COMMUNAL RIOTS IN HYDERABAD
— WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

Report of a
participatory action-research
by Andhra Pradesh LOKAYAN

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Compiled by
GORREPATI NARENDRANATH

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PREFACE

This report is being published with the hope that it would add to our understanding and awareness of the communal situation in the country as it obtains after thirty-seven years of partition and independence. We are grateful to Harshad Desai for editing the report.

<div align="right">PUBLISHER</div>

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INTRODUCTION:
OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The frequency of communal incidents, often exploding into riots in Hyderabad, especially during the past five years, is really alarming. More frightening is the meteoric rise in communal tension and frenzy between Hindus and Muslims, not just in the old city area of Hyderabad but in most parts of the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad as well as the surrounding industrial belt.

All those who dislike the ugly situation which has developed, while feeling very much perturbed, are also experiencing a kind of helplessness, if not impotence.

A group of concerned people, mostly from the old city area, have been attempting to combat the rising trend of communalism for the past two decades, with little success. It is against this backdrop and with the encouraging initiative of some of these activists, that Lokayan in Hyderabad decided to supplement their efforts through this study.

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Objectives: The purpose of the present exercise is to help the activists* as well as the people at large, by trying to analyse and understand the following:

1. (a) The attitudes of Hindus and Muslims towards each other, and

    (b) their perception of the reasons for the rising communal tensions and riots.

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* By 'activists' we mean those who wish to do something to fight the communal problem.

2. To throw up issues and demarcate problem-areas, like lack of information and understanding, which need further investigation.

3. To suggest solutions to the communal problem and thereby help chalk out programmes of action to combat it.

We have attempted to construct a series of typical images of the Hindu and Muslim respondents through their perceptions of the behaviour, practices and attitudes of the members of the other community, their ideas of the reasons for the riots, and solutions to the communal problem. These 'images' may be treated as a pair of binoculars — to view the ever dynamic process of reality — of people not always static in their views and behaviour, but not necessarily always dynamic either.

Methodology: Given the limited resources of both manpower and time at our disposal we have been able to carry out only a small sample of 45 interviews. These 45 interviews included rioters, witnesses to riots, victims of riots, police personnel, political leaders and activists from varied social and economic backgrounds. The interviews were informal with the aid of the list of a fairly large number of questions.

The team that assembled to draw up the interview schedule was a group of academicians with an activist bent of mind consisting of both Hindus (7) and Muslims (3) and of males (7) and females (3).

But the team that conducted the survey was watered down to only Hindus and that too males, most of the time. This created problems in getting across to women and Muslim respondents. That is, we were, by and large, not successful in having the kind of free 'heart to heart' type of discussions we could manage to have with the male Hindu respondents.

In jotting down the responses after the interviews, we might have missed or misrepresented some of the responses but by and large it has been a true and fairly accurate recording.

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Apart from the 45 interviews, we also attended the election meetings of the rival political parties 'representing' the Hindus and the Muslims, the B.J.P. and the Majlis-e-Ittahad-Ul-Muslimeen (M.I.M.) respectively addressed by their leaders in the area, A. Narendra, the BJP M.L.A. and Salauddin Owaisi, the MIM M.L.A. We also witnessed the Moharrum and Ganesh processions of which the latter has acquired, especially in recent years, communal and political overtones.

The exercise was started in July, 1982 and the final report was completed in October, 1983.

A number of issues and gaps of information were thrown up during the course of our exercise exposing the extent of our ignorance and the complexity and enormity of the problem facing us. We have tried to enumerate some of these issues at the end of this study along with some of the other suggestions for actions.

As mentioned earlier, basically, this report is not addressed to the academic audience. It is addressed to the people concerned with the communal problem especially in Hyderabad. And it would have served its purpose to the extent that it helps them in combating this problem.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM IN HYDERABAD

The city of Hyderabad, located roughly about the position of the navel of India, is the capital of Andhra Pradesh State. The sixth largest city of India with a population of around 25.45 lakhs (1981). It was founded nearly four centuries ago by the Shia King of Golconda, Mohammed Quili Qutub Shah (in 1589) on the Southern bank of the river Musi to cope with overcrowding of the Golconda Fort township.

Today, it can be roughly divided into three parts. The part of the city on the Southern bank of the Musi, the original city, is known as the 'old city' or the 'walled city'. It is overcrowded and decaying but still carries with it the old flavour of Hyderabad. It has been the nerve centre of the Communal riots. The new city is the rest of the city of Hyderabad stretching on the northern bank of the Musi. The third part is the original cantonment area of the British, later developed into the present-day Secunderabad. Some add a fourth part, comprising the old Golconda area which is increasingly merging with the expanding Metropolis of Hyderabad.

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Demographic Composition in the Old City :

Thanks to the original Shia founders of the city there is a large Shia population concentrated in a few pockets in the old city. There are also Iranians who run their prosperous tea restaurants who also belong to this faith. A number of the Shias continued to occupy high positions under the Sunni Asaf Jahis as well. Their numbers are sufficient to bargain for an assembly seat within the Majlis-Ittehad-Ul-Muslimeen (MIM).

The Sunni Asaf Jahi did not trust the locals. Instead, it favoured the Kayastha Hindus and Sunni Muslims from U.P. to run the administration and the army. The Nizam of Hyderabad maintained a fairly large army well into the mid 19th century (53,504 men in 1851) consisting of Arabs (6,000), Africans, Marathas, Shikhs, Pathans, Lodhas (gun carriers), Moghuls, Turks, Abyssinians and Deccanis. All these communities settled in different parts of the old city except the Lodhas who were kept out probably for their indiscipline and they now dominate what is called Dhuplet, an area famous for its illicit liquor, knife-wielding dadas and lately Ganesh idols. These descendents of the gun carriers of Aurangzeb hail from U.P. and claim a Kshatriya status.

Right from the earlier days, Hyderabad developed as an important trade centre of, among other commodities, pearls and diamonds. These attracted many businessmen, Hindu and Muslim, especially from Western India. Thus Hyderabad has a sizable concentration of Marwaris in the old city (the wealthier among whom even used to lend money to the State) as also the Muslim merchant communities of Khojas, Bohras and the Memons. Apart from these there are Maharashtrians, Kannadigas and Telugus from the three linguistic provinces of the former Hyderabad State settled in various parts of the old city. Lately, a number of slums have come up, of mostly rural immigrants, mainly from the lower castes and classes. A number of Muslims have also drifted into the city from the erstwhile jagirdari estates and other occupations in the districts. Most of them occupy many , of the slum areas of the old city. Thus the old city presents a unique combination of people settled from different parts of the country as well as from West Asia and Africa.

While the importance of Muslims as a percentage of the entire state of A. P. is only about 8 per cent, in Hyderabad city it comes to 38 per cent and in the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad division (excluding Secunderabad and the suburbs) it is 43 percent, according to 1971 census. But much sharper is the picture presented

by Rashiduddin Khan citing some studies by the Osmania University. It says that in 18 out of the 50 municipal constituencies, the Muslim population was above 50 per cent. In 5 of them it is between 50-60 per cent, in 7 between 60-70, and in 6 above 70%. In other 20 constituencies the Muslim population is between 33-50%. Thus in 38 out of the 58 localities the Muslim population is between significant to decisive. In the 1983 Assembly elections it is this sizable numerical strength and electoral unity of the Muslims which gave the MIM five seats — the maximum it could have possibly achieved from the area.

In terms of its cosmopolitan character the old city presents its own peculiarities. Consider the Charminar constituency, the traditional locality