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The Religious Thought of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Father of the Bengali Nation: An Analysis

Pandangan Agama Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Bapa kepada Bangsa Bengali: Satu Analisis

Muhammad Noor Hossain*

Abstract

The biography of the father of any nation is considered to be the gateway of motivation. It is imperative to study the life of father of the nation for the greater interest of the nation keeping him above all sorts of controversies and in line with the fact that research on the life of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (1920-1975), father of the Bengali nation is being carried out. His religious devotion is sometimes questioned behind which some political reasons lay hidden. Many consider him anti-Islamic while others believe he was a secular and socialist due to the inclusion of secularism and socialism in the constitution of Bangladesh. Some intellectuals didn't hesitate to describe him as a sectarian for his devotion and religious activities. It is requisite to clearly understand his religious views and ideology. This article aims to clarify his religious views wiping off the doubts of his religious sentiments. The historical facts and analytical method have been followed in this article. The major findings are that he is not communist in the sense of atheist, nor communalist in the meaning of fundamentalist. He is neither socialist nor secularist in the sense of anti-religiousness.

Keywords: Mujib, Religious Thought, Mujibism, Islamophobic and Reality.

Abstrak

Biografi bapa sesebuah bangsa sering dianggap sebagai sebuah karya motivasi. Kajian tentang kehidupan bapa sesebuah negara adalah

* Dr. Muhammad Noor Hossain, Associate Professor, Department of Arabic, University of Chittagong, Bangladesh. E-mail: drhmnh@cu.ac.bd.

penting demi kepentingan negara itu sendiri. Hal ini dapat memastikan bahawa martabat bapa negara tidak ditenggelami kontroversi-kontroversi yang mengelilinginya dan juga untuk memastikan bahawa maklumat berkenaan bapa negara seperti Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (1920-1975), bapa kepada negara Benggali, adalah selaras dengan kajian-kajian yang telah dilakukan tentang hidup beliau. Ketaatan agamanya kadangkala dipersoal oleh kerana beberapa sebab politik yang tersembunyi. Ramai yang menganggapnya anti-Islam manakala mereka yang lain pula percaya bahawa dia merupakan seorang sekular dan sosialis kerana adanya nilai-nilai sekularisme dan sosialisme yang telah dimasukkan ke dalam perlembagaan Bangladesh. Sebilangan golongan intelek tidak teragak-agak untuk menyifatkan beliau sebagai seorang sektarian berdasarkan ketaatan dan amalan agamanya. Ianya penting untuk memahami dengan jelas pandangan dan ideologi agama beliau. Artikel ini bertujuan menjelaskan pandangan agama beliau dan menghapuskan keraguan terhadap sentimen agamanya. Artikel ini menggunakan kaedah analisis serta merujuk kepada fakta-fakta sejarah. Dapatkan kajian yang utama bagi penulisan ini adalah beliau bukan seorang komunis berdasarkan pengertian ateis mahupun komunis berdasarkan pengertian fundamentalis. Di samping itu, beliau bukan seorang sosialis mahupun sekular berdasarkan pengertian anti-agama.

Kata Kunci: Mujib, Pandangan Agama, Mujibisme, Islamofobia & Realiti.

Introduction

Mujib's name is associated with the soil and people of Bangladesh. Independence of the country was the sole aim of his struggling life. The liberation of the people of the country was the ultimate goal of his politics and in doing this he had to embrace 24 criminal cases and had to be imprisoned for 18 times. He spent about 13 years (4682 days) of his 55-years life in prison. Attempts have been made to hang him in several cases including the "Agartala Conspiracy

Case".¹ Besides, *he* became a victim of religious Fatwas that tried to prove him as Islamophobic. Allegations of dividing Pakistan had been brought against him. His secular policy had been propagated as Atheism. He had also been called a Communist. Attempts had been tried to legitimize the politics of depriving fair rights and to choke the movement for freedom of *the Bengalis*. Despite all those unfair activities of the then West Pakistan, under the hegemony of Mujib, people became well-organized to press their demands. Under his strong and smart leadership, the Pakistani invaders were forced to retreat in just 9 months of war. On December 16, 1971, Bengali's desired victory was achieved. Mujib received the title of Father of the Nation and of the best Bengali of a thousand years as well. However, he had already been addressed as Bangobandhu i.e. friend of Bengal before Bangladesh got its independence. On 30 October 2019, UNESCO included his speech of March 7, 1971, in the MOW (Memory of the World).² Due to his political program, people-oriented state philosophy and far-reaching thoughts, he is called a friend of the world. Great leaders and scholars of the world have praised his ideological firmness, courage and leadership. He is *now*, no longer a person; rather he is called as poet of politics, a model and prodigious institution of liberation struggle. This is why various aspects of his life are being researched nationally and internationally. The religious ideology of such a great man might be a point of concentration to fathom if he was a believer or an atheist; a bigot or a moderate; whether his secularism was irreligiousness or true piety; whether he was an anti-religious communist or a liberal, whether he was a communalist or a progressive and so on. Apart from political conspiracies, he had also been a victim of religious Fatwas. Pakistanis and their allies strongly objected to his piety after independence. They did not hesitate to call him anti-Islamist and tried to divert the Bengalis

¹ The Agartala Conspiracy Case was a sedition case in Pakistan during the rule of Ayub Khan (1958-1969) in 1968 against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leaders of Awami League, and 34 other people. The case implicated them in conspiring with India against the stability of Pakistan. It is officially called State vs. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and others but is popularly known as Agartala Shorjontro Mamla (Agartala Conspiracy Case) as the main conspiracy was purported to have taken place in the Indian city of Agartala in Tripura state, where Mujib's associates met Indian military officials.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agartala_Conspiracy_Case, accessed on 25.9.2022

² 7 March Speech of Bangabandhu, BBC News (Bangla), October 31, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/bengali/news-41813131>, accessed on 29.9.2022

from him by calling him an agent of India. Conversely, some did not hesitate to call him a sectarian for his devotion to religion. His secular policies are still being propagated as irreligious. Attempts have been made to erase his name from the hearts of the religious people of the country by calling him a communist because of his stance on socialist economy. Therefore, it is necessary to make clear what his religious thought was. It is also important to analyze whether the principles of secularism and socialism that he advocated are in conflict with religion. It is imperative to verify the veracity of the accusations brought against him. In this article, Mujib's religious thought and practicing secularism, socialism and communalism have been reviewed in the light of authentic information. It is divided into some sub-titles.

