdu literary magazine *Makhzan*. From 1925 onwards, Shirani contributed regularly to the literary periodicals of Lahore, edited *Humayun* for a few months, and then, in 1928, brought out *Khayalistan*. The paper, however, went bankrupt. In 1931, he initiated a second periodical called *Roman*, which also failed. His final attempt in 1941, as editor of *Shahkar*, was equally unsuccessful. A Romantic poet and a rebel against existing Muslim morality in his personal life. He drank a great deal and had many love affairs. Even more shocking to those who conformed to the prevailing conventions was his frank description of his beloved, the sensuous nature of his love, which rejected conventional standards of piety. He was one of the major influences on the style and content of Muslim socialist poets such as Faiz Ahmad Faiz (q.v.). In agreement with the aims of the PWA and signed its manifesto.

QATIL SHIEAL (1919 -)

Real name: Aurangzeb Khan.

Home Town: Haripur (distt. Hazara, N.W.F.P.).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father was a prosperous leather merchant.

Education and Career:

Early education at Islamia Middle School, Rawalpindi. After father's death in 1935, did not continue his studies. Set up a sports shop but it proved a failure. Worked first as an excise

official and then as booking clerk in a transport firm. Rose to post of manager. Resigned and joined *Adab-i Latif*, organ of Progressive Writers, as co-editor, 1945-46. Song writer since 1947. Temperamentally romantic, the circumstances of the 1940s brought him together with Progressive Writers.

MUMTAZ SHIRIN (1924-1973)

Home Town: Bangalore (Mysore State).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Came from a traditional family. Pardah was strictly observed. Mumtaz was put into pardah at the age of nine. Her existence was restricted to the four walls of the family home. Yet, the family did consider that education for girls was essential.

Education and Career:

Graduated from Maharani Girls College, Bangalore in 1942. Wanted to fail the finals so that she could stay at the college an extra year as this was the sole outlet for girls like her. Married Samad Shain, a lawyer, in 1942. Began writing shortly afterwards. *Angra'i*, a semi-autobiographical work was her first short story, written in 1942. In 1944, she and her husband brought out a progressive monthly magazine, *Naya Daur*. After Partition, the couple migrated to Karachi, and *Naya Daur* continued publication until 1952. She refused to offer uncritical support to Progressive literature - in the 'ultra-left' phase of the PWA after Partition, she was expelled from the Association. She translated American novelist, Steinbeck's *The Pearl* into Urdu in 1957. Also published a collection of critical literary essays, *M^cayar*.

HAMIDA SULTAN (1914-)**Home Town:** Delhi.**Sect:** Shi^ca.**Family Background:**

Father, Zil-i Nur ^cAli Ahmad from Gauhati (Assam) was a Lt. Colonel in the British India Army. Deeply interested in Persian and Urdu literature. Mother, Ruqqaiya Sultana, was the granddaughter of Zainal-^cAbidin Khan, a nawab and a poet, his nom de plume was ^cArif. His *marsiya* was written by Ghalib. The family was highly respected in Urdu literary circles. Mother also possessed a fine literary taste.

Education and Career:

As tradition and honour demanded, reputable families in Delhi did not send their daughters to school, and so Hamida did not receive regular schooling. Learned Urdu from a Persian ^calim and English from an English governess, both employed privately to teach her. By the time that she was thirteen, she had begun to recite poems and write short stories. *Bha'i Ke Nam Khat* was published in 1929, and the novel *Sarwat Ara Begam*, in two volumes, appeared in 1942.

MAJRUH SULTANPURI (1919-)**Real Name:** Israr Hasan Khan Majruh Sultanpuri.**Home Town:** Sultanpur (distt. Azamgarh, East U.P.).**Sect:** Sunni.**Family Background:**

Father was a government employee.

Education and Career:

Initially learnt Arabic and Persian at a local *maktab*. Went to Fyzabad and Allahabad. Passed the *Maulvi* and *Calim* examinations. Qualified as a *tabib*, 1938. Practised medicine for a year. Composed poetry first in 1940. Attended an important *mushaira* in Bombay in 1945. Became part of the Progressive Writers' Movement at Bombay. Wrote songs for Indian films.

AL-JAHMAD SURUR (1911-)

Home Town:Badaun (West U.P.)

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Father was an official in the post office. Held nationalist views. Literary environment at home. Women and children were interested in ad lib poetry competitions.

Education and Career:

Studied the Qur'an and Urdu at the *maktab* of maternal uncle. Attended Khilafat meetings at the Jamia Masjid. Read Maulvi Nazir Ahmad's didactic novels, *Mirat al-Urus* and *Taubat al-Nusuh* at the age of eleven. Also read the nationalist Urdu daily *Madina*. Went to school at Sitapur, Gonda and Ghazipur. Matriculated from Benaras. Entered St. John's college, Agra. Joined the socialist party in the students' parliament, and was elected its Deputy Leader. Much impressed by Thomas Hardy's *Jude The Obscure*. Met Israr al-Haq Majaz (q.v.) and Jazbi (q.v.). Graduated in science subjects. Took M.A.s in English Literature and Urdu from Aligarh Muslim University in 1934-35. Editor of *Aligarh Magazine*. Came into contact with the

Progressive Writers' Movement. Appointed lecturer at the University in the Department of Urdu. Went to Rampur in 1945 and then became Reader in Urdu at Lucknow University in 1946. Participated actively in the PWA. Weekly meetings of the Association were held at his home. After Partition, taught at Aligarh and Kashmir Universities, and edited *Urdu Zaban* (Aligarh).

SUELGHULAM MUSTAFA TABASSUM (1899-1978)

Home town: Amritsar (East Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Ancestors came from Kashmir and settled at Amritsar. Grandfather was a Sufi. Father was a prosperous restaurant owner.

Education and Career:

Learnt the Qur'an at the local mosque. Taught elementary Urdu by a *Hakim* who was a friend of his grandfather. Mother taught him arithmetic. Admitted to Church Mission School, Amritsar, by his ambitious father. Learnt Persian and studied Persian poets and philosophers such as Maulana Rumi and Hafiz. Read Pan-Islamic newspapers, *Al-Hilal* and *Zamindar*. Also regularly subscribed to 'Abd al-Halim Sharar's magazine, *Dilgudaz* (Lucknow). Went to Khalsa College, Amritsar. At the same time, studied Arabic and *Hadith* at Madrasa Ghartuba Salfiya. Also acquired a good knowledge of French. Graduated from Foreman Christian College, Lahore. Father helped him to set up an export-import business. Went back to studies and took an M.A. Served briefly in the medical Directorate of the G.O.I. Army H.Q. Qualified as a teacher. Worked in government High School for a few months. Taught eastern languages at the Central Teachers Training College, Lahore for four years, and

then Persian at Government College, Lahore until his retirement in 1954. During the formative phase of the PWA, elected Secretary of the Lahore branch. After government servants were prohibited from becoming members of the Association, he was affiliated to it only informally. Wrote very simple verse.

DR. MUHAMMAD DIN TASIR (1896-1950)

Home Town: Ajnala (distt. Amritsar, East Panjab).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Lost father in 1904 in a plague epidemic. Mother died very soon afterwards. Brought up by Miyan Nizam al-din, a rich landlord of the *Ara'in* clan whose ancestors were custodians of the Shalimar Gardens, and granted two revenue villages. The family was in the forefront of Indian Muslim modernisation, with powerful connections in politics and government. Miyan Nizam al-din was a scholar of Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

Education and Career:

Read the Qur'an at home. Matriculated from Islamia High School, Sheranwala Gate, Lahore, in 1918. Graduated with honours from Foreman Christian College, Lahore, in 1922, and took his M. A. in English Literature in 1924. Lecturer in English Literature at Islamia College, Lahore, 1926-28. Worked briefly in the Department of Information before returning to teach at his previous college. Went to Cambridge to do research into aspects of English Literature in 1929. Ph.D. Principal of MAO College, Amritsar, 1936-40. Principal of Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, 1940-42. Joined the British India Government as Deputy Director, Counter Propaganda, 1941. Later became Director. Migrated to Pakistan in 1947. Principal of Islamia College, Lahore, 1948-50. Literary career began while he was at school. Contributed to *Adabi Dunya*. Brought out *Nairang-i Khayal* in

1924; the magazine came to be considered one of the top quality Urdu magazines of the 1920s and 1930s. Also a patron of the Urdu literary society, Bazm-i Farogh-i Urdu, while he taught at Islamia College. In 1933, brought out *Karwan*. In this period and on his return from England, he became closely associated with Lahore literary circles. Attracted to socialism in England. Attended the Marxist study circle at Cambridge. One of the founder members of the PWA in London in 1934. On his return to India, participated in PWA activities in the Panjab. Contributed poems to *Naya Adab*. Closely associated with [©]Allama Iqbal. Moved away from the PWA in the 1940s. Became critical of the communists and staunchly supported the demand for Pakistan. At Partition, considered himself a democratic socialist.

SAIYID [©]ALLIAWAD ZAIDI (1920-)

Home Town: Village Bijoli (distt. Azamgarh, East U.P.).

Sect: Shi[©]a.

Family Background:

Family claimed descent from the Prophet's grandson, Imam Husain, both on Zaidi's father's and mother's side. Ancestors came and settled in Bijoli in the reign of Sharqi kings of Jaunpur. Possessed a *jagir* of twenty two villages. After the British took over, part of the *jagir* was confiscated because the head of the family refused to take the oath of loyalty. Zaidi's great-grandfather, Saiyid Muhammad Jawad, a *tehsildar*, was a Persian poet. Grandfather rose to position of Deputy Collector. Married the only daughter of Sayid [©]Ali Naqi, a scholar and *ra'is* of Muhammadabad, and decided to settle there. Father, Saiyid [©]Ali Amjad Afsar was an Urdu poet. Knew Persian, Arabic and English well. Income from landholding was insufficient for domestic expenditure. Established a cottage industry but not very successful. Married into a scholarly family of Kirhan.

Education and Career:

Initial education in Persian and Arabic at home. Matriculated from Colvin High School, Muhammadabad in 1935. Graduated from Lucknow University in 1939. Became involved in the freedom movement. Founder member of the All-India Students' Federation. Elected General Secretary of the Federation in 1941. Arrested for his opposition to the Second World War and imprisoned for six months under the Defence of India Rules. After release, qualified as a lawyer and set up practice at Ghazipur. Appointed Officer in charge of the journalist section of the Information Department of the U.P. in 1946 and until retirement worked in a variety of responsible jobs in the Indian government. During the 1930s and 1940s, wrote much revolutionary poetry. An active member of the PWA, but supported the 'Quit India' movement.

RAZIA SALIAD ZAHIR (1917-1979)

Real Name:Razia Dilshad.

Home Town:Ajmer (Rajasthan)

Sect: Shi^ca.

Family Background

Belonged to a *Saiyid* family which was strict in its religious observances. Grandfather, Saiyid Imdad Husain Azim Benarasi, lived in Ramnagar State and was a known poet. Father, Khan Bahadur Saiyid Raza Husain, an Aligarh graduate, was headmaster at Ajmer Islamia High School, Ajmer. Pardah was strictly observed. Migrated to Pakistan after Partition.

Education and Career:

Was not allowed to study at public institutions. Acquired modern education at home. Graduated privately with distinction. Took M.A. in Urdu from Allahabad University. Iqbal Husain (q.v.) was her teacher there. Abandoned *pardah* immediately after her marriage to Sajjad Zahir (q.v.) in 1938. Although she came to view Communism with much sympathy, she also continued to celebrate *Muharram* with considerable feeling. Began writing short stories while still very young. Published in *Phul*, *Tehzib-i Niswan* and *Asmat*. Contributed many short stories to *Naya Adab*. Attended the second All-India Conference of the PWA at Calcutta in December 1938. Played hostess to the Progressive Writers at Bombay between 1942 and 1947. Her home became the centre of periodic PWA meetings. Also appeared on the Radio. Lecturer at Karamat Husain Girls College, Lucknow, 1948-65. Lived in Delhi, 1965-79, and worked as translator at the Soviet Information Centre. Between 1953 and 1979 wrote novels and many short stories. Translated more than forty works from foreign languages into Urdu and Hindi, including those of Bertholt Brecht. *Zard Gulab*, a collection of short stories was published posthumously in 1981. Received the Nehru Award in 1966, the U.P. Akadmi Award in 1972, and Akhal Bharatiya Likhika Sangh Award in 1974.

SAIYID SALIAD ZAHIR (1905-1973)

Home Town: Kalanpur (distt. Jaunpur, East U.P.).

Sect: Shi'a.

Family Background:

Came from an illustrious *Saiyid* family. Grandfather, Saiyid Zahir Husain, *zamindar*, was also a *tehsildar*. Father, Saiyid Wazir Hasan graduated from Aligarh College and qualified as a lawyer from the University of Allahabad. Set up a successful practice at Lucknow. Later rose to the position of Chief Justice

of the Allahabad High Court. In the 1910s and 1920s, he became a leading figure in Muslim politics and was elected as the Secretary General of the All-India Muslim League. Presided over the historic Congress-League pact signed at Lucknow in 1916. Held liberal and secular views. Non-communal in outlook, he withdrew from the Muslim League when it became openly separatist. Mother was also from a *Saiyid* family. At first, she was a traditional wife but she gradually acquired a modern outlook. She remained a curious mixture of the modern and the traditional. Strict in her observance of religious rituals, she abandoned *pardah* and supported the westernisation of Muslim women.

Education and Career:

Born and brought up in Lucknow. Received religious education at the family *maktab*. Taught Arabic and Persian by an *ʿalim* of Ja'is. Matriculated from Jubilee High School, Lucknow. At school, influenced by the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation movements. In 1924, the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case strengthened his opposition to the British. Graduated in European History, Political Science and Economics in 1926 from Lucknow University. In 1927, sent to Oxford as a step towards preparation for the I.C.S. examinations. Spent eight years in Europe. Graduated in History and was called to the Bar. No longer interested in serving the British India government. In England, influenced by socialist political currents. By 1930, he had joined the Communist Party of Great Britain and set up a Marxist study circle with other Indian students in London. While on a short visit to India at the end of 1932, brought out *Angare* along with Ahmad ʿAli (q.v.), Rashid Jahan (q.v.) and Mahmud al-Zafar (q.v.). In 1935, in conjunction with M.D. Tasir (q.v.), Mulk Raj Anand and Ghosh, he set up a progressive writers group in London, drafted its manifesto and sent copies of the draft to India where, in 1936, it became, with minor modifications, the basic document of the All-India Progressive Writers' Association (PWA). Late in 1935, returned to India. Under the directive of the C.P.I., joined the Congress Socialist Party and became a

member of its executive. Was also one of its joint secretaries. Also collaborated with Jawaharlal Nehru. Became the moving spirit behind the PWA. Elected its General Secretary in 1936. In 1938, with Sohan Singh Josh, brought out the first Marxist journal in Urdu, *Chingari* (Saharanpur). Arrested in March 1940 for opposition to the British war effort. Remained in prison for two years, it was his third prison sentence. With the lifting of the ban on the C.P.I. in 1942, was released and appointed editor of the Party's central organ in Urdu, *Qaumi Jang*. Supported the Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan in line with party policy. At the first congress of the Party held in Bombay in 1943, was elected to the Central Committee. After Partition, sent to Pakistan to help organise the Communist Party of Pakistan. In 1951, arrested in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, and imprisoned for four years. On release in 1955, returned to India. Soon active in party work. Elected member of the National Council in 1958. Brought out a new Urdu weekly *Awami Daur*, followed by *Hayat*. From 1956-73, he was active in his attempts to organise the Afro-Asian Writers, and it was in pursuit of this aim that he went to Alma Ata, Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union, where he suddenly died in 1973. Among his publications were *Angare* (a collection of short stories), *Landan Ki Aik Rat* (novel), *Hindi Urdu Hindustani* (on the historical evolution of Urdu), *Zikr-i Hafiz* (treatise on the great medieval Persian poet Hafiz spelling out the communist attitude to classical literature and sufi values), *Roshna'i* (account of the Progressive Writers' Movement, 1936-47) *Pighla Nilam* (poems). Wrote many articles on the problems of literature, the ideological struggle in literature and the problems of organising writers. Married (in 1938) to Razia Sajjad Zahir (q.v.), also a well-known Urdu writer.

MUSLIM ZIA'I (1911-1977)

Real Name: Abd al-Wahab.

Home Town: Lucknow (Awadh).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to a literary family of Lucknow. Father, Maulvi [©]Inayat Husain was a follower of the Firangi Mahali, Maulana [©]Abd al-Bari. After his sudden death in 1924, Zia'i came under the care of his maternal uncle, Maulvi Ihtesham [©]Ali, who took him to Hyderabad (Deccan).

Education and Career:

Initially educated at Lucknow and Kakori. Matriculated from Madrasa Fauqaniya, Hyderabad, in 1930. At school, he served as secretary of the Urdu Union and President of the English Society. Member of editorial board of school magazine. Intermediate from Nizam College in 1934. Graduated in 1934 and took an M.A. in History and Politics from Osmania University in 1936. Served in the Nizam's government briefly. Resigned and started his journalistic career by writing for *Khilafat* (Bombay). Returned to Hyderabad (Deccan) and established a publishing house, Urdu Mahal in 1942, which printed many of the works of Progressive Writers such as Ibrahim Jalis (q.v.) *Zard Chehre*. Migrated to Pakistan in 1952 after Hyderabad had been annexed by India. His works included *Mir Taqi Mir Ki Ap Biti*, *Karl Marx* and *Tipu Sultan Aur Uska Khwab*. Leading figure in PWA in Hyderabad (Deccan).

S.M.O. ZORE (1905-1964)

Home Town:Hyderabad (Deccan).

Sect: Sunni.

Family Background:

Belonged to a famous *Saiyid* family of the Deccan. Ancestors originally Arabs who had come to India from Kandahar in

Afghanistan. Traditionally proselytisers, practised sufism. Father, Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad Qadri was a descendant of the venerated Deccan Sufi, Saiyid Shah ^cAli Sangvaz Sultan Qadri. Was himself a *wa^ciz* and a *pir*. Occasionally recited poetry. Nom de plume was Z^cam.

Education and Career:

Initial religious education at home. Matriculated in 1922 and proceeded to Osmania University. Graduated and took an M.A. in Urdu and Persian in 1927. Awarded government scholarship to continue his studies abroad. Ph.D. from London University for his work on the Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan languages in 1930. On his return to the Deccan, he was appointed Reader at Osmania University in the Department of Urdu and remained there until his retirement. A scholar of Urdu, he had over one hundred publications to his credit. Contributed to *Naya Adab*. Participated in PWA activities in the Deccan.

APPENDIX III

MANIFESTO OF THE INDIAN PROGRESSIVE WRITERS' ASSOCIATION

Approved in London over the winter of 1934-35.

Radical ideas are taking place in Indian society. Fixed ideas and old beliefs, social and political institutions are being challenged. Out of the present turmoil and conflict a new society is arising. The spiritual reaction, however, though moribund and doomed to ultimate decay, is still operative and is making desperate efforts to prolong itself.

It is the duty of Indian writers to give expression to the changes taking place in Indian life and assist the spirit of progress in the country. Indian literature, since the breakdown of classical literature, has had the fatal tendency to escape from the actualities of life. It has tried to find a refuge from reality in spiritualism and idealism. The result has been that it has produced a rigid formalism and a banal and perverse ideology. Witness the mystical devotional obsession of our literature, its furtive and sentimental attitude towards sex, its emotional exhibitionism and its almost total lack of rationality. Such literature was produced particularly during the past two centuries, one of the most unhappy periods of our history, a period of disintegrating feudalism and of acute misery and degradation of the Indian people as a whole.

It is the object of our association to rescue literature and other arts from the priestly, academic and decadent classes in whose hands they have degenerated so long; to bring the arts into the closest touch with the people; and to make them the vital organ which will register the actualities of life as well as lead us to the future.

While claiming to be the inheritors of the best traditions of Indian civilisation, we shall criticize ruthlessly, in all its political, economic and cultural aspects, the spirit of reaction in our country; and we shall foster through interpretative and creative works (both native and foreign resources) everything that will lead our country to the new life for which it is striving. We believe that the new literature of India must deal with the basic problems of our existence today - the problems of hunger and poverty, social backwardness and political subjugation, so that it may help us to understand these problems and through such understanding help us act.

With the above aims in view, the following resolutions have been adopted:

- (1) The establishment of organisations of writers to correspond to the various linguistic zones of India; the coordination of these organisations by holding conferences, publishing of magazines, pamphlets etc.
- (2) To co-operate with those literary organisations whose aims do not conflict with the basic aims of the Association.
- (3) To produce and to translate literature of a progressive nature and of a high standard; to fight cultural reaction; and in this way, to further the cause of Indian freedom and social regeneration.
- (4) To strive for the acceptance of a common language (Hindustani) and a common script (Indo-Roman) for India.
- (5) To protect the interests of authors; to help authors who require and deserve assistance for the publication of their works.
- (6) To fight for the right of free expression of thoughts and opinion.

MANIFESTO OF THE ALL-INDIA PROGRESSIVE WRITERS' ASSOCIATION

Adopted by the First All-India Progressive Writers' Conference held at Lucknow, on 10 April 1936.

Radical changes are taking place in Indian society. the spirit of reaction, however, though moribund and doomed to ultimate decay, is still operative and is making desperate efforts to prolong itself. Indian literature, since the breakdown of classical culture, has had the fatal tendency to escape from the actualities of life. It has tried to find a refuge from reality in baseless spiritualism and ideality. The result is that it has become anaemic in body and mind, and has adopted a rigid formalism and a banal and perverse ideology.

