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# REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM AND NATIONALISM: A CASE STUDY OF AL-HILAL

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#### **Abstract**

Journalism played important role in creating the awareness about nation and nationalism among Indians. From the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a large number of leaders of the Indian Nationals Congress belonged to journalism, who used their pen to push for rights, reform and recognition from the British Empire. Among Muslims of the subcontinent, nationalism was a new idea, and most of them were reluctant to participate given the reservations expressed by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Around this time, Adul Kalam Azad through his pen tore apart the existing norms and gave a clarion call for participation in the National Movement through his revolutionary journalism of Al-Hilal. This paper examines the role of Al-Hilal in instilling and popularising the feeling of nationalism among Muslims.

#### Keywords

Colonialism, Journalism, Nationalism, Swaraj, Swadeshi, Urdu.



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An anonymous person walked all the way from Peshawar (now in Pakistan) to Ranchi (Jharkhand) via Agra, to meet Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in 1916. After enquiring for him in the town, he accosted Maulana Azad outside a mosque in Ranchi and made an unusual request: 'Please help me understand Quran, I have read *Al-Hilal* and believe, you can help me...' Before Maulana Azad could realise anything, or ask the name of the person, he vanished in the night. During the course of the conversation, it also became obvious that the person had walked such a distance by doing menial jobs at some places to support himself and his travel, and halting at various places, including Agra. He inspired Maulana Azad to write commentary on Quran, which was later published as Tarjuman-ul-Quran'. Maulana Azad rued the fact that he did not know the name of that person, else he would have dedicated 'Tarjuman-ul-Quran' to him only. It is pertinent to mention here that Al-Hilal had closed two years before this meeting between the Maulana and his ardent admirer. Such was the influence of *Al-Hilal* and Maulana Azad on the readers and public.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was a revolutionary writer and a source of inspiration for generations of journalists, freedom fighters and leaders, who wanted to take the profession for some mission and dedicate their life to the cause of anti-colonialism. At an age, when kids spend time playing in the home backyard, Maulana Azad had started debating on issues of importance, editing journals and writing prose and poetry, which was envied by the contemporary intellectuals. His powerful writings created national awakening among the masses and served as milestones in the Indian freedom struggle.

From a very young age, he showed great literary flare and edited a weekly called Al-Misbah and also brought out a monthly journal called Lissan-us-sidq. The Maulana had been given to writing essays since quite early in life, though he may not have got them published. As he put it, "A serious reading of newspapers and journals had already started off and it inspired me to write a few things. I do not remember having written anything serious. Yet by 1899-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chatterji, Somnath, (inaugural address), in Habib, S. Irfan, (Ed.)2010, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the National Education System, National University of Educational Planning and Administration, Delhi

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1900 I did start scribbling a few things, however I never had the courage to get them published".<sup>2</sup>

Maulana Azad had a natural inclination for writing. When he was 11-years old, he started monthly "Nairang-e-Alam" in 1899 at Calcutta. Next year, he launched the weekly "Al-Misbah" a journal of contemporary issues. Maulana Azad was barely twelve years old when he had begun writing, and got the first chance of editing a paper called Al-Misbah.<sup>3</sup> Urdu journalist Rizwan Ahmed said, "Azad began his literary career as a poet, and he started reading the newspaper from the age of 10, and he used to read 'Urdu Akhbar' and 'Akhbar-e-Aam'. He started writing with a Mumbai journal 'Armoghan-e-Farkh', which carried a ghazal by him. He brought out a journal called 'Nairang-e-Alam', and edited 'Al-Misbah' in 1900. He was part of editorial for 'Husn-ul-Akhbar'. From Lucknow, Naubat Rai brought out 'Khazange Nazar', and prose was looked after by Azad. He brought out Fortnightly 'Lisanus-Sidg'. He took the editorship of 'An-Nadwah' in Lucknow. He was associated with 'Vakil' of Amritsar, and 'Darul Saltanat' of Calcutta. He benefited by his association with 'Ahsan-al-Akhbar' brought out by Abdul Ghaffar of Calcutta, who owned a press. Here, according to Azad's narration, he got a chance to browse through papers and journals, which came in exchange from far-off places such as Egypt, Constantinople, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and America. Most of these were in Arabic.<sup>5</sup> Azad got to see two Egyptian journals, Al-Hilal and Al-Muqtatif. He also got to read Al-Manar. Of all these journals and papers, Al-Manar seemed to have made profound influence on Azad. "From the point of literary style as well as journalistic value the Al- Mannar was quite a new experience. In matters of religion it did not have so much of impact since Sir Fayyad's ideas had already cast its influence upon me, but it was a fine example of inspiring Arabic literature, and turned out to be so fruitful in the future. Without an iota of doubt I am indebted to the Al-Manar."6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Malihabadi, A. R. quoted in Rizwan Qaiser,(paper) The Madarsa Islamia, Ranchi: Maulana Azad's Early Experimentation with Madarsa Education, in Habib, S. Irfan (Ed.), op. cit., p.57

³ Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ahmed, Rizwan (paper), Beswin Sadi mein urdu sahafat (1901-1947 AD), Ajkal Aur Sahafat, Nov-Dec 1983

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Malihabadi, A.R., quoted in Rizwan Qaiser, op.cit.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid.,

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The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a period of extremism in Bengal and parts of Bihar, and Punjab. A new breed of youth emerged, who believed in terror tactics to attain their nationalist goals. Around this time, the anti-partition movement in Bengal was at its peak and the most potent opponents of the partition were the group of terrorists who believed in violence as the only potent weapon to get swaraj and advocated swadeshi. Aurobindo Ghose was the main organiser of this sleeper cells and underground bodies at various cities in Bengal. A chief spokesman of Bengali Extremism between 1907 and 1910, Aurobindo was an inspiration to many terrorists...his own idea was an armed insurrection supported by help from outside, perhaps from Japan and accompanied if possible by a general revolt in the Indian army...the boys had no interest in martial discipline, or long term planning. Why bother to learn drill and lathi-play when you could blow up a train or a magistrate with a well-made bomb.<sup>7</sup> Maulana Azad was inspired by these revolutionary terrorist groups and held series of meetings with Aurobindo Ghose—the ideologue. The meetings convinced Maulana Azad of the objectives of these groups and he became a supporter and promoter of this movement, which was looked upon by the British Government with utter contempt and great suspicion. Giving hints about his revolutionary political affiliations, he wrote in India Wins Freedom, "Bengal did not take the measure (partition of Bengal) lying down. There was an unprecedented outburst of political and revolutionary enthusiasm." He went on, "It was during this period that I came in contact with Shyam Sunder Chakravarty, who was one of the important revolutionary workers of the day. Through him I met other revolutionaries. I remember having met Shri Aurobindo Ghosh on two or three occasions. The result was that I was attracted to revolutionary politics and joined one of the groups."8 For some time he played with the idea of bringing about a political revolution with the help of Bengal terrorist groups like "Jugantar". He soon gave it up in favour of the democratic method of the National Congress.<sup>9</sup>

Even the Indian National Congress did not approve of their tendencies and the extremists were expelled from the body in 1907. Although, Maualan Azad did not give up his belief in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Heehs, Peter, (1998), Nationalism, Terrorism, Communalism, Essays in Modern Indian History, Oxford University Press, Delhi, p.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Azad, India Wins Freedom, , pp 4-5, quoted in Rizwan Qaiser, op. cit., p.55

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Hameed, Syeda, (paper) Reflecting the Educational Philosophy of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khwaja Ghulamus Saiyidain, in S. irfan Ahmed (Ed.),(2010), pp. 43-44

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revolutionary teachings, he wanted to explore the methods adopted in other parts of the world to unite people for nationalist cause. He decided to get himself acquainted with the political trends in the Arab and Islamic world. At the age of 20 Maulana Azad went on a tour of Iraq, Syria and Egypt and met the young Turks and Arab nationalists including Christians, who were fighting British imperialism. The tour proved very useful to Azad to crystallize his thoughts on the neo-colonialists who were exploiting those countries and how India could help them. On return he started a journal in Urdu named 'Al Hilal' in 1912. It was this journal where he aired his liberal views, Rationalist in outlook and profoundly versed in Islamic lore and history'. The immediate inspiration was revolutionary nationalism as well as the fate of Turkey which inspired its publication.