Genealogy of Sheikh Mujib

Mujib's full name is Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. "Sheikh" is his surname. The scholarly people in Arab are called Sheikh (Shaikh)³ having several other meanings of the word though such as honor, greatness, leadership, preeminence. The ancestors of Bangabandhu held the title "Sheikh" in their names. His mother Saira Khatun (d. 1975) is also of Sheikh decent. So, he is of Sheikh decent from both his parents. His senior third father Sheikh Borhan Uddin settled on the banks of the Madhumati River of Bangladesh. The third male senior to Sheikh Borhan Uddin is Sheikh Aawal. Sheikh Aawal (Rah.) was a great religious personality who is said to have come to Bengal to preach Islam. Mujib's maternal grandfather Sheikh Abdul Majid (d. 1975) was also a pious man who after the verse 61 of Surah Hud of the Holy Quran named Bangabandhu as Mujib meaning one who responds to the call of Allah, the Most Merciful.⁴ Sheikh Abdul Majid prayed saying, "Mother, Saira, I named

³ When someone reaches the age of fifty, he is called Shaykh (Sheikh) in Arabic. Apart from this, teachers, regional chiefs, rulers, experienced people, Islamic great personalities, Islamic poets, famous people in science and Sufism are called Shaykhs. The two best of the Companions of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) Abu Bakr and Omar (R.) are called Shaykhain. Two of the best scholars of hadith are also called Shaykhain [Ibn Manzur, Muhammad bin Murkaram, *Lisan al-Arab*, (Beirut: Dar al-Sadr, 1414 AH), 3/31-32]

⁴ Verse 61 of Surah Hud says, "Surely with my Lord, He answers the call".

your son in such a way that the name will be famous in the world".⁵ Mujib's paternal lineage met with Sheikh Waal (Rah.) through the chain of Sheikh Borhan Uddin. Sheikh Waal (Rah.) is the 6th in the ancestry to Sheikh Abdul Majid and 7th to Sheikh Lutfar Rahman (d. 1975), the father of Sheikh Mujib. Mujib identified himself in the information given to the Sub-Inspector of DIB on 1 May 1949 as the son of Maulvi Sheikh Lutfar Rahman, Tungipara, Gimadanga, Gopalganj, Faridpur.⁶ Many Mujib researchers including Dr. Amin gave *a piece of* information that Sheikh Waal came to Bengal with the famous saint Bayezid Bostami (804-874 A.D.)⁷ in order to spread religion that has been found inappropriate in my study as Sheikh Bayezid Bostami, a famous Sufi of 9th century born in Bostan of Iran. According to Mujib's genealogy obtained so far, Sheikh Waal is the 7th male senior to Mujib from his father's side and same on his mother's side.⁸ As such Sheikh Waal may be a pious man of fifteenth century AD.⁹ It is true that people with the

⁵ Rafikuzzaman, Humayun, *The Life and Works of Mujib* (Dhaka: Janata Prakash, 2nd ed. 2014), p. 15

⁶ Mamun, Muntasir, *Mujibsamagra*, (Dhaka: Shamoy Prakashon, 2020), p. 11

⁷ Abu Yazid Tyfur bin 'Isa bin Surushan al-Bostani (d. 874–848.), commonly known in the Iranian world as Bayazid Bistami, was a Persian Sufi from north-central Iran, known to future Sufis as Sultanul 'Arifeen (King of the Gnostics), is considered to be one of the expositors of the state of fanā, the notion of dying in mystical union with Allah. Bostami was famous for "the boldness of his expression of the mystic's complete absorption into the mysticism (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayazid_Bastami), accessed on 25.9.2022

⁸ Mujib's genealogy is Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, father- Sheikh Lutfar Rahman (d. 1974), father- Sheikh Abdul Hamid, father- Sheikh Taj Mahmud, father- Sheikh Borhan Uddin, father- Sheikh Jan Mahmud (Tekhri Sheikh), father- Sheikh Zaheer Uddin, father-Sheikh Waal (r.), Huda, Muhammad Nurul, Mujib and Nazrul, (Chittagong: Nazrul Research Centre of the University of Chittagong,, 2021), p. 32

⁹ Dr. Mohammad Amin mentions the birth of Sheikh Waal in 1428 in the book "Theology of Mujib". In the book "Islam and Mujib" by Shahjan Saju and Dr. Ashraful Alam mentioned Sheikh Awal's death is in 1463. Again, in the footnote of the book the death of Hazrat Bayezid Bostami is also mentioned in 877. If Sheikh Waal is the 7th male senior to Mujib, Hazrat Bayezid Bostami has an age gap of about five centuries with Sheikh Waal. So in this case the error is observed. Mujib in his autobiography did not mention the name of anyone above the third senior man Borhan Uddin. If there is no information about the omission of the names of some of Sheikh Awal's later descendants, then the information about the meeting of Sheikh Waal with Hazrat Bayezid Bostami (Rh.) is assumed to be incorrect.

title 'Sheikh' are Arabs. So, it can be said undoubtedly that Mujib's predecessors who were scholars and Sufi came from Arabia.

Mujib's Religious Belief and Practice

Mujib was born in a religious family. During his childhood, he had a Maulvi (a learned person in Islamic subjects) teacher who taught him Ampara¹⁰ i.e. the last part of the Holy Quran. According to his given identity, his father was also a Maulvi. He took his bachelor's degree from Calcutta Islamia College, worked day and night to establish Pakistan, participated in political activities with major Muslim League leaders till 1964 and got the company of the famous Islamic scholars and politicians of his era namely, Maulana Akram Khan (1868-1968 AD), Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani (1880-1976 AD), Maulana Shamsul Haque Faridpuri (1896-1979 AD), Maulana Abdul Rashid Tarkbagish (1900-1986). Mujib's words, speeches, deeds, and writings prove that he was a complete theist and man of Sufi order. He used to utter frequently the words "Insha Allah", "Allah is my help", "Strength of faith", "Khoda (Allah) Hafez" etc. in his speech. In the gathering of the people, he used words like "If you pray for me" In his historical speech on March 7, 1971, he said, "When we have given blood, we will give more blood, we will free the people of this country Insha Allah (God willing¹¹). Essentially saying "Insha Allah," here he left the issue of Bengali independence to the will of Almighty Allah and sought His help. This shows his strong faith and trust in Almighty Allah. Then, in his first speech at Suhrawardy Uddyan of Dhaka on January 10, 1972, after returning independent Bangladesh from Pakistani prison he said, "A grave was dug for me beside my cell. I prepared myself. I said, I'm a Bangalee, I am a man, I am a Muslim- who dies once not twice".¹² After that speech, they collectively raised their hands and prayed for the success of the liberation struggle and prayed for the ease of nation building. He said at the end of the speech, "Please do forgive me. Pray for me. You will keep me in your prayer. Please put up your hands with me in supplication to Allah for His