It is the duty of Indian writers to give expression to the changes taking place in Indian life and to assist the spirit of progressive in the country by introducing scientific rationalism in literature. They should undertake to develop an attitude of literary criticism, which will discourage the general reactionary and revivalist tendencies on questions like family, religion, sex, war and society, and to combat literary trends reflecting communalism, racial antagonism, sexual libertinism and exploitation of man by man.

It is the object of our Association to rescue literature and other arts from the conservative classes in whose hands they have been degenerating so long; to bring the arts into the closest touch with people; and to make them the vital organs which will register the actualities of life, as well as lead us to the future we envisage.

While claiming to be the inheritors of the best traditions of Indian civilisation, we shall criticise, in all its aspects, the spirit of reaction in our country, and we shall foster through interpretative and creative work (with both Indian and foreign resources) everything that will lead our country to the new life for which it is striving. We believe that the new literature of India must deal with the basic problems of our existence today—the problems of hunger and poverty, social backwardness and political subjugation.

All that drags us down to passivity, inaction and unreason we reject as reactionary.

All that arouses in us the critical spirit, which examines institutions and customs in the light of reason, which helps us to act, to organise ourselves, to transform, we accept as progressive.

The aims and objects of our Association are as follows:-

- (1) To establish organisations of writers to correspond to the various linguistic zones of India; to co-ordinate these organisations by holding conferences and by publishing literature; to establish a close connection between the central and local organisations and to cooperate with those literary organisations whose aims do not conflict with the basic aims of the Association.
- (2) To form branches of this Association in all the important towns of India.
- (3) To produce and to translate literature of a progressive nature; to fight cultural reaction and in this way to further the cause of India, freedom and social regeneration.
- (4) To protect the interests of progressive authors.

- (5) To fight for the rights of free expression of thought and opinion.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ALL-INDIA PROGRESSIVE WRITERS' ASSOCIATION

Adopted by the First All-India Progressive Writers' Conference held at Lucknow, on 10 April 1936.

- (1) The name of this Association shall be All-India Progressive Writers' Association.
- (2) Aims and objects:- as given in the Manifesto adopted by the First All-India Progressive Writers' Conference held at Lucknow on 10 April 1936.
- (3) In order to carry out the aims of the Association, there shall be an All-India Committee, which will consist of :-
1. Representatives of various linguistic zones;
 2. Secretaries or Presidents of Branches;
 3. Notable authors and sympathisers elected by the All-India Committee.
 4. Editors of any periodicals which may be published by any of the P.W. Branch or by the All-India Committee.
- (4) (a) The All-India Committee shall carry out the general work of the Association; it shall work for the opening of branches of the Progressive Writers' Association in all parts of India; it shall keep in touch with the Branches and coordinate their activities; it shall receive a fixed sum as regular contributions, from the branches to carry on its work.

- (b) It shall elect Publication committees of 3 to 4 persons in every Indian language to supervise all publications of books and pamphlets on behalf of the Association in that language.
 - (c) It shall undertake to bring out a magazine in English, as soon as circumstances permit, and for that purpose it shall elect an Editorial Board.
- (5) The All-India Committee shall elect a General Secretary and three or four other persons to carry on the routine work of the All-India Committee. This Committee will be known as the Executive Committee.
 - (6) The All-India Committee shall meet at least once a year.
 - (7) The All-India Committee shall have powers to co-opt members to the All-India Committee.

RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the First All-India Progressive Writers' Conference held at Lucknow, on 10 April 1936.

- (1) That following be adopted as the Manifesto of the Progressive Writers' Association (See page 1).
- (2) For freedom of thought and expression.

This Conference of Progressive Writers strongly protests against the restrictions placed by the Government on the freedom of thought and expression by promulgating repressive Press Laws, Customs Act, and Criminal Law Amendment Act, and in this way arbitrarily suppressing hundreds of journals and magazines, proscribing progressive literature and stopping the entry into this country of a large part of radical literature from foreign countries. This Conference considers these restrictions to be a serious attack

on the free cultural development of the country, and calls upon all Indian writers to organise country-wide protests against the Government policy and to support all other efforts to secure the repeal of these laws.

(3) On War.

We consider that literature is the heritage of the whole human races and is not divisible in national, racial or geographical boundaries. Further we consider that collectively and individually we stand in the ranks of those who are striving to build a new social order based on equality, freedom and peace, and as such we cannot but protest against the anti-cultural forces of Fascism and militarism. We declare that war is a brutality and is a serious menace to human culture and progress.

Further we resolve to strive to help the forces of international peace and such national aspirations as are consistent with them.

(4) Regarding the rights of students.

This Conference calls upon the Indian University authorities to help and not to restrict the free development of organisations, journals and general movement of the Indian students. This Conference considers that it is necessary for the free cultural development of the students that they should have freedom to express themselves on all social and political subjects.

(5) For the Peace Conference.

This Conference extends its hearty greetings to the 'Universal gathering for Peace', to be convened at Geneva in September, under the presidentship of M. Romain Rolland.

RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the Second All-India Progressive Writers' Conference held at Calcutta, on 24/25 December 1938.

- (1) Whereas the full cultural development of India is not possible while the country is under imperialist foreign domination; whereas the present illiteracy of the vast numbers of the Indian people, the decay of our arts, and comparative backwardness of Indian literature can be traced to the exploitation of India by British Imperialism and the deliberate suppression or neglect by it of Indian cultural growth, the Conference declares that it is the sacred duty of all those who love culture to align themselves with those forces in our country which are fighting for the political emancipation of India and to help through their writings and moral and material forces at their disposal the struggle for freedom of the Indian people.
- (2) This Conference expresses its solidarity with the writers and artists of the world who are fighting against reaction, Fascism and Imperialism, and extends its greetings to persons and organisations that have suffered in this cause particularly in Germany, Spain and China. This Conference is of the opinion that literature and art are the heritage of the whole of humanity and are not divisible in racial, national or geographical boundaries. This Conference declares that the progressive writers of India stand in the ranks of those who are striving against all odds to build a new social order based on equality, freedom and peace and that they shall strive against the anti-cultural forces of international peace and such national aspirations as are consistent with them.
- (3) While welcoming the extension of civil liberties of Indians under the Congress Ministries, this Conference protests against restriction on freedom of speech in certain Provinces and Indian States, and the ban against entry of progressive literature in this country imposed by the Government of

India in the form of Sea Customs Act or special notifications. This Conference is of the opinion that such restrictions and bans are serious checks on free cultural development of the country and calls upon all persons and organisations interested in the growth of progressive ideas to secure the reversal of this policy.

- (4) This Conference welcomes the efforts of the provincial Governments and other organisations to reorganise the system of education and remove illiteracy. This conference is, however, of opinion that the teaching of cultural subjects should not be subordinated to the idea of a self-supporting system. This Conference condemns the attempts of reactionaries in the country to retard the introduction of progressive measures in the educational system and calls upon the Provincial Governments to refuse to introduce communalism, sectarianism and reaction into the syllabus of education. This Conference considers the preparation of progressive text books for schools and colleges in all provincial languages to be the most important and urgent task and draws the attention of the authorities to the need of entrusting this work to really competent persons. This Conference supports the idea of making basic Hindustani a compulsory subject in all primary schools all over India and requests the Indian National Congress to appoint a competent committee to chalk out a plan for this purpose.

RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the Third All-India Progressive Writers' Conference held at Delhi, in May 1942.

- (1) That the sympathies of Indian Writers are with the Allies, and that they are opposed to Fascism.
- (2) That Progressive Writers will employ their writing and influence to support the democratic war efforts and to warn the country against the danger of Fascism.

- (3) **That Progressive Writers condemn the attitude of British Imperialism which, in this delicate period, is not prepared to grant India freedom.**
- (4) **That national unity is necessary to secure freedom.**

RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the Fourth All-India Progressive Writers' Conference held at Bombay, from 22 to 25 May 1943.

- (1) **This Conference demands the release of the national leaders, and sends its greetings to Soviet and Chinese writers.**
- (2) **This Conference demands the release of progressive writers in prison, and the expansion of civil liberties.**
- (3) **This Conference demands a better paper policy and affirms the rights of writers in regard to their payment by publishers.**
- (4) **This Conference asks progressive writers to try and influence the film industry in a progressive direction.**

GLOSSARY

- abwaba:** cesses, taxes.
- adib fazil:** College level qualification in Persian.
- Ahmadiyyah:** A reform movement sect in Islam; followers of Mirza Ghulam of Qadian (a. *qasbah* in East Panjab).
- alam:** a standard or banner.
- ʿalim:** one who possesses *ʿilm* - knowledge of Muslim theology or jurisprudence.
- Amir:** Leader, chieftain, commander.
- Anjuman:** assembly, meeting, association, usually of Muslims.
- Anjuman-i Khuddam-i Kaaba:** The Society of the Servants of the Holy Places.
- Anjuman-i Taraqqi-i Urdu:** The Society for the Advancement of Urdu.
- Ashraf:** pl. of Arabic *sharif* - usually refers to Muslims descended from immigrants to India - persons of rank.
- Begam:** Muslim title for married woman.
- begar:** compulsory labour without payment.
- ba'it:** acceptance of supremacy, oath of loyalty.
- chakla:** a Mughal revenue-collecting zone.
- chakladar:** Chief officer of a *chakla*.
- chandalas:** menials.
- Chaudhri:** village headman.
- dar al-Harb:** 'abode of war' - territory in which the *shariʿa* is not observed, and which, according to classical Muslim jurisprudence, should be made so, if necessary by force.
- dar al-Islam:** 'abode of Islam/peace' - territory in which the *shariʿa* is observed.
- dar al-ʿUlum:** 'abode of science' - Muslim theological seminary such as Firangi Mahal or Deoband.
- darbar:** royal court.

- dastan:** literature in the form of legends, a fable.
- dihati sha^ciri:** folk poetry.
- diwan:** a royal court; a chief officer of state; a book of poetical pieces in which rhymes of different poems end successively with a particular letter of the alphabet.
- fatwa:** ruling on a point of Islamic law (pl. *fatawa*).
- faujdar:** Mughal military and executive officer in charge of a *sarkar*.
- firangi:** foreigner - often applied to the British.
- fiqh:** 'understanding, knowledge, intelligence' - the technical term for the science of Islamic jurisprudence.
- ghazal:** lyrical love poetry in the form of rhyming couplets.
- ghazi:** one who fights against the infidels; a conqueror, hero.
- hadith:** the body of Traditions - the record of the sayings and doings of the Prophet Muhammad.
- Hafiz:** one who has memorised the Qur'an.
- hakim:** doctor practising traditional Muslim medicine.
- Halqa-i Arbab-i Zauq:** Circle of Men of Refined Taste.
- hartal:** strike.
- haveli:** manor-like house.
- havildar:** non-commissioned army rank.
- Hijrat:** act of migration by Muslims to *dar al-Islam* after the territory in which they live has been declared *dar al-Harb*.
- hikayat:** a narrative story.
- ijma^c:** consensus of religious opinion.
- ijtihad:** 'exerting oneself to the utmost to attain object' - the utmost effort to form an opinion as the rule of Islamic law - among modernists, used to denote effort to reinterpret the Islamic revelation to the modern world - use of individual reasoning.
- Imam:** head of Muslims in religious matters.
- Inqilab:** revolution.
- Inqilabi musha^cira:** revolutionary *musha^cira*.
- jadidi:** modernist.
- jarib:** a land measure of sixty yards.

- jagir:** an assignment of land revenues usually given in Mughal times in lieu of salary.
- jagirdar:** assignee of right to collect *jagir* land revenues.
- jihad:** Islamic holy war - a religious duty which may be performed to establish the sway of Islam over the world or to defend *dar al-Islam*.
- kafir:** unbeliever - one who is ungrateful to God.
- kahani:** story.
- kalam:** scriptural work.
- kalima:** Islamic confession of faith.
- kamil:** diploma in oriental studies.
- Kayasth:** clerical caste, usually found in Bengal and North India outside the Panjab.
- khadar:** handspun and handwoven cloth.
- Kalifa:** Caliph - successor to the Prophet Muhammad as head of the Muslim community - also the title given to leading follower of a *sufi* saint or *pir*.
- Khan Bahadur:** Government title bestowed upon Muslims.
- khanqah:** hospice.
- Khilafat:** Caliphate - the line of successors to the Prophet Muhammad.
- Khilji:** belonging to the *Khilji* tribe of Afghan Pathans, who ruled India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D.
- kirti:** worker.
- Kisan:** peasant.
- kotwal:** chief police officer in city or town under both the Mughals and the British.
- madrasa:** higher school or college for Muslims.
- Maharaja:** king, ruler, head of *Rajput* clan.
- majlis:** gathering, assembly.
- Majlis-i Ittehad al-Muslimin:** The Assembly for the Unity of Muslims.
- maktab:** school for teaching children elements of reading, writing and Qur'anic revelation.
- madar al-mahan:** chief estates manager.
- manqulat:** recounting of traditions.

- mantra:** a passage of the Vedas - a mystical or magical formula.
- maqra:** the last verse of a poem.
- maqulat:** rational discourse.
- marsiya:** elegy of *Shi'as* to *Imam* Husain during *Muharram*.
- masnawi:** an Epic poem.
- maulana:** title applied to scholars of Islamic religious services.
- maulvi:** title equal to *maulana* - also a diploma in Arabic studies.
- Ma'ayar:** 'Standard' school of poets based in Lucknow.
- mazdur:** labourer.
- Mir-i Musha'ira:** leader of a *musha'ira*.
- mir munshi:** chief secretary.
- mohalla:** division or quarter of town.
- moz'a:** a village-size land unit.
- mu'afi:** land exempted from revenue demands on grounds of service or pious donation.
- mu'allim:** Muslim religious teacher.
- mufti:** exponent of Muslim law - one who issues *fatawa*.
- muhajir:** an emigrant - one performing *hijrat* (pl. *Muhajirin*).
- Muharram:** chief festival of *Shi'a* Muslim Calendar - festival of mourning for early martyred leaders.
- Muharrir:** secretary.
- mukhtiar:** legal practitioner in the lower courts.
- mulla:** title equal to *maulana*.
- mullaiyat:** religious dogmatism (slang used pejoratively).
- munazara:** polemic, normally on religious matters.
- munshi:** clerk, teacher.
- munshi fazil:** higher qualification in Persian - diploma.
- munsif:** lowest grade of judge under British government.
- murid:** disciple.
- Musaddas:** poem employing a succession of six-line stanzas.
- musha'ira** gathering for the purpose of reciting poetry.
- Mutazilites:** group of thinkers largely responsible for the appearance in the eighth century A.D. of speculative dogmatics in Islam.

- mutakallimi:** discourse based on *Kalam*.
- na'ib:** deputy.
- Na'ib Mir Munshi:** deputy Chief Secretary.
- na'ib tehsildar:** deputy *tehsildar*.
- Nawab:** deputy vice regent title assumed by governors of province in later Mughal times - continuing under the British with general meaning of prince.
- nazim:** subordinate administrative official in the judicial courts.
- nazir:** junior civil servant.
- nazam:** a poem of unlimited length, beginning with a rhymed couplet.
- nechari:** the followers of nature - term applied to Saiyid Ahmad Khan and those who agreed with his reinterpretation of Islamic theology.
- nuha:** a lament.
- pardah:** 'a curtain, screen or veil' - the seclusion of women in respectable Muslim households.
- pargana:** subordinate unit in revenue administration.
- pargana qanungo:** subordinate official in Mughal and British revenue administration.
- Pashto Fazil:** college diploma in Pashto, the language of the majority of Pathans of the N.W.F.P. and Afghanistan.
- patwari:** revenue official.
- peshkar:** judicial clerk.
- pir:** a *sufi* - religious guide, saint.
- qafila:** a body of travellers.
- qasbah:** country town, seat of subordinate revenue administration and Muslim gentry.
- qazi:** a Muslim judge according to the religious law - under British reduced to status of officer of registry.
- Qazi al-Qazzat:** Chief Justice.
- qasida:** a panegyric/eulogy identical in form to the *ghazal*.
- qissa:** a tale.
- qit'as:** (sing. *qit'a*) a poetic fragment of unlimited length with first two hemisticks not rhyming with each other.
- ra'is:** nobleman.

- raj:* kingdom, rule of sovereignty.
- Rajput:* military caste or clan.
- risaldar:* a cavalry officer.
- Ruba'i:* a quatrain.
- sabha:* an assembly, usually of Hindus.
- Saiyid:* prince, lord, chief, owner - used to denote a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad - prominent group of Muslims.
- salam:* song of praise.
- Sangathan:* an essentially communal movement which aimed at unity among Hindus through ideas and techniques of self-defence.
- sangeet:* the art of singing generally accompanied by music and dancing.
- sarishtadar:* lower official in the law court.
- sarkar:* government.
- Shaikh:* title used by Muslims possessing or wishing to suggest Arabic descent.
- Shaikh al-Islam:* title applied to *Mufti* of Constantinople - supreme.
- Shams al-^cUlama:* honorific title - lit. sun of the ^c*ulama*.
- shari^ca:* the path to be followed - divinely revealed law of Islam governing both religious and secular matters - holy laws of Islam.
- Shari^ci:* conforming to Muslim law.
- sharif:* honourable - applied to descendant of Prophet Muhammad..
- Shi^ca:* followers of Ali, the fourth Caliph, son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, who formed heterodox sect in Islam - one of the two main branches of Islam.
- Shuddhi:* purification - reconversion to Hinduism.
- soz:* stanza of a elegiac poem.
- soz khwani:* recitation of an elegy.
- Sufi:* Muslim mystic - followers of mystical path.
- Sunni:* the majority sect in Islam - regards Caliphs Abu Bakr, ^cUmar and Usman as spiritual descendants of Prophet Muhammad - orthodox Muslims.

- swadeshi:** produced in one's own country.
- swaraj:** self-rule - political independence.
- tabib:** doctor practising traditional medicine.
- Tabligh:** conversion, Muslim proselytisation, missionary activity.
- tehsil:** revenue subdivision of a district.
- tehsildar:** officer in charge of *tehsil*.
- taluqadar:** Holder of revenue sub-division - came to mean large landholder in Awadh - after 1858, given proprietary rights over whole area from which they had previously collected revenue.
- taluqadari:** property of taluqadar.
- Tanzim:** consolidation - Muslim efforts to resist *Shuddhi*.
- tal'azia:** model of *Imam* Husain's tomb at Karbala, carried in procession by *Shi'as* on tenth day of the month of Muharrum.
- tazkira:** biographical work recording lives and works of Muslim holy men and poets.
- Thakur:** landholder.
- Ulama:** (sing. *Ulim*) learned men, scholars in Islamic religious sciences, theologians, religious teachers, jurists.
- Umma:** community of Islamic believers.
- Urs:** anniversary of a saint - day of celebration.
- Wahabi:** follower of *Abd al-Wahab*, the puritanical eighteenth century Arab reformer - often incorrectly used for followers of Saiyid Ahmad Barelwi in India.
- wal'iz:** one who gives religious sermons.
- zamindar:** landholder.
- zikh:** remembrance of the events at Karbala, when Husain, the Prophet Muhammad's grandson, was martyred.
- zikhadar:** district officer.

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INTRODUCTION

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2. See Edward Allworth, *Uzbek Literary Politics* (The Hague, 1964); Mounah A. Khouri, *Poetry and the Making of Modern Egypt (1882-1922)* (Leiden, 1971); Kemal H. Karpat, 'Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature', *Middle East Journal, of Revolution*.
3. Gail Minault, in *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilisation in India* (O.U.P., 1982), has looked at the use of Urdu poetry for political purposes by the leaders of the Khilafat Movement between 1919 and 1924, see pp. 155-63.
4. See Gene D. Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller, *Communism in India* (University of California Press, 1959); G. Adhikari, *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India* (Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi), Vol. I (1971), vol. II (1974), Vol. IIIA (1978), Vol. IIIB (1979), Vol. IIIC (1983).
5. Ralph Russell, 'Leadership in the All-India Progressive Writers' Movement, 1935-47', in B.N. Pandey, ed., *Leadership in South Asia* (New Delhi, 1977); Hafeez Malik, 'The Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXVI, 4, Aug. 1967, pp. 649-64; Steven M. Poulos, *Feminine Sense and Sensibility: A Comparative Study of Six Modern Women Short Fiction Writers in Hindi and Urdu* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1975); Leslie. A. Fleming, *Another Lonely Voice: The Urdu Short Stories of Saadat Hasan Manto* (University of California Press, 1979).

CHAPTER I

1. Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Saiyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani"* (University of California Press, 1968), pp. 39-41. In 1883, Saiyid Husain Bilgrami, a noted Indian Muslim intellectual even called al-Afghani 'a socialist', *Ibid*, p. 23. For treatment of al-Afghani's career, see Nikki R. Keddie, *Saiyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani: A Political Biography* (University of California Press, 1972).

