

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: The Rescuer of the Bengali Hindus from the United Bengal Movement

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Abstract

United Bengal was a plan to convert the Bengal province into an undivided and Independent state during the Partition of India (1947). The Partition of Bengal was materialized in accordance with the Mountbatten Plan and Radcliffe Line. The division of Bengal occurred chiefly on religious ground. In this context, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee acted as one of the precursors to the struggle of the Bengali Hindus for the achievement of self-respect. The present article is an attempt to highlight the role played by Dr. Mookerjee and some other Bengali leaders in the United Bengal movement. This should also lead to an explication as to why Dr. Mookerjee raised his voice for the Partition of Bengal so as to secure the interest of the Bengali Hindus and also to save their lives from a possibility of communal slaughter.

Keywords: Partition, Syama Prasad Mookerjee, United Bengal, Hindu, Communal

The partition of Bengal in 1947 came as a watershed event in the history of Bengal. The partition was brought into effect as a result of the different political moves of the Muslim League, the *Hindu Mahasabha* and the Congress as also the British government. The failure of the Bengal Congress on various issues connected to the interest of the Bengali Hindus helped the *Hindu Mahasabha* to become a more practical representative of the Hindus as the partition came closer. On the issue as to how the partition plans sprouted roots in Bengal, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (dated the 23rd of April, 1947) raised a significant question: ‘Do you want a separate homeland for Bengali Hindus?’ In answer to the *Patrika*’s question, 98.3% Bengalis voted in favour, and only 0.6% voted against the division of the province.¹ The *Patrika* reported that 99.6% Hindus and only 0.4% Muslims who had responded to the poll, had voted mostly in favour of a division.²

The Muslim League had begun its political journey on 23rd March, 1940 and the league passed the Lahore Resolution or the Pakistan Resolution in Lahore, demanding a separate Muslim homeland for the Muslim community. In the Lahore Resolution, Jinnah did not state the word Pakistan directly. M. K. Gandhi firmly thought that the partition would not solve the communal problem and would have disastrous effects. On 14th April, 1940, Syama Prasad Mookerjee at Bihar Hindu Conference stated that “The danger of the Moslems consolidating themselves into a separate entity drawing its inspiration from Moslem countries abroad ... Muslim leaders of the Pakistan movement may dream of a possible alliance with some independent Moslem state for the preservation of Moslem interests or for the spread of Islam in India. The Hindus must be prepared for any contingency.”³ On the issue of the Lahore Resolution, the Hindu Mahasabha strongly reacted against the resolution.

The first partition of the province of Bengal (1905) resulted in the emergence of two provinces like Bengal in the West and East Bengal and Assam in the East.⁴ However, a violent protest against the government forced a cancellation of this decision within six years. The second partition of Bengal was introduced by an organized campaigning on the basis of religion.⁵ Three largely accepted views in relation to the outcome of the partition of Bengal in 1947 are given below:

1. Bengal's unity was sacrificed in the name of an all-India interest;
2. The partition of the province was chiefly the result of Muslim communalism;
3. Hindu communalism in Bengal was entirely confined to the *Hindu Mahasabha*.⁶

Now, let us see, how far the United Bengal Movement succeeded in building up a fight against the partition plan. On 27th April, 1947, H. S. Suhrawardy, the Premier of Bengal gave an idea of United Bengal at a press conference in Delhi. At this conference, he boldly spoke of ‘an independent, undivided and sovereign Bengal in a divided India as a separate dominion.’⁷ Sarat Bose framed the scheme of a united and sovereign Bengal in May, 1947, which was based upon a few acceptable principles like joint electorates, adult franchise and reservation of seats according to population. It may be asserted that Kiran Sankar Roy was partly an advocate of the United Bengal Movement, which was also promoted by Abul Hashim, Sarat Bose and Suhrawardy. But the Muslim League leaders were extremely separated among themselves on the United Bengal Scheme issue.⁸