¹⁰ Hayat, Anupam, *Mujib and His Teachers*, the Daily Prothom Alo, Dhaka: March 17, 2019

¹¹ Khan, Shamsuzzaman, (Ed.), *A Multidimensional Analysis of Mujib's March 7 Speech*, (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 2018), p. 14

¹² Bangabandhu's January 10, 1972 speech in translation, the Daily Sun, Dhaka: 10 January, 2020, <https://www.daily-sun.com/post/453060/Bangabandhu>, accessed on 2.10.2022

mercy".¹³ He didn't hesitate to identify himself as a Muslim as well as calling Bangladesh the second largest Muslim country.¹⁴ He used to pray, fast and take Iftar (food taken with the sun-set by a person who performs fasting) even at the party office with the political workers. He used to read the Holy Quran with translation including the English translation of Yusuf Ali (1872-1953). Prayers, recitation of the Holy Quran and listening to Tafsir i.e. interpretation of the Quran were some of his regular activities during his prison life. Mujib said about prison life, "All three of us used to pray with Maulana (Bhasani) Sahib. Maulana Sahib used to explain to us the meaning of the Qur'an after the Magrib prayer. Everyday it was a binding rule for us".¹⁵ During his visit to Iraq on October 5, 1974, he visited the shrine of Sheikh Abdul Quadir Gilani (Rah.) and shrouded the shrine with a gilaf (cloth). Even after becoming the head of the government, he didn't hesitate to honor his teacher Professor Saidur Rahman by touching his feet which brings his modesty, generosity, manners and religious devotion and subsequently the above-mentioned activities and saying of Mujib prove his piousness and believing in the Oneness of Allah (SWT).

Religious Influence on Mujib's Political Life

Religious values were manifested in Mujib's organizational and political life. It has geographical, historical, and cultural reasons. Although he was dreaming from his student life to establish a progressive, liberal, and non-sectarian state, yet for logical reasons he had to work in organizations and political parties established in the

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ In a speech given at Suhrawardy Udyan (field) on January 10, 1972, Mujib said, "Bangladesh is the second largest Muslim-populated country in the world. It ranks second only to Indonesia. India ranks 3rd and Pakistan 4th in terms of Muslim population but ironically, Pakistani army killed the Muslims of this country in the name of Islam, humiliated our women. I don't want to insult Islam. I want to say in clear and unambiguous terms that our country will be a democratic, secular and socialist country. All the farmers and workers, Hindus and Muslims of this country will be happy and in peace" Mahiuddin Ahmed Khan, ed. *Selected 100 Speeches of Mujib*, (Dhaka: Muktdesh Prakashan, 2nd edition 2019). p. 206

¹⁵ Rahman, Sheikh Mujibur, *Unfinished Autobiography*, (Dhaka: the University Press Ltd, 2018), p. 169

name of a particular religious community. This was logical under the prevailing circumstances of the colonial rule and the political and social conditions of the subcontinent at that time. He served as the General Secretary of "Muslim Seva Samiti", an association of Muslim community to help the poor Muslim students founded by his teacher Abdul Hamid in 1937 AD. He used to go from house to house every Sunday with a bag in his hand and pick up fists. He used to sell the collected rice and buy books and educational materials with the money received from selling the rice for the Muslim children. At that time Muslim children were comparatively lagging behind in education. During the famine in 1943, under the supervision of Muslim League leader Suhrawardy, he opened 'langarkhana' (alms-house) in various places including Calcutta Aliya Madrasah and worked day and night to alleviate the woes of famine-stricken people. He said, "I used to work all day and night. I would return to the Unemployed Hostel, and sometimes I would sleep on the table of the league office".¹⁶ He was a founding member of the East Pakistan Muslim Students League (est. 1948), one of the founding joint secretaries of the East Pakistan Awami Muslim League (est. 1949).¹⁷ It is to be noted that he showed courage to welcome Muslim League leader Shere Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq while he was a student of class VIII. After Pakistan came into being, he played an active role in establishing the "East Pakistan Muslim Students League" in 1948. He played an important role in the Bengali language movement initiated under the leadership of "Tamaddun Majlis"¹⁸ and "Pakistan Muslim Chatra League" resulting in his *being* imprisoned by the Pakistan government in the language movement of 1952. He was incarcerated along with Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani for leading the "Hunger March" in 1949 during the severe food shortage in East Bengal. He got elected General Secretary of Awami League in 1964 in which Maulana Abdur Rashid Takobagish, an Islamic scholar and politician, was elected President.¹⁹ It proves that he

¹⁶ ibid, p. 18

¹⁷ <https://guwahati.mofa.gov.bd/en/site/page/Father-of-the-Nation-Bangabandhu-Sheikh-Mujibur-Rahman>, accessed on 10.11.2-2023

¹⁸ "Tammadun Majlis" was established on September 1, 1947 with the aim of promoting and building foundations of Pakistani cultural philosophy. It played an active role in the language movement of 1948 and 1952 (ibid, Annotated Section, p. 290).

¹⁹ Moulana was active in politics from the British movement till 1980, the second president of Awami Muslim League, member of the Pakistan National Assembly, the president of Awami League 1956-1967. He played an important role in the language movement 1952.

was not a heretic, nor he did mind even working under the leadership of Maulana or an Islamic person.