2. Maulvi ^cAbd al-Haq of Calcutta and Delhi issued a *fatwa* declaring that the present war was political and not religious. The *fatwa* was circulated to all leading Maulvis, the great majority of whom approved and signed it, see WRDIB, week ending 2 Feb 1915, p. 7. The ^culama of Dar al-Ulum Nadwat al-^cUlama, Lucknow, also issued a proclamation announcing their allegiance to the British Government, see WRDIB, week ending 29 Dec. 1914, p. 7.
3. *Fatwa* No. 2 of *Shaikh al-Islam* of Constantinople, see WRDIB, week ending 12 Jan 1915.
4. Abd al-Razzaq Malihabadi, *Azad Ki Kahani Khud Azad Ki Zabani* (Delhi, 1958), quoted in Mushir U. Haq, *Muslim Politics in Modern India: 1857-1947* (Delhi, 1970), pp. 91-2.
5. ^cAbul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (New Delhi, 1978), p.8.
6. Maulana Muhammad Miyan, ed., *Tahrik-i Shaikh al-Hind (Mehfuz Rekard Ka Urdu Tarjuma)* (New Delhi, n.d.), pp. 197-200. For the complete record of the Silk Letter Conspiracy Case, see L/P&S/10/633 IOR.
7. See Maulana Muhammad Miyan, ed., *Tahrik-i Shaikh al-Hind*, pp. 61-7, 190-7; Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, *Naqsh-i Hayat* (Deoband, 1953-55), Vol II, p. 3; P.C. Bamford, *Histories of the Non-Cooperation and the Khilafat Movements* (Delhi, 1925), pp. 110-13; Maulana ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi, *Kabul Men Sat Sal: 1915-22* (Lahore, 1976).
8. Mushir Hosain Kidwai, *Islam and Socialism* (London, 1913), pp. v, 59, 63; see also his *Pan-Islam and Bolshevism* (London, 1937), p. 3. For activities of others, see Home Political A, Feb. 1921, Nos. 341-54.
9. G. Adhikari, ed., *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India* (hereafter referred to as *Documents*), Vol. I (Delhi, 1971), pp. 13-14, 94; WRDIB, week ending 15 July 1916, 1 Dec. 1917, 2 Feb. 1918, 13 July 1918.
10. James Campbell Ker, *Political Trouble in India: 1907-1917* (Delhi, 1973), pp. 308-9; Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti* (Lahore, 1966), pp. 22-3.
11. See Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti*, p. 21. On Maulana ^cUbaid-allah Sindhi's life and works, see Muhammad Sarwar, *Maulana ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi: Halat-i Zindagi, Talimat Aur Siyasi Afkar* (Lahore, 1943); Maulana ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi, *Kabul Men Sat Sal*, pp. 143-60. For his reinterpretation of Shah Wali-Allah's thought, see Maulana ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi, *Shah Wali-Allah Aur Unka Falsafa* (Lahore, 1944), and Maulana ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi, *Shah Wali-Allah Aur Unki Siyasi Tahrik* (Lahore, 1942); J.M.S. Baljon, 'A Comparison between the Koranic Views of ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi and Shah Wali-Allah', in Hamida Khuhro, ed., *Sind Through the Centuries* (O.U.P., 1981), pp. 183-90; Detlev Khalid, 'Ubayd-Allah Sindhi: Modern Interpretation of Muslim Universalism', *Islamic Studies*, June 1969, pp. 97-114.

12. See Maulana Muhammad Miyan, ed., *Tahrik-i Shaikh al-Hind*, pp. 196; according to Ubaid-Allah Sindhi, the foundation of Nizarat al-M^cuarif was laid by Mahmud al-Hasan, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Nawab Wiqar al-Mulk, see Sindhi, *Kabul Men Sat Sal*, p. 154.
13. Bamford, *Histories*, p. 122; Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ad Biti* pp. 92-6; Sindhi, *Kabul Men Sat Sal*, pp. 56-60.
14. Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, pp. 301-2; Zafar Hasan Aibak, *ap Biti*, pp. 91-2; Sindhi, *Kabul Men Sat Sal*, pp. 53-5.
15. For a detailed biography of Maulana Barkat-Allah, see M. ^cIrfan, *Barkat-Allah Bhopali* (Bhopal, 1969).
16. For a full account of the activities of the German-Turkish mission, see Ludwig W. Adamec, *Afghanistan, 1890-1923: A Diplomatic History* (University of California Press, 1967); also see Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti*, pp. 98-100.
17. Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, p. 305; Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti*, pp. 100-1.
18. Bolshevik Activities and Implications of Afghans in anti-British Intrigues, diary N.W.F.P. I.B., weeks ending 26 May 1919, 2 June 1919; L/P&S/11201 IOR, p. 37; *Rowlatt Sedition committee Report* (Calcutta, 1918), p. 178.
19. Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, p. 313; Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti*, pp. 110-12; Muhammad Miyan, ed., *Tahrik-i Shaikh al-Hind*, pp. 269-75.
20. Bamford, *Histories*, p. 125; *Ghullbnama*, the letters issued by Ghalib Pasha, are reproduced in full in Muhammad Miyan, ed., *Tahrik-i Shaikh al-Hind*, pp. 283-84.
21. M. Sarwar, ^c*Ubaid-Allah Sindhi*, p. 30; according to Sindhi, he had left India as a Pan-Islamist but when he met the Amir of Afghanistan, the latter advised him to work as a nationalist, see Sindhi, *Kabul Men Sat Sal*, pp. 18-19; also Shaukat ^cUsmani, *Autobiography*, MSS, p. 40, CPI Library, New Delhi.
22. For biographical information on ^cAbd al-Rab Peshawari, see Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India: 1920-1929* (Calcutta, 1970), pp. 50-1; see also Bolshevik activities in Afghanistan, Home Political A, March 1921, No. 154, and Bolshevik intrigues in Afghanistan, Home Political A, Feb. 1921, Nos. 34-54.
23. Qidwai, *Pan-Islamism and Bolshevism*, p. 63.
24. The two policy declarations 'To all Muslim Toilers of Russia and the East' and 'Declaration of the Rights of Toiling and Exploited Peoples' tore up the secret treaties agreeing 'to Tsarist annexation of Constantinople, partition of Persia and the dismemberment of Turkey, see Secretary of State for India to Viceroy, Telegram No. 968a, 13 Dec. 1917, Chelmsford papers, MSS Bur E 264/ IOR. See also *Milestones of Soviet Foreign Policy: 1917-1967* (Moscow, 1967), pp. 34-5; William E. Rappard, S.E. Harper et al., eds., *Source Book on European*

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 30. *Ibid.*, p. 126. The full text of the pamphlet is available in L/P&S/10/836, pp. 52-63 IOR.
 31. *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 119.
 32. Bolshevik Intrigues in Afghanistan, Home Political A, Feb. 1921, Nos. 341-54. the propaganda material included *Programme of the Communists, Civil War and Red Terror, The Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic and Capitalist England versus Socialist Russia*, see Report, General Staff Branch, March 1920.
 33. Diary N.W.F.P. I.B., No. 12 and No. 19, weeks ending 19 March 1920 and 6 May 1920, L/P&S/10/813 IOR. the membership form included a pledge of hatred for and hostility towards the the British and designated A. Rab as the president of the League of Revolutionaries, see Diary N.W.F.P. I.B. No 17, week ending 27 April 1920, L/P&S/10/813 IOR. The text of the constitution of the 'Indian Revolutionary Association Kabul' has been reproduced as Appendix A in F.O. 371/8170, pp. 20-4 PRO.
 34. There were reports at the time which indicated that in this dispute, Amir Aman-Allah Favoured ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi and showed his displeasure with Rab by telling him to leave Afghanistan along with his comrades, see Home Political A, Feb. 1921, Nos. 341-54; see also Bolshevik Intrigues in Afghanistan, *Ibid.*, p. 13. See Diary N.W.F.P. I.B. No. 24, week ending 10 June 1920, Muhammad Shafiq (see Appendix I), who was at the time inclined towards ^cUbaid-Allah Sindhi, mentioned 'selfish matters' as the reason for discord between Rab and Sindhi, see L/P&S/11212 IOR.
 35. *Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 54, 135-7; Davindra Kaushik, *Central Asia in Modern Times* (Moscow, 1970), p. 113; F.O. 371/9291, p. 74 PRO; M.N. Roy, *Memoirs* (New Delhi, 1964), p. 395. For information on Zamindar, see L/P&J/6/1884 IOR. British Intelligence reports stated that *Azad Hindustan* was a weekly. British admitted that many soldiers deserted in Turkestan, see Home Political A, Dec. 1920, Nos. 317-8, p. 87. They also accepted that many of these deserters had caught

- 'infection', see L/P&S/11/201 IOR. For specific examples, see L/P&S/11/2121 IOR.
36. M. Naeem Qureshi, 'The 'Ulama' of British India and the Hijrat of 1920', *Modern Asian Studies*, 13, 1 (1979), pp. 45, 50. For a detailed treatment, see M. Naeem Qureshi, *The Khilafat Movement in India, 1919-1924* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1973). See also Copy of Instructions to the Muhajirin, which stated that 'People, who on entering Afghanistan, accept Afghan nationality, will get 6 *jaribs* of land per head. A married man will get 8 *jaribs*. Land will also be given for the children and unmarried daughters', see Enclosure No. 1 to Diary N.W.F.P. I.B. No. 21, week ending 20 May 1920, L/P&S/10/813, p. 83 IOR.
 37. For accounts of the *Hijrat*, see Home Political A, Nov. 1920, Nos. 41-56; F.J. Briggs, 'The Indian Hijrat of 1920', *Moslem World*, Vol xx, No. 2, April 1930, p. 165; Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, Telegram P. No. 661, 13 Aug. 1920, MSS Eur 264/13 IOR; A.C. Niemeijer, *The Khilafat Movement: 1919-1924* (The Hague, 1972), p. 104.
 38. See Appendix I. See the demi-official letter of Shaikh Asghar 'Ali, C.I.E., dated 11 Aug 1920, which stated that 'the majority of Punjab Muhajirs ... included goldsmiths, weavers, shopkeepers, schoolmasters, students ... Altogether an estimate of 2000 from Punjab is not excessive', see Home Niemeijer, *The Khilafat Movement*, pp. 104-5.
 39. Muzaffar Ahmad, *The Communist Party of India and its Formation Abroad* (Calcutta, 1962), p. 16; Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *Sarhad Aur Jad-wa Jahad-i Azadi* (Lahore, n.d.), p. 220; Shaukat Usmani, *Autobiography*, p. 17; Shaukat Usmani, *Historic Trips of a Revolutionary* (New Delhi, 1977), p. 1.
 40. Nearly two-thirds of the fathers were petty functionaries in the British India Government or employed in occupations which depended on British authority. Over one-third were artisans or petty *zamindars*. See Appendix I.
 41. *Ibid.*
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. The poetry of 'Allama Iqbal on the Balkan Wars, 'the articles in Muhammad 'Ali Juhar Marhum's weekly *comrade* and Maulana Abu'l Kalam Azad's Marhum's weeklies *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balagh* were very influential in creating pro-Turkish sympathies amongst us. These writings also incited us against the British and they also produced the nationalist sentiment amongst us', see Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti*, pp. 14-5; see also Shaukat Usmani, *Autobiography*, pp. 20-2.
 44. The Muhajir students of Lahore were conscious of the racially discriminating policies of the British, for instance regarding recruitment to the army. No Indian could rise above the non-commissioned ranks. Aibak recalled that when he was advised by his English professor to join the army, he replied that he was prepared to do so if he was awarded a

- commission. When the professor insisted that he should join for patriotic reasons, Aibak flatly rejected the idea, 'This is not my country', he replied, 'because its government is not my government', Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti*, p. 19.
45. These young Muslims found examples of British ridicule of the Ottoman Caliphate and Islam intolerable. For instance, *The Graphic* (London) published a cartoon of the *Shaikh al-Islam* proclaiming the *fatwa* of *Jihad*. In this picture, the *Kalima* was ridiculed: 'God is great and the Kaiser is his Prophet'. Underneath was the sentence: 'India, Egypt, Afghanistan refuse to accept the *fatwa*', see L/P&S/10/633, p. 52 IOR. Aibak also refers to this cartoon as the ultimate insult which made the Lahore students decide to leave India, see Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti*, pp. 19-20.
 46. British insistence that Aman-Allah should 'break' with the Bolsheviks prior to the 'resumption of friendly relations', was conveyed to the Amir as early as October 1919, see Secretary of State for India to Viceroy, Telegram No. 682, 28 Nov. 1919; Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, Telegram No. 742, 3 Dec 1919, Chelmsford papers MSS Eur E 264/11 IOR. for the twists and turns of Anglo-Afghan and Afghan-Soviet relations, see Leon B. Poullada, *Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929* (Cornell University Press, 1973).
 47. For the Muhajirin's view of Aman-Allah's measures, see Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Ap Biti*, p. 204; Muzaffar Ahmad, *The Communist Party of India*, pp. 16-7; Shaukat Usmani, *Historic Trips*, pp. 10-26; M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, p. 456.
 48. In Autumn 1919, British intelligence reported that the Bolsheviks were trying to prove that Bolshevism was not 'contrary to the teachings of the Koran', see WRDIB, week ending 29 Sept 1919. They were also 'making great efforts to arouse Pan-Islamic feeling in Central Asia', see WRDIB, week ending 4 Aug 1919. For more general discussions of Soviet policy towards Muslim peoples, see E.H. Carr, *A History of Soviet Russia - The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1913*, Vol. III (London, 1961), p. 263 n. 3; I. Spector, *The Soviet Union and the Muslim World* (Washington, 1958), pp. 182-8. See also L/P&S/10/836, p. 187 IOR.
 49. M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, pp. 417, 419-20, 492. As early as November 1919, the Secretary of State for India had written to the Viceroy that he might try to 'outbid the Bolsheviks', see Secretary of State for India to Viceroy, Telegram No. 682, 28 Nov. 1919, Chelmsford papers MSS Eur E 264/11 IOR.
 50. M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, pp. 421-2.
 51. Muzaffar Ahmad, *The Communist Party of India*, p. 21; Shaukat Usmani, *Historic Trips*, pp. 27-35.
 52. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9.
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 37; Muzaffar Ahmad, *The Communist Party of India*, pp. 26-8.
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 30; M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, p. 441.

55. *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 52; M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, p. 469.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 468. See also Muzaffar Ahmad, *The Communist Party of India*, pp. 30, 32. The agreement signed at the end of March 1921 stipulated that the Soviet Government would refrain from any attempt by military or diplomatic means or any other form of action or propaganda to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against the British Empire, especially in India, see L/P&S/10/912, p. 363 IOR. Also, British Note to the Soviet Government, dated 7 Sept. 1921, pp. 276-7, and Telegram from Home to Krassin, dated 16 March 1921, L/P&S/10/912, p. 359.
58. M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, p. 457.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 461.
60. 'Eighteen of the one hundred emigrants living in Tashkent about the end of 1920 left to advance the revolutionary cause in India or work among the independent tribes on the country's border. Five went to Iran for propaganda work among Indians serving in the British Army there', M. Persits, 'Indian National Revolutionaries' Road to Marxism', *Soviet Review*, 4 July 1974, p. 14. For specific examples of these who returned from Tashkent, see Agitators To India from Tashkent, D.I.B. weekly report, week ending 22 June 1921, Home Political a, No. 287, File No. 5522, June 1921; and L/P&S/111040/1922 AND L/P&S/10/837, pp. 87, 322, 329 IOR.
61. M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, pp. 411-2, 464.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 464.
63. M. Persits, 'Transition of Indian National Revolutionaries to Marxism-Leninism', *Soviet Review*, 16 May 1974, p. 30.
64. *Idem.*
65. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
66. M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, p. 464.
67. *Idem.*
68. *Ibid.*, p. 465.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 464. see also M. Persits, 'Formation of the Indian Revolutionary Committee', *Soviet Review*, 16 May 1974, p. 26.
70. M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, p. 465. See also M. Persits, 'Transition', p. 29.
71. M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, p. 465. According to Habib Ahmad Nasim, one of the Muhajirin at Tashkent, Shafiq, Masud 'Ali Shah, Shaukat 'Ali and Rahmat 'Ali Zakaria were special favourites of Roy, see L/P&S/111/1040/1922, p. 7 IOR.
72. Minutes of the Meetings held on 17 October 1920 and 15 December 1920 at Tashkent, see *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 231.
73. M.N. Roy, *Memoirs*, p. 466. Fida 'Ali Zahid, in his later statement to the British court, described the kind of communist 'cell' structure which they were told to use in organisational work in India: 'Our instructions on returning to India were that each of us should enrol five men. We

- were to get hold of five individuals separately who should remain unknown to each other. To each of these were to pass on the communist teaching we had received, and they were to go out and pass it on similarly to others - peasants, industrial workers and so on. The five, though unknown to each other, were to keep in touch with their leader ...', see L/P&S/11/1040 1922, p. 26 IOR.
74. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 55-6. For a list of 'Abd al-Rab's 'party', see F.O. 371/9291, p. 74 PRO. For the names of those who sided with Roy, see *Ibid.*, pp. 66-8. See also *Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 248-9.
 75. F.O. 371/8170, p. 17 PRO.
 76. *Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 237-49; Ernestine Evans, 'Looking East From Moscow', *Asia* (New York), Vol. XXII, 1922, pp. 972-6, 1011-2; Abdul Qadir Khan, 'Pupil of the Soviet', *The Times* (London). 25. 26 and 27 Feb. 1930, 26 Feb. 1930, p. 15; F.O. 371/9291 p. 64 and F.O. 371/6845, pp. 45-6 PRO.
 77. A.C. Freeman, 'Russia's University of Oriental Communists', *Soviet Russia Pictorial*, April 1923; see extracts in *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 244.
 78. Fazl-i Ilahi Qurban, 'The Eastern University in Moscow', *The Vanguard of Indian Independence*, Vol. II, No. 4, 1 April 1923; *Documents*, Vol. I p. 245. Of those registered at the University in July 1921, 60% were 'of peasant origin' and 13% were 'of the labour class'. Thirty-two nationalities were represented, see F.O. 371/9291, p. 45 PRO.
 79. *Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 243-4.
 80. The list of subjects varies slightly from account to account. The selection given has been taken from the following sources: *Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 245-6; Ernestine Evans, 'Looking East from Moscow', p. 972; Abdul Qadir Khan, 'Pupil of the Soviet', p. 15; F.O. 371/9291, p. 64 PRO.
 81. Abdul Qadir Khan, 'Pupil of the Soviet', p. 15.
 82. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
 83. *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 244.
 84. Ernestine Evans, 'Looking East from Moscow', p. 974.
 85. *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 246.
 86. Abdul Qadir Khan, 'Pupil of the Soviet', p. 15.
 87. *Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 246-7.
 88. Of the 522 students at the University in July 1921, 72 were women, aged from 18 to 23, see F.O. 371/6845, p. 45 PRO.
 89. *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 245.
 90. Ernestine Evans, 'Looking East from Moscow', p. 973.
 91. Rafiq Ahmad, one of the Muhajirin, gave the names of those who joined the Communist Party of India 'on reaching Moscow' -- they were Shaukat 'Usmani, Ghaus (real name Gauhar) Rahman, Sultan Muhammad, Mian Muhammad Akbar Shah, Mir 'Abd al-Majid, Feroz al-din Mansur, Fida 'Ali Zahid, Rafiq Ahmad, Habib Ahmad Salini (real

- name Nasirm); Fazal-i-Illahi Qurban and 'Abd-Allah Safdar; Rahmat 'Ali Zakaria had become a member earlier, see Rafiq Ahmad, *An Unforgettable Journey* (Unpublished) quoted in *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 241.
92. Sajjad Zahir, a leading Muslim communist in the 1930s and 1940s, later recalled: 'All Indians of my generation, who were school boys at the time of the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements ... had heard and were thrilled by the valour and the burning spirit of patriotism shown by those young Indians who migrated from their homeland, and facing innumerable difficulties and hardships trekked through Afghanistan to Soviet Central Asia, with the sole purpose of getting themselves trained and equipped for waging an armed struggle against the British Imperialists in India', see S.M. Mehdi, *The Story Behind "Moscow". Tashkent Conspiracy Case* (Delhi, 1967), n. 4.
93. Abdul Qadir Khan, 'Pupil of the Soviet', 27 Feb. 1930, p. 16.

CHAPTER II

1. For detailed examination, see R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India* (Calcutta, 1963), Vols. II and III; M.H. Siddiqi, *Agrarian Unrest in North India: The United Provinces, 1918-22* (New Delhi, 1978); Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915-1922* (C.U.P., 1972); Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilisation in India* (O.U.P., 1982); R. Palme Dutt, *India Today* (London, 1940); Michael Edwardes, *The Last Years of British India* (London, 1963).
2. D.A. Low, 'The Government of India and the First Non-Cooperation Movement, 1922', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, Feb 1966, pp. 241-59; Peter D. Reeves, 'The Politics of Order: "Anti-Non-Cooperation" in the U.P., 1921', *Ibid.*, pp. 261-74.
3. *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 2 April 1918, P.N.N.R. 1918 p. 207.
4. *Paisa Akhbar*, 2 Sept 1919, P.N.N.R. 1919, p. 283.
5. *Zulfiqar* (Lahore), 24 March 1920, P.N.N.R. 1921. 1921, p. 147.
6. *Siyasat* (Lahore), 2 Nov 1919, P.N.N.R. 1919, p. 392.
7. *Paisa Akhbar*, 17 June 1919, P.N.N.R. 1919, p. 207.
8. *Hamdam* (Lucknow), 15 Aug 1919, supplement to P.N.N.R. 1919.
9. *The Bombay Chronicle*, 2 Dec 1917, in P.C. Joshi et.al., *Lenin in Contemporary Indian Press* (New Delhi, 1970), p. 9; Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India: 1920-29* (Calcutta, 1970), p. 17; 'Dyerism and Bolshevism' *The Bombay Chronicle*, 20 Oct 1920; *Hindustani* (Lucknow), 27 June, U.P.N.N.R. 1919-20, p. 204; Sajjad Zaheer, 'A man called Lenin', in Anand Gupta, ed., *India and Lenin* (New Delhi, 1960), p. 29.
10. P.C. Joshi, et. al., *Lenin*, p. 113.
11. *al-Khalil* (Bijnor), 4 Feb. 1920, U.P.N.N.R. 1919-20, p. 35.
12. Report No. 13, S.B.I., 22 May 1922, p. 6.
13. *al-Burid* (Cawnpore), 11 Feb 1920, U.P.N.N.R. 1920, p. 33.