He made it clear that he had absorbed influences from these thinking men, whose theoretical articulation established that Islam and particularistic nationalism were compatible and that Muslims should forge links with others to combat colonial domination, while still pursuing a Pan-Islamic agenda. 10 The revolutionary phase of Azad's journalism began with the 'Al-Hilal' weekly. The first issue of Al-Hilal came out on 13th July 1912. This issue did not discuss the objective of the paper. The third issue barely hinted at it. However, later, Azad discussed quite elaborately that Al-Hilal would call upon Muslims to follow the true spirit of the Quran and Sunnah (Practices of the Prophet Mohammad) in all spheres of life education, culture or politics. In brief, *Al-Hilal* called upon the Muslims to be true Muslims. <sup>11</sup> About the aim of Al-Hilal, Maulana Azad wrote on Jan 11, 1923: 'I introduced journal Al-Hilal in 1912...within three years, Al-Hilal provided new religious and political direction to Indian Muslims...Al-Hilal stressed to bank on the faith rather than numbers, and to mingle with Hindus without any fear. Because of that, such changes occured, which resulted in united Khilafat Movement and Swaraj .... 12 Maulana Azad brought out Al-Hilal from Calcutta in 1912 to fulfil his ideals and dreams. He had clear vision of his standards, and wrote in the earlier edition of Al-Hilal: "we are here to not make profit but to search for loss and hardship. We are not looking for praise and fame but we welcome hate and criticism". 13

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Qaiser, Rizwan, in S. Irfan Habib ed., op.cit., p.59

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Al-Hilal, Vol. I, no.9, September 8,1912 quoted in Rizwan Qaiser, op.cit., p.61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Jaffery, Ali Sardar article(2000), Rashiduddin Khan ed., Abul Kalam Azad, *ek Hama Gir Shakshiyat*, National Council for Promotion of Urdu, New Delhi, p.135

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ahmed, Rizwan, op. cit.,

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Since its inception, religious and political awakening of the Muslims was the focus of Al-Hilal. In another issue Azad argued that once Muslims truly followed the Quran, they would experience a new life. <sup>14</sup> *Al-Hilal*'s content and message initially baffled its readers since religious issues were enmeshed with political issues. There were innumerable queries as to what Al-Hilal stood for as regards these questions. In response to one such query Azad wrote, "The question whether political discussion should be separated from religious education is very important. But you must know that this is the very foundation on which one intends to build the whole edifice of Al-Hilal. If you say that the arch is not beautiful, one may try to alter its shape, but if you wish that the keystone be removed then one cannot accede to your wishes. There will be nothing left with us if we separate politics from religion." <sup>15</sup>

He described the fight against the British as Jihad. Once he argued, 'Thus, like many other things, the call of Al-Hilal is that neither trust the government nor follow the Hindus. Take only the right path, 'Seerat-ul Mustuqeem', as suggested by Islam." He further added, "If we take to the political path as suggested by Islam then of course we shall be a group not to be daunted by anything. We shall express ourselves fearlessly as we should not be afraid of anyone but God." The agenda of Jihad would encompass many other things too, for instance establishing democracy and founding of a parliamentary and constitutional government. As he put it: 'Islam stands for freedom and is against those who wish to perpetuate an autocratic rule through brute force. It (Islam) wants its followers to be in action in order to attain freedom. It is the soul of democracy and equality and considers that government to be against the will of God, which is not parliamentary and constitutional. This lesson is not to be learnt from the others but from the Quran, and should be as such made the motto of life."