The partition movement paradoxically derived force from campaigns for a United Bengal.⁹ The United Bengal movement was jointly launched by the Muslim League and the prominent Congressmen of Bengal like Sarat Bose and K. S. Roy et al. It can be asserted that the United Bengal movement attained urgency as a political plan after the earlier demand for a “greater Pakistan” had subsided. Some significant issues that arose by now were centred on the questions of a national leadership, the Congress and the League High command in the Bengal partition issue etc. Under such circumstances, the Bengal Congress got divided into two groups. One group supported the United Bengal movement plan and other group opposed the plan. But the Bengal Muslim League was the most powerful part in Jinnah's campaign for Pakistan and his major aim was to achieve the target of a separate Muslim homeland for the Muslims. The second partition thus became one of the crucial issues in the field of India's socio-political

history. It is generally assumed that in the partition of Bengal apart from the role of the British government, the Muslim League was as much responsible as the Congress Party itself.¹⁰

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published a cartoon in May 1947, which graphically captured hesitation among the people's minds.¹¹ The cartoon's title was 'Who is Right?', it showed that the four main political figures, H. S. Suhrawardy, Syama Prasad Mookerjee (the leader of the *Hindu Mahasabha*), M. A. Jinnah and M. K. Gandhi each with a placard with their imaginary propositions. In this particular cartoon, Suhrawardy holds 'United Bengal in Divided India', Dr. Mookerjee holds 'Divided Bengal in United India', Jinnah 'Divided Bengal in Divided India' and Gandhi holds 'United Bengal in United India.'¹² This cartoon reveals quite tellingly the disagreements about India and Bengal's political future.

The leaders of Bengal like Kiran Sankar Roy, Sarat Bose and H. S. Suhrawardy supported the United Bengal Movement. But they were not able to influence the Hindu mass against the partition of Bengal. In mid-1947, there was a move for the partition of Bengal on communal lines and the United Bengal Plan failed miserably chiefly because of the incredulity of the Hindu Congress leaders like Sarat Bose and K.S. Roy. These leaders were already alienated because of their association with other Muslim League leaders in the United Bengal issue. Second, they lacked in the dynamism of Dr. Mookerjee in generating mass opinion. As Mushirul Hasan observes in *India's Partition Process, Strategy and Mobilization* (OUP, 2007), Dr. Mookerjee was successful in mobilizing the Hindu public for the division of Bengal. M. K. Gandhi strongly wanted to avoid the division of India, but he too indirectly supported the United Bengal Movement. Pandit Nehru thought that the partition of Bengal was harmful from many points of view, but he strongly pleaded for the separation of Bengal from India.¹³ On the other hand, Jinnah had agreed with the idea of an independent Bengal which would be equally separated from Pakistan and India. He supported Bose, Roy and Suhrawardy because he thought that in the United Bengal a Muslim majority population would certainly remain and this population would merge into Independent Pakistan later.¹⁴

Regarding the issue of United Bengal, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (henceforth referred to as BPCC) was divided into two sections. The first section led by Kalipada Mukherjee, Surendra Mohan Ghosh and others opposed the United Bengal movement from the beginning. They firmly believed that 'an undivided Bengal in a divided India is an impossibility.'¹⁵ But another section led by Kiran Sankar Roy and Sarat Bose supported the demand for an independent Bengal. The BPCC was greatly affected in 1939-40 because its leader Subhas Chandra Bose became aloof from mainstream Congress politics and the BPCC was suspended. As Joya Chatterjee observes in her book *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947* (Cambridge, 2002), the Bengal Congress leaders clashed with the all-India leadership in national level politics. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected Congress President at Tripuri defeating the official candidate Pattabhi Sitaramayya. But the majority of the AICC members were against Bose and he resigned from Congress Presidentship within a few months at the All India Congress Committee Meeting in Calcutta in May, 1939. After Subhas Chandra Bose's resignation from Congress, the Bengal intelligentsia