14. 'The Defence of India: Part I', General Staff Memorandum (Secret), Reading Papers MSS Eur E 238/94 IOR.
15. Weekly Report No. 2, S.B.I., 19 Feb 1920, p. 6.
16. Weekly Report No. 15, S.B.I., 25 May 1920, p. 6.
17. Weekly Report No. 7, S.B.I., 25 March 1920, p. 7.
18. *Al-Wahid* (Karachi), 4 Nov 1920, B.N.N.R. 1920, p. 24; *The Independent* (Allahabad), 14 Jan, U.P.N.N.R. 1919-20, p. 13.
19. 'The word 'Khilafat' bore a strange meaning in most of the rural areas. People thought it came from 'khilaf', an Urdu word meaning 'against' or 'opposed to', and so Jawaharlal Nehru, *Towards Freedom: the autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru* (New York, 1941), p. 69; Weekly Report No. 31 S.B.I., 18 Sept 1920, p. 10.
20. Home Political A, aug 1920, No. 71, p. 6.
21. Home Political A, Nov 1920 Nos. 41-56, p. 414.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 467.
23. Weekly Report No. 20, S.B.I. 3 July 1920, p. 7.
24. Weekly Report No. 21, S.B.I. 10 July 1920, p. 7; Weekly Report No. 31, S.B.I. 18 Sept 1920, p. 10.
25. *Investors India Year Book*, 1921 (Preface).
26. While wages increased by 50%, wholesale prices in Calcutta went up 118%, see Royal Commission on Currency and Finance Report, Vol. I, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XII, Cmd. 2687, p. 131.
27. Home Political A, Feb 1921, Nos. 34-54, p. 10; for biographical information on Muhammad Akram Khan and Liakat Husain, see Sir Cecil Kaye, *Communism in India: 1919-24* (Calcutta, 1971), p. 141, 367-8; on Mujib al-Rahman, editor of the English weekly *Musalman* (Calcutta), see Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, p. 24.
28. Rajat K. Ray, 'Masses in Politics: the Non-Cooperation Movements in Bengal, 1920-1922', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol XI, No. 4, Dec. 1974, p. 363.
29. *Zamana* (Calcutta), 8 and 9 July 1920; see Weekly Report No. 23, S.B.I. 24 July 1920, p. 9. *Muhammadi* (Calcutta), 22 Oct. 1920, Weekly Report No. 38, S.B.I. 6 Nov 1920, p. 9.
30. Interview with 'Abd al-Razzaq Khan, Appendix IV in Gautam Chattopadhyay, *Communism and Bengal's Freedom Movement*, Vol. I (1917-29) (New Delhi, 1970), pp. 152-6.
31. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 121-3.
32. Chattopadhyay, *Communism and Bengal's Freedom Movement*, p. 20.
33. For biographical data on Nazar al-Islam, see Siraj al-Islam Choudhury, *Introducing Nazrul Islam* (Dacca, 1974).
34. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 24, 77, 82, 414-6.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
38. *Idem.*

39. The security deposit of *Navayug* was forfeited (to the government) for the sharp language it had used in attacking the police firing upon the participants in the *Hijrat*, *Ibid.*, p. 82.
40. For biographical data on Ghulam Husain, see Sir David Petric, *Communism in India: 1924-1927* (New Delhi, 1927), pp. 313-4; Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 348-9; Subodh Roy, ed., 'Unpublished Documents of the N.A.I. (1919-1920)', in Kaye, *Communism in India*, pp. 227-239.
41. Subodh Roy, 'Unpublished Documents', p. 141.
42. for instances of Bolshevik-aided propaganda aimed at India, see L/P&S/10/836, P. 2995/19, pp. 15, 46-7, 52-8, 82, 108, 164, 164/1-164/4, 164/4, 187 IOR.
43. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, p. 81.
44. *Communist International* (Petrograd), June-July 1920, p. 2316.
45. G. Adhikari, *Documents of the Communist Party of India*, (hereafter referred to as *Documents*), Vol. I (New Delhi, 19071), p. 204. For the full text of the Theses on the National and Colonial Questions adopted by the Second Comintern Congress, see *Ibid.*, pp. 198-205; Muzaffar Ahmad, *The Communist Party of India: years of formation, 1921-1933* (Calcutta, 1959), p. 9.
46. See John P. Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India, M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-39* (Princeton, 1971), p. 11.
47. F.O. 371/8170, pp. 195, 200 PRO.
48. See *Documents*, Vol. II (New Delhi, 1974), pp. 40-1. for details of the Peshawar cases, see L/P&S/11/1040/1922 IOR; Kaye, *Communism in India*.
49. Of the returning Muhajirin, Shaukat 'Usmani evaded the British 'dragnet' and was able to get in touch with Muzaffar Ahmad in Calcutta in Feb. 1923, see Kaye, *Communism in India*, pp. 219-21; Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, p. 298. For careers of Muhammad 'Ali Zakaria, see Kaye, *Communism in India*; Petric, *Communism in India*; Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 47-8, 156-9; *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 221.
50. For details of Bolshevik assistance, see Weekly Intelligence summaries, F.O. 371/8170, pp. 195-6 PRO; £120,000 were approved for the Indian Communist Party by the Third International in Nov. 1922, see The Confidential Minutes of a Meeting of the Colonial Commission of the Third International held at Moscow on 11 Nov Nov 1922, F.O. 371/8171, pp. 13-6 PRO. For funds despatched to Ghulam Husain, see Kaye, *Communism in India*, pp. 227-8. For sums of money sent to Shaukat 'Usmani see Evidence presented by Lt. Col. Kaye, Director Intelligence Bureau at the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case, L/P&S/6/1880 IOR, and Judgement of Allahabad High Court, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XI, Cmd. 2309, 1924-5, p' 6; Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 310-9.
51. Kaye, *Communism in India*, pp. 207-8.

52. *Inqilab* began as a bi-weekly, but by the end of June 1923, when it ceased publication, it had become a monthly journal, see Half-yearly Lists of the Press branch, corrected up to 23 Dec. 1922 and 30 June 1923, P.N.N.R. 1922 and 1923.
53. *Documents*, Vol. I, p. 594; Kaye, *Communism in India*, p. 228; Sukhbir Chaudhary, *Peasants' and Workers' Movement in India, 1905-29* (New Delhi, 1971).
54. P.N.N.R. 1922, p. 605; P.N.N.R. 1923, pp. 54, 223.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 502-3, 605.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
57. See Half-yearly List of reported newspapers and periodicals dated 23 Dec. 1922, P.N.N.R. 1922. However, because of financial difficulties, *Inqilab* had to be closed down in April 1923.
58. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, p. 349.
59. See Lajpat Jagga, 'Colonial Railwaymen and British Rule: A Probe into Railway Labour Agitation in India, 1919-1922', in Bipan Chandra, ed., *the Indian Left: A Critical Appraisal* (New Delhi, 1983), pp. 137-8; Kaye, *Communism in India*, p. 240.
60. P&J(S)/963, p. 20 in L/P&J/6/1880 IOR.
61. L/P&S/10/1108, p. 519 IOR.
62. Chattopadhyay, *Communism and Bengal's Freedom Movement*, pp. 64-5.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 65; see also P&J(S) 325/1924 in L/P&S/10/1180 IOR.
64. Chattopadhyay, *Communism and Bengal's Freedom Movement*, p. 153; 'Bolshevism and India', F.O. 371/10110, p. 28 PRO.
65. Summary by Director Intelligence Bureau, July 1923, L/P&S/10/1108 p. 519 IOR.
66. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, p. 194.
67. P.C. Joshi et. al., *Lenin*, p. 80.
68. *Dhumketu*, 24 Nov. 1922, see *Ibid.*, pp. 80-1.
69. *Dhumketu*, 13 Oct 1922, see Rajat Ray, 'Revolutionaries, Pan-Islamists and Bolsheviks: Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and the Political underworld in Calcutta, 1905-1925', in Mushirul Hasan, ed., *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 101; Siraj al-Islam Choudhury, *Introducing Nazrul Islam*, p. 70.
70. *Dhumketu*, 22 Dec. 1922, see Chattopadhyay, *Communism and Bengal's Freedom Movement*, p. 54.
71. Rajat Ray, 'Revolutionaries', p. 101.
72. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, p. 195.
73. Memorandum from Secretary to the Government of India, Home Dept., to Local Governments and Administrations, 25 Nov. 1919 Foreign Dept., Secret Internal, Aug 1920, Nos. 8-26, in T.R. Sareen, *Russian Revolution*, p. 93.
74. L.P. Sinha, *The Left-Wing in India: 1919-1947* (Muzaffarpur, 1965), p. 106.
75. *The Bombay Chronicle*, 5 July 1924, in L/P&J/6/1880 IOR.

76. 'Indians and Bolshevism', *Siyasat*, 25 Nov. 1924, P.N.N.R. 1924, p. 335; 'Government and Bolshevism', *Tasnim* (Lahore), 22 Oct. 1924, *Ibid.*, p. 335; *Madina* (Bijnor), U.P.N.N.R. 1924, p. 4.
77. M.N. Roy to a friend, in Petrie, *Communism in India*, p. 96.
78. Sajjad Zahir, 'A Man Called Lenin', in Anand Gupta, ed., *India and Lenin* (New Delhi, 1960), p. 30; for Sajjad Zahir's career, see Appendix II.
79. Sajjad Zahir, 'A Man Called Lenin', p. 30.
80. *Madina*, U.P.N.N.R. 1924, p. 4.
81. Articles such as 'Proletarian Hindu-Muslim Unity' in *Socialist*, March 1923, and 'Manifesto on the Hindu-Muslim Unity and Swaraj' in *Vanguard*, Vol. III, No. 4, 1 Oct 1923, in *Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 197-201, 209-16, articulated the feelings of Muslim socialists.
82. *Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 200, 212; M.N. Roy, 'The abolition of the Khilafat', *Imprecorr*, Vol. 4, No. 19, 13 March 1924, in *Ibid.*, p. 270.
83. M.N. Roy's 'Appeal to the Nationalists', after some changes, was distributed at the Belgium session of the I.N.C., and a resolution based on it was narrowly defeated, see *Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 445-6.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-40; 'The Manilal Manifesto Party' was a misnomer used by Ghulam Husain for the 'People's Party', *Ibid.*, pp. 98-113.
85. See Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 340, 407; also *Documents*, Vol. II, p. 592.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 615, 664, 669.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 667, 640-1, 635, 613.
88. See Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism*, p. 49; *Documents*, Vol. IIIA (1978), p. 27, 29, 33.
89. For details of the political activities of Spratt and Bradley, see *Judgement delivered by R.L. Yorke, Additional Sessions Judge, Meerut on 16th January 1933* (Simla Government of India Press, 1932-3) vol II, pp. 315-26, 327-41; for Allison, see Petrie, *Communism in India*, p. 296; Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 459-64.
90. Philip Spratt, *Blowing up India: Reminiscences and Reflections of a former Comintern Emissary* (Calcutta, 1955), pp. 35-46; Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 465-9; Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism*, pp. 50-7.
91. *Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 67-86; see also Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, pp. 414-29.
92. According to the 1921 Census, nearly one quarter of the population of Calcutta were Muslims. Of Calcutta's total population, 36.8% were Urdu or Hindi-speaking, see *Government of India Census, 1921*, Vol. VI, part I, pp. 4, 27-8, 34, 36, 40, 82, 104-7. See also Kenneth McPherson, *the Muslim Microcosm: Calcutta 1918-1935* (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 16.
93. Rajat Ray, *Urban Roots of Indian Nationalism: Pressure Groups and Conflict of Interest in Calcutta City Politics, 1875-1939* (New Delhi,

- 1979), p. 90; *Judgement ... Meerut Conspiracy Case, vol. III, pp. 473, 509; Documents, Vol. IIIB (1979), p. 42.*
94. *Documents, Vol. IIIA, p. 25, Vol. IIIB, pp. 41, 66; Muzaffar Ahmad, Myself, p. 416.*
95. *Judgement ... Meerut Conspiracy Case, Vol. II, pp. 591-2; for detailed biographical information on Abd al-Majid, Fazl-i Ilahi Qurban, Feroz al-din Mansur and Gauhar Rahman Darveshi, see The Ghadr Directory (Delhi, 1934). pp. 2-3, 73-5, 79-80; see also Robert W. Gandre, Communism and the Peasant Movement in Punjab Province (Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Dept. of Political Science, Columbia University, June 1977), p. 5. as early as 1923, M.A. Khan was executive member of the AITUC, and organising secretary of the AI Railwaymen's Federation, see documents, Vol. II, p. 83. See also Bhagwan Josh, Communist Movement in Punjab, 1926-47 (Delhi, 1979) pp. 79-115; Aditya Mukharjee, 'the Workers' and Peasants' Parties, 1926-30: An Aspect of Communism in India', in Bipan Chandra, ed., *The Indian Left*, pp. 1-44.*
96. Shaukat Usmani, *Autobiography*, MSS CPI Library, pp. 172-80.
97. *Documents, vol. IIIB, p. 206; U.P.N.N.R. 1925, p. 2, 1926, p. 4, 1932, p. 4; Hasrat Mohani was also involved in the labour movement in Cawnpore - for his views, see U.P.N.N.R. 1933, p. 5; Feroz al-din Mansur was trying to build a branch of the U.P. Workers and Peasants' Party at Delhi, see Documents, Vol. IIIC (1982), pp. 91, 288.*
98. *Kirti (Urdu) first came out in April 1928, see Ibid., p. 90.*
99. *Documents, Vol. IIIa, p. 78; see also Muzaffar Ahmad, Myself, pp. 438-9. for a more detailed treatment of the communal question, see Documents, Vol. IIIA, pp. 80-94.*
100. *Ibid., pp. 82, 85; see also Vol. IIIB, pp. 174-6. the manifesto was recovered from Abd al-Majid's house when it was raided by the police prior to the Meerut Conspiracy trial.*
101. *Documents, Vol. IIIA, p. 25; Muzaffar Ahmad, Myself, p. 417.*
102. *Documents, Vol. IIIB, p. 136.*
103. Bipan Chandra, 'The Ideological Development of the Revolutionary Terrorists in Northern India in the 1930s', in Bipan Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India* (New Delhi, 1979), p. 226.
104. Petrie, *Communism in India*, p. 151.
105. Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab*, p. 93.
106. *Judgement ... Meerut Conspiracy Case, Vol. II, p. 469; Documents, Vol. II, pp. 676-8.*
107. *Langal (Calcutta), 7 Jan 1926 in Chattopadhyay, Communism and Bengal's Freedom Movement, pp. 177-9; Documents, Vol. II, p. 678, Vol. IIIA, p. 25, Vol. IIIB, pp. 41, 176-80. for Iskra's role, see V.I. Lenin, 'What is to be Done?', in Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. V (Moscow, 1961). Inqilab was an earlier, attempt in the Panjab along*

- similar lines, see Sukhbir Chaudhary, *Peasants and Workers Movement in India*, p. 150.
108. Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International, 1919-1943: Documents* (London, 1971), vol. II, p. 446.
 109. 'Theses on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies', Part A: 'On Communist Strategy and Tactics in China, India and Similar Colonial Countries', *Imprecorr*, Vol. VIII, No. 88, 2 Dec 1928, pp. 1665-73. By the end of 1928, the decisions of the Comintern were communicated to the Communists in India, see T.R. Sareen, *Russian Revolution and India: A Study of Soviet Policy Towards Indian National Movement: 1922-29* (New Delhi, 1978), pp. 150-7; and Philip Spratt, *Blowing up India*, p. 42.
 110. Petric, *Communism in India*, pp. 114-6.
 111. Pramita Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy Case and the Left-Wing in India* (Calcutta, 1978), pp. 50-1; for the kind of action that the Secretary of State had in mind, see Secretary of State for India to Viceroy, Telegram No. 133, 2 May 1928 and Telegram No. 314, 19 December 1928, Halifax Papers, MSS Eur C 152/9 IOR.
 112. Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, Telegram No. 300, 13 Sept 1928, Halifax papers, MSS Eur C 152/9 IOR, and Telegram No. 40, 19 Jan 1929, Halifax papers, MSS Eur C 152/15 IOR.
 113. See India - Legislative Assembly Debates, V/9/82 - 84 IOR; see also *The Times* (London), 13 April 1929, p. 12.
 114. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Communist Party of India*, pp. 26-9; Philip Spratt, *Blowing up India*, pp. 43-4; Aditya Mukherjee, 'The Workers' and Peasants' Parties', pp. 34-6; Pramita Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy*, pp. 25-30; Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism*, pp. 149-53, the meeting of the Indian communists to which Haithcox refers on p. 159, took place on 27-29 Dec. 1928 at Calcutta, see *Judgement ... Meerut Conspiracy Case*, Vol. II, p. 480; Subodh Roy, ed., *Communism in India: Unpublished Documents, 1925-34* (Calcutta, 1972), p. 134.
 115. Pramita Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy*, p. 163.
 116. *Judgement ... Meerut Conspiracy Case*, Vol. II.
 117. Zafar Imam, *Colonialism in East-West Relations: A Study of Soviet Policy Towards India and Anglo-Soviet Relations, 1917-1947* (New Delhi, 1969), p. 299; Pramita Ghosh, *Meerut Conspiracy*, p. 118; U.P.N.R. 1928-31, p. 2.
 118. See Sir Malcolm Hailey's correspondence, in particular, Hailey, to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, 11 July 1929, Hailey to 1929, Hailey Papers, MSS Eur E 220/15B IOR.
 119. Philip Spratt, *Blowing up India*, pp. 51-2; Saumyandranath Tagore, *Historical Development of the Communist Movement in India* (Calcutta, 1944), p. 93.
 120. Sibte Hasan, Interview, Jan 1981, Karachi.

121. For the history of the Workers' and Peasants' Party in 1929 and after, the origins of the All-India (Red) Trade Union congress and communist attempts to reorganise, see Subodh Roy, ed., *Communism in India*, pp. 377-8, 384-93.
122. U.P.N.N.R. 1928-31, p. 2.
123. For information on the origins of Naujawan Bharat Sabha and its political strategy, see Subodh Roy, ed., *Communism in India*, pp. 239-41; Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab*, pp. 79-115; Bipan Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism*, pp. 221-51; Punjab Fortnightly reports ending 30 June 1929, 15 July 1929, 15 August 1929, 15 Sept 1929, 31 Dec 1929, in L/P&J/12/19 IOR, and 30 April 1930 in L/P&J/12/21 IOR. speaking at Amritsar, 'abd al-Majid said; 'We have no concern with any particular religion', see *Judgements ... Meerut Conspiracy Case*, Vol. II, p. 596.
124. See appendix I for Ashfaq-Allah Khan; see also Kali Charan Ghosh, *The Roll of Honour* (Calcutta, 1965), p. 388; *Musawat* (Karachi), 9 april 1978; *Jang* (Karachi) 19 Feb 1980.
125. For Naujawan Bharat Sabha's political programme, see Subodh Roy, ed., *Communism in India*, pp. 239-40; Bipan Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism*, p. 238.
126. Punjab Fortnightly Reports ending 30 June 1929, 15 July 1929, 15 august 1929, in L/P&J/12/10 IOR.
127. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Soviet Russia* (Bombay, 1929); Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography with Musings on Recent Events in India* (London, 1942), p. 166; Bipan Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism*, pp. 172-3; H. Williamson, *Communism in India* (Simla, 1935), p. 125; Punjab Fortnightly Report, ending 15 July 1929, in L/P&J/6/1983 IOR.
128. 'Record of the proceedings of a conference held on 15 July 1929 to discuss the political situation in the Punjab', in L/p&J/1983 IOR.
129. Punjab Fortnightly Reports, ending 30 June 1929, 15 August 1929, in L/P&J/12/10/1983 IOR.
130. Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims, the Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923* (C.U.P. 1974), chapter 2. Jawaharlal Nehru always addressed the Raja of Mahmudabad, with whose family the Nehrus had old ties, as 'Uncle' although, apart from religion, there were considerable political differences between them, see Qurrat al-Ain Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai* (Bombay, 1977), p. 249.
131. Sajjad Zahir, *Memoirs NISS* (with daughter Najma Zahir at New Delhi); Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, *I am not an Island, An Experiment in Autobiography* (Bombay, 1977), pp. 94-6; Halide Edib, *Inside India* (London, 1937), p. 339).
132. Subodh Roy, ed., *Communism in India*, p. 197; for details of the Congress Socialist Party, see Acharya Narendra Deva, *Socialism and National Revolution* (Bombay, 1946), p. xii, and M.R. Masani, *the Communist Party of India: A Short History* (London, 1954), pp. 53-71.

133. Marcus f. Franda, *Radical Politics in West Bengal* (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1971), p. 13.
134. *Judgement ... Meerut Conspiracy case*, Vol. II, p. 469.
135. *Idem*.
136. Viceroy to Provincial Governors, Halifax papers, MSS Eur C 152/23 No. 180, 23 March 1929 IOR.
137. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself*, p. 349.
138. H. Williamson, *India and Communism*, pp. 276-7, 280.
139. 'Faith in the People' and 'Unquestioned loyalty to the Directives of the Communist International' were two things on which Muzaffar Ahmad counted, see Muzaffar Ahmad, *Communist Party of India*, p. 8.
140. Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International*, Vol. III, pp. 346, 356-7; Wang Ming, *the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies* (New York, 1935); M.R. Masani, *The Communist Party of India*, pp. 56-9.