The contemporary international developments also shaped Azad's view on Pan-Islam, which found adequate space in the pages of Al-Hilal. He solicited support for Turkey, spiritual

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Al-Hilal, Vol. I, no.11, September 22,1912 quoted in Rizwan Qaiser, op. cit., p.61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Al-Hilal, Vol. I, no.9, September 8,1912 quoted in ibid., p.61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid., p.62

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid.,

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or material. "It becomes a religious duty that the seat of Khalifa should be held dear to every Muslim purely as a matter of religious relationship. Any government, which is Khilafat's enemy should be considered enemy of Islam and one which is friendly towards it a friend. Because the friendship and enmity for a Muslim should not depend on personal losses and gains rather it should be for the sake of religion."

Maulana Azad, who wielded a powerful pen and had the courage to give expression to his convictions, published Al-Hilal, which not only made no secret of its political objective but took a bold line in social and religious matters. <sup>19</sup> In his presidential address to the Indian National Congress in March 1940, Maulana Azad said: 'In *Al-Hilal*, I put before my decision before Muslims. I don't need to remind that my voice was effective. The period 1912-1916, was turning point of Indian Muslims' polity'. <sup>20</sup> This newspaper played important role in glorifying the profession of journalism and became a spokesman for the people asking for freedom from the slavery under the British Empire. His writings were inspiring and became very popular through his three journals: *Al-Hilal*, *Lisan-ul-Sidq* and *Al-Balagh*. <sup>21</sup>

Apart from being an ardent advocate of nationalism, Azad had great regard for liberty of the Press and refused to be tempted by any financial support offered. One Nawab offered him gifts to which he answered in his own inimitable style: "In our view any newspaper which takes anything other than the price of the newspaper from any individual or organisation is not a newspaper but a shame in the name of a journal. We see journalist as a highly dignified profession". <sup>22</sup> In Al-Hilal, issue of July 27, 1912, he wrote: "Journalists should be free of all pressures and far away from the shadow of gold and silver. Those journalists who accept gifts from rich and nawabs, in reality they are selling their credibility and religion..they should beg in inkpots and sell themselves in and around the cities and town". <sup>23</sup> On Sept 1, 1912, Maulana Azad wrote in Al-Hilal: "Islam guarantees the freedom given by Almighty God and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Al-Hilal, vol.1, no.16, November 6, 1912, quoted in Rizwan Qaiser, op. cit., p. 64

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Lal, K Sujan(1964), A short History of Urdu Journalism, The Institute of Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies, Hyderabad, p.40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Jaffery, Ali Sardar, article, Rashiduddin Khan ed., op. cit., p.135

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Tabassum, Farhat(2008), Deoband Ulema's Movement for the Freedom of India, Manak Publications, New Delhi, pp. 166-168

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ahmed, Rizwan, op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> ibid.,

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is against oppression and exploitation...It is the soul of democracy and equality and does not consider any government acceptable to Almighty God which is not based on elected parliament acceptable". <sup>24</sup>

Within its short life span, Al-Hilal gained wide publicity and its circulation soared across the country. The copies of Al-Hilal were confiscated by the British government from Hyderabad and Peshawar. Malik Ram observes: "Al-Hilal was published at a time when our politics was dormant. First of all, Al-Hilal criticised the British policy. Thousands of people came on the streets demanding freedom and rights, and the British government became worried. The style of Al-Hilal was very decorative and was beyond the comprehension of common people and that is why it became liked by the elite class. But the tone of the newspaper was anti-government, which made the government worried. It was due to the efforts of Azad that a feeling of nationalism was created."<sup>25</sup>

Al-Hilal became very popular weekly and even back issues of the weekly were sought after by the readers, who wanted to have the complete collection of the weekly in their houses. Its circulation rose to 26,000 copies. The British government was alarmed at this popularity and in 1914; a security of two thousand rupees was imposed on "Al-Hilal" under the Press Act. When Maulana Azad deposited this amount, the British government again imposed a further security of ten thousand. Azad could not afford to deposit the amount and it was closed in November 1914. About the paper, S. A. Ansari wrote: 'that weekly paper from the first issue, revolutionised the Muslim world, and impelled them to think there was something wrong with their action. The message, which Azad gave, had two aims: 1) first to arouse the spirit of the real faith among them and organise their social and religious life and 2) second to create that spirit of freedom among them which is the message of Islam.<sup>26</sup>