continued to support him and he formed the Forward Bloc Party (22 June 1939). A few months later, in mid 1939, Subhas Bose was suspended from Congress leadership; the Bengal Congress was divided for this schism and since then the Bengal Congress got seriously weakened. The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 brought changes in Indian politics. In this situation Subhas Bose left India in January 1941 to join the Axis powers. During 1942-45 there was no BPC as both the official and suspended committees were dissolved. The BPC played an ineffective role in confronting the growing strength of the Muslim League in Bengal politics in the mid-forties. During the period 1939 to 1945, the BPC activities were hindered for the Second World War crisis and the internal conflict of the leaders themselves.¹⁶

For the United Bengal issue, Suhrawardy had a new scheme of action by now, and he tried to reassure confidence among the Hindus. For this, he attempted to form a coalition government in Bengal with the help of the Hindu mass. So he met Jinnah at Bombay on 6th September and requested him to allow a coalition government in Bengal. But Jinnah refused his proposal.¹⁷ One of the reasons for his proposed coalition government might be that the Bengali Hindus wanted the removal of Suhrawardy and his ministry in Bengal.¹⁸ He thus intensely desired to prevent Bengal's partition and acquire the entire Bengal out of India. Jinnah and Suhrawardy, in spite of some initial differences of opinion, were understandably against the idea of partition of Bengal, because it would deprive their Pakistan of the prize catch called Calcutta, and would also take away the industrial half of Bengal. Suhrawardy, meanwhile had launched his project of the United Sovereign Bengal. For this purpose he had to collaborate with some Hindu Congress leaders, who would join him. Jinnah, as Tathagata Roy observes in *The Life and Times of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: A Complete Biography* (Prabhat Prakashan, New Delhi, 2012), seemed to support United Bengal because he might have thought that a united Bengal with a Muslim majority population would surely remain part of Pakistan. However, the United Bengal Plan failed to attract any real support from the Bengali Hindus. As an alternative the issue of the Bengal partition was raised by the *Hindu Mahasabha*.¹⁹

As mentioned earlier, Suhrawardy ensured Jinnah's support to the United Bengal Movement. In this respect, Suhrawardy remarked 'If Bengal remains united---I should be delighted. What is the use of Bengal without Calcutta? They had much better to remain united and independent; I am sure that they would be on friendly terms with us.'²⁰ Jinnah was worried by Suhrawardy's scheme because it was a greater Pakistan comprising east and West Bengal in which Muslims established a majority in later time. Under such circumstances, Jinnah's most faithful followers, Khwaja Nazimuddin and Akram Khan thought that Bengal should be a part of Pakistan or at least it should maintain a close relationship with the new Muslim state in the West.²¹ In this situation, Jinnah did not oppose the United Bengal movement, but also refrained from supporting the movement publicly.²² He truly wanted Pakistan, including the whole of the Bengal, Punjab and Assam with minor adjustments. In Bengal and the Punjab, Muslims were the majority community, but not in all districts. In Assam, they were in minority, but only in one or two districts they were the majority.²³ For the reason of the United Sovereign Bengal Suhrawardy wished that the Bengal Congress leaders like Sarat Chandra Bose and Kiran Sankar Roy would jointly co-operate with them.