Mujib's Religion and Religious Policy after Ascending to State Power

Mujib took over as the prime minister of war-torn Bangladesh on January 12, 1972. During the 24-year rule of Pakistan, there was no development in Bengal (then East Pakistan). People were deprived of their fundamental rights. In addition, the Pakistan military destroyed everything in the 9-month war. In 9 months, the Pakistani invasion forces killed about 3 million people, and violated the dignity of 200,000 women. Roads, factories, institutions of the country were destroyed. They put the last nail in the coffin of destruction by killing thousands of intellectuals on December 14, 1971, when the defeat of Pakistan is only a matter of time, the Bengali nation will become weak in education, culturally and socially, so they make a list and kill the intellectuals with the aim of making the Bengali nation devoid of talent.²⁰ Mujib took the responsibility of the Prime Minister of independent Bangladesh and took initiative to frame a constitution imbued with the people-oriented state philosophy in which the rights of all irrespective of caste and creed are ensured. The constitution guarantees everyone the freedom to practice their own religion. "Religion belongs to each; state belongs to all" such as said, The state religion of the republic is Islam, but the State shall ensure equal status and equal right in practice of Hindu, Buddhist, Christian and other religion."²¹ The four basic principles of the constitution nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism²² are written in the

He was the first to speak in Bengali language in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. In 2000, he received the posthumous Freedom Award, ["Tarkabagish, Maulana Abdur Rashid", Ed: Rozina Kader & others, Banglapedia: the National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh (Online Ed.). Dhaka: Banglapedia Trust, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh. ISBN 984-32-0576-6. OCLC 52727562. Retrieved 30 September 2022.]

²⁰ https://bn.wikipedia.org/wiki/1971_Bangladeshi_Intellectual_Massacre, accessed on 10.11.2023

²¹ The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Part 1, 2A, The State Religion. <http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/act-367.html>

²² According to the constitution, nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism- these principles and all the other principles arising from these principles as described in this section

light of non-discrimination and non-sectarian spirit. Before independence, Pakistanis tried to suppress Mujib and suppress the independence movement by saying that there would be no post-Islamic independence. Mujib gave a befitting reply to the opposition through his program and proved his pure devotion to religion. He served Islam in a way that the Pakistani ruling class didn't. He established equal rights for all the followers of every religion practiced in Bangladesh. For good reason, here are some of the measures implemented during his three and a half year tenure in which his devotion to religion was manifested. For example,

1. Establishment of "Islamic Foundation".²³
2. Reorganization of "Bangladesh Madrasa Education Board".²⁴
3. Establishment of Bangladesh "Sirat Majlis" to celebrate Eid-e-Miladunnabi (PBUH) at national level.²⁵

shall be considered as the basic principles of state management (Bangladesh Constitution, Part II, Basic Principles, article 8/1).

²³ In 1975, Mujib established the Islamic Foundation with 12 objectives, including propagation of Imam's ideals and values, Islamic education and research. At present it is one of the largest organizations in the country, through which nearly half a million people have been employed. Education, research, publication, service to the needy, preparation of trained imams, translation etc. are in progress [Sameem, Mohammad Afzal, *Mujib and Islam, Shokgatha*, (Dhaka: Islamic Foundation, 2012) p. 57-62]

²⁴ There was no separate madrasha board during Pakistan period. After coming to power in 1972, Mujib took steps to make madrasha education modern and action-oriented. He gave direct instructions in this regard. At that time Madrasha Board activities were *being run* from Dhaka Aliya Madrasha. In 1978 it was reorganized by promulgation of Madrasha Education Board Ordinance. In June 1979, it became an independent autonomous institution. Mujib could not inaugurate it but it is the fruit of his own initiative (*Ibid*)

²⁵ Mujib formed the Sirat Majlis to study the life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Miladunnabi was celebrated at the National Mosque Baitul Murkaram under the initiative of the Majlis. In 1972 and 1973, the Miladunnabi event *was* organized on 12 Rabiul Waal. Mujib himself as the head of state discussed on Eid-E- Miladunnabi and announced the opening of the event. In 1974 he was represented by the then Prime Minister Syed Nazrul Islam and in 1975 Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkbagish spoke on his behalf (Rafikuzzaman, *ibid*, p. 173).

4. Arrangement of recitation of *the* Holy Quran before radio and television programs.²⁶
5. Declaring public holidays on the occasion of Eid-e- Miladunnabi, Shabe Qadr, Shabe Barat.²⁷
6. Prohibition and punishment of liquor, gambling, betting and anti-social activities by law.²⁸
7. The Racecourse ground *was* closed for horse racing and renamed "Suhrawardy Udyan".²⁹
8. Allotment of large land on the bank of Turag River in Tongi for *the* World Ijtimia and allotment of land for expansion of Kakrail Central Mosque.³⁰
9. Arrangements to send missionaries to Soviet Russia.³¹

²⁶ At the behest of Mujib, the first radio and television recitation of the Holy Quran was organized in Bangladesh. Apart from this, arrangements are made to promote 'Ajan (calling to prayer) and Dua of 'Ajan five times every day. Islamic programs are broadcast on radio and television on special religious days. This method introduced by Mujib is still in use (Sameem, Ibid).

²⁷ Mujib's government declared public holidays on those days so that people can worship properly. He also ordered to keep cinema halls closed on those days. This directive is still in force (ibid).

²⁸ Although the government of Pakistan was established in the name of Islam, it did not prohibit the acts mentioned as forbidden in Islam and did not punish those involved. Mujib prohibited these and prescribed punishments for those involved (Ibid).

²⁹ During the Pakistan era, horse races were held at the Race Course Maidan. Alcohol, gambling, betting and anti-social activities were going on due to this. Mujib first renamed the ground "Suhrawardy Udyan" and stopped un-Islamic and anti-social activities including horse racing. Trees are planted in it, which is helping the environment. Plantation of trees is given great importance in Islam (ibid).

³⁰ Mujib provided official premises in Tongi for the Islamic Conference, where the World Ijtimia (gathering) now takes place. Millions of people from different countries of the world gathered there and were inspired to Islamic Dawah by listening to Islamic sermons. Apart from this, he allocated space for the expansion of the present mosque at Kakrail. Earlier there was no compilation (ibid).

³¹ Soviet Russia is a socialist state. Here preaching Islam was prohibited. They considered only work as religion. Some of them even compared religion to opium. Mujib had good relations with Russia. They gave support and cooperation to Bangladesh during the liberation war. On this occasion, Mujib sent an inviting mission of Islam there, who did the work of religion there (Ibid).

