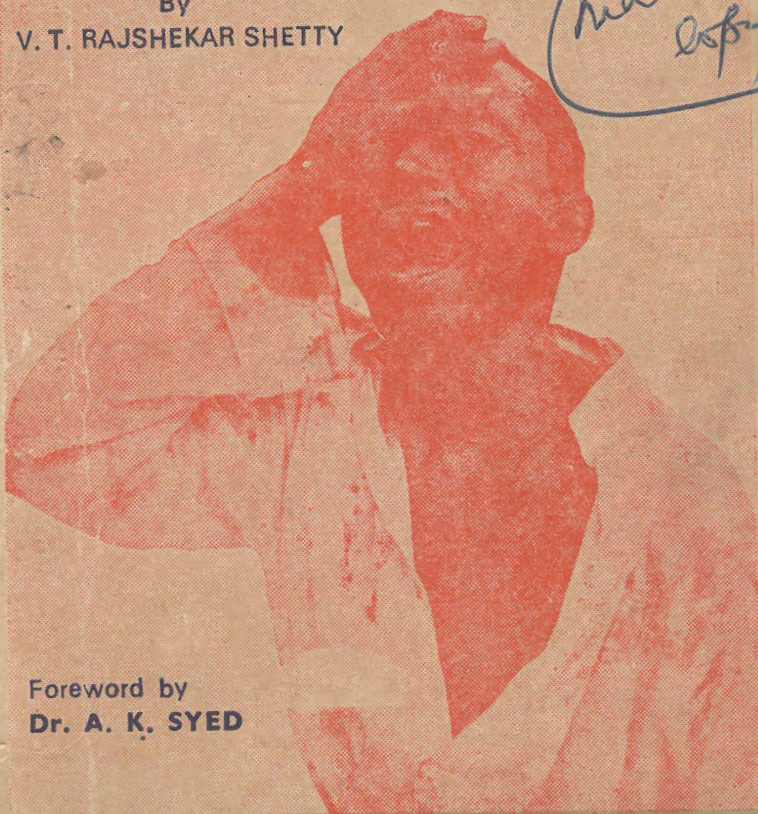


CONSPIRACY BEHIND COMMUNAL RIOTS

By
V. T. RAJSHEKAR SHETTY

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Foreword by
Dr. A. K. SYED

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Conspiracy Behind Communal Riots

In

~~POST-INDEPENDENT INDIA~~

[An Analysis of Hindu - Muslim Problem]

*(second revised edition)
1977.*

By

V. T. RAJSHEKAR SHETTY

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Bangalore.

Foreword by

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FOREWORD

Communal politics have caused great havoc ever since the attainment of our independence. Every right thinking patriotic citizen of the country bows his head in grief, shame and pain over the treacherous and ill-conceived attempts to paralyse the Muslim Minority in the country through diabolically planned propaganda and communal disturbances. Undoubtedly, every right thinking citizen admits that weakness in the administration due to the whims and fancies of the powers that be gave room to the manifold increase in the energies of the communalists propaganda and vested interests followed a sense of inferiority in the Muslims. The negative approach towards Muslims, has resulted in disillusionment, frustration and desperation.

The notorious militant organisation-RSS and the communal political parties like Jana Sangh and Muslim League have been responsible for the conspiracy of communal riots. But, no sincere and bold attempt to expose the unholy conspiracy has been made so long. Mr. V. T. Rajshekar Shetty, deserves congratulations for his courage to expose the conspiracy behind communal riots. Mr. Shetty says: "Every time I read about a 'communal clash' or witness the aftermath of a Hindu-Muslim blood-bath, I feel terribly upset. I think something is wrong somewhere". Mr. Shetty, as a active newspaper reporter has witnessed several communal orgies and made years of painstaking study of India's vexed problem of communal conflict.

It is pertinent to point out that awareness of religious and cultural differences between Hindus and Muslims exists mainly amongst the members of the upper classes of the two communities

and finds expression in dress, social attitudes and language. The common man is blissfully unaware of them.

The research study of the morphology of communal riots engineered by the upper class Hindus with ulterior motives has been rightly exposed in this work, which will go a long way in educating the intelligentsia of both communities and rouse them to do something serious to achieve the long cherished goal of national integration. It goes without saying that eradication of narrow outlook and prejudices alone will guarantee the progress and prosperity of the nation.

Every sincere step taken to remove hatred and suspicions against the minority communities and recognition given to them as an integral part of our great nation and its life, will boost the morale. In a atmosphere of trust and fairness, Muslim minority will continue to make significant contribution to the richness of our national life and above all our national resurgence and struggle for economic, political and cultural advancement.

BANGALORE

Dr. A. K. SYED

P R E F A C E

“Conspiracy Behind Communal Riots” is written after several years of painstaking study of India’s vexed Muslim problem.

In this, I have sought to offer a sociological and psychological interpretation to a subject that has been long worrying me: Why does the Hindu gloat over Muslim-baiting? Why this anti-Muslim virus is spreading fast in Hindu India? Why does the Jan Sangh-RSS instigate communal riots? Is it just to terrorise the Muslim minority out of love for the Hindu majority or has it got any other ulterior motive?