CHAPTER 111

1. J.M.S. Baljon, *the Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan* (Leiden, 1949); Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857-1964* (O.U.P., 1967); Christian W. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan, A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology* (New Delhi, 1978); Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernisation in India and Pakistan* (New York, 1980); Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India, A Social analysis* (London, 1946)
2. Carlo Coppola, *Urdu Poetry; 1935-70: the Progressive Episode*, 2 Vols., (Unpublished Ph.d. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1975); Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik* (Aligarh, 1979).
3. Maulvi ^cAbd al-Haq, *Marhum Dilli Kalij* (Delhi, 1945); Charles F. Andrews, *Zaka Ullah of Delhi* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 42-3.
4. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *A Series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad and Subjects Subsidiary Thereto* (Lahore, 1968), p. v; Muhammad Isma^cil Panipati, ed., *Maqalat-i Sir Saiyid*, 15 Vols., (Lahore, 1963), vol. XV, p. 1147; A.H. Hali, *Hayat-i Jawed* (Lahore, 1966), pp. 528, 540-1; Jamal al-din al-Afghani, 'the Materialists in India', in Nikki r. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism* (University of California Press, 1968), p. 177. there are numerous examples of where Muslim socialist writers have praised Saiyid Ahmad Khan's 'progressive' ideas, see, for instance, Ihtesham Husain, 'Aligarh Tahrik ke Asasi Pehlu'. in Faqir Ahmad Faisal, ed., *Intikhab-i Ihtesham Husain* (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 149-51; Sardar J^cafri, *Taraqqi Pasand Adab* (Lahore, n.d.), p. 113.
5. For the golden period of the ghazal, see Ralph Russell and Khushidul Islam, *Three Mughal Poets, Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan* (London, 1969);

- Muhammad Hasan, '1857 Ki Adabi Ahmiyat', in *Sh'ir-i Nau* (Lucknow, 1961), pp. 45-7.
6. For Hali, see Ihtesham Husain, 'Hali Aur Unka 'Ahd', in Faqir Ahmad Faisal, ed., *Intikhab-i Ihtesham Husain*, pp. 305-13; Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature* (London, 1964), pp. 263-74; for Muhammad Husain Azad, see Muhammad Sadiq, *Muhammad Husain Azad, His Life and Works* (Lahore, 1965); for western influences on Hali, see Altaf Husain Hali, 'Hali Ki Kahani Hali Ki Zabani', *Roshan Kitabon* (Lahore), No. 83, pp. 8-9; Altaf Husain Hali, *Muqqadima-i Sh'ir wa Sha'iri* (Karachi, n.d.), pp. 11-5, 50, 87; Saiyid Mumtaz Husain, 'Adabi Qadren Kya Hain?', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), Oct. 1948, p. 17.
 7. Altaf Husain Hali, *Muqqadima*, pp. 23-4, 32, 36-9, 49.
 8. Saicem Ahmad, 'The Ghazal, A Muffler, and India', *Annual of Urdu Studies* (Chicago), No. 2, 1982, p. 54.
 9. Altaf Husain Hali, *Musaddas-i Hali* (Delhi, 1935), pp. 111-2.
 10. 'Ali Ahmad Fatmi, 'Maulana 'Abd al-Halim Sharar (Sawanih Aur Navilen)', *Guftugu* (Bombay), March-Dec. 1977, p. 77.
 11. Maulana 'Abd al-Halim Sharar, *Guzashta Lakhnau Ya Mashriqi Tammadun Ka Akhri Namuna* (Lucknow, 1974).
 12. See Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa, *Umrao Jan-i Ada* (Karachi, 1961); Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, *Mirat al-'Urus*, tr. by G.E. Ward as *The Bride's Mirror* (London, 1899), pp. 92-3; *Fasana-i Mubtala* (Karachi, n.d.), pp. 92-3; Hali also wrote in favour of women's education, see his *Majalis al-Nis'a* (Panipat, 1924).
 13. Nazir Ahmad's heroes later came to be characterised as 'monstrosities of virtue', see Annemarie Schimmel, *Classical Urdu Literature from the Beginning to Iqbal* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 229.
 14. In Rashid al-Khairi's (1870-1936) earlier works, his ideal women 'sacrificed all their joys for their husbands', 'suffered without a sign' and 'died without a murmur', see Shaista Akhtar Banu Suhrawardy, *A Critical Survey of the Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story* (London, 1945), p. 114.
 15. See translation with explanatory note in *Annual of Urdu Studies*, No. 1, 1981, pp. 46-56.
 16. Misbah al-Hasan Qaisar, *Ratan Nath Sarshar* (Lucknow, 1982) pp. 45-7.
 17. Saiyid Mumtaz 'Ali, *Huquq-i Niswan* (Lahore, 1898), pp. 3-34, 40-59, 64-79, 105-19; Qurrat al-'Ain Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz hai* (Bombay, 1977), p. 156.
 18. For the foundation of *Khatun* (Aligarh) and the efforts of Muslim modernists to promote women's education, see Gail Minault, 'Shaikh Abdullah, Begam Abdullah, and Sharif Education for Girls at Aligarh',

- in Imtiaz Ahmad, ed., *Modernisation and Social Change among Muslims in India* (New Delhi, 1983), pp. 207-36.
19. Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (C.U.P., 1972), p. 181.
 20. Zafar 'Ali Khan, *Jang-i Rus wa Japan* (Hyderabad (Deccan), 1905); Altaf Husain, 'Yaldram Ki Sha'iri', *Pagdandi* (Amritsar), Sajjad Haidar Yaldram No., vol. 9, No. 5, p. 256.
 21. Ralph Russell and Khurshidul Islam, 'The Satirical Verse of Akbar Allahabadi, 1846-1921', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1974, pp. 1-58.
 22. Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 278.
 23. *Idem.*; for a full length biography of Shibli, see Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Yadgar-i Shibli* (Lahore, 1971).
 24. Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, p. 181.
 25. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Dec. 1939, pp. 68-9.
 26. See Shibli N'umani, *Sh'ir al-'Ajam* (Lahore, 1924), Vols. 3-5, pp. 245-6.
 27. Sardr J'afri, *Taraq-i Pasand Adab*, pp. 111-2.
 28. Gail Minault, 'Urdu Political Poetry during the Khilafat Movement', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1974, pp. 459-71; for examples of Shibli's political poetry, see Muhammad Wasil 'Usmani, *Shibli, Naqqadon Ki Nazr Men* (Karachi, n.d.), pp. 43-57.
 29. For an examination of Hali's 'Victorian' values, their rejection by Romantic writers in Urdu and Progressive Writers in the 1920s and 1930s, and finally their gradual acceptance by Muslim socialist writers albeit with a secular rationale, see Saleem Ahmad, 'The Ghazal, A Muffler, And India;', pp. 58-77. For Progressive Writers' criticism of the 'hypocrisy' of traditionally minded authors on the question of 'pornography' in literature, see 'Ali Sardar J'afri, 'Adab Aur Rij'at Pasandi', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Nov. 1939, pp. 8-18.
 30. See 'Prometheus Unbound' and 'the Revolt of Islam' in Edmund Blunden, ed., *Selected Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London, 1954), pp. 214-89, 143-76; Qurrat al-'Ain Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai*, p. 135; Rashid al-Khairi in later life also came to champion the woman's right to divorce, see S.A.B. Suhrawardy, *A Critical Survey*, p. 115.
 31. Qurrat al-'Ain Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai*, p. 132; 'Abd al-Halim Sharar, *Khaufnak Muhabbat* (Lucknow, 1926).
 32. Qazi 'Abd al-Ghaffar, 'Sajjad - Yaldram', *Pagdandi*, Sajjad Haidar No., Vol. 9, No. 5, pp. 82-3; Qurrat al-'Ain Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai*, p. 122; Sajjad Haidar Yaldram, 'Kharistan wa Gulistan', and 'Suhbat-i Najins' in his *Khayalistan* (Delhi, 1946), pp. 35-68, 119-54.
 33. Sajjad Haidar Yaldram, 'Navil Navisi', *Pagdandi*, Sajjad Haidar Yaldram No., vol. 9, No. 5, p. 159.
 34. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-6.

35. Muhammad Hasan, *Shāfir-i Nau*, p. 59; Ihtesham Husain, 'Akhtar Shirani Ki Romaniyat', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), Nov. 1948, pp. 37-43; Sardar Jafri, *Taraqqi Pasand Adab*, pp. 185-6.
36. Muhammad Hasan, *Urdu Adab Men Romanwi Tahrik* (Lucknow, 1955), pp. 55-6.
37. Muhammad Hasan, *Shāfir-i Nau*, pp. 123-6, 165; for N.M. Rashid's view of his poetry see his interview with *Mahfil*, *A Quarterly of South Asian Literature* (East Lansing, Michigan), vol. VIII, No. 102, Spring-Summer 1971, pp. 1-20; for Akhtar al-Iman, see his interview in *Shāfir* (Bombay), Vol. 46, Nos. 4-5, pp. 11-21.
38. Muhammad Hasan, *Urdu Adab Men Romanwi Tahrik*, p. 45; Sebha Lakhnawi and Shabnam Romani, eds., *Armaghan-i Majnun* (Karachi, 1980), p. 247.
39. Cited in Muhammad Hasan, *Urdu Adab Men Romanwi Tahrik*, pp. 45-6.
40. Josh Malihabadi, 'Insaan Ka Khuda', *Naya Adab Kya Hai?* (Lucknow, 1941), p. 31; Salim Ahmad, 'Josh Aur Khuda', *Naya Daur* (Karachi), Nos. 41-2, pp. 335-45; Mirza Nasir 'Ali, 'Josh Malihabadi', *Quest* (Bombay), Nov. 1962, pp. 51-8.
41. Josh Malihabadi, 'Shikast-i Zindan Ka Khwab', with translation, Eabadat Bareilvi, 'The Poetry of Freedom', *Pakistan Quarterly* (Karachi), Spring 1960, pp. 60-1; Sardar Jafri, *Taraqqi Pasand Adab*, pp. 153-4.
42. For a recognition of this tendency among these writers and a critique, see Sajjad Zahir, 'Urdu Ki Inqilabi Sha'iri', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), July 1939, pp. 30-46.
43. Annemarie Schimmel, *Classical Urdu Literature*, p. 186.
44. See, for instance, his 'Mullisi Ka Falsafa', in Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, pp. 7-24, 25-47.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Majnun Gorakhpuri, *Adab Aur Zindagi* (Karachi, 1969), p. 405.
47. For Muttalibi Faridabadi's poetry, see his collections *Hayya Hayya Aur Dusri Nazmen* (Lahore, n.d.), *Pinhari* (Lahore, 1966) and *Kisan Rut* (MSS. with his son). to gain a flavour of Ahsan Danish's poetry, see *Jam-i nau* (Karachi), Ahsan Danish No., Vol. 23, Nos. 11-12, pp. 210-12, 286-96.
48. *Naya Adab* (Bombay), *Khas No. (Azadi Ki Manzilen)*, 1949, pp. 26-7.
49. Muhammad Iqbal, *Ilm al-Iqtisad* (Karachi, 1961), pp. 24, 104, 205.
50. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India, A Social Analysis* (London, 1946), p. 110.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
52. For a socialist interpretation of Iqbal's thought, see 'Aziz Ahmad, *Iqbal, Na'i Tashkil* (Lahore, 1947), pp. 135-440; see also Hafeez Malik, 'Iqbal's Conception of Socialism' and Carlo Coppola, 'Iqbal and the Progressive Movement', in *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* (Villanova, Pennsylvania), Vol. I, No. 2, Dec. 1977, pp. 41-8, 49-57;

- Abbadullah Farooqi, 'Islamic Socialism and Iqbal', *Iqbal Review* (Karachi), Vol. XV, No. 1, April 1974, pp. 1-7; Justice S.A. Rahman, *Iqbal Aur Socialism* (Lahore, 1978); Muhammad Hanif Ramay, ed., *Iqbal aur Socialism* (Lahore, 1970).
53. Muhammad Iqbal, 'Tshirakiyat wa Mulukiyaat', *Jawed Nama*, p. 69, cited in W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 121..
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
 55. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshnai* (Karachi, 1976), pp. 177-8.
 56. H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago, 1947), p. 61.
 57. See 'Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore, 1977), pp. 167-70; Sa'id Jafri, 'Iqbal Ki Nigah Men 'Aurat Ki Haisiyat', *Nigar* (Cawnpore), Sept. 1938, pp. 32-9; W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, pp. 153-4; Sharif ul-Din Pirzada, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (Karachi, 1966), pp. 156-9.
 58. Akhtar Husain Raipuri, *Adab Aur Inqilab* (Bombay, 1943), p. 87.
 59. Ahmad 'Ali, 'A Progressive View of Art', *Documents of the First PWA Conference, Held at Lucknow in April 1936*, p. 48.
 60. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), July 1939, pp. 58-67.
 61. For more positive assessments of Iqbal's views, see Khalil al-Rahman 'Azmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik* (Aligarh, 1979), pp. 280-5.
 62. 'Aziz Ahmad, *Taraqqi Pasand Adab* (Hyderabad (Deccan), 1945), p. 81.
 63. Amir 'Affi, *Niaz Fatehpuri* (New Delhi, 1977), pp. 297, 336-7; for a comprehensive explanation of his religious views, see Niaz Fatehpuri, *Man wa Yazdan* (Lucknow, 1953).
 64. Amir 'Arfi, *Niaz Fatehpuri*, pp. 293-4, 299, 332, 339, 352.
 65. *Nigar*, July 1939, p. 33; see also *Nigar*, April 1929, p. 5.
 66. *Nigar*, Sept. 1928, p. 56; for his comment on the Nehru Report, see *Ibid.*, p. 3.
 67. Amir 'Arfi, *Niaz Fatehpuri*, pp. 73-4.
 68. For evidence of *Nigar's* impact on educated Muslim youth, see *Ibid.*, p. 359; for a specific example, see Sardar Jafri, *Lakhnau Ki Panch Raten Aur Dusri yaden* (Delhi, 1964), p. 33; for examples of encouragement to Progressive Writers, see Amir 'Arfi, *Niaz Fatehpuri*, pp. 76-7; for Niaz's support to the PWA, see Sajjad Zahir, *Roshnai*, p. 118.
 69. Madan Gopal, *Munshi Premchand: a Literary Biography* (London, 1964), p. 412.
 70. Waqar 'Azim, *Dastan' Se Afsane Tak* (Delhi, 1966), p. 305; see also David Rubin, trs., *The World of Premchand* (London, 1969), p. 207.
 71. For an analysis of Premchand's works, see Ram Bilas Sharma, 'Premchand and Gandhism', *Indian Literature* (Bombay), No. 2, 1952, pp. 36-44; for an illustration of his move towards socialism, see his article 'Mahajane Tammadun', published one month after his death in

- 1936, translated and published as 'Mahajani Civilisation' *Indian Literature*, No. 1, 1952, pp. 26-33; for the complete text of his presidential address to the PWA, see 'Adab Ki Gharz wa Ghayat', *Naya Adab Kya Hai?* pp. 33-47; for Sajjad Zahir's comment, see his *Roshna'i*, p. 116.
72. See Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, p. 182; both ^cAli ^cAbbas Husaini and Suhail ^cAzimabadi acknowledged Premchand's influence on their writings; for Husaini, see Interview, *Ajkal* (Delhi), Sept. 1965, p. 28; for ^cAzimabadi, see 'Men Aur Mera Fan', *Naya Daur*, Nos. 57-8, p. 254.
 73. 'Sajjad Zahir' on himself, in Junaid Ahmad, ed., *Shakhsiyat Aur Waqiyat Jinhon Ne Mujhe Mutasir Kya* (Bombay, n.d.), p. 137.
 74. Sibte Hasan, a prominent socialist, told me that the librarian at Aligarh, Mr. Bashir al-din, himself an 'enlightenedman', used to procure books 'quietly' from Victor Gollancz, a left-wing publisher in England, Interview, Karachi, Dec. 1980. Khwaja Manzur Husain was also able to 'smuggle' books in as his brother-in-law was Collector of Customs at Bombay, Interview, Lahore, May 1982; see also Partha Sarathi Gupta, ed., 'British Labour and the Indian Left, 1919-1939' in B.R. Nanda, ed., *Essays in Modern Indian History* (Delhi, 1980), p. 115.
 75. Notes on the Press, No. 40 of 1932, U.P.N.N.R., 1932-33.
 76. Hardayal, *Mazduron Ka Paighambar: Karl Marx* (Lahore, n.d.); L.V. Mitrokhin, *Lenin in India* (New Delhi, 1981), pp. 72-3; see also Sajjad Zahir, 'Urdu Ke Nasri Adab par Inqilab-i Rus Ka Asar', in *Mazamin-i Sajjad Zahir* (Lucknow, 1979), pp. 22-7.
 77. Khwaja Manzur Husain, Interview, Lahore, May 1982; see also Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, pp. 229-34; Leslie A. Fleming, *Another Lonely Voice: The Urdu Short Stories of S'adat Hasan Manto* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 4-6.
 78. Sardar J^cafri, *Lakhnau Ki Panch Raten*, pp. 36-7; Al-i Ahmad Surur on himself in Junaid Ahmad, ed., *Shakhsiyat Aur Waqiyat*, p. 13.
 79. See Suhail ^cAzimabadi, 'Men Aur mera Fan', p. 254; S^cadat Hasan Manto, 'Maxim Gorky', in his *Manto Ke Mazamin* (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 171-233; Frederick I. Kaplan and Surjit Dulai, 'Humanity at Bay: The Conflict Between Men and the World in the Stories of Gorkii and Manto', *Journal of South Asian Literature* (Chicago), Vol. VIII, Nos. 1-4 1977-8, pp. 1-8; Anton Chekhov, quoted in Mumtaz Shirin, *M^cayaz* (Lahore, 1963), pp. 96-7; see also Saleem Ahmad, 'The Ghazal, A Muffler, and India', p. 73.
 80. For a detailed analysis of the political and literary developments in England during the 1920s and 1930s, see Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation, Literature and Politics in England in the 1930s* (London, 1976).
 81. Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', *Naya Adab Kya Hai?*, pp. 70-2.

82. 'Christopher Caudwell', in Maynard Solomon, ed., *Marxism and Art* (Brighton, 1979), p. 309.
83. Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation*, pp. 83, 96, 164-5; Ralph Fox reprimanded 'a Bengali friend' of Sajjad Zahir's for criticising Tagore as 'the representative of Indian capitalist class and a reactionary'. Fox felt that 'no poet or writer could be tied to any imaginary category so easily', Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', p. 72; for Stephen Spender's rejection of tendentious literature, see 'Writers and Manifestos', in his *The Destructive Element* (London, 1935), pp. 222-35; see Suzanne Henig, 'The Bloomsbury Group and Non-Western Literature', *Journal of South Asian Literature*, Vol. X, No. 1, p. 79; David D. Anderson, 'Ahmad Ali and Twilight in Delhi', *Journal of South Asian Literature*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 81-2.
84. 'Aziz Ahmad, 'E.M. Fester', *Guftugu*, No. 4, Jan. March 1968, pp. 30, 32.
85. JSAL Interviews Faiz Ahmad Faiz', *Journal of South Asian Literature*, Vol. X, No. 1,
86. John Lehman's *New Writing* 'set out to be explicitly political and left', Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation*, p. 198.
87. Ahmad 'Ali later recognised this fusion of ideas, see Ahmad Ali, 'The Progressive Writers' Movement and Creative Writers in Urdu', in Carlo Coppola, ed., *Marxist Influences in south Asian Literature* (East Lansing, Michigan, 1974), vol. 1, p. 35.
88. See Sajjad Zahir, *Nind Nahin Aiti* and Ahmad 'Ali, *Mahawatun Ki Aik Rat*, in Sajjad Zahir, et. al., *Angare* (Lucknow, 1933), pp. 1-19, 80-91; Sajjad Zahir acknowledged that his short stories in *Angare* were influenced by Dadaism, see Qamar Rais, *Tanqidi Tanzur* (Aligarh, 1978), p. 73; for a detailed analysis of western techniques employed by Progressive Writers in their short stories, see Mumtaz Shirin, 'Maghribi Afsane Ka Asar Urdu Afsane Par', in her collection of literary articles, *M'ayar*, pp. 93-124; for Ahmad 'Ali, see Carlo Coppola, 'The Short Stories of Ahmed Ali', in Muhammad 'Umar Memom, ed., *Seminar of Urdu Literature at the University of Wisconsin* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1979), pp. 211-43.
89. Aslam Azad, *Urdu Nav'i! Azadi Ke B'ad* (Patna, 1981), p. 81.
90. Sajjad Zahir, *Landan Ki Aik Rat* (Karachi, 1974), pp. 10, 14, 22-4, 27, 62, 64, 68-9, 74, 100-1, 126-7; see also Qamar A'zam Hashmi, 'Landan Ki Aik Rat (Aik Ja'iza)', *Kitab* (Lucknow), Nos. 127-8, July 1975, pp. 77-80.
91. For a psychoanalytical approach to *Terhi lakir*, see 'Shamman Ka Nafsiyati Irtiqa', in Safia Akhtar, *Andaz-i Nazar* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 8-32; for a socialist perspective, see Zarina 'Aqil Ahmad, *Urdu Navilon Men Socialism* (Allahabad, 1982), pp. 476-82.

92. Quoted in Aslam Azad, *Urdu Navil Azadi Ke B' ad*, p. 139.
93. For some aspects of her thought, see 'Asmat Chughtai, *Afsane, Drame* (Lahore, n.d.) and her novel *Ziddi* (Lahore, n.d.).
94. Miraji was rejected by the 'progressive' camp very early in the history of the PWA. Nevertheless, a re-examination of his thought and the innovations in style that he introduced must make him a poet who contributed many elements in Progressive literature, see Miraji's collection, *Miraji Ki Nazmen* (Delhi, 1944).
95. N.M. Rashid, *Mawara* (Lahore, 1941); for an explanation of his position, see Rashid's interview with *Mahfil*, vol. VIII, Spring-Summer 1971, p. 4.
96. For instance, see the first section of Aragon's 'the Red Front'

'Unhappy Russia

The URSS

The URSS or as they say SSR

'SS how is it SS

'SSR SSR oh my dear

'Just think SSR'.