The BPCC had already chosen Bengal partition because more than 90 per cent of the Hindu members of the Bengal Assembly were Congressmen. In the elections of 1946, the Muslim League got a clear majority in Sind, Punjab and Bengal. It can be said that success at the polls naturally encouraged the Muslim League. It paved the way for the more aggressive demand about partition affair. In this condition, the All India Congress Committee (henceforth referred to as AICC) began to believe that the partition was inevitable.²⁴ Dr. Mookerjee thought that if Bengal was not separated then the Hindus would have no safety in the Bengal province. On 13th May, 1947, Dr. Mookerjee met Gandhi at Sodpur, near Calcutta and asked for Gandhi's views regarding the Suhrawardy scheme of the United Sovereign Bengal. At the same time, Dr. Mookerjee asked Gandhi whether he could contemplate Bengal as separate from the rest of India. Gandhi had no reply to these questions. In this point of view, Jawaharlal Nehru said that he could not say certainly what was going to occur.²⁵ Sardar Vallabhai Patel assured Dr. Mookerjee that he did not have to worry and he should depend on them. The future of the Bengali Hindus was almost safe in Bengal province. In this respect one pamphlet clearly recounted the growing popularity of Dr. Mookerjee among the Bengali Hindus: "We want a partition of Bengal or a Hindu-majority Ministry, but such a Ministry should not be composed of men of Sarat Babu's type, who are satellites of the Muslims, there must be Hindus like Syama Prasad Mookerjee in that Ministry."²⁶

But Sarat Bose and Kiran Shankar Roy continued their effort on the United Bengal Movement issue. On 20th May, 1947, a tentative agreement was reached at by Sarat Bose and Kiran Roy and on the other hand Suhrawardy and some other Muslim League members.²⁷ On 24th May before the announcement of the Mountbatten Plan, the agreement was published in the newspapers.²⁸ The terms of the agreement²⁹ were: "1. Bengal will be a Free State. The Free State of Bengal will decide its relations with the rest of India. 2. The constitution of the Free State of Bengal will provide for election to the Bengal legislature on the basis of a joint electorate and adult franchise, with reservation of seats proportionate to the population amongst the Hindu and Muslims. The seats as between the Hindus and the scheduled caste Hindus will be distributed amongst them in proportion to their respective population, or in such a manner as may be agreed among them.---If no candidate satisfies these conditions, that candidate who gets the largest number of votes of his own community will be elected. 3. On the announcement by His Majesty's Government that the proposal of the Free State of Bengal has been accepted and that Bengal will not be partitioned, the present Bengal Ministry will be dissolved and a new Interim Ministry brought into being, consisting of an equal number of Muslims and Hindus (including Scheduled Caste Hindu) but excluding the Chief Minister. In his Ministry, the Chief Minister will be a Muslim and the Home Minister a Hindu. 4. Pending the final emergence of a Legislature and a Ministry under the new constitution, the Hindus (including the Scheduled Caste Hindu) and the Muslims will have an equal share in the services including military and police. 5. There will be Constituent Assembly composed of 30 persons, 15 Muslims and 15 non-Muslim members of the Legislature respectively, excluding the Europeans." In this particular situation, the *Hindu Mahasabha* and its leader Syama Prasad strongly protested against the United Bengal Scheme substance. He thought that this scheme would have forced the Hindus to live under Muslim domination in Bengal province. The main limitation of the United Bengal Movement was its failure to attract any moral

support from the Bengali Hindus and as such, it also resulted in a division in the BPML leadership. The West Bengal Hindus had determined to build a Hindu State which would be free from the Muslim domination. The BPML and the BPCC both parties failed to raise any significant impact on Bengali *bhadralok* politics. The idea of an independent sovereign Bengal had no mass appeal either among the Bengali Muslims or the Hindus. There can be no doubt that Jinnah's two nation theory gave a golden chance for the Partition of Bengal. Dr. Mookerjee felt that there was no logic in the progress for the United Bengal scheme when the two nation theory was referred.³⁰

Jinnah hoped that he would obtain Pakistan, which would include the whole Punjab, Bengal and Assam. On the other hand, S. P. Mookerjee explained his political philosophy and his stand about the demand for the partition of Bengal. In this perspective, Dr. Mookerjee declared, "We stand for equal political citizenship of all without any distinction. I admit that there are classes and communities which are backward and which have to be given special protection for educational and economic advancement. The constitution itself should guarantee the preservation of religious, social and cultural rights of different classes."³¹ He did not want any particular facility for the Hindus but tried to solve the communal problem on a national basis.