Azad's importance lies in arousing the passion of nationalism among Indians before the crucial Khilafat Non-Cooperation Movement. He is also known for his courage to take a stand against the dominant Aligarh School. Abul Kalam Azad attacked this stronghold of conservatism and anti-nationalism not directly but by spreading ideas which undermined the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Jaffery, Ali Sardar article, Rashiduddin Khan ed., op. cit., p. 135

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Tabassum, op. cit.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Taban, Ghulam Rabbani(1987), Abul Kalam Azad, N.C.E.R.T., New Delhi, p. 27

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Aligarh tradition. This very youthful writer and journalist caused a sensation in Muslim intellectuals circles, and though the elders frowned upon him, his words created a ferment in the minds of the younger generation. Azad gave a definite trend to it by pointing out that there was no conflict between Islam and sympathy for Islamic countries and Indian nationalism. <sup>27</sup> Eminent Islamic scholar Syed Sulaiman Nadvi too, who belonged to the Aligarh School, once commented about Azad, "I must in all fairness say one thing, the time Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was bringing out *Al-Hilal*, the Muslims' mind was set on fire by his passionate words. He sounded loudly and fiercely the trumpet of Jihad, whose name people were afraid to mention so that the forgotten lessons were on the tongues of the people again."

In a withering attack on the Aligarh School, Maulana Azad wrote in Al-Hilal: "The future historian will write that ultimately, what had to happen, happened. In the 20th century no country could remain in bondage and none remained. The British government was a constitutional entity. It was not the autocratic rule of Chengiz Khan. Therefore it did what was expected of it and India became free. But the world will remember that this turn of events owed nothing to the Muslims; whatever happened redounded to the credit of every other community except the Muslims..." Jawaharlal Nehru writes: 'Abul Kalam Azad spoke in a new language to them in his weekly Al-Hilal. It was not a new language in thought and approach, even in texture was different, for Azad's style was tense and virile, though sometimes a little difficult because of the persian background. He used new phrases for new ideas and was a definite influence in giving shape to the Urdu language."

Al Hilal was also a trenchant critic of Muslim League which continued until the time that the League and Congress came closer in 1916 and continued as allies for several years. Yet from a religious point of view Azad regarded (like Mohammad Ali) that a universal organisation of Muslims around the Turkish Khilafat as not only necessary but feasible. Accordingly, when the First World War broke out between Britain and Turkey, Azad's Al-Hilal which in the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Nehru, Jawaharlal, Discovery of India, Oxford University of Press, New Delhi, p.348

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> quoted in Qaiser, Rizwan, S. Irfan Habib ed., op.cit., p.60

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Raghavan, G.N.S.(1994), The Press in India, A New History, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, p.54

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Nehru, op. cit., p.348

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eyes of Government was more dangerous than Mohammad Ali's journal Comrade was forced to close down through the repressive machinery of The Press Act.<sup>31</sup>

Maulana Azad and his writings have left its footprints on the Freedom Movement, with its boldness and fearless journalism. The paper was so popular that its opponents took to the streets against Al-Hilal. Mahadev Desai wrote in his biography of Maulana Azad: "within six months its circulation had reached the figure of 11,000, a considerable figure if we remember that the annual subscription was Rs.12 and bulk of its readers was Muslims...". <sup>32</sup> M Chalapathi Rau recalled: "Al-Hilal not only made no secret of its political objective, but took a bold line in matters social and religious...". <sup>33</sup> He also worked through his journals for unity among Indians and attempted to instil communal harmony. He said to Muslims that Islam considers death better than living under colonialism. He warned Muslims that if they did not take in the Freedom Movement, history will not forgive them. <sup>34</sup> Al-Hilal proved to be the best medium to convey the message of nationalism and unity. <sup>35</sup>

The journal 'Al-Hilal' became extremely popular and in two years its circulation rose to 30,000. The British government was agitated by the attitude of Maulana Azad and his alleged proximity to the Turkey and started to think of measures to penalize him. These financial burden imposed by the British government failed to tone down the anti-establishment stance of the journal, and finally the British government banned "Al-Hilal" and confiscated its press.