This poem first appeared in *New Verse*, No. 3, May 1933, and was cited in Stephen Spender, *The Thirties and After, Party Politics and People (1933-75)* (London, 1978), p. 46; for 'Ali Sardar J'afri, see 'Inqilab-i Rus', 'T' Amir-i Nau', 'Lenin', 'Akhri Khat', in *Khut Ki Lakir* (Bombay, 1949), pp. 87-9, 92-4, 95-6, 97-106.

97. *Nuqush* (Lahore), Ap Biti No., Part II, June 1964, p. 1020.
98. A copy was found in Sajjad Zahir's baggage when he was searched on his return to India, see Sajjad Zahir, *Roshnai'i* p. 30; Dr. Z.A. Ahmad was also much impressed by it, Interview, Lucknow, Aug. 1982; see also *Nuqush*, Ap Biti No., Part II, June 1964, p. 1042.
99. *Left Review* (London), Dec. 1934, p. 51.
100. Stephen Spender, *Forward From Liberalism* (London, 1937), p. 173.
101. *Left Review*, Dec. 1934, p. 51.
102. See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation* (London, 1936); Fakhir Hasan, 'Daktar Ashraf', *Naya Daur*, Nos. 29-30.
103. H.V. Brasted and G. Douds, 'Passages to India: Peripatetic M..P.s on the Grand Indian Tour, 1870-1940', *Journal of South Asia*, Vol. II, Nos. 1-2, March-Sept. 1979, pp. 96, 18.
104. J.R. MacDonald, *The Awakening of India* (London, 1910), p. 310.

105. Lord Oliver in his preface to Shiva Rao and Graham Pole, *Problem of India* (London, 1926), n. 116, p. 3f.
106. V.C. Joshi, ed., *Lala Lajpat Rai: Writings and Speeches* (Delhi, 1966), vol. II, pp. 366-8.
107. Partha Sarathi Gupta, *British Labour and the Indian Left* p. 101.
108. Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography, With Musings on Recent Events in India* (London, 1942), p. 163.
109. *Indian Writing* (London), No. 5, Summer 1942, p. 242.
110. *Idem*.

CHAPTER IV

1. A standard work on the history of the Muslims in the Sub-Continent is Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (C.U.P., 1972). A scholarly piece on the development of separatism among Indian Muslims is Francis Robinson's *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: the Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims: 1860-1923* (C.U.P., 1974). for a longer view of the evolution of separatist tendencies of Muslims in India, see C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870* (C.U.P., 1983). for the backgrounds of these Muslim socialists, see Appendix II.
2. Appendix II shows that only one-fifth of Muslim socialist writers surveyed came from the Panjab.
3. Of the Muslim socialist writers who came from the U.P. two-thirds belonged to qasbahs of Awadh, East U.P. and Bihar, see Appendix II.
4. For Rudauli's social and cultural importance, see Lt. col. F.E.A. Chamier, *Settlement Report for Bara Banki* (Allahabad, 1879), pp. 2, 55, 63-4; *district Gazetteer of Bara Banki* (Allahabad, 1904), pp. 258-9; see also C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, p. 102; for a more personal impression of Rudauli in the 1930s and 1940s, see Hamida Salim, 'Jagan Bhayya', in Sehba Lakhnawi, ed., *Majaz, Aik Ahang, Zindagi, Shakhsiyat, Fan* (Karachi, 1958), p. 180. for Khairabad, see *District Gazetteer of Sitapur* (Allahabad, 1905), pp. 162-3; Farid Bilgrami, 'Hazrat Maztar Khairabadi', *Qaumi Awaz* (Lucknow), Supplement, 31 March 1974, p. 2; *Nuqush* (Lahore), *Ap Biti* No., June 1964, part I, p. 155.
5. For Azamgarh and Ghazipur, see *District Gazetteer of U.P. of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 90-8, 149-51; see also Sabah al-din 'Abd al-Rahman, 'Dar al-Mussanifin Shibli Akedmi Azamgarh', *Ajkal* (New Delhi), Feb. 1965, pp. 31-2; Zia al-din Islahi, 'Jang-i Azadi Men Dar al-Mussanifin Ka Hissa', *Ajkal*, Jan. 1971, pp. 27-31; C.E. Crawford, *Settlement Report for Azamgarh* (Allahabad, 1908), p. 12' for Mahul, see *District Gazetteer of Azamgarh* (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 246-50; see also

- C.E. Crawford, *Final Report on the Seventh Settlement of the Azamgarh District of the U.P. (1908) A.D.* (Allahabad, 1908) p. 11.
6. *District Gazetteer of Badaun* (Allahabad, 1907), pp. 69, 81-2, 125-8, 183-7). For Kandhla, see Ahsan Danish, *Jahan-i Danish Generation, Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, 1978) p. 189.
 7. See K.A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century* (Delhi, 1978); C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, pp. 189-91, 349-54; gazetteers also provide valuable information.
 8. C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, p. 191; this definition is useful for the study of the origins of the qasbah. In the colonial period, the qasbah incorporated many other social and administrative functions. The size of these urban centres also presents a problem. Bayly's average qasbah in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had a population of more than three thousand. According to him, any centre over ten thousand could be called a city, *Ibid.*, p. 111. With the burgeoning population of India in the twentieth century, this criterion would also need to be altered.
 9. Lt. Col. F.E.A. Chamier, *Report of the Regular Settlement of the Bara Banki District*, p. 32; C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, p. 350 ff.
 10. *Sharafat* (nobility) defined a specific social status in society, a code of behaviour and an adherence to particular Muslim cultural norms. For a detailed exposition of *Sharif* culture, see David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 35-101.
 11. Amir Hasan, *Palace Culture of Lucknow* (Delhi, 1983), pp. 84-5, 174; Maulana ^cAbd al-Halim Sharar, *Guzashta Lakhnau Ya Mashriqi Tamaddum Ka Akhri Namuna* (Lahore, 1970), pp. 7-20; Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature* (O.U.P., 1964), pp. 119, 138, 155-63. For a Progressive Writer's view of Mir Babar ^cAli Anis and Khwaja Haidar ^cAli Atish, see Faqir Ahmad Faisal, *Intikhab-i Ihtesham Husain* (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 69-86, 304-8. ^cAli Sardar J^cafri admitted a lasting influence of Anis, especially his choice of words, metaphors, symbols and arrangements, on his own poetry, see ^cAli Sardar J^cafri, *Lakhnau Ki Panch Raten Aur Dusri Yaden* (Delhi, 1964), p. 21.
 12. ^cAli Jawad Zaidi, 'Yadon Ke Chiragh', *Naya Dawr* (Lucknow), Ihtesham Husain No., May-June 1973, p. 29.
 13. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, *I am not an Island, An Experiment in Autobiography* (New Delhi, 1977), pp. 12, 18, 43; David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 40; Kaifi A one of the most popular Progressive poets from the early 1940s, would not wear new clothes at ^cId (the celebration at the end of *Ramzan*) because the children of peasants went without them, see Shaukat Kaifi, 'Mere Ham Safar -

- Kaifi', *Asro Adab* (New Delhi), Nos. 48-9, April-July 1982, p. 21; ^cAli Sardar J^cafri, *Lakhnau Ki Panch Raten*, pp. 25-6; Suhail ^cAzimabadi, 'Men Aur Mera Fan', *Naya Daur* (Karachi), Nos. 57-8, p. 253.
14. Francis Robinson, 'the Veneration of Teachers in Islam by Their Pupils', *History Today*, March 1980, pp. 22-5.
 15. Khwaja Ahmad Fauqi, 'Jan Nisar Akhtar', *Ajkal*, Oct. 1976, pp. 9-10; Farid Bilgrami, 'Hazrat Maztar Khairabadi', p. 2. For detailed biographical information on Majnun Gorakhpuri, see Sehba Lakhnawi and Shabnam Romani, eds., *Armaghan-i Majnun (Zindagi - Shakhshiyat - Fan)* (Karachi, 1980), pp. 42-122.
 16. Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, p. 25.
 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 363, 371, 380-1, 413. For a history of the Shi^cas in India, see John Hollister, *The Shias of India* (London, 1953).
 18. The tradition of resistance to what is perceived by Shi^cas as tyranny also flourishes in Iran. The history of the oppositional role of the Shi^ci ^culama to the established political authority in Iran on the basis of their religious ideology is well documented. The successful revolutionary mobilisation of Iranian people by the Shi^ci clergy under Ayatullah Khomeini against the monarch Raza Shah Pahlavi was only the most recent example. It highlighted the power of Shi^ca population in Iran, see Nikki, R. Keddie, 'The Roots of the Ulama's Power in Modern Iran', and Hamid Algar, 'The Oppositional Role of the Ulama in the Twentieth Century', in Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Scholars, Saints and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions Since 1500* (University of California Press, 1972), pp. 211-30, 231-56.
 19. Saiyid ^cAli ^cAbbas Husaini, *Urdu Marsiya* (Lucknow, 1973); some Shi^ca Progressive Writers went on to develop 'a new kind of *Marsiya*' which communicated radical ideas and implicitly called for political action to oust the British, see Josh Malihabadi, *Yadon Ki Barat* (Lahore, 1975), p. 261.
 20. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), July 1939, p. 6.
 21. ^cAli Sardar J^cafri, *Lakhnau Ki Panch Raten*, p. 24.
 22. Brij Narain Chakbast, the famous early twentieth century nationalist poet, a Kashmiri Pandit, wrote in praise of Imam Husain,

'When people came for *Ziarat* in *Muharram*, One hears a

'heavenly voice in the moonlit night,

'More with reverence for it is an unusual shrine,

'The angels bow their heads here, it is the tomb of the King of

- Kings'.
 cited in Amir Hasan, *Palace Culture of Lucknow*, p. 59.
23. Zoe Ansari, 'Bunne Bhai Ki Shakhsyat', *Afkar* (Karachi), Sajjad Zahir No., Dec. 1973, pp. 38-9; see also Saiyid Safdar Husain, *Lakhnau Ki Tehzibi Miras* (Lahore, 1975), p. 300.
 24. Many Progressive Writers recognised the positive humanitarian values of the Sufis. Khwaja Ahmad 'Abbas recalled the admiration he felt for the 'secular and proletarian affinities of the Muslim saints and their ready acceptance by the Muslim and Hindu masses', K.A. Abbas, *I am not an Island*, p. 33. Dr. K.M. Ashraf was also deeply impressed by Sufism in his adolescent years, and it remained imprinted on his consciousness -- after his 'conversion' to Communism, he visited Highgate Cemetery and there, in his own words, he 'took alive', see Horst Kruger, *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf: An Indian Scholar and Revolutionary, 1903-62* (Berlin, 1966), p. 397. Maulana Hasrat Mohani even attempted to follow in the Sufi tradition himself,

My creed is derveshi and revolution.

I am a Momin Sufi and a Communist Muslim.

See Hasrat Mohani, *Khulliyat-i Hasrat Mohani* (Delhi, 1977), p. 425.

25. For Haji Waris 'Ali Shah's biography, a summary of his teachings and his influence on Urdu poetry, see *Qaumi Awaz*, *Dewa* No., vol. 132, No. 295, 3 Nov. 1977.
26. The beliefs of the majority of the inhabitants are indefinite and probably often unorthodox; and cases are common where Hindus and Muhammadans join to pay religious honours at shrines, such as those of Salar Masud at Bhagalpur and Malik Jagir at Mau, which were originally venerated only by Musalmans; *District Gazetteer of U.P. of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1911), p. 77. At Ghazipur, the tomb of Shah Juned was also highly regarded by both Muslims and Hindus, *Ibid.*, p. 98.
27. Junaid Ahmad, ed., *Shakhsyat Aur Waqiyat Jinhon Ne Mejhe Mutasir Kya* (Bombay, n.d.), pp. 106-39; Sajjad Zahir, *Ap Biti*, MSS. with Najma Zahir, New Delhi.
28. Qurrat al-'Ain Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai* (New Delhi, 1977), Vol. 1, p. 30.
29. Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, p. 32.
30. Chaudhri Muhammad 'Ali Rudaulwi, *Kashkaul Muhammad 'Ali Shah Faqir* (Karachi, 1980), pp. 9-30; Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i* (Karachi, 1976), pp. 102-3.

31. Josh Malihabadi, *Yadon Ki Barat*, pp. 124, 349; Shaukat Kaifi, 'Mere Ham Safar - Kaifi', pp. 20-21; Sehba Lakhnawi and Shabnam Romani, *Armaghan-i Majnun*, pp. 44, 81, 238.
32. Amir Hasan, *Palace Culture of Lucknow*, pp. 117-24; Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa, *Umrao Jan-i Ada* (Karachi, 1961)
33. Niaz Fatehpuri, 'Walid Marhum, Men Aur Nigar', *Nigar* (Karachi) Niaz No., Part I, 1963, p. 36.
34. Iqbal Husain, *Meri Dunya* (Allahabad, 1965), pp. 40-3; Ahsan Danish, *Jahan-i Danish*, pp. 161-206.
35. For instance, Wajahat Sandelwi, Shamim Kirhani, Muhammad 'Ali Rudaulwi. See also Hamida Salim, 'Majaz - Mera Bhai', *Aligarh Magazine* (Aligarh), Majaz No., 1955-56, p. 32; C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, pp. 192-353-4.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
37. Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, pp. 34-50; C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, pp. 345-6.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 356-7.
39. See Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, Table V, p. 46.
40. Appendix II reveals that of those surveyed, one tenth came from families with a tradition of resistance to British rule.
41. *Nuqush*, *Ap Biti* No., Part II, June 1964, pp. 1097-1101; see also Saiyid Akhtar Ahmad Orainvi, 'The Impact of the Freedom Movement on Urdu Literature in Bihar', *The Bihar Information* (Patna), Vol. 18, No. 16, 16 Sept. 1970, p. 9.
42. Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857-1964* (O.U.P., 1970), p. 28; see also 'Abd al-Shahid Khan Shirwani, *Baghi Hindustan* (Lahore, 1974), pp. 8-36.
43. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, pp. 234-5; for other examples, see Appendix II.
44. Ahmad 'Ali, 'Purane Zamane Ke Log', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), May 1939, p. 21.
45. Josh Malihabadi, *Yadon Ki Barat*, p. 162.
46. Ziyaul Hasan Faruqi, Barbara D. Metcalf and Francis Robinson have illuminated this aspect of Deobandi and Firangi Mahall 'Ulama in their works.
47. Francis Robinson, 'The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and their Adab', in B.D. Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority: the place of Adab in South Asian Islam* (University of California, Berkeley 1984), pp. 173-6.
48. Dr. Francis Robinson provided valuable biographical data on Mufti Raza Ansari and Hayat-Allah Ansari which was supplemented by my own interview with them in Lucknow, Summer 1982.
49. K.A. Abbas, *I am not an Island*, pp. 16-8, 45.
50. Junaid Ahmad, ed., *Shakhsyat Aur Waqiyat*, p. 197.

51. Kruger Horst, ed., *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf*, p. 393; Junaid Ahmad, ed., *Shakhsiyat Aur Waqiyat*, p. 127.
52. 'Two Meetings with Dr. Alim', *Kitab* (Lucknow), July 1967, p. 8.
53. 'We were born scarred by slavery', recalled Sibte Hasan,

There was hardly any self-respecting youth of our generation who had not personally experienced the arrogance of their British rulers and the racism of the Tommies. Sometimes beaten for not standing up to 'God Save the King; sometimes forcibly expelled from first or second class railway compartments, sometimes earning a rebuke for entering a lounge, a restaurant or a club reserved for Europeans. These scars kept alive our yearning for dignity and selfrespect. It was this awareness which enabled us to make the connection between our personal grief and the griefs of our era', Saiyid Sibte Hasan, 'Khudnavisht', Part I. *Afkar*, Jan 1979, p. 19. For instances of blatant racism, see Attia Hoqain, *Sunlight on a Broken Column* (London, 1979), p. 147; Qurrat al-^cAin Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai*, p. 236.

54. David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 181.
55. See Appendix II.
56. One in six of the Muslim socialists surveyed in Appendix II went to England or Europe for further Education.
57. Junaid Ahmad, ed., *Shakhsiyat Aur Waqiyat*, p. 135; Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', *Naya Adab Kya Hai?* (Lucknow, 1941), pp. 70-1; Sajjad Zahir, *Ap Biti*; M. Farooqi, 'Sajjad Zahir', in Communist Party of India's publication, *Immortal Heros, Lives of Communist Leaders* (New Delhi, 1975).
58. David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 125-7, 206-10; Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in Indian and Pakistan* (New York, 1980), p. 209.
59. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Dec. 1939, pp. 9-13; Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, pp. 216-7.
60. See Ahsan, Danish, *Jahan-i Danish*; 'Ahsan Danish Ka Akhri Interview', *Biswin Sadi* (New Delhi), May 1982, p. 42.
61. 'Khadija Mastur', *Nuqush, Ap Biti* No., Part II, June 1964, p. 1106.
62. Ahmad Nadim Qasmi, *Jafal wa Jamal* (Lahore, 1946), pp. 10-11.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-17; Ahmad Nadim Qasmi, 'Chand Yaden', *Afkar, Nadim* No., Jan.-Feb. 1975, pp. 89-96.
64. Horst Kruger, ed., *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf*, p. 397.
65. For thought-provoking work on the dilemma of the Indian intellectual, see Edward Shils, *The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation* (The Hague, 1961); Edward Shils, 'The Intellectuals in the Political Development of the New States', in John H. Kautsky, ed., *Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries* (New York, 1967), pp. 195-234; Suresht Kumar, Renjen (Bald), *Indian*

- Novelists: A Study in Political Consciousness* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Massachusetts, June 1962), pp. 9, 11, 47, 171.
66. 'Mumtaz Mufti', *Nuqush, Ap Biti* No., Part II, June 1964, p. 1141.
67. Akhtar al-Iman recalled that in his student days at Delhi College, he occasionally went to his history class quite drunk, clearly as a rejection of the existing moral code and a conscious violation of the authority of the lecturer, see Yunus Agaskar, 'Akhtar al-Iman Se Aik Mulaqat', *Shafir* (Bombay), Vol. 46, Nos. 4-5, 1975, p. 11.
68. For biographical data on Manto, see Leslie A. Fleming, *Another Lonely Voice: The Urdu Short Stories of Saadat Hasan Manto* (Berkeley, 1979); Abu Said Qureshi, *Manto* (Lahore, 1955); *Nuqush*, Manto No. Nos. 49-50, 1955.
69. Leslie A. Fleming, *Another Lonely Voice*, p. 3.
70. Saadat Hasan Manto, 'Tamasha', in *Atishpare* (Lahore, n.d.), p. 88.
71. Junaid Ahmad, ed., *Shakhsiyat Aur Waqiyat*, p. 124.
72. Qurrat al-Ain Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai*, p. 237.
73. Junaid Ahmad, ed., *Shakhsiyat Aur Waqiyat*, p. 123; Qurrat al-Ain Haidar, *Kar-i-Jahan Daraz Hai*, p. 473.
74. Stresses and strains between generations in Sharif families had parallels in England: the left-wing literary movement in Oxford and Cambridge during the late 1920s and 1930s was initiated by students who came from professional families, see Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930s* (London, 1976), pp. 10-11; Christopher Caudwell wrote about 'a curious cult of the hatred of 'old men' among the youth', see Christopher Caudwell, *Romance and Realism* (New Jersey, 1970), p. 4.
75. Aziz Ahmad, *Taraqqi Pasand Adab* (Hyderabad, Deccan, 1945), p. 44.
76. See Niaz Fatehpuri, 'Walid Marhum; Men Aur Nigar', *Nigar* (Karachi), Niaz No., Part I, March-April 1963, pp. 25-31; Khadija Mastur in Ahmad Nadim Qasmi, *Nuqush-i Latif* (Lahore, 1947), p. 125; Sajjad Zahir in Junaid Ahmad, ed., *Shakhsiyat Aur Waqiyat*, p. 111. For intellectual stimulus provided by liberal teachers at modern institutions, see 'Al-i Ahmad Surur', *Ibid.*, p. 14; Sibte Hasan, Interview, Karachi, Dec. 1980; Yunus Agaskar, 'Akhtar al-Imam Se Aik Mulaqat', pp. 11-12.
77. English socialist writers such as Christopher Caudwell and George Orwell similarly attempted the 'expiation of class guilt' by descending into voluntary poverty and becoming part of the 'oppressed', see Christopher Caudwell, *Romance and Realism*, p. 11; Suresht Renjen Bald, 'Politics of Revolutionary Ejite: A Study of Mulk Raj Anand's Novels', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, Oct. 1974, p. 489 (Mulk Raj Anand (b. 1905) was a founding member of the PWA); Saadat Hasan Manto's short story, 'Inqilab Pasand' (The Revolutionist), first published in *Aligarh Magazine* in 1935, seemed to express a similar psychological state and political position. See also Manto's short story, 'Naya Sal'

- (New Year) in his collection *Dhuan* (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 35-43; Sardar J̄afri, *Lakhnau Ki Panch Raten*, p. 39; Faiz Ahmad Faiz revealingly referred to the masses as *kutte* - dogs - desperately in need of guidance, 'If they wished', he declared, 'the world could be their's ... they could chew the bones of their masters, if only someone would show them consciousness of degradation, if someone shook their sleeping tails', see Victor G. Kiernan, trs., *Poems of Faiz* (London, 1971), pp. 82-5.
78. Zahir Kashmiri, *ʿAzmat-i Adam* (Lahore, 1955), p. 9.
79. *Nuqush, Ap Būi* No., part II, June 1964, pp. 1141-5, 1294-1302, 1097-1101.
80. Jawaharlal Nehru, the hero of many Progressive Writers, put his own psychological dilemma succinctly,

'I have become a queer mixture of the East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me as she does to all her children, in innumerable ways ... I cannot get rid of either that past inheritance or my recent acquisition. They are both part of me, and though they help me in both East and the West, they also create in me a feeling of spiritual loneliness, not only in public activities but in life itself. I am a stranger and an alien in the West. I cannot be of it. But in my own country also, sometimes, I have an exile's feeling', Jawaharlal Nehru.