It is these that I have sought to analyse in this thesis which for the first time demolishes certain wide-spread beliefs and notions in this country and also seeks to offer a solution to a problem that has defied the best brains.

A number of interpretations have come analysing the reasons for this rising tide of anti-Muslim feeling in the country—but all of them have failed, either consciously to expose the truth. Even our left parties have failed to see sans their coloured glasses.

I am sure the subject will be very interesting and also thought-provoking—particularly to sociologists, psychologists, those interested in the philosophy of history apart from progressive Muslims.

I have ruthlessly exposed the humbug that is going on in the name of “secularism” and religion and hence some of my observations may be “controversial”. But, truth in this country always becomes controversial; Nay, it is the other name for truth.

A number of books have come on the “Muslim problem” but I can assure you that so far nobody has taken this line of argument.

~~I have developed this thesis into a book form and a Calcutta firm has come forward to publish the book.~~

I am grateful to my journalist friend, Dr. A. K. Syed of the New Era Publishers for bringing out the thesis in the form of a booklet.

Bangalore

V. T. RAJSHEKAR SHETTY

[vi]

~~May~~ 1977
June 1

*New Introduction at
Convent*

End **INTRODUCTION**

Every time I read about a "communal clash" or witness the aftermath of a Hindu-Muslim blood-bath, I feel terribly upset. I think something is wrong somewhere.

How do Hindus become heroes by killing poor, innocent muslims? Why this anti-muslim virus is spreading fast-even to areas traditionally noted for Hindu-Muslim amity? What are our Leftist friends doing? Will not a communal clash divert our energy from "Class struggle" to tribal warfare? Is it not a setback to socialism? Why the ruling party of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who has proved her "secularism" to the world by electing a Muslim as the President of India, is blind to the plight of this persecuted minority? Is there no end at all to this blood-letting?

These questions have been long worrying me not only as a reporter having witnessed several communal orgies but also as a citizen interested in the country's socio-economic well-being which certainly cannot be promoted by burning a mosque or looting the shop of a poor Muslim.

—V. T. RAISHEKAR SHETTY
Author

ECONOMIC PLIGHT OF MUSLIMS:

Even the worst enemies of Muslims among the Hindus and also our Jan Sangh friends admit that the vast majority of the 61 million Muslims in India are poor. The latest census confirms that a vast majority of the Muslims live below the "poverty line". Describing the living conditions of Muslims, K. L. Gauba in the preface to his book, "Passive Voices", says: "After over 20 years in India as an Indian citizen, it must with sorrow be declared that its much-proclaimed secularism is hollow. The Indian Muslim, though an Indian, is by and large unable to survive with the inferiority of being a Muslim". For millions of Muslims in India these words ring true, says Ashgar Ali Engineer, reviewing this penetrating study of the Indian Muslims and a powerful indictment of secularism as it operates in India today. (Times of India, Bombay-February 10, 1974).

The award-winning Urdu movie, "Garm Hawa," graphically depicts the discrimination against the Muslims in the matter of employment, giving licences, renting out houses, admission to educational institutions, or appointments or even sale or purchase of goods - thus pushing this persecuted minority to the verge of economic ruin. The Muslim is a suspect in his own country of birth- whatever may be his position. The Muslim is considered a security risk and hence strategic and vulnerable positions are never given to a Muslim in the Government.

Giving statistics, Gauba proves that Muslims are grossly under-represented in all the services. Reservations, enjoyed by the Muslims are withdrawn immediately after the partition.

*Added here
pa 1.*

According to some sociologists the single biggest obstacle for the progress of Muslims in India is the absence of any "middle class" which is the backbone of any society in any country. A vast majority of the Muslims is poor. The other minority rich lolling in wealth is so class-conscious that they do not live in the crowded, dingy Muslim localities, nor do they identify with their poor. Their association is mostly with the rich Hindus and other affluent sections. And whenever there is any communal clash, which invariably breaks out only in a Muslim locality, these affluent Muslims are quite safe.

~~Backward~~
A Add here

Why Muslims are not so Secular-Minded ?

The reason can be found in the strangle-hold of the Mullahs on the Muslim masses rotting in abject poverty. Hindus divided into hundreds of castes and subcastes are not so fanatically religious barring Brahmins who are at the apex of the caste pyramid and hence stand to suffer most if the religious scaffolding collapses. The non-brahmins particularly the shudras, shut out from Sanskrit, are more tolerant in their views. But Muslims, as Abid Hussain says in his book, "The Destiny of Indian Muslims": "For Centuries Muslims in India and other countries have been cut off from the main current of scientific thought and are living to a large extent in an atmosphere of mental isolation".

~~Backward~~

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B.

A majority of Muslims children in India still go to Urdu schools even in urban areas. Girls going even to fashionable colleges still wear the "purdha". By condemning themselves to this gory apartheid, they lost the benefits of Western education during the past 50 years during which, at least, the upper caste Hindus took big strides occupying all vantage positions in Society.