The inevitable happened when in 1914 the British Government confiscated the press and banned the journal under the Defence of India Act. Azad was arrested and sent to Ranchi jail where he suffered untold hardships. Azad's writings in Al-Hilal and his protest against the measures against the Comrade convinced the government that, "the Editor (Maulana Azad) does his best to make his readers believe in the bad chances of the Allies and in the prospects of German victory. Mohammad Ali in the Hamdard is playing the same game. The insidious

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Hameed, Syeda, Reflecting the Educational Philosophy of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khwaja Ghulamus Saiyidain, in S Irfan Habib (Ed.), op. cit., pp. 43-44

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Raghavan, G.N.S. op. cit., p.54

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Taban, Ghulam Rabbani, op. cit., p. 24

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Tabassum, Farhat op. cit., pp. 166-168

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disloyalty of these people in spite of warning and promises is most discreditable. They are unfit to be allowed to publish newspapers at the present time."<sup>36</sup> Finally, action was initiated against Azad's paper on 16<sup>th</sup> November1914 at the press and residence, 13-14, Macleod Street, Calcutta. At the time of the raid it seems Azad was away in Delhi to meet Mohammad Ali.<sup>37</sup> Copies of Al-Hilal were seized and with this came to an end the efforts of Azad to be in communication with his co-religionists on matters of politics as well as religion. The Government may have thought that they have won but it was a temporary victory, since Azad's conviction helped him withstand such pressures.

In 1916, the Defence of India Act was invoked against him and he was asked to leave Calcutta. He was externed from Calcutta in April 1916 under the Defence of India Regulation and sent to Ranchi. After Bal Gangadhar Tilak, he was the first prominent leader of the National Movement to be penalized by the British government for writings. He was not allowed to enter Punjab, U.P., Delhi and Bombay under the same law. He found refuge in Ranchi, where he was put under house arrest till December 31, 1919. In 1927, Maulana Azad restarted the publication of "Al-Hilal" and which continued publication till the end of the year. Al- Hilal and Al-Balagh were published at a time when the feeling of nationalism was taking roots among Indians, but due to lack of national leadership, it remained inactive.<sup>38</sup>

#### Conclusion

The period of Maulana Azad's journalism is 27 years and it is spread from Calcutta to Lucknow and Amritsar, in which Al-Hilal was the jewel of Indian journalism. It starts from 1900 and ends in 1927, when Maulana Azad was immersed fully in politics(freedom struggle)...During this period he was associated with more than a dozen journals.<sup>39</sup> Himself an eminent journalist and poet, Abul Hasan Hasrat Mohani said in praise of Maulana Azad's journalism: 'Jab Se Dekhi Abul Kalam ki Nasr-Nazm Hasrat Mein Kuch Maza Na Raha (When I had a glance over the prose of Azad there was no charm left in my own poetry).' The short life of the Al-Hilal, which stirred the soul and mind of the people in the 20<sup>th</sup> century,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Home, Political A, Feb. 1915, no. 178-204, p 4, quoted in Rizwan Qaiser, S. Irfan Habib ed., op. cit., p.65

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Government of India, Home Dept. Pol. Deposit proceedings, May 1915 no.36, quoted in ibid., p. 67

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Farhat Tabassum, op. cit., pp. 166-168

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ahmed Sayeed Maleehabadi article, Rashiduddin Khan ed., op. cit., p.278

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remains the high points of revolutionary phase of Indian Journalism, which inspired generations of Indians to join freedom movement and become selfless patriots in the service of the nation. The revolutionary journal continues to inspire the future selfless patriots.

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