- 10.** Purchase of "Hizbul Bahar" ship to facilitate Hajj by sea at low cost and arrangement of government grant for Hajj.³²
- 11.** Supporting the Arab world in the Arab-Israeli war and sending aid to them.³³
- 12.** Attending the OIC³⁴ conference held in Lahore, Pakistan in 1974 and developing diplomatic relations with the Muslim world.³⁵

³² Taxes were collected from pilgrims during Pakistan period for performing Hajj. Mujib arranged for 6600 people to perform that with government grants and purchased the ship "Hizbul Bahar" in order to reduce of cost. It should be noted that even after two years of independence, Saudi Arabia did not recognize Bangladesh. As a result, Bangladeshi citizens had to perform Hajj with Indian visas. To solve this problem, Mujib met the Saudi King Faisal (1964-1975) in Algiers. The Saudi king has mentioned two conditions for the recognition of Bangladesh. One, the name of Bangladesh should to be named Islamic Republic. Second, *release of Pakistani prisoners*. In response to the first condition, Mujib gave two arguments. The first, about one crore non-Muslims live in Bangladesh and they have also contributed to the freedom, apart from this, Almighty Allah is not only Rabble Muslimin (creator of Muslimin), He is also Rabble Alamin (creator of entire worlds). He is not only Allah of Muslims *but also* the ruler of everything. The second, Mujib asked back the Saudi king, "Have you named your country with the word "Islamic"? You have "Kingdom of Saudi Arabia". Regarding the second condition, he said, "It is an unresolved issue between Pakistan and Bangladesh. There are a few other issues besides release. So they will be concluded through negotiations between the two countries but is it permissible not to give the devout Muslims of Bangladesh the opportunity of Hajj? All Muslims in the world have the right to pray in the Kaaba. The meeting ended inconclusively [Mukluk, MR Akhtar, *Allah Tamale is Not Only Rabble Muslim, He is Rabble Alumni*, (abridged) *Shook Gatha* (Dhaka: Islamic Foundation, 2012), p. 45]

³³ In 1973, Mujib took the side of the Arab world in the ongoing war between the Arabs and Israel and advocated the establishment of a Palestinian state. Mujib then sent 1 lakh pounds of tea, a 28-member medical team and a volunteer team. Mujib said in his address to the United Nations in September 1974, "Injustice and oppression are still going on in many parts of the world. The struggle of our Arab brothers for the complete liberation of the illegally occupied lands continues and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people have not yet been re-established" [Waal, Abdul, *Dharmachinta of Bangobandhu*, (Dhaka: Agami Prokashon, 1999), p. 27]; Wasif Sattar, *Bangobandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Saudi King*, <https://mygoldenbengal.wordpress.com/2013/01/10/bangabandhu-sheikh-mujibur-rahman-and-the-saudi-king/>, accessed on 4.10.2022

³⁴ On February 23, 1974, Bangladesh became the 32nd member of the OIC. IDB (Islamic Development Bank) membership was also received during Mujib's tenure.

³⁵ In 1974, Mujib went to Lahore to attend a conference of OIC. His speech at the conference was praised by the leaders of the Muslim world. He also gave the same idea about

13. Getting recognition of Bangladesh from most Muslim countries.³⁶

Mujib was Religious, Not Fanatics

Righteousness improves a person's character. Religion values people with virtues such as honesty, justice, humanity, discipline etc. Virtue is also the name of good character formation, righteous living, philanthropy, utmost tolerance, politeness etc. Religious practice keeps people free from bad behavior like lying, injustice, adultery, immorality, obscenity, disorder. A religious person is aware of his own rights as well as the rights of others. But being a religious person is not the same as being a fanatic. A person who blindly believes in his own religion and hates other religions is a bigot. Imposing religion on others, forced conversion, belittling other religions, exaggeration in religious matters etc. are included in bigotry. Piety improves character while bigotry makes men fierce. Bigotry creates turmoil in the society and differences between people. Exaggerating religion and imposing religion on someone are prohibited in the Holy Quran. The Quran says, "There is no compulsion in the religion."³⁷ It is also said, "Don't abuse those whom they worship besides Allah. Then they will (exaggerate) abuse Allah out of ignorance. I have made every human group lustrous in their activities".³⁸ The Prophet (PBUH) said, "Don't exaggerate about religion. Because the *nations* before you were destroyed for their extravagance."³⁹

Mujib practiced religion but disliked fanaticism. Religious feelings were alive in his heart. He understood the true meaning of Islam coming across with some great scholars. Furthermore, as a son of a pious and

Bangladesh. Firstly, attending the conference held in Lahore and secondly presenting the position of Bangladesh in front of the leaders of the Muslim world was an example of Mujib's generosity and bravery. In addition, speaking about Islam and the interests of Muslims against the Muslim haters, including the West, was quite daring.

³⁶ Mujib received recognition from 115 countries until his martyrdom. Every Muslim country except Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Oman recognizes Bangladesh (The Daily Bangladesh Pratidin, December 13, 2013, <http://www.bd-pratidin.com/various//2013/12/03/29972>, accessed on 11.12 .2021

³⁷ Al-Quran, Surah Baqarah, 2: 256

³⁸ ibid, Surah Anayam, 6:108

³⁹ Bukhari, Abu Abdullah Muhammad, *Sahih*, Hadith No. 2410 (Beirut: Daru Tukinnajah, 1422 AH), 3/120

Sufi family, he had a clear understanding and liberal thought on Islam, a tolerant outlook and non-extreme lifestyle. Besides, he witnessed looting and exploitation in the name of religion. He fought against the politics of exploitation of Pakistanis for 24 years. He also realized in real life how bad a curse bigotry is for the nation. He abhorred using religion for power and personal gain. He practiced Islam but did not disrespect other's religion. He fought against tyranny and injustice as well as bigotry and extremism in political life. He didn't compromise with any dogma. He did not condone irreligious activities in the name of progress, nor did he accept wrong interpretations of religion. He recognized the citizens of the state not only through the lens of religion but also regarded them as human being, as citizen of the country, as Bengali and above all as member of his own family. This is where he differs from other leaders. He said, "Misinformation is being spread against me that we don't believe in Islam. Our clear statement is that we don't believe in clothing-based Islam at all. We believe in Islam of justice. Our Islam is the Islam of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) that has taught the people of the world the infallible mantra (hymn) of justice and righteousness."⁴⁰