- An *Auto-biography* (London, 1936), p. 596; Braisted felt that English education produced 'a class of cultural orphans, who, although gaining some freedom in English, are not associated into English culture, and yet ... have been insulated throughout their training from their own culture', P.J. Braisted, *Indian Nationalism and the Christian Colleges* (New York, 1935), p. 135. Many studies exist on the relationship between the socially and culturally alienated intelligentsia and the production of creative ideas, see Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (New York, 1936), pp. 3, 151-4; Issac Deutscher, *The Non-Jewish and Other Essays* (O.U.P., 1968), p. 37; Thorstein Veblen, *The Portrait of Veblen* (New York, 1947), p. 474; Lewis A. Coser, *Men of Ideas* (New York, 1970).

81. For biographical information on Faiz, see Ayub Miraz, *Ham Ke There Ajnabi* (Lahore, 1977); Mirza Zafar al-Hasan, *ʿUmar-i Guzashā Ki Kitāb* (Karachi, 1978); Faiz Ahmad Faiz, *Mah wa Sal-i Ashnai* (Moscow, 1979); Victor G. Kiernan, *Poems of Faiz*, pp. 21-44; for eastern and western literary and ideological influences on Faiz's poetry, see his interview in *Journal of South Asian Literature* (Chicago), Vol. X, No. 1, Autumn 1974, p. 141; see also Athar Murtuza, 'Art, Life and Myth: Aspects of the Poetic Theory and Practice of Faiz Ahmad Faiz', in Carlo Coppola, ed., *Marxist Influences and South Asian Literature* (East

- Lansing, Michigan, 1974), Vol. I, p. 154; N.M. Rashid's interview with *Mahfil*, *A Quarterly of South Asian Literature* (East Lansing, Michigan), Vol. VIII, No. 102, Spring-Summer 1971, pp. 8-9.
82. Victor G. Kiernan, *Poems of Faiz*, pp. 64-7.
83. A similar kind of group development was seen in England in the emergence of such closely-knit circles as the Clapham Sect and the Bloomsbury group, see N.G. Annan, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', in J.H. Plumb, ed., *Studies in Social History* (London, 1955), pp. 244-58, and Suzanne Henig, 'The Bloomsbury Group and Non-Western Literature', *Journal of South Asian Literature*, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 73-4.
84. Qurrat al-^cAin Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai*, pp. 161, 239, 255; examples of marriages among Progressive Writers were numerous. Some were arranged by the leading network families. Nazar and Sajjad Haidar, for instance, suggested the marriages of Razia Dilshad to Sajjad Zahir and Hijab Isma^cil to Imtiaz ^cAli, Taj, even though the latter couple subsequently corresponded with each other and even met before marrying, see *Ibid.*, pp. 308, 388; Interview with Hijab Imtiaz, Lahore, June 1982. Safia, Israr al-Haq Majaz's sister also corresponded with Jan Nisar Akhtar before they were finally married, see Safia Akhtar, *Harf-i Ashna (Khutut)* (Lahore, 1973), pp. 5-22, a collection of letters from Safia to Jan Nisar Akhtar between Oct. 1943 and Nov. 1947. ^cAsmat Chughtai's marriage to Shahid Latif, Mumtaz Shirin's to Samad Shahin and Sultana's to ^cAli Sardar J^cafri were all preceded by periods of 'courtship' (the word is used cautiously), see Ahmad Nadim Qasmi, *Nuqush-i Latif* (Lahore, 1947); Sardar J^cafri, *Lakhnau Ki Panch Raten*, pp. 70-2.
85. Qurrat al-^cAin Haidar, *Kar-i Jahan Daraz Hai*, p. 166.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-8.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
88. 'If I do not become your intellectual companion', wrote Safia to Jan Nisar Akhtar, 'then this apparent friendship will soon become a painful burden', see Safia Akhtar, *Harf-i Ashna*, p. 8.
89. Saiyid I^cjaz Husain, *Meri Dunya*, p. 153; Ahsan Danish's wife also observed pardah, see *Jam-i Nau* (karachi), Danish No., Vol. 23, Nos. 11-12, p. 245; Agha Suhail, 'Dar Baghal Darad Kitab', *Afkar*, Vol. 28, No. 34, Jan. 1972, p. 22.
90. ^cAsmat Chughtai, interview for *Mahfil*, Summer-Autumn 1972, pp. 169-70.
91. ^cAsmat Chughtai, *Nuqush*, *Ap Biti* No., Part II, June 1964, pp. 1027-8.
92. ^cAsmat Chughtai, interview for *Mahfil*, p. 173.
93. Ahmad Nadim Qasmi, *Nuqush-i Latif*, p. 292.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

95. See Rashid Jahan, *Shûla-i Jawala* (Lucknow, n.d.), preface; Rashid Jahan, *Woh Aur Dusre Afsane, Drame* (New Delhi, 1977), pp. 11-19; A.P. Barannikov, 'Rashid Jahan', *Indian Literature* (Bombay), No. 2, 1952, pp. 1-4.
96. Saliha 'Abid Husain, 'Women Writers and Urdu Literature', *Indian Horizons* (New Delhi), vol. 23, Nos. 2-3, 1974, pp. 6-7; Majida Asad, 'Razia Sajjad Zahir Se Aik Mulaqat', *Ajkal*, Feb. 1981, p. 42; Razia Sajjad Zahir, *Zard Gulab* (New Delhi, 1981), pp. 9-13.
97. Ahmad Nadim Qasmi, *Nuqush-i Latif*, p. 107.
98. Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi, 'Sarguzasht', *Awami Jamhuriyat* (Lahore), Special Issue, 12 Sept. 1978, p. 16.
99. Valuable insights into the complex psychological 'make-up' of 'extreme' personalities have been provided in the following studies: T.W. Adorno, et. al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York, 1950), pp. 405-23; Victor Wolfenstein, *The Revolutionary Personality: Lenin, Trotsky, Gandhi* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1967), pp. 167-70, 307-10; Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York, 1958), pp. 94-121.

CHAPTER V

1. Safia Bano, *Anjuman-i Panjab: Tahrik wa Khidmat* (Karachi, 1978), p. 104.
2. See 'Abd al-Latif A'zmi, ed., *Baba- Urdu, Maulvi 'Abd al-Haq* (Lucknow, 1962), pp. 265-308; Muhammad Zakir, *Azadi Ke B'ad Hindustan Ka Urdu Adab* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 31; Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i* (Karachi, 1972), pp. 183-4; Khalil al-Rahman A'zmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik* (Aligarh, 1979), pp. 49-52; Akhtar Husain Raipuri, 'Khudnavisht', part 4, *Afkar* (Karachi), July 1976; Sibte Hasan, *Shehr-i Nigaran* (Karachi, 1966), pp. 90-1; the full text of Maulvi 'Abd al-Haq's address to the Allahabad Conference of the PWA is available in *Naya Adab Kya Hai?* (Lucknow, 1941), pp. 48-56.
3. parliamentary Papers, XXIII (Accounts and Papers VIII), Comd. 2682, 'communist Papers', pp. 75-128; see also H. Williamson, *India and Communism* (Government of India, Calcutta, 1933), pp. 147-9.
4. *Saqi* (Delhi), August 1940, pp. 28-9. see Victor Kiernan, 'Mohan Kumaramangalam in England-I', *Socialist India*, 23 Feb. 1974, pp. 6-7, 36.
5. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New Delhi, 1969), p. 18.
6. Philip Henderson, 'Indian Writers', *Left Review* (London), Nov. 1935, p. 410.
7. For example, see Akhtar Husain Raipuri, 'Khudnavisht', p. 27.
8. Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', *Naya Adab Kya Hai?*

9. Sajjad Zahir, et. al., *Angare* (Lucknow, 1933). For a literary analysis of *Angare's* short stories, see Carlo Coppola, 'The *angare* Group: The Enfants Terribles of Urdu Literature', *annual of Urdu Studies*, No. 1, 1981, pp. 58-62.
10. Syed Mahmuduzzafar, 'Shall we submit to gagging? In defence of *angare*', *The Leader* (Allahabad), 5 April 1933, p. 7.
11. Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', pp. 75-6.
12. V. Alexandrova, *A History of Soviet Literature*, trans. L. Ginsberg (New York, 1963), pp. 6, 28; Marc Slonim, *Soviet Russian Literature* (London, 1964), pp. 151-64.
13. Ralph Fox, *The Colonial Policy of British Imperialism* (London, 1936).
14. For Fox's relations with the London-based Indian students, see Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', p. 72; Sajjad Zahir, 'The Death of a Comrade', *Congress Socialist* (Bombay), 13 March 1937, p. 16; M. Faruqi, *Dr. K.M. Ashraf* (New Delhi, 1973), p. 24.
15. See N.L. Gupta's interview with Dr. K.M. Ashraf on 27 Oct. 1960, in Horst Kruger, *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf: An Indian Scholar and Revolutionary: 1903-1962* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 417-8.
16. These discussions are corroborated by Intelligence reports. New Scotland Yard Report, 13 May 1931, stated 'The British Museum is becoming more and more a tacitly organised rendezvous for Indian extremists'. Similarly another official report stated that 'the Nanking Chinese Restaurant, 4 Denmark St., Charing Cross Road, W.C. ... is a rendezvous for, among others, Indians of the student class', P&J (S) 1825, 1928 IOR.
17. Philip Henderson, 'Indian Writers', p. 410.
18. Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', p. 73; Ayub Mirza, *Ham Ke There Ajnabi* (Lahore, 1977), p. 118; Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, pp. 32-3.
19. Philip Henderson, 'Indian Writers', p. 410; the date of the inaugural meeting given by Henderson seems to be accurate - although Mulk Raj Anand referred to the 'November days of the year 1935 in London when ... a few of us ... formed the nucleus of the IPWA ... (at) that historic meeting in the Nan-king Restaurant in Denmark Street', the year is almost certainly an error of memory or of type, see *New Indian Literature* (Bombay), No. 1, 1939, p. 1. By the winter of 1935, Sajjad Zahir was already on his way back to India. Moreover, the New Scotland Yard Report, 2 Jan. 1935 stated that 'an Indian Progressive Writers' Association has recently been formed, the secretary of which is Sen Gupta and the committee comprised of S.S. Zaheer, I.K. Yajnik and a Miss Hazra. Its meetings are to be held at the Universal Restaurant, 40 Gt. Russell St., W.G. every fortnight. For the present, it is to remain a purely literary organisation'.
20. The original Manifesto is reproduced in full in appendix III.

21. Sajjad Zahir, 'The Living and the Dead', *Indian Writing* (London), Vol. 1, Aug. 1941, pp. 191-203, is the English translation of *Bimar*; Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', p. 74; Letter from Iqbal Singh, one of the founders of the PWA in London, to Mrs. Cristabel Tasir, widow of M.D. Tasir, 27 May 1980.
22. Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', p. 75.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7.
24. 'French Writers and the People's Front: Louis Aragon interviewed', *Left Review* (London), Nov. 1935, pp. 378-9.
25. Khalil al-Rahman A'zmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, pp. 31-2.
26. 'Ali Sardar Jafri, 'Pathar Ke Shigaf', *Afkar* (Aligarh), Yaden No. 1976, p. 122.
27. Hayat-Allah Ansari, 'Mera Aftab Hall', *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 27, 31.
28. Georgi Dimitrov, 'the Offensive of Fascism and the Task of the C.I. in the Struggle for the Unity fo the Working Class against Fascism', *Inprecorr*, 15(37), 20 Aug. 1935, p. 971. For Congress under Nehru, see Bipan Chandra, 'Jawaharlal Nehru and the Capitalist Class, 1936', in his *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India* (New Delhi, 1979), pp. 171-203.
29. Interview with Dr. Z.A. Ahmad, Lucknow, August 1982; M.R. Masani, *The Communist Party of India: A Short History* (London, 1954).
30. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, pp. 49-56.
31. Of those prominent members of the Congress who attended the Lucknow session, Yusuf Jafar Mehararilly and Miyan Iftikhar al-din were also present at the PWA conference at its evening session on the final day, see *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.
32. There were thirty to forty delegates at the conference: two from Bengal, three from the Panjab, one from Madras, two from Gujrat, six from Maharashtra and twenty to twenty-five from the U.P., *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 107; Hafeez Malik, 'The Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan', *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVI, 4, Aug. 1967, p. 650.
33. Akhtar Husain Raipuri, 'Khudnavisht', part 4, p. 22: also Akhtar Husain Raipuri, *Adab Aur Inqilab* (Bombay 1945), pp. 7-8.
34. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, p. 107.
35. Premchand to Sajjad Zahir, 10 may 1929, *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Jan.-March 1940, p. 23.
36. 'PWA': *Report of the Activities of the Indian Progressive Writers' Association: 1943-47* (Bombay, n.d.), pp. 35-6.
37. *New Indian Literature*, No. 1, 1939.
38. Resolutions passed at the first All-India Progressive Writers' Conference held at Lucknow on 10 April 1936, in the Rifah-i 'Am Hall, see Appendix III.
39. Jawaharlal Nehru, 'Taraqqi Pasand Musarnifin', *Naya Adab Kya Hai?*, p. 65.

40. See 'P.W.A.: Report of the Activities, p. 11.
41. Qudus Sehbai, 'Khudnavisht', part 3, *Afkar* (Karachi), June 1977, pp. 1922.
42. *Naya Adab*, (Bombay), No. 6, 1946, p. 3; 'P.W.A.: Report of the Activities, pp. 11-14.
43. Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', p. 77.
44. Akhtar Husain Raipuri, *Adab Aur Inqilab*, p. 88.
45. Faiz Ahmad Faiz, 'Taraqqi Pasand Adab', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Jan.-March 1940, p. 114; Akhtar Ansari, *Aik Adabi Diari* (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 85-6.
46. The 1949 Manifesto of the PWA was the logical culmination of this view, see the full text in Khalil al-Rahman A'zmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, pp. 89-95.
47. Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi, 'Hindi Urdu Ke Saval ka Mahdud Nazarya', *Kalim* (Delhi), Nov. 1938, pp. 193-203.
48. Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi, 'Dehati Adab Kidher?', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Dec. 1939, pp. 15-25.
49. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, pp. 304, 376-93.
50. For details of the Amritsar Congress, see Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, pp. 173-6.
51. *Peoples War* (Bombay), No. 20, 22 Nov. 1942.
52. Sibte Hasan, *Shehr-i Nigaran*, pp. 90-1; *New Indian Literature*, No. 1, 1939, pp. 112-3.
53. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, pp. 212-3, 215.
54. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 18.
55. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, *I am not an Island, An Experiment in Autobiography* (Bombay, 1977), p. 204.
56. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Oct. 1939, p. 78.
57. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Nov. 1939, pp. 72-3. British socialist writers had committed themselves to supporting their government much earlier. Numerous writers who had previously been sympathetic to socialism joined government service. Even those who had indulged in revolutionary politics, such as John Strachey, Stephen Spender, John Lehmann and Louis MacNiece, left active politics and supported the government. Some went to America, and others, such as Philip Henderson, joined the fire Brigade to escape the call up, see Ahmad 'Ali, 'Jang aur Adib', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Dec. 1940, pp. 10-11.
58. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Nov. 1940, p. 15; Josh Malihabadi's house was raided on 24 Sept. 1940, *Ibid.*, p. 40.
59. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Dec. 1940, pp. 4-5; *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), May-June 1941, p. 13; WRDIB No. 4, 25 Jan. 1941; Zahir Kashmiri, *'Azmat-i Adam* (Lahore, 1955), p. 14; Qudus Sehbai, 'Khudnavisht', part 5, p. 20.
60. For comprehensive treatment of British policies on censorship, proscription and prohibition of literature in India, see N. Gerald Barrier,

BANNED: Controversial Literature and Political Control in India, 1907-1947 (New York, 1974); *New Writing* was prohibited from entering India, L/P&J/1938, IOR.

61. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, p. 133.
62. Ayub Mirza, *Ham Ke There Ajnabi*, pp. 122-3.
63. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, p. 134.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-70.
65. *Naya Adab* (Hyderabad, Deccan), Vol. 4, 1944, pp. 19-20.
66. Horst Kruger, *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf*, pp. 416-7; Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna-i*, p. 277.
67. M.R. Masani, *The Communist Party of India*, p. 277.
68. K.A. Abbas, *I am not an Island*, p. 256.
69. Ayub Mirza, *Ham Ke There Ajnabi*, p. 53; Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, p. 276.
70. Zafar Imam, *Colonialism in East-West Relations* (New Delhi, 1969), pp. 440, 483; M.R. Masani, *The Communist Party of India*, pp. 80-3; cAbd al-cAlim,; Hamara Kam', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), Sept. 1942, p. 5.
71. The summary of the pro-Allies resolution and the steps which had to be taken to fight Fascism, at the Delhi Conference of the PWA was published in *Naya Adab* (Bombay), Sept. 1942, pp. 2-4.
72. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, p. 286.
73. Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, pp. 65-6, 69.
74. Ayub Mirza, *Ham Ke There Ajnabi*, pp. 56-63.
75. Sibte Hasan, *Shehr-i Nigaran*, pp. 128-9; Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, p. 282; cAbd al-Wahid ed., *Jadid Sh^cura-i Urdu* (Lahore, n.d.); Zahir Kashmiri, *cAzmat-i Adam*, p. 13.
76. Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, p. 66.
77. Even Sajjad Zahir admitted 'pangs of conscience', Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, p. 282.
78. Interview with Mufti Raza Ansari, Lucknow, July 1982; Interview with Akhtar Husain Raipuri, Karachi, Nov. 1982.
79. Sudhi Pradhan, ed., *Marxist Cultural Movements in India: Chronicles and Documents (1936-47)* (Calcutta, 1979), pp. 348-51.
80. WRDIB No. 49, 5 Dec. 1942; Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, p. 300; see examples of Batiwala's letter published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, 17 March 1946; M.R. Masani, *The Communist Party of India*, p. 83.
81. 'P.W.A': *Report of the Activities*, p. 1.
82. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, *I am not an Island*, p. 255.
83. Anwar cInayat-allah, 'Khudnavisht', part 10, *Afkar* (Karachi), Jan, 1981, p. 28.

84. Many progressive magazines began publication in the 1940s. Two particularly good quality literary journals were *Naya Daur* (Bangalore), edited by Mumtaz Shirin and Samad Shahin, and *Afkar* (Bhopal), edited by Sebha Lakhnawi and A.R. Rashid; P.E.N. Bulletin, May 1946; Qudus Sehbai, 'Taraqqi Pasand Adab Aur Sajjad Zahir', *Afkar* (Karachi), Sajjad Zahir No. Dec. 1973, pp. 46, 47, Sajjad Zahir, *Mazamin-i Zahir* (Lucknow, 1979), p. 26.
85. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, pp. 360, 397.
86. The PWA worked very well in collaboration with its sister organisation, the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA). Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas and ^cAli Sardar J^cafri wrote plays on the theme of the Bengal Famine. A cultural troupe was organised under Wamiq Jaunpuri which travelled the length and breadth of India performing variety shows and thus raising funds. Sketches on the Famine by a Bengali artist, Zain al-Abidin were exhibited in Bombay, interview with Sibte Hasan, Karachi Dec 1980. *Bhuka Hai Bangal* exhibitions were organised in Lahore and Allahabad. In Lahore, nine thousand people attended, see *Qaumi Jang* (Bombay), 28 May 1944, p. 8; *Qaumi Jang*, 23 July 1944, p. 7. At a 'grand mushaira' organised in Bombay in aid of 'Starving Bengal', nearly 13,600 rupees were collected 'within a few hours', *Peoples War*, Vol. 2, No. 6, 17 Oct. 1943.
87. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, pp. 378-9.
88. Horst Kruger, *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf*, p. 414.
89. *Nizam* (Bombay) was particularly enthusiastic and was even warned by the Government against spreading communal hatred, see Qudus Sehbai, 'Khudnavisht', final part, p. 21; *Ibid.*, part 4, p. 15; Horst Kruger, *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf*, p. 419; Sajjad Zahir to Mufti Raza Ansari, 8 Aug. 1943, *Qaumi Awaz* (Lucknow), 30 June 1974, p. 3; Interview with Mufti Raza Ansari, Lucknow, July 1982; Tariq Ali, *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power* (London, 1970), pp. 38, 40; Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (C.U.P., 1972), p. 238.
90. WRDIB No. 49, 5 Dec. 1942.
91. Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i*, p. 370; Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, p. 85.
92. Even Makhdum Muhi al-din was overcome by the tidal wave of emotion for Pakistan, see Qudus Sehbai, 'Khudnavisht', part 4, p. 15. For the movement en bloc of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Progressive Writers to the Majlis-i Ittehad al-Muslimin, see ^cAli Sardar J^cafri, 'Dar wa Rasn', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), Aug. 1948, pp. 11-12.