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Lack of Reform Movement

It is generally agreed that of the three major world religions, Islam is the one that is closest to socialism. Members of Islam practice perfect equality between themselves irrespective of their status or wealth. Unlike the Hindu religious leaders who honour only the wealthy and the powerful, the Mullahs treat the rich and the poor alike. Inside the mosque, atleast there is no special treatment for a VIP, howsoever big he is. But despite this great advantage, the Muslims in India have remained one of the most backward lot.

The reason why a majority of the Muslims suffer from religious obscurantism is because the Muslim religion in India did not give birth to social reformers found in abundance in the "Hindu religion" although these reform movements have failed to make a dent on that amorphous body. Nevertheless, Hinduism did have the benefit of some fiery radicals and reformers in the Buddha, Basava, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Jotiba Phule, Narayana Guru, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Raghunath Paranjape, Periyar Ramaswamy etc., to mention the most prominent of the lot. But political leaders right from Mohammed Ali Jinnah harped only on the sanctity of the Muslim Personal Law and did not allow the growth of any radical thinking among the masses. Jinnah's famous "Fourteen Points" submitted to the British rulers in 1929 included the guarantee for the Muslim Personal Law and the "culture" of Muslims. The Muslim leaders thus had a vested interest in the backwardness and ignorance of the masses.

Added here
 In the guise of "secularism" and protection to "minority rights", the ruling party appeased only the Muslim obscurantism and the diehards with the sole selfish interest of bagging the

Muslim "bulk votes". It is this which has done the greatest harm to the Muslim masses of India.

Muslim women have been denied the rights which their Hindu sisters enjoy. Where then is the equality? Political interest of the Congress Party has become the main stumbling block to reform the Muslim religion. The Congress party supports "progressive Muslims" in the Arab world but at home acts exactly the opposite of that. Muslim vote is used to frustrate all attempts to reform this religion. Even Mahatma Gandhi's efforts to bring the Hindus and Muslims together on a common platform failed, except popularising his song "Ishwar-Allah Tere Naam - Sab ko Sanmati de Bhagwan".

A. B. Shah, President of the Indian Secular Society, says in a paper entitled "Meaning of Secularism": "Gandhi's failure was also inherent in the Indian situation particularly because no movement similar to the Hindu renaissance of the 19th century had taken place amongst the Muslims of India. It would, therefore, be as wrong to blame Gandhi for his failure to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem as to blame him for his failure to solve the problem of poverty in India". According to Shah, Gandhi's failure to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem symbolised the failure of India's strange conception of secularism.

Humbug of Secularism

What do we mean by our humbug of secularism? Maintaining the status-quo with all its superstitions and irrational thinking? "Oddly enough, after 25 years of secularism, religion and priesthood that thrive on them are even more deeply entrenched than before", says Abu Abraham, M. P., the "Indian Express"

the celebrated cartoonist

Cartoonist. "It seems to me that what we are practising is not secularism but silence", he says in all article "The humbug of secularism", (Illustrated Weekly, Bombay-August 18, 1974).

So in the name of secularism, the ruling party refused to condemn the Shankaracharya of Puri when he demanded total ban on cow slaughter. Government officials use office hours to do "pujas" and "namaz". When Fakhruddin Ali Ahamed was elected President of India, the national press had front-paged a picture wherein the First Citizen of the country was being greeted and blessed by priests of all religious groups in Delhi. And this was hailed as the symbol of true secularism. But does it truly reflect the secularism? According to A. B. Shah: "It is the conception of secularism as much as the obscurantism of the organised religious groups which needs to be combated if the Indian society is to be integrated into a modern nation on the basis of social equality regardless of caste and creed". And not this sort of humbug of President F. A. Ahmed being terrorised to majority secularism.

[Add here)

Why this Anti-Muslim virus?

A sort of anti-Muslim virus is spreading fast in India at least among the urban-dwelling, educated Hindus. Barring the countryside, where the Hindus and Muslims are still living in peace and friendship, prejudice against the Muslims is rapidly increasing particularly among the English-knowing Hindus. Scratch any Hindu-however educated-he suffers from a built-in anti-Muslim hatred. Ask him why he hates a Muslim, he reels out a series of stock charges: "The Muslim is a Pakistani spy, he listens to Radio Pakistan, he does not practice family planning, he is allowed to marry any number of wives, he is dangerous and cannot be trusted,

he is a traitor, he is a smuggler, they are multiplying so fast that they will soon out-number the Hindus and what not". *They ~~are~~ select arms wide masses.*

Ask him pointedly if any Muslim has ever harmed him and if he can give concrete proofs for this, he resorts to generalisations. In most of the cases those who accuse Muslims of this and that crime, had never any contact with any Muslim. Mostly it is hearsay: "That is what the people say about the Muslims,". This is the stock reply when we pin down such critics.

Prejudice against what sociologists call as "outgroup" is always accompanied by false beliefs about it.