Some different plans of various parties or organizations regarding the electoral areas for West Bengal are as follows:

Table

Area claimed for West Bengal, by Political Organization or Party, 1947

Political Organization or Party	Area demanded for West Bengal as a percentage of united Bengal	Area demanded for West Bengal (square miles)
<i>Arya Rashtra Sangha</i>	80	61,953
<i>Hindu Mahasabha/ New Bengal Association</i>	54	41,409
Congress Scheme	52	40,137
Congress Plan	48	36,849
Congress Plan less Khulna etc.	42	32,709
<i>Jatiya Banga Sangathan Samiti</i>	31	23,574

Source: Joya Chatterji, *The Spoils of Partition Bengal and India, 1947-1967*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2007, p. 51-52.

The above table gives an idea about the territory claimed by the different organizations or parties for West Bengal. The *Arya Rashtra Sangha* demanded 4/5 of undivided Bengal or 61,953 square miles for West Bengal. The *Hindu Mahasabha* or New Bengal Association, both parties claimed around 3/5 of the united Bengal, or 41,000 square miles for the new state. The official plan of the Congress was to demand almost half of undivided Bengal or about 37,000 square miles. The Congress Plan subtracted the 5,000 square miles of Khulna, Faridpur and Bakarganj etc. and claimed almost 33,000

square miles. The *Jatiya Banga Sangathan Samiti* demanded 3/10 of united Bengal or 23,500 square miles.

On 3rd June 1947, Mountbatten resumed a conference with the political leaders. On the same day, the Viceroy broadcast over All-India Radio and he gave a short description of his talks with the various political leaders. The Muslim League had demanded the partition of India in the same way the Congress had demanded the partition of the Punjab and the Bengal provinces. Regarding the transfer of power in India, Mountbatten clearly declared that the transfer would be in 1947 and not in June 1948. He disclosed "I think the transfer could be about the 15th of August."³² On 9th June, the All-India Muslim League declared the date of transfer agreed upon by Mountbatten and Jinnah and said that it was not a 'settlement but as a compromise.'³³ In this situation, the *Hindu Mahasabha* observed an Anti-Pakistan Day. On the other hand, the All-India Muslim League met in New Delhi on 10th June to come to the conclusion that the Cabinet Mission Plan had been shattered. In the context of the United Bengal Movement, Dr. Mookerjee remarked that if a Sovereign Bengal were formed, on the basis of its religious composition, and had it joined Pakistan then the minority community would be left at that stage with no option other than embracing a sort of religious as well as social subordination. The most debatable character in this respect was Jogendra Nath Mandal, who wished a relationship with the Muslim League and opposed the suggestion of partition of Bengal.³⁴

Syama Prasad's proposal regarding the Hindus in Bengal was not same as Curzon's partition plan. In this perspective, Dr. Mookerjee remarked, "The Curzon Partition was aimed at giving a death blow to the seditionist Bengali Hindus. They were placed in a minority in the then created province of Eastern Bengal and Assam with two major languages, namely Bengali and Assamese. They were also a minority in the then created province of Western Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, ----- our present proposal for Hindu Bengal on the other hand, is aimed at saving Bengali Hindus and also the cause of nationalism which is their life blood."³⁵ He appealed to the mass for organizing a strong anti-Pakistan movement and demanding a division of Bengal into two provinces. He also appealed to the Bengal Congress party and supported his campaign regarding the nationalist interests in Bengal and India.³⁶

In February 1947 the *Hindu Mahasabha* formed a committee to build a separate province in Bengal. The main objectives of the committee led to campaigns for the partition of Bengal. A *Hindu Mahasabha* Conference was held at Tarakeswar (Bengal) from 4th April to 6th April 1947. In this conference, Dr. Mookerjee stated: "I can conceive of no other solution of the communal problem in Bengal than to divide the province and let the two major communities reside here in peace and freedom."³⁷ He realized that the only way of saving Bengali Hindus from extinction under Muslim domination was a divided Bengal to separate its Hindu majority in the Western part from the Muslim majority in the Eastern part. Undoubtedly, it was a painful idea for the patriotic Bengalis – none but Dr. Mookerjee could have done it.³⁸

A pamphlet titled 'Should Bengal be divided into two provinces?' Syama Prasad Mookerjee rejected the statement saying that "No government could possibly crush the Hindu who constituted 45% of Bengal. He said it was not the numbers that mattered.