Four Principles of the Constitution and Mujibbad (Mujibism)

Each of the four principles stated in the constitution of Bangladesh is unique. Political science discusses detailed explanation, characteristics, practicing methods, positive and negative aspects of those principles. States are generally governed sticking to one of the four principles mentioned above. But Mujib adopted four principles together which drew flak from many. Therefore, it is considered by many as a mixed policy of state management or unrealistic. Even some leaders of the then Awami League and Chatra League (student wing of Awami League) disagreed with him on this issue. The combined form of the four principles is called "Mujibbad" i.e. Mujibism.⁴¹ Although the politicians and political scientists disagreed with it, considering the context of Bangladesh *i.e.* civilization and culture, history and tradition, people's mindset etc. the constitution of the four principles was reasonable which Mujib comprehended fully. He was not a political scientist, but his close relationship with the soil and people of Bangladesh, his compassion for people, his confrontation with the British and Pakistani regimes made

⁴⁰ Rafikuzzaman, *ibid*, p. 170

⁴¹ Mujibism, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mujibism>, accessed on 11.12.2021

him a philosopher, though he is called a poet of politics. His long political journey and practical experiences helped him create a new philosophy of politics to materialize his dream that he dreamt from his student life of an exploitation-free, people-oriented, prosperous, and non-communal Bangladesh. Therefore, even though his write-ups on political science were not valued at that time, his political thoughts, speeches, activities, and programs had been used widely by political scientists of later times. His March 7 speech was recognized as a valuable document to be preserved by the United Nations.⁴² Basically, he adopted the good aspects of the four principles which are very much appropriate and propitious for the soil and people of Bangladesh. Bengali Language and culture was the basis of his nationalism while soil and religion can be also adjunct to the nationalism. Western capitalist democracies brought into existence a rich class in society subsequently creating a gap between seven floors and three floors in the society. Mujib spoke of that democracy that advocates for the exploited and against the usurpers. Thus, combining the fitting aspects of the four principles, he created a unique principle. Apart from these four principles, he stood up for creating "Bangladesh's own identity". He said, "I think Bangladesh has to move forward with the four main principles - nationalism, secularism, democracy and socialism followed by Bangladesh's own path. Many call my above view 'Mujibism'. What the writers, litterateurs or historians of this country call my way of thinking is their business, not mine. I have no obsession with naming. I want work, I want my thoughts to be realized. I want a democratic Bangladesh free from exploitation! I want the full realization of the construction of dream Sonar Bangla (Golden Bangla)." ⁴³

Secularism, Atheism and the Constitution of 1972

Secularism means liberal position about religion. In Arabic it is "Almaniya". It's literal meaning is present, worldliness, worldly. It is a political term and a political doctrine. This doctrine was coined in Europe at the end of the middle ages. Sociologists believe that the doctrine arose

⁴² Mujib's March 7 speech is the first unwritten speech of the 427 UNESCO- recognized documental traditions.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/7_March_Speech_of_Sheikh_Mujibur_Rahman accessed on 13.12.2021

⁴³ Mujibabad, <https://bn.wikipedia.org/wiki/> accessed on 13.12.2021

out of bitterness over the use of state power to attack other religions or followers of other religion and the arbitrary use of state power by clerics. It's purpose is to ignore retrospective accountability and also, not taking religion into consideration in managing material life. It is also characterized by materialism, absolute rationalism and supernaturalism. Separation of religion from politics is also called secularism. However, there we find many definitions of secularism.⁴⁴ Its implementation also differs from country to country. It has been adopted by some as a principle of apostasy. Some have taken it to mean the state's silence on religion while others have meant it denial of religion. It is to be seen in what sense Mujib accepted it and placed it in the constitution of 1972. In fact, he didn't accept secularism in any of the aforementioned senses. His speeches, the declaration of independence, the interpretations given to the constitution and it's application to the administration of the State prove that he did not accept it in any of the senses mentioned. In a radio address in November 1970 he said, "*Secularism doesn't mean irreligion. Muslims will observe the Muslim religion. Hindus will practice Hinduism. Christians will practice Christianity. No one should stop anyone, will not*".⁴⁵ Some of the vibes of his speech became clear such as –

- 1.** Every citizen of the country shall practice his religion independently- religion is encouraged here.
- 2.** It is immoral to prevent someone from practicing religion -that is, obstruction is taken as unethical and unjust.
- 3.** "Can't stop it" -that is, if someone obstructs, the state will take action against him.

⁴⁴ More two definitions of secularism are following,

- a. "Secularism is a philosophy or doctrine that rejects religion, which emphasizes moral and ethical teaching".
- b. "Secularism refers to a philosophy or policy that rejects religion; a religion that gives importance to the teaching of ethics", Chowdhury, Faroque, *On Secularism*, (Chittagong, Rise offset Printers, 2015), p. 20

⁴⁵ Bishwash, Milton, *Bangobandhu and Secularism*, Dhaka Times, 16 September 2023
<https://www.dhakatimes24.com/2021/07/31/224035/>

Since Bangladesh is inhabited by people of many religions, Mujib considered it unreasonable to run the state in the name of any single religion. In addition, he saw the behavior of the leaders of the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan". A state founded in the name of Islam can't be considered an Islamic state if Islamic ideals are not present in the system and leaders of the state. For example, a democratically elected government doesn't mean that the government is democratic if its behavior and governance are not democratic. A person born in a Muslim family and bearing an Islamic name doesn't mean that he is a Muslim if he doesn't hold Islamic beliefs and ideals. He can be called a nominal Muslim. Pakistan was originally a nominal Islamic state. Mujib took a strong stance against Pakistani regime for its injustice, deprivation, discriminatory policies towards Bengali. Maulana Akram Khan, Sher-e-Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkbagish and many scholars and Islamic personalities took the same position. Even many Sufi scholars of Pakistan supported Mujib's position. Former head of Pakistan Jamiat Ulama Allama Shah Ahmad Nurani (1926-2003), Justice Pir Karam Shah Azhari (1918-1998) supported some activities of Mujib as the behavior of Pakistani leaders towards Bengalis was not supported by Islamic code. The list of oppression and exploitation is long of which four are stated below that are completely un-Islamic and subsequently made the Bengali independence movement inevitable-