"An individual of the minority group, say of Muslims in India, is judged not on the basis of his characteristics but on the basis of exaggerated and distorted beliefs about all members of the community current among the communalist members of the majority group, the Hindus", says A. B. Shah. Such a prejudice need not necessarily stem from ignorance, because even the most enlightened and educated people suffer from it. "There is no gene for prejudices. It is an acquired trait, implanted in the minds of individuals, from early childhood by members of the primary and secondary groups with whom they have been associated. Through scientific education and change of socio-economic environments, the trait can be changed. Pragmatism and prejudice are transmitted from parents, guardians, playmates, leaders, and politicians," according to A. B. Shah.

(B) ~~Revised education system~~ English education has contributed nothing to rid this anti-Muslim prejudice among the Hindus. In fact, it is mostly the English-knowing Hindus who spread rumours and also succumb to rumours. Western education has failed to make them rational

in their thinking and outlook. Nay, they become more hard-headed, argumentative, and conservative. Give education, a Hindu turns a Fascist. This is the main benefit of sanskritisation and westernisation.

R. K. Mukherjee in his book, "The Sociologist and the Social Changes in India", says: "Investigations, however, have shown that the educated people are not always the precursor of the desired course of social change. On the contrary, they may be relatively more conservatives to the point of resisting the course through their characteristic family organisation and orientation, regional affiliation and caste ideology, property rights and other forms of vested interests".

+ *Adel here Distortion of history*
Fascist Tendencies

to existing

This is the tragedy of Western education in India. Uneducated and illiterate people in ~~the~~ ^{the} rural areas appear to be more progressive, tolerant and sometimes rational ^{compared to} than the English-educated urban-dwelling affluent class. ^{that} This is why the Jan Sangh-RSS is finding a fertile ground only in cities and towns. The rural India is still uncontaminated with the communal virus and people living there have a genuine desire of the country's welfare at heart.

The only exception to this growing urban fascination for Fascism is West Bengal and Kerala where the Hindus and Muslims still live in peace despite the efforts of the Jan Sangh-RSS to spark off a communal riot. This is attributed by the historians and sociologists to the traditional high level of thinking which has taken deep roots in the soils of these two radical states. Where people develop faith in "~~Class Struggle~~" they seldom divert their attention to caste or communal prejudices and play into the hands of counter-revolutionary forces. That is the reason why the Jan

maharashtra, karataka

Sangh has failed to make any dent in either of these states. Where there is poverty of thinking as in U. P., Bihar, M. P., Gujarat etc., people succumb to communal passions and fall a prey to Fascist forces

→ Add ~~as P A~~ → What is communalism

Partition : Blessing or curse?

Partition has come as a great blessing in disguise to the upper caste-led Hindu brute majority in India. They became free to do whatever they wanted-unthinkable in a united India - inspite of the so-called secularism. Cow slaughter was banned. Muslims have been terrorised to live at the mercy of Hindus. Hindi with Devanagari script was adopted as the national language despite opposition from the Dravidian South. Separate electorate for Muslims granted in 1906 to assure them a fair share in power was abolished and reservations in jobs and admissions discontinued. Songs with clear pro-Hindu and Pro-Sanskrit bias like the "Vande Mataram" was adopted as the national anthem. A dead Language like Sanskrit which nobody uses as the medium of conversation is mercilessly imposed without assessing public opinion and Sanskrit news bulletins are broadcast on AIR., and Urdu, a truly Indian language, was banished as the language of Muslims.

with the upper caste

Upper caste Hindus desired to do these very things in the undivided India but failed due to stiff opposition from the Muslims. Partition, thus, came as a great blessing in disguise to the upper castes whose road is now paved to perpetuate their domination over the "shudras" in the name of re-establishing the "glorious heritage of India".

Add - 13

Is Jan Sangh truly Anti-Muslim?

Chapter head

It is generally accepted that the "Hate Muslim" campaign is the trump card of the Jan Sangh which has successfully used this

RS and the erstwhile

Reincarnates of 1947-5

RSS

to garner Hindu votes. In the absence of any economic issues for its party platform, the Jan Sangh naturally has to resort to explosive emotional issue which alone can bring quick political gains by playing on the gullibility of the masses.

In these circumstances one is prone to come to such a conclusion after examining the history of the different communal blood baths deliberately engineered by the RSS controlled Jan Sangh. This obviously leads any superficial observer to think that the Jan Sangh is the only truly Hindu party and that is why it gets no votes from the Muslims and Christians.

I want to explode this theory that the Jan Sangh is essentially anti-Muslim and anti-Christian. On a closer examination of the Indian social fabric, I have come to the conclusion that this anti-Muslim stance of the Jan Sangh is just a bogey - a mask to deceive the lowly shudras who constitute 95 percent of the Hindu population. Beneath this mask lies a well-laid-out conspiracy of the statusquoist Jan Sangh-RSS hydra-headed serpent. What is this conspiracy?