1. Sajjad Zahir, 'Urdu Ki Inqilabi Sha'iri', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), July 1939, p. 45.
2. Akhtar Husain Raipuri, *Adab Aur Inqilab* (Hyderabad, Deccan, 1933), p.
3. Majnun Gorakhpuri, *Adab Aur Zindagi* (Karachi, 1969), p. 74.
4. For details of the 'debate', see Khalil al-Rahman A'zmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik* (Aligarh, 1979), pp. 69-82; see also Ahmad 'Ali, 'Progressive view of Art', paper-presented at inaugural conference of PWA at Lucknow 1936; 'Ali Sardar J'afri, 'Adab Aur Ruj'at Pasandi', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Nov. 1939, pp. 8-18; 'M'utarazin Ki Khidmat Men', part I, *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Jan.-March 1940, pp. 4-6 & part II, April 1940, pp. 4-20; *Naya Adab Kya Hai?* (Lucknow, 1941); Rashid ed., *Aftab, Biswih Sadi Ka Urdu Adab* No. (Aligarh, n.d.).
5. Akhtar Husain Raipuri, *Adab Aur Inqilab*, p. 239.
6. 'Ali Sardar J'afri, 'Taraqqi Pasand Musannifin Ki Tahrik', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), april 1939, p. 11.
7. In Khalil al-Rahman A'zmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, p. 177.
8. Given the bias of Muslim socialist poets against the ghazal, it was not very surprising that very few ghazals appeared in *Naya Adab* between 1939, when the magazine began publication, and Partition.
9. 'Ali Sardar J'afri, *Nai Dunya Ko Salam Aur Jamhur* (Delhi, 1972), p. 200.
10. Khalil al-Rahman A'zmi, *Urdu men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, pp. 85-6. A parody of free verse called *Madawa* (Lucknow, 1944), edited by Furqat Kakorwi, was also published as part of the campaign against the adoption of new formal techniques in Urdu literature.
11. Sajjad Zahir, 'Urdu Ki Inqilabi Sha'iri', p. 45.
12. See Chapter III.
13. Manifesto adopted at the second All-India Progressive Writers' Conference, held at Calcutta on 24-25 Dec. 1938, see 'P.W.A.: Report of the Activities of the Indian P.W.A., 1943-7 (Bombay, n.d.), p. 33.
14. Saiyid Ihtesham Husain, 'Qadim Adab Aur Taraqqi Pasand Naqqad', *Tanqidi Ja'ize* (Hyderabad, Deccan, 1944, p. 123.
15. 'Aziz Ahmad, *Gurez* (Lahore, 1943).
16. See Ahmad Ali, 'The Progressive Writers' Movement and Creative Writers in Urdu', in Carlo Coppola, ed., *Marxist Influences and South Asian Literature* (Asian Studies Centre, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1974), Vol. I, pp. 41-3.
17. A particularly vivid example is the poem 'Intiqam', by Wiqar Ambalwi, cited by Sajjad Zahir in 'Urdu Ki Inqilabi Sha'iri', p. 34.
18. See Salam Machchlishehri's poem, 'Majburiyan', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Dec. 1939, p. 69.

19. 'Ali Sardar J'afri, 'Nazm', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), May 1939, pp. 22-3.
20. See Mirza J'afar 'Ali Khan Asar's polemical article, 'Naya Adab Kidher ja Raha Hai?', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Jan.-March 1940, pp. 7-16.
21. A reply to Asar's article appeared in *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Oct. 1940, under the name of Siraj Mobin, but it was in fact written by Sajjad Zahir, see Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i* (Karachi, 1976), p. 263.
22. Editorial, *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), April 1939, p. 7.
23. Sajjad Zahir, 'Urdu Ki Inqilab Sha'iri, pp. 38-9.
24. 'Ali Sardar J'afri described an instance when Majruh Sultanpuri, a popular poet, recited a ghazal at a musha'ira where the audience consisted largely of workers, using words which were beyond the range of the vocabulary of the ordinary person. Not surprisingly, one worker came up to J'afri at the end of the recital and asked him if he would explain the meaning of an 'ornate' phrase used by Majruh in the poem, see 'Ali Sardar J'afri, *Taraqqi Pasand Adab* (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 63-4.
25. Latif al-din Ahmad, 'Hamara Adab Aur Zamane Ka Taqaza' *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), July 1939, pp. 38-43.
26. Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi, 'Hayya Hayya', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), pp. 86-8.
27. Hajra Begam, 'Dihat Ki Zindagi', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Nov. 1939, pp. 68-9.
28. Mazhar Miyan, 'Qulin Nama', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Oct. 1939, pp. 36-47.
29. Saiyid Muttalibi Faridabadi, 'Dihati Sha'iron Ki Conference', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Aug.-Sept. 1939, pp. 77-89.
30. Hajra Begam, 'Dihat Ki Zindagi', p. 70.
31. See for example Israr al-Haq Majaz's poem, 'Sarmayadari', in Sehba Lakhnawi, ed., *Majaz, aik Ahang (Zindagi - Shakhsiyat-Fan)* (Karachi, 1958), pp. 481-3; see also Saiyid Ihtesham Husain Rizwi, 'Yeh Nizam-i Kuhna', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Jan.-March 1940, p. 35; Masud Akhtar Jamal, 'Gharibon Ka Git', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Jan.-March 1940, pp. 39-41.
32. Muhammad Hasan, 'The Impact on Urdu Literature', in Qamar Rais, ed., *October Revolution, Impact on Urdu Literature* (Delhi, 1978), p. 47.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
34. Sajjad Zahir, 'Progressive Trends in Urdu Poetry', *Peoples War* (Bombay), vol. 3, No. 12, 17 Sept. 1944.
35. Sajjad Zahir, et. al., *angare* (Lucknow), 1933).
36. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
37. Sajjad Zahir, 'Yaden', *Naya Adab Kaya Hai?*, p. 74.
38. A.P. Barannikov, 'Rashid Jahan', *Indian Literature* (Bombay), No. 2, 1952, p. 1.
39. Ahmad Ali, 'The Progressive Writers' Movement', pp. 35

40. *Al-Jami'at* (Delhi), 1 April 1933.
41. The widespread revulsion felt among orthodox Muslim circles against *Angare* was reflected in the press, see *Sarfaraz* (Lucknow), 25 Jan. & 13 Feb. 1933; *Madina* (Bijnor), 13 Feb. 1933; *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), 21 Feb. 1933; *Paiyam* (Aligarh), 5 March 1933; *Sach* (Lucknow), 10 March 1933. See also U.P.N.N.R. No. 7, 1933, p. 2 & No. 10, 1933, p. 3; for a satirical attack on *Angare*, see *Khushmaf Nama* (Aligarh), 10 Feb. 1933.
42. Josh declared that god was a figment of Man's imagination in 'Insaan Ka Khuda', *Naya Adab Kya Hai?*, p. 35; see also Salim Ahmad, 'Josh Aur Khuda', *Naya Daur* (Karachi), Nos. 41-42, pp. 334-45.
43. See Josh Malihabadi, 'Irtiqa' in Krishan Chandar, ed., *Nai Zawiye* (Lahore, 1944), p. 62; 'Ali Sardar Jafri, 'Waiham wa Khayal' in Krishan Chandar, ed., *Nai Zawiye*, p. 141; Salam Machchlishehri, 'Kya Yeh Mumkin Hai?', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), April 1940, pp. 61-2.
44. Ghayyur Ahmad 'Razmi' Siddiqi, 'Mula Ki Khidmat-i Jalila', *Kalim* (Delhi), April 1937, pp. 326-7.
45. Wajahat 'Ali Sandelwi, 'Gustakh Shaiton', *Kalim*, Feb. 1938, pp. 158-9; Wajahat 'Ali Sandelwi, 'Aik Jhalak', *Kalim*, April 1937, pp. 320-31.
46. Wajahat 'Ali Sandelwi, 'Shikast-i Zuhd', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Dec. 1939, pp. 49-54; Wajahat 'Ali Sandelwi, 'Badnami', *Tasht Az Bam* (Sandila, 1946), pp. 40-5; Niaz Fatehpuri, 'Jannat Ki Haqiqat', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), July 1939, pp. 176-92.
47. For their opposition to religion as an 'instrument' of social and political oppression, see 'Abd al-Latif A'zmi, 'Ishtarakiyat Aur Uski Mukhalfat', *Kalim*, Nov. 1938, p. 369.
48. Women in *sharif* homes were confined to the *zenana* and treated as valuable ornaments. Wives were considered lacking in feeling and sexual emotion, those who expressed them were considered 'loose and shameless', see David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (New Jersey, 1978), pp. 36-7; also Akhtar Husain Raipuri, 'Urdu Afsana Nigari Men 'Aurat Ka Tassawur', in his collection of essays, *Sang-i Mil* (Bombay, 1949), pp. 128-32.
49. Rashid Jahan, 'Dilli Ki Sair', *Angare*, pp. 92-6; 'Parde Ke Piche', *Angre*, pp. 98-120.
50. Rashid Jahan, 'Istkhara', *'Aurat Aur Dusre Afsane* (Lahore, n.d.), p. 110.
51. Siddiqa Begam Schwarwi, 'Hindustan Men Pardah ke Riwaaj', *Kalim*, Feb. 1939, p. 153.
52. 'Asmat Chughtai, 'Lihaf', *Choten* (Lahore, 1961), pp. 120-47.
53. Rashid Jahan, 'Aurat', *'Aurat Aur Dusre Afsane*, pp. 4-48.
54. 'Ali Sardar Jafri, 'Sard Mohri', *Kalim*, March 1937, pp. 223-4; Wajahat 'Ali Sandelwi, 'Muhabbat Ki Bhul Bhulaiyan', *Kalim*, Dec. 1936, p. 513-5.

55. Rashid Jahan, 'Aurat', pp. 17, 22, 24, 58.
56. Yakta Haqqani Amrohwi, 'Tawaif Se Khitab', *Kalim*, Feb. 1938, p. 160.
57. 'Ali Sardar J'afri, 'Nazm', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), May 1939, pp. 22-3; 'Ali Jawad Zaidi, 'Is Rah Men', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Dec. 1941, pp. 80-3; Makhdum Muhi al-din, 'Intisab', *Makhdum Kalam-i Makhdum* (Karachi, 1972), p. 67.
58. Israr al-Haq Majaz, 'Naujawan Khatun Se', in Sehba Lakhnawi, ed., *Majaz, Aik Ahang*, pp. 475-6; Israr al-Haq Majaz, 'Pardah Aur 'Asmat', *Ahang* (Lucknow, 1938), pp. 82-4; 'Ali Sardar J'afri, 'A urat', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Dec. 1941, pp. 73-4.
59. S'adat Hasan Manto, 'Hatak', *Karwat* (Lahore, 1975), pp. 36-59.
60. 'Ali Sardar J'afri, 'Mazdur Larkiyani', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), July 1939, pp. 95-6.
61. Victor G. Kiernan, trs., *Poems of Faiz* (London, 1971), pp. 64-7; Israr al-Haq Majaz, 'Awara' in Sehba Lakhnawi, ed., *Majaz, Aik Ahang*, pp. 477-80; Muhammad Din Tasir, 'Gharibon Ki Sada', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), July 1939, p. 91; Hayat-allah Ansari, 'Dhai Sair Atta', *Bhare Bazar Men* (Lahore, 1935), pp. 43-62.
62. Carlo Coppola, 'Urdu Literary Reaction to the 1943 Bengal Famine', *Vagartha* (New Delhi), July 1977, pp. 41-50.
63. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, *I am not an Island, an Experiment in Autobiography* (New Delhi, 1977), pp. 264-5.
64. Ahmad Mujtaba Wamiq, 'Bhuka Hai Bangal', *Aligarh Magazine*, (Aligarh), March 1944.
65. See Suhail 'Azimabadi, 'Alao', *Suhail* (Gaya), Feb.-March 1981, pp. 187-94.
66. Sahir Ludhianwi, 'Jagir', *Talkhiyan* (Delhi, 1963), p. 39.
67. Hayat-Allah Ansari, 'Akhir Koshish', *Guftugu* (Bombay), Taraqqi Pasand No., Aug. 1980, pp. 300-16; S'adat Hasan Manto, 'Narah', *Manto Ke Afsane* (Lahore, 1940), painted an extremely realistic picture of the mental and emotional condition of the poor, created by a sense of helplessness; see also Manto's works, 'Naya Sal', *Dhuan* (Delhi, 1941) & 'Inqilab Pasand', *Atish Pare* (Lahore, 1935), p. 4; 'Ali Sardar J'afri, 'Mazdur', *Qaumi Jang* (Bombay), 2 Dec. 1945; Kaifi A'zmi, 'Faista', *Qaumi Jang*, 28 Oct. 1945; Israr al-Haq Majaz, 'Lal Jhanda', *Peoples War*, Vol. III, No. 12, 17 Sept. 1944.
68. Sajjad Zahir, 'Working Class Leadership and Our Struggle', *Congress Socialist* (Calcutta), 26 Dec. 1936, pp. 26-8; Y. Meharally, 'National Revolution and Socialist Leadership', *Congress Socialist*, 26 Dec. 1936, pp. 9-10; Z.A. Ahmad, *A Brief Analysis of the New Constitution* (Allahabad, 1936); Sajjad Zahir, *Roshna'i* (Karachi, 1976), pp. 85-90; Sibte Hasan, ed., *Azadi Ki Nazmen* (Lucknow, 1940), pp. 101-3, 117-20, 124-5, 133-4, 161-170; S'adat Hasan Manto, 'Naya Qanun', *Naya Adab*

- (Bombay), *Khas No.*, 1949, p. 77; Mahmud al-Zafar, 'Mutahida Mahaz', *Chingari* (Saharanpur), June 1939, pp. 28-36, & 'Paglon Ki Basti', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Oct. pp. 3-4.
69. Sajjad Zahir, *Landan Ki Aik Rat* (Karachi, 1974), pp. 10, 13-14, 22, 27.
70. the poem first appeared in *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Aug.-Sept. 1939, pp. 17-21. Later it was published in Sibte Hasan, ed., *Azadi Ki Nazmen*, which was proscribed by the British Indian as seditious matter.
71. Shamim Kirhani, 'Jagawa', in Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, p. 126.
72. Shamim Kirhani, 'Jawan Jazbe;', in Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, p. 125.
73. Josh Malihabadi, 'Shikast-i Zindan Ka Khwab', in Jan Nisar Akhtar, ed., *Hindustan Hamara* (Bombay, 1973?), vol. II, pp. 177-8.
74. M^cuin al-din A^cqil, *Tahrik-i Azadi Men Urdu Ka Hissa* (Karachi, 1976), p. 502.
75. Ahmad Phaphundwi, 'ain-i jadid', in Jan Nisar Akhtar, ed., *Hindustan Hamara*, pp. 216-7; Josh Malihabadi, 'Wifaq' in Jan Nisar Akhtar, ed., *Hindustan Hamara*, p. 218.
76. S^cadat Hasan Manto, 'The Coachman and the New Constitution', *Indian Writing* (London), vol. I, No. 3, March 1941, p. 165.
77. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Aug.-Sept. 1939, pp. 17-21.
78. 'When Kaifi Azmi saw the starving masses of his country getting off the train at the Cawnpore Railway Station, he began to visualise all the barbaric cruelties that had been perpetrated on the patriotic elements of India by British imperialism. so, he said,

'Think a little you confounded fools, for God's sake

'Whoever fights for the preservation of slavery?', see Sahir Ludhianwi, 'Jang Aur Nazm', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), No. 6, 1946, pp. 25, 29.

79. Sahir Ludhianwi, 'Lamha-i Ghanimat', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), *Khas No.* (*Azadi Ki Manzilen*), 1949, p. 98.
80. A^cAli Sardar J^cafri, 'Jang Aur Inqilab', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), *Khas No.* (*Azadi Ki Manzilen*), 1949, p. 94.
81. *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), Sept. 1942, p. 34; *Naya Adab* (Bombay), No. 6, 1946, pp. 35-8; Victor G. Kiernan, *Poems of Faiz*, p. 32.
82. Khalil al-Rahman A^czmi, *Urdu Men Taraqqi Pasand Adabi Tahrik*, p. 75.
83. 'Muslim League Ki Siyasi Ahmiyat Aur Hamara Tariqa kam', *Hindustan* (Lucknow), 18 Sept. 1938, p. 8, and 'Pirzan League', *Kalim*, May 1938, pp. 359-60.
84. *Hindustan*, 18 Sept. 1938, pp. 8-9.

85. For a detailed although hostile account of the 'infiltration' of the Congress by communists during the 1930s, see M.R. Masani, *The Communist Party of India: A Short History* (London, 1954).
86. 'Abd al-'Alim, 'Hamari Qaumi Zaban', *Naya Adab* (Lucknow), July 1939, pp. 71-5.
87. G. Adhikari, *Pakistan and Indian National Unity* (London), 1943), p. 15.
88. Sajjad Zahir, *A Case for Congress-League Unity* (Bombay, 1944), pp. 20, 36; N.K. Krishnan, ed., *National Unity for the Defence of the Motherland* (Bombay, n.d.), pp. 24-5.
89. G. Adhikari, *Pakistan and Indian National Unity*, pp. 31-2.
90. Sajjad Zahir, 'Muslim League and Indian Freedom: Landmarks in the Growth of Hindu-Muslim Unity', *Peoples War*, Vol. II, No. 30.
91. *Peoples War*, Vol. II, No. 38, 19 March 1944.
92. Kaifi A'zmi, 'Congress-League Ittehad', *Qaumi Jang*, 13 Aug. 1945, p. 1, & 'Nai Khakay', *Qaumi Jang*, 10 Sept. 1945, p. 1; Makhdum Muhi al-din, 'Pakistan Hamara', *Qaumi Jang*, 29 July 1945; Kaifi A'zmi, 'Mazduron Ka Jawab', *Qaumi Jang*, 18 Nov. 1945, p. 8.
93. *Indian Literature*, No. 3, 1953, p. 61.
94. See Sehba Lakhnawi, ed., *Majaz, Aik Ahang*, p. 818.
95. *Qaumi Jang*, 29 July 1945, p. 8.
96. Sehba Lakhnawi, ed., *Mujaz, Aik Ahang*, pp. 57-8; see also Nazar Haiderabadi, 'Pakistan', *Qaumi Jang*, 17 June 1945, p. 8.
97. Hafeez Malik, 'the Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan', *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVI, 4 Aug. 1967, p. 656.
98. Ibrahim Jalis, *Do Mulk aik Kahani* (Delhi, n.d.), pp. 28-9.
99. Sajjad Zahir, 'Pakistan Ki Jamhuri Tashrih', *Qaumi Jang*, 21 April 1946, p. 8; *Qaumi Jang*, 1 Sept. 1946, p. 2; 'The Muslim League leaders are opposed to democracy, to the people and the Indian revolution', Sajjad Zahir, 'Muslim League and Direct Action', *Qaumi Jang*, 29 Sept. 1946; see also *Qaumi Jang*, Oct. 1946, p. 3, & 17 Nov. 1946, p. 8.
100. Khwaja Ahmad 'Abbas, 'Yeh Barbariyat Kyon?', *Guftugu*, Autumn 1968, p. 242.
101. Nabindo Ghosh, 'Ferris Lane', *Naya Daur, Fasadat* No. 16-17, p. 389; Khwaja Ahmad 'Abbas, 'Intiqam', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), Oct. 1948, p. 56; 'Abbas related an actual incident where a Hindu murdered another Hindu, taking him to be a Muslim because of his Muslim-style clothes, see Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, *I am not an island*, p. 277.
102. The short story was based on a real incident which happened to members of 'Abbas's family, see Khawaja Ahmad Abbas, *I am not an Island*, pp. 282-3; 'Aziz Ahmad, 'Kali Rat', *Naya Daur, Fasadat* No. 16-17, pp. 291-310.

103. 'Statement on communal Disturbances', 'P.W.A.': *Report on the Activities*, p. 30.
104. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
105. Krishan Chandar, *Ham Wahshi Hain* (Bombay, 1949); Khwaja Ahmad ^cAbbas, 'Ajanta', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), April 1947, pp. 65-90.
106. Shahid Ahmd Dihalwi, 'Dilli Ki Bipta', *Naya Daur, Fasadat* No. 16-17, pp. 144-79; Akhtar Husain Raipuri, Interview, Karachi Nov. 1982.
107. Shaukat Siddiqi, Interview, Karachi, Nov. 1982.
108. For example, Sahir Ludhianwi, 'Marahimat', *Naya Adab* (Bombay), *Khas* No. (*Azadi Ki Manzilen*), 1949, pp. 192-3; 'Naya Safar Hai Purana Chiragh Gul Kardo', *Ibid.*, p. 221; ^cAli Sardar ^fafri, 'Fared', *Ibid.*, pp. 193-5; Kaifi A^czmi, 'Masalihah', *Ibid.*, p. 195; Qatil Shifai, 'Bahlave', *Ibid.*, p. 196; Ahmad Nadim Qasmi, 'Azadi Ki B^cad', *Ibid.*, pp. 220-1.
109. Victor G. Kiernan, *Poems of Faiz*, pp. 122-7.

CONCLUSION

1. Gene D. Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller, *Communism in India* (Berkeley, 1960), p. 432.
2. See Mounah A. Khouri, *Poetry and the Making of Modern Egypt (1882-1922)* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 8, 26-9, 94; P.J. Vatikiotis, 'Transition and Political Leadership: the example of Algeria' *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 4, July 1966, pp. 330-72; J.D. Legge, *Indonesia* (New Jersey, 1964), pp. 52-4. See also Rudolph Peters, *Islam and Colonialism, The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History* (the Hague, 1979), pp. 53-62, 73-84.
3. For instance, the Kemalist Westernisation in Turkey.
4. Alexandre A. Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union, A Revolutionary Strategy for the Colonial World* (Chicago, 1979).
5. Edward Allworth, ed., *Central Asia, A Century of Russian Rule* (New York, 1967), pp. 349-67, 397-433.
6. Mushirul Hasan, 'The Muslim Mass Contact Campaign: an Attempt at Political Mobilisation', *Occasional Papers on History and Society* (New Delhi), No. XIV, p. 9.
7. Ibrahim a. Ibrahim, 'Salama Musa, An Essay on Cultural Alienation', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3, October 1979, pp. 346-57.