- 1.** Taking away the right to mother tongue.
- 2.** Not handing over power to the Bengalis despite the absolute victory in the 1970 elections.
- 3.** Indiscriminate massacre, rape and looting of Bengalis by declaring them non-Muslims.
- 4.** Discrimination against Bengalis and depriving them of their fair rights in all spheres.⁴⁶

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the inclusion of "secularism" in the constitution of Bangladesh is the responsibility of the Pakistani ruling class, who had earlier misruled in name of Islam. What

⁴⁶ Hossain, Muhammad Noor, *Bangabandhu's Devotion to Religion, Bangabandhu in the eyes of Hundreds of Writers on Hundreds of Topics*, ed. Prof. Abed Ali (Dhakh: Takia Muhammad Publication, 2020) p. 408

the Pakistani ruling group has done by destroying the name of Islam has also created distrust among Bengali Muslims towards the so-called Islamic State, but the model of the Islamic state is the state established on the basis of the "Charter of Medina". The Charter of Medina established socio-economic, political, religious freedom and equal rights for people of all religions. Citizens were not treated on the basis of religion rather treated on the basis of their conduct. But the injustice done by the Pakistanis to the people of their own religion even outweighed the injustice done by the British. Furthermore, Mujib himself explained secularism before independence though it was misinterpreted by the Pakistanis and their allies. Mujib said in Suhrawardy Udyan (field) on January 3, 1971, "A class of people during the election shouted that "Islam has damaged, Islam has damaged". They tried to find ways to win the election involving PDP, Islamic Front and many others. Did anyone forbid to pray or forbid to fast? ----- Islam, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Christians- all will exist in this country and Bangladesh will also exist".⁴⁷

Therefore, Mujib's secularism doesn't mean irreligion. Neither does the state prevent or encourage the practice of religion. Neither is the state's silence on religion. And not a mixed principle with something from all religions, which happened in the case of Emperor Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi. Rather, the state will take a neutral position in the matter of religion, will not give priority to any single religion, will provide equal opportunity and support to practice religion and since it's inception Bangladesh has been doing the same patronizing every religion equally through ministry of religion established by Mujib. In this sense, secularism is not contradictory to Islam rather compatible. It is also consistent with the Charter of Medina, in light of which Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) founded Medina State. Therefore, promoting Mujib's secularism as irreligiousness is purely an ill political motive.

Socialism and the Constitution of 1972

Socialism is a political philosophy and movement encompassing a wide range of economic and social systems which are characterized by social ownership of the means of production, as opposed to private

⁴⁷ Kamal, Abu Hena Mustafa, *Bangobondhu, Sheikh Hasina and the Islamic Foundation* (Dhaka: Islamic Foundation, 2017), p. 8

ownership.⁴⁸ It is called the first stage of communist society that rejects private ownership. All factories, industries, mines, land etc. are considered *to be* social or state property.⁴⁹ In fact, socialism arose and developed in contrast to Western capitalist systems and capitalist economy. There are two types of socialism - fictional and scientific socialism. Soviet Russia established socialism in 1917. Mujib fought for the country's independence against the Western colonialism in his political career. In the name of democracy westerners practiced capitalism and colonialism. He also saw their "divide and rule" policy. Socialism emerged during the crucial period of his political life. After the establishment of the socialist state system in China under the leadership of Mao Zedong (1893-1976 AD) October 2, 1949, Mujib attended the peace conference as a representative of East Pakistan. Even then Pakistanis called him a communist.⁵⁰ He was in contact with the leaders of the socialist state of the Soviet Union. He was tormented by the horrors of World War II that ultimately gave birth to a kind of hatred in him for the heroes of the World War as he was an advocate for peace and against war. Above all, subcontinent's politicians had a weakness for the Soviet Union, the superpower of the East as opposed to the West. It can also be said that he was leaning towards the eastern part of the world divided into two parts. For all these reasons socialist economy and communist policies influenced him. In addition, his politics was based on the dream of bringing smiles on the faces of the poor people of Bengal especially the farmers, laborers, and hardworking peoples. Hence, to guarantee equal distribution of wealth and to introduce a people-oriented state philosophy, he placed socialism in the constitution. But it is also true that he didn't accept everything about socialism and therefore, democracy has been included in the constitution. Again, he didn't accept 100% state ownership of socialism denying individual's ownership. It can be said that he adopted the good aspects of socialism in contrast to capitalism and capitalist management. According to *Mujib*,

⁴⁸ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism>, accessed on 10.11.2023

⁴⁹ Miller, David (1991) *The relevance of Socialism*, (abridged) *Economy and Society*, 20:4, 350-362, DOI: 10.1080/03085149100000018

⁵⁰ Regarding calling Mujib a communist, he said, "We applied for a passport, there is very little hope of getting it. Because the government and its party members are restless with anger. If the communists do not want to go to communist China? Not a peace conference, but a meeting of the Communist Party, he started talking like this (Rahman, ibid, p. 221).

"Socialism in Bangladesh will be national and democratic socialism."⁵¹ He believed in achieving socialism through democracy. He said, "Hiring from abroad is not socialism, those who tried to do that could not reach socialism." He embraced the advantages of socialism as opposed to capitalism and capitalist management.⁵² In addition, everything in communism and socialism is not in conflict with Islam. Communism is one of the hallmarks of an Islamic state. Ensuring equal rights for all citizens is one of the fundamental principles of Islamic ideology. Caliphs took from the state treasury as much as *the ordinary citizens took*. Caliph Umar's communist policy is especially famous. Abu Zar Giffari (R.) is said to be the exponent of communism in Islam, although the consensus of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was not established on his philosophy. Because Islam doesn't completely reject private ownership. Again, the state's responsibility for the people's sustenance doesn't deny it either. The Prophet (PBUH) said, "When a believer dies, his heirs will own the property he left behind and whoever leaves a debt or poor and disabled children, I am his guardian. Let him (creditors and the disabled) come to me, I am responsible for him (paying off debts and nurturing the disabled)."⁵³

A believer in communism is called a communist. It is a political term. Religion has no importance in socialist management. Most proponents of socialism are atheists. They don't believe in afterlife and accountability in the day of judgement. Therefore, the common people of this country accept the word communist as an atheist. Many called Mujib a communist because of the inclusion of socialism in the constitution but he accepted socialism to form a society of having no discrimination, having equal rights, receiving equal distribution of wealth in the sense of establishing public ownership. He didn't take it to mean the denial of religion or the final denial of private ownership. In this sense, his ideals are not in conflict with Islam. We have already discussed how great a believer he was and what role he played to spread of Islam. So, trying to prove a religious personality like Mujib anti-Islamic is mere a distraction from center of attention.