What mattered was the system of administration and a glaring example was Hyderabad where 90% Hindus were groaning under a tyrannical rule. He defended his proposal for division of Bengal on practical as well as administrative grounds ---.”³⁹ It can be said that “the Congress-*Mahasabha* alliance successfully led to keep West Bengal as a Hindu majority province within a divided India. ---- A United Bengal separate from Pakistan was not a choice, and it is not clear whether any would have voted for it. Even Sarat Bose’s brother Satish Bose, and Kiran Sankar Ray voted for partition. Jinnah got Pakistan, but it was one he called ‘moth-eaten’ because he lost East Punjab and West Bengal.”⁴⁰ In this aspect, Syama Prasad got praise for Jinnah’s ‘moth-eaten’ Pakistan and he was successful in mobilizing the Hindu community for division.

Dr. Mookerjee feared that if not partitioned, undivided Bengal in near future would become a virtual Pakistan. In this point of view, Syama Prasad firmly mentioned that the Bengali Hindus numbered very large and their contributions to the development of India were significant. They must have their individual territory where they could live without any fear and enjoy peace and freedom.⁴¹ The partition of India or the partition of provinces like the Punjab and the Bengal was accepted by the Congress, the Muslim League and the *Hindu Mahasabha*.⁴² The Muslim League was the only party to get what it wanted.⁴³

For this purpose, a commission was introduced to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Bengal Province. In an official announcement on 30th June, 1947, the Governor General of India declared to set up the two Boundary Commissions, one to deal with the partition of Bengal, and another to deal with the partition of the Punjab. Both the Commissions would be formed of a chairman and 4 members, 2 nominated by the Congress and 2 by the Muslim League.⁴⁴ Sir Cyril (later Lord) Radcliffe was appointed the Chairman of both Commissions. The members of the Bengal Commission were Justices C. C. Biswas, B. K. Mukherji, Abu Saleh Mahomed Akram, S. A. Rahman and the members of the Punjab commission were Justices Din Mahomed, Mehr Chand Mahajan, Muhammad Munir and Teja Singh.⁴⁵ The following measures were adopted by the commission to frame the partition rules:

1. The two parts respectively to contain as large a proportion as practicable of the total Muslim and non - Muslim population of the Province of Bengal.
2. The boundary, being the boundary between the two States, must be continuous; and necessarily the existence of many pockets and areas containing a majority of Muslim population in the Western part, and a majority of non-Muslim population in the Eastern part will have to be accepted.
3. If without substantially affecting Rules 1 and 2 there could be found any natural boundary, e.g., rivers over any portion of the boundary line that should be adopted.
4. Subject to the above rules and without affecting Rule 2, any special reasons for any area to be incorporated either in the western or in the eastern part should be considered.

On 14th August, 1947, the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten went to Karachi to inaugurate a new Independent State of Pakistan. Next day, he returned to India and at twelve midnight on 15th August, 1947, the Indian Dominion was created. In this context,

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad commented: “it was better to wait till a correct solution was found. I had done my best, but my friends and colleagues, unfortunately did not support me.”⁴⁶ In August 1947 the British Government handed over power and left the country. There is no doubt that the transfer of power in August 1947 had already become inevitable because of the infinite debates and controversies among the Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha leaders. The construction of two independent Dominions was therefore a foregone conclusion, and history henceforth stands in witness of such a division and subsequent reconstruction of two nation-states, namely India and Pakistan.

The Radcliffe Award on the boundaries of Bengal was announced on 17th August 1947. It divided Bengal into two parts -West Bengal and East Bengal. After the partition of Bengal, West Bengal covered 28,000 square miles and had a population over 21 million people on the other side East Bengal covered 49,000 square miles with a population of 39 million people. A painful situation occurred in both the Bengals, more than 5 million Muslims were left in West Bengal and about 11 million Hindus found themselves left in the eastern side of Pakistan.⁴⁸ The Award accepted two important principles that had been introduced in the Congress Plan – ‘First that the two parts into which Bengal was to be partitioned should contain respectively as many of the total Muslim and Hindu populations of Bengal as possible and Secondly, that the ratio of Muslims to Hindus in one zone must be as nearly equal as possible to the ratio of Hindu to Muslims in the other.’⁴⁹ The Award gave 71% Muslims for East Bengal. In West Bengal the Hindus were 70.8% of the total population.⁵⁰ The Congress Party had accepted the partition of India. Jinnah rejected the Wavell Plan but he was assured that he would be able to achieve full fledged Pakistan. In this situation, the *Hindu Mahasabha* submitted its memorandum to the Cabinet Mission mentioning, “Be the modes of living and worship of the Indian people what they may, there can be no doubt that geographically, politically and culturally India is one whole and indivisible and it must remain so in future.”⁵¹ The memorandum defended the inclusion of Calcutta in West Bengal. In this matter, the *Mahasabha* argued in two significant ways. First, the Mahasabha held that Calcutta was a predominantly Hindu city and it must be included in West Bengal. Second, the *Mahasabha* also pointed out that in the development of the city the role of the non-Muslims was significant because the Muslim share was 6.2% while non-Muslims shared 93.8% of the total tax collected from the city.

It is clear from the above discussion that the Congress as well as the Muslim League had accepted the partition. The Congress represented the whole country and the Muslim League had mainly the support of the Muslims. India obtained her independence but lost her unity. It may therefore be asserted that the partition of India raised more problems than what it solved. It may be also said that the partition of India increased the communal tensions and left a bitter legacy for the two dominions of India and Pakistan. It was essential for both the governments to take time for the rehabilitation of their own people.⁵² However, it can be strongly held that had there been no Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee and had the Bengali leadership of the Provincial Congress ultimately embraced the notion of a *united Bengal*, the Bengali Hindus would have faced serious challenges in surviving with security and self-esteem.

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40. Dinesh Chandra Sinha, op. cit.; p. 321.

41. Prashanto Kumar Chatterjee, op. cit., pp. 200-01; Bidyut Chakrabarty, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
42. B. R. Nanda, *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Routledge, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 323-24.
43. Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India 1936-1947*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 251-52.
44. Bidyut Chakrabarty, *The Partition of Bengal and Assam*, op. cit., p. 156; see *The Statesman*, 1 July 1947.
45. For details of the Boundary Commission see, V. P. Menon op. cit., pp. 156-58.
46. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, Orient Longman Limited, Madras, 1988, p. 226.
47. For a detail of the India Dominion was born on 15 August 1947 see H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide Britain-India-Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1985, pp. 551-52; V. P. Menon, op. cit., p. 436
48. Joya Chatterji, *The Spoils of Partition: Bengal and India, 1947-1967*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, p. 57.
49. Ibid., p. 59.
50. Ibid., Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, *The Partition of Bengal: A Geographical Study with Maps and Diagrams*, D. R. Mitra, Calcutta University, 1947, p. 56.
51. Indra Prakash, *Hindu Mahasabha its Contribution to India's Politics*, Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha, New Delhi, 1966, p. 173.
52. For details see, B. R. Nanda, op. cit., pp. 332-33; D. N. Panigrahi, op. cit., pp. 325-26.