Feudal system

It is well known that the Hindu society is stratified into four major varnas with "panchamas" (Untouchables) at the bottom and again divided into hundreds of castes and subcastes. Guru Golwalker, the late Feuhrer of the RSS, the rabidly militant Hindu communal organisation, in his book, "Bunch of Thoughts", (Page 25) runs into raptures at the feudal degeneration of the Indian society divided into castes and sub-castes based on the sheer accident of birth. The vivi-section of the society into high and low castes is the main feature of Guru Golwalker's "Hindu Dharma", and is the symbol of his culture. Guru Golwalker says: "This means that the people who have this four-fould arrangements-i.e.,

inspired

erstwhile

about 90

check

RSS and

the Hindu people, is our god". So the society divided into four water-tight compartments-which the sociologists have termed as the root cause of the Indian poverty-is the god of RSS. The Guruji elevates castes based on birth to Godhood. To him any special concessions given to scheduled castes is an anathema "as it breeds jealousy and conflict".

Thanks to western education and government upliftment measures, reservations in appointments and admissions, the non-Brahmin castes comprising 95 percent of the Hindu population, are slowly coming out of their centuries of slavery, serfdom and subjugation-much to the consternation of the Brahmin-Bania controlled Jan Sangh = RSS

How to undo this historical process? How to lob the shudras and the maha-shudras back to their pre-destined prison cells? How to blind them from spotting the real enemies? How to halt the natural urge of the oppressed classes for class struggle? How to divert the minds of the backward classes from their rising economic aspirations? How to keep up its mythical leadership on the masses and continue their exploitation? How to protect this crumbling, moth-eaten Hindu Society? How to sustain the superiority and the privileges of the Brahmins against the vast non-Brahmins? How to make the shudras uphold the sanctity of the Vedas and all those "sacred books" preaching malignant form of communalism? How to keep alive this system by which the upper castes know full well that it is they who stand to profit most? How to maintain the sanctity of the "sacred literature" which a scholar like Dr. Ambedkar once called as "A collection of fables and fictions fit to be thrown on the dung heap not worthy of serious study"? (Who were the shudras'?) How to see that the shudras do not challenge the system of pains and penalties prescribed by Manu, the great Law Giver?

about 95

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correction of fables

add

of the... Add-B 58

Give page no

Jats in UP, Rajasthan etc

This is the dilemma facing the upper castes who ^{incidentally} also historically belong to the upper classes in the country. The advent of democracy, assuring one vote for each adult—irrespective of low or high caste or his property or bank balance, naturally chilled the hearts of the upper castes. Having not been accustomed to democratic rule, their fear of losing the privileges and positions is fully understandable. They rightly feared that the “dominant castes” (Lingayats and Vokkaligas in Karnataka, Marathas in Maharashtra, Reddies and Khammas in Andhra etc.) will, in normal course, seize the political power. The centuries-old privileges and positions of this numerically small but socially upper castes will collapse like a house of cards—caught in the hurricane of the politically conscious “major communities”. What to do? How to frustrate this democracy which is alien to the Hindu ethos? How to maintain the purity of caste hierarchy? How to preserve the “glorious heritage of India” the Bharatiya Samskriti?

Idiots and madmen

The big brains among the upper castes were very much worried. Nay, they were desperate. They scented that democracy will destroy in no time what all they have painstakingly built in the past thousands of years, in the name of ^{Sanskrit} “dharma and karma”. They had so elaborately built the caste order—fixed and permanent with an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt. How to see that this order is not challenged? How to over-awe the shudras with Vedas and Upanishads (which even a celebrated Sanskrit scholar like Prof. Max Mueller denounced as “pedantry and downright absurdity.. hardly matched anywhere”. Commenting on the “Brahmans” in his book, “Ancient Sanskrit Literature” (Page 200), Prof. Max Muller says these works are noted for “insipid grandiloquence, priestly conceit and antiquarian pedantry. These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots and the ravings of madmen”.

History Distorted

To quote Guru Golwalkar again: "The name Bharat appears even in the Vedas. Our Puranas have also spoken of our Motherland as Bharat and our people as Bharatiyas... But today, it includes all the various communities like the Muslims, Christians, Parsees, residing in this land. So, the word 'Bharatiya' too is likely to mislead us, and therefore, we want to denote our particular society. The word 'Hindu' cannots correctly and completely the meaning that we want to convey". (Bunch of Thoughts-Page 28).

Bogendra Jha, a Bihar CPI leader who has made a special study of Guru Golwalkar's thoughts, says ("Indian Left Review" May, 1973): Golwalkar, "totally rejecting the word used by the Vedas and the Puranas, chooses a word that is 'Hindu' which finds no place in any of the Vedas, Upanishads and Puranas. And he insists that his is not a religious movement".

It is not for nothing that Golwalkar indulges in deliberate distortion of history. It is the part of the ^{great} game of divide and rule handed down from Manu. This Modern Manu distorts history to his advantage and asserts that Musiims were responsible for all the evils of this country. Therefore, the Muslims must be taught a lesson. Hitler too attributed all the shortcomings in the German Society to the "evil designs of the Jews", who made the Aryan blood impure and weak.

Guru Golwalkar too holds the same opinion although the history says that the entire Indian Society was torn to pieces between bickering Hindu Kings long before the Muslims invaded India. But Guru Golwalkar has his own history-a topsy-turvey history-to inflame the shudras and rouse them to action.

Add. A - here 64 59
Add. B - 197-60
Add. A B ©
page 62 61

Beef-eating

The Vedic Aryans were eating beef and horse flesh. Rig Veda has many references to horse meat-eating. The fourth Act of the Bhavabhuti's "Uttara Ramacharita", a Sanskrit play, speaks of Valmiki slaughtering a young calf to treat his distinguished guests like the Vashista, Janaka and others. Thus beef-and horse flesh-eating was not only not outlawed during the Vedic period but was considered a great honour to the guests eating it. But Guru Golwalkar twists history and curses those Muslims "eating our sacred cow". Although no Hindu now bothers about his cow, Guru Golwalkar knows that cow can rouse even the most non-violent Hindu. The Ahmedabad communal carnage is the standing example of the havoc played by this cow sentiment. The ruling party too has exploited this cow sentiment by adopting cow as its election symbol.

Guru Golwalkar thus adopts every trick to whip up anti-Muslim hatred. He says: "The Muslims try to build a movement in the name of Urdu which is unworthy of being called a language at all". But does he know the historic role played by Urdu which is no private property of Muslims alone? How many non-Muslim literatuers it has produced?

This is how the "Hate-Muslim mantra" is weaved using all highly emotional and explosive issues to rouse the shudras and turn their wrath against the Muslims. The upper castes have thus cleverly succeeded in pointing out to the poor (and hence ignorant and gullible) shudras that if at all they have any enemy in India, it is the Muslims.

Having called the dog mad, order is how given to shoot it down. The Muslim is dubbed "a traitor", an "anti-national"

① An MP was told by a eunuch that Dr. Zakir Husain
Husain as president was - President was using a
watch radio to (15) transmit secret information
to the enemy during the 1965 Indo-Pak War.
a "Pakistani Spy". All sorts of lies are built round this "monster".
The Muslim does not practice family planning and goes on pro-
ducing children, being allowed to marry many wives. He listens to
"Radio Pakistan". He kills our sacred cow. And hundreds of
such lies are reeled out in sugar-coated phrases and the Shudra
foolishly believes this and in an emotional huff goes and kills a
poor Muslim and becomes a great hero.

"class war" nullified

② Add five

Take any communal riot in the country. The victims are
only poor Shudras and poor Muslims. As a newspaper reporter I
have visited a number of scenes of such communal blood bath and
I have spoken to number of people of all communities in such
places. But nowhere I was told of a victim belonging either to
upper caste Hindus or rich Muslims. I do not know why a poor
Lowcaste Hindu should hate a poor Muslim? After all both have
identical problems and have common class enemies. But the poor
lowcaste Hindu does not realise this fact being emotionally clouded
and over-powered with the 'Hindu cult' a dangerous virus that
is catching up fast.

The "hate-Muslim campaign" is just a mask worn by the
Brahmin-Bania controlled Jan Sangh-RSS combine to divert the
people's ire from the real enemies to the imaginary foes. It is this
that I call as the Great Conspiracy which the shudras have failed
to see through. The Jan Sangh is, therefore, not actually against
the Muslims, but only against the backward classes and the un-
touchables who constitute over 95 percent of the Hindu population.
When the Shudras are roused and start attacking the Muslims, the
upper caste game has become successful and the forces of democracy
are reversed. The anger of the shudras is turned from a "caste
war" into a "communal war" against the Muslims.

Religious

and socialism

was? A communal clash is thus not merely a reversal of the caste but also a reversal of the 'class war'. That is why most of capitalists and landlords in the country sympathise with the Jan Sangh because they know the power of this party as a counter-revolutionary force. The capitalist-feudal class having made common cause with the upper caste-dominated Jan Sangh has succeeded in denying the positions and privileges due to the down-trodden sections. That is the secret of the meteoric rise of the Jan Sangh, a party which had its birth only after India became independent.

Can organisation x Add-A-68

This is the great fascist game pointed out by many thinkers who have seen through this game. Dr. D. N. Ganguli, Director of the Pavlov Institute, Calcutta, and a noted psychiatrist, in a paper entitled "communalism, a psychological and sociological study", says: "The psychology of communalism of the majority community may turn into megalomaniac aspirations for ruthless dictatorship, the psychology of the minority may find expression in paranoid hostility and desire for isolation and the psychology of the under-developed people and regions may culminate in mass hysteria resulting in their running amock as homicides and suicides for secession".

write source L Echevri... centre?

The Js-RSS combine is aiming only at such a goal and the indications are that the country is fast heading towards this Fascist goal. Sarvodaya Leader Jayaprakash Narayan's "Navanirman movement" in Bihar, fully controlled and guided by the RSS, is a pointer in this direction. This is a counter-revolutionary movement under the leadership of the Jan Sangh which, in recent years, has emerged as a major force to be reckoned with. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find standing behind Mr. JP in a solid phalanx, the fallen princes, the arrogant feudal lords, the mighty

~~industrial tycoons, the profiteering merchant class as well as the dark forces of religious obscurantism.~~

These counter-revolutionary forces periodically indulge in such games of communal clashes to divert the attention of the masses from class struggle to communal riots. And the Muslim has come handy as the best whipping boy. Though the Muslim minority lives under a constant terror, the real sufferers in this game are the poor shudras and the maha-shudras who because of their poverty and ignorance have failed to ~~unearth~~ ^{see through} this great conspiracy.

The Muslims thus actually help the Jan Sangh to run its mills supplying it with the best, the cheapest and an inexhaustible source of fuel. As long as the Muslim problem lasts (and there is no solution to it in the existing set-up), the shudras will continue to be crushed under the traditional leadership of the upper castes. It is in its own interests that Jan Sangh will see that the Muslim problem is not solved. Just as the Shiva Sena and Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti will die a natural death if the Karnataka-Maharashtra border problem is solved, the Jan Sangh too will lose its only powerful weapon in its armoury and get lost as a party. Hence, it wants the Muslims-however maimed and mayhemed-to continue for its own survival. It is for this reason that I say that the Jan Sangh-RSS is not truly anti-Muslim. It is only against the Shudras and untouchables.

Add here - A
81.

Vanavate RSS - chapter

Failure of Left movement

2/ chapter here

I do not blame anybody for this ~~tragic situation~~ ^{The Muslim tragedy} effectively portrayed by Director Sathyu in the "Garam Hawa". I am finding fault only with our Left movement. I have argued this point at length in my thesis, "How Marx failed in Hindu India". But

~~Communist~~ - See Balram ~~the~~
~~direction~~ (18) Page 90-91-92

one thing I can say without any fear of contradiction that where the Left movement takes deep roots and the people get radicalised-Hindu-Muslims problem will never crop up as in West Bengal and Kerala. Even in Urban areas where the communal riots normally takes place, and where our Leftist parties have some influence, if any, our comrades have failed to educate the masses and stop them from going in the wrong direction. It is for this reason that the Indian Left movement has failed to make any headed way despite the fact that the Indian soil is so fertile and the climate so congenial for its growth.

See here - page 96 → Janard to

Why the Left movement has miserably failed in counter-acting the emotional onslaught of the Jan Sangh-RSS elitist forces? It is because of its strange policy of "Willing to wound but afraid to hurt". They talk of socialism and communism without trying to demolish the caste structure on which the entire social, economic political and cultural edifice of the country is built. The caste structure can be pulled down only by transforming the caste-consciousness of the masses into class consciousness. The classical concept of Marxism based on "class struggle" cannot be blindly applied to "Hindu India" without destroying its unparalleled caste system and the 'Karma' theory.

This can be done only if the "class struggle" is wedded to "caste struggle". This is possible only when the Left movement also takes up a rationalist movement aimed at making the people scientific-minded, simultaneously launching a universal literacy drive.

A new chapter: Janard & Sandhan
Harijan-Muslim Axis

Amid this all-pervading darkness in the country, the only ray of hope that I see is in the unity and a joint front of India's two

most persecuted minority communities—Muslims and the untouchables. If progressive sections among these two communities work hard and evolve a type of “Indigenous radicalism”, which combines the “class struggle” with “caste-struggle” and the Marxian thoughts with Dr. Ambedkar’s and Periyar Ramaswamy Naicker’s rationalist thrust, it is possible to sow the seeds of revolution. I think the only hope for this “sick of man of Asia” lies in the joint leadership that must spring from these two communities.

At least the Scheduled Castes have thrown up some very progressive leaders here and there although such a leadership was instantly crushed by the merciless caste Hindu majority. But, unfortunately, the Muslims have not so far produced any. Muslim leaders not only in all political parties but also intellectuals must undertake a serious heart-searching. I do not blame the poor Muslims who constitute the majority and also mostly belong to low classes among them. The blame lies squarely on the richer sections among the Muslims who traditionally belong to the upper classes. It is they who resist any change. It is they who have a vested interest in keeping their community poor, backward and hence ignorant.

Why do they stick to the moth-eaten tradition? Should only the upper classes among the Muslims dominate the majority of the poor? For how long the Muslim masses are to be kept in darkness by the Mullahs?

← Add here for Jinnah
from page 100 129

Jinnah dreamt, and perhaps rightly, that a separate homeland for the Muslims would satisfy the inner most cravings of his co-religionists. But the history has proved that his hopes were dashed to the ground. Punjabi-Muslims and Bengali Muslims have

plunged into the worst-ever carnage in the history of this sub-continent, finally resulting in the visisection of Pakistan and the creation of yet another Muslim nation in Bangla Desh.

The 4 million Ahmediya's a sect founded by Mirza Bashir Ahamed, has been declared as a non-Muslim minority by Pakistan. The widespread anti-Ahmediaya riot resulted in over 40 deaths. All these events prove that Muslims either in Pakistan or elsewhere will not be happy as long as they are plagued by petty, emotional and religious issues.

By making one

If the Indian Muslims think that their problems will be solved, ~~now that Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed has become the President of the Country,~~ they are living in a fool's paradise.

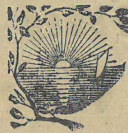
The progressive sections among the Muslims must immediately join hands with Leftist parties and take a revolutionary and radical departure from the past. The wealthy Muslims who indulge in squandermania must be made to invest in immediate literacy drive. The Muslims, particularly the women must be given Western education and secular ideas after pulling them out of the centuries of isolation. The youth must be told to take to western dress and women forced to get rid of the purdha. Those living in dingy muslim localities must made to get out and the population dispersed among the Hindus. The Muslim leadership must tell the masses to reject everything that is old, that is preached by the religious obscurantists. The hold of the Mullahs must be broken and a reform of the Muslim Personal law must be given top priority.

~~Red hue left hand part.~~

In this connection, I am reminded of the great lead given by Mustfa Kemal Pasha who converted Turkey, they called as the

"Solutian" chapter.

“sick man of Europe” into a modern, highly westernised country. The Left Parties in India too must concentrate their energy in lifting the Muslim masses from this mess. Islam being a religion closest to socialism the left parties will find a ready response from the Muslims who will be more receptive to Marxian thinking than any other religionists. If this warning is not heeded, India “would be reduced to a congeries of tribal collectivities in which not only man but God too would be degraded”. (A. B. Shah).



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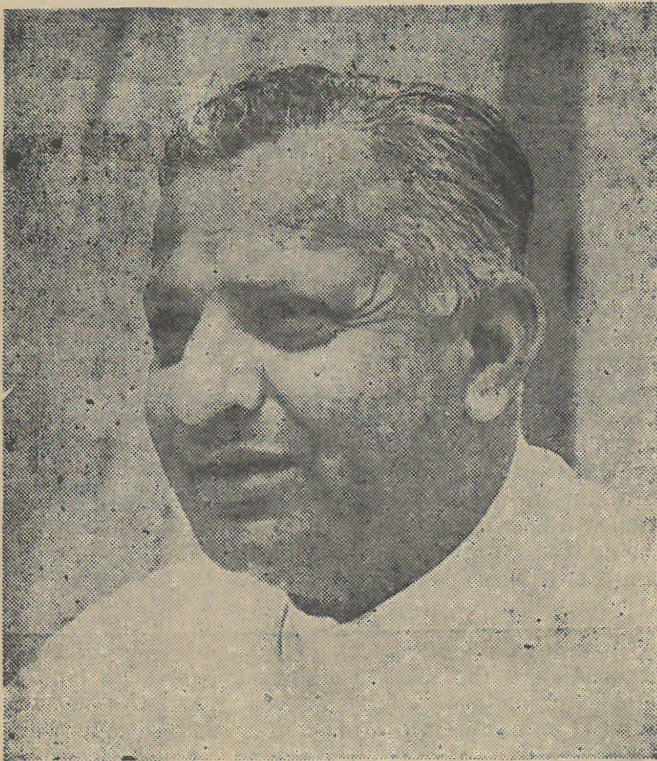
Chief Minister

Vidhana Soudha

Bangalore

5th January 1977

MESSAGE



I am extremely happy to know that a function has been arranged in connection with the release of a booklet dealing with the problems facing the Muslims minority community and that three of my good friends and colleagues,

Shri Mohammed Ali, Shri S. M. Yahya and Shri Azeez Sait, are taking an active part in the proceedings.

I have had the occasion to go through the booklet written by Shri V. T. Rajshekar Shetty, a senior correspondent of the "Indian Express", Bangalore. It is an analytical and thoughtful study of some of the specific problems confronting Muslims and is written in a spirit designed to promote national integration.

As you are aware, the Government of Karnataka has taken keen interest in fostering a spirit of oneness among all sections of the people and in ensuring their active participation in the mainstream of national development. We are doing everything in our power to encourage and strengthen ethos of secularism, to alleviate the hardships and redress the grievances experienced by the Muslims, and to provide without fear or favour, equal opportunities to all sections to make their fullest contribution to the progress and advancement of the State. Many specific administrative and political measures have been taken in this regard, the State Government being ever mindful of the imperative need to attend to all legitimate grievances and to rectify them as speedily as possible. There are some problems peculiar to Muslims, but I would like to emphasise here that the overriding problem is one shared by the broad masses of all communities irrespective of caste, creed or denominations—and that problem is poverty. The accent on growth and distributive justice is thus calculated to reduce disparities and to provide greater opportunities to weaker and neglected sections—a trend which by itself will help to buttress the forces of secularism. There can be no secularism without Socialism and no Socialism without secularism.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my greetings to the publishers of this booklet, the organisers of this function and all those attending it and conclude by expressing my firm faith and confidence that the Muslim community, in partnership with the rest of their compatriots, will march steadily ahead on the path of progress, prosperity and nationhood.

I wish the function all success.

—D. DEVARAJ URS

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THE AUTHOR

V. T. Rajshekar Shetty is a senior correspondent of the "Indian Express", Bangalore. A leftist, rationalist and a progressive writer, his articles have appeared in almost every Indian journal.

His first book, "Dalit movement in Karnataka" will be shortly published by an international publishing house. His other two books—"How Marx Failed in Hindu India", and "Conspiracy behind communal riots" (a study of India's Muslim problem)—are also under preparation.

Mr. Shetty has served a number of national English dailies in different parts of the country.

He is connected with a number of progressive social, cultural, literary and trade union organisations. He is also the General Secretary of the Karnataka Rationalists Association.