⁵¹ Hussain, Abu Md. Delwar and Ullah, Md Rahmat, Ed. *Mujib's Philosophy of Human Rights* (Dhaka: National Human Rights Commission, 2013), p. 1-19

⁵² Mujibism, ibid

⁵³ Bukhari, ibid, 3/118, Hadith No. 2399

Allegations of Communalism against Mujib and Reality

Religion and sectarianism are not the same. A truly religious person cannot be sectarian. Righteous people are kindly. Maintaining harmony in the society, showing sympathy and respect, helping people of any community are righteousness while discrimination, disrespect, neglect, or hatred towards people outside one's community are called communalism. "It's kind of an attitude. A person's attitude is called sectarian only when he is ready to antagonize and harm another religious community and it's members on the basis of belonging to a particular religious community."⁵⁴

Sectarianism is one of the causes of world unrest causing innumerable riots and fights across the globe. Although Mujib was involved with Muslim Sheva Samiti, Muslim Student League, Muslim League etc., he cherished non-communal spirit. Even as the leader of the Muslim League, he was tolerant and generous towards non-Muslims and advocated religious harmony. The pre-independence speech bears its proof. Whatever he did marks a sense of humanity. His thought of Bengali's emancipation was based on non-communal spirit. He knew the history of how much the people of the world had to pay for communalism. He played an important role in stopping the Hindu-Muslim riots in 1947.⁵⁵ But the reality is that some intellectuals and writers have accused him such a person of sectarianism. Mujib critic Badruddin Omar didn't hesitate to call Mujibism as the communalism. He has been termed as sectarian in several writings due to inaugurating state works by signing the file of mosque, conducting prayer meetings in parliament, making annual allocations for Madrasha Education etc. He considered all these as including communalism. He said, "Therefore, what was said in the 1940 Lahore Resolution to establish two Muslim states in the two main Muslim parts of India has actually been implemented in Bangladesh today in the name of Mujibism."⁵⁶ It is also an intellectual conspiracy *against* him. In fact, Mujib was a victim of conspiracy from both sides- firstly, the flag bearers of Islam tried to make

⁵⁴ Umar, Badruddin, *Communalism* (Dhaka: Muktdhara, 1980), p. 9

⁵⁵ In his unfinished autobiography, Mujib describes what he did to end Hindu-Muslim riots, especially pages 68 to 71 are detailed.

⁵⁶ Umar, Badruddin, *Selected Articles* (Dhaka: Annoyprokash, 2000), p. 23, selected from The Daily Azad published on 20.21.1971

him irreligious and secondly, the ultra-progressives didn't hesitate to call him communal. Bringing accusation of communalism against a man who spent his whole life struggling for the establishment of a state of non-sectarian spirit, suffered jail-tyranny and led the last bloody war and gained worldwide recognition as the architect of an independent state is nothing but a blatant mockery of the absolute truth!

Findings of the Research

1. By descent, Mujib was the son of a pious, Sufi, and religious family and influenced by some Islamic scholars including Mawlana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani.
2. Mujib was a believer in one God, truly pious and religious; but not fanatical.
3. The charge of irreligiousness leveled on him is not true. Calling him a communist in the atheistic sense is also a serious slander against him.
4. What he has done for religion, the government of Pakistan established in the name of Islam has not done that.
5. Mujib practiced religion with devotion; not for deception, fraud, or political advantage.
6. Mujib's secularism is not irreligion. He took for the establishment of equal rights of all religions. Besides, not using religion for personal or political interests is the essence of his secularism.
7. Mujib didn't fall into the sectarianism of religious devotion, religious practice, religious patronage, and propagation of religious education, but rather bears evidence of his sense of responsibility. Therefore, all allegations leveled against him are false, fabricated and baseless.
8. Had Mujib lived, he would have been the undisputed leader of the Muslim Ummah and also the forerunner of world peace.

Conclusion

Mujib's religious thought is rational, just and benevolent. There was no extravagance or laxity in it. He has taken a middle position between the two. This was appropriate in the context of Bangladesh. Islam is also a moderate religion. Those who overdo it or show laxity are misguided according to Islamic code as Muslims are called a moderate

nation in the Holy Quran.⁵⁷ Mujib's involvement with various organizations including the "Muslim League" founded in the name of a single sect doesn't mean communalism. Rather, he had to engage with the political reality of the time to get rid of the colonial British rule and that was logical and appropriate. Later, joining the Awami League, establishing of independent Bangladesh under his leadership, and framing the constitution in the light of the four principles, etc. prove that he was a quintessential Bengali, a unique example of humanitarian and progressive leader. His secularism is not tantamount to irreligion rather his religious thought is compatible with secularism. Calling him an atheist because of the inclusion of socialism in the four principles of the constitution also doesn't stand the test of time. It is an exaggeration to call him communal because of his devotion to his religion. He was always a vocal and struggling leader against corruption, misrule, oppression, and deprivation. He, in spite of having a profound devotion to religion, is the shining example of a leader to build a science-based, non-communal and welfare-based state. Charged against him as "anti-Islamic, irreligious, sectarian, allegations of communists (in the atheistic sense) etc. are totally baseless. To call him anti-Islamic is to mock the religion or to judge him through the lens of selfishness. We don't claim that he is above error, but he was a theist and pious. His devotion to religion was not opposed to secularism. The integrated form of the four principles of the constitution, which is called "Mujibism", deserves extensive research. How realistic "Mujibism" is needs to be clarified in the light of political science.

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⁵⁷ Allah Tamale says, "Thus have I established you as a nation of moderates, so that your lives may be an example of truth before all mankind, and the Messenger may be a symbol of truth before you" (Al-Qur'an, Surah Baqarah: 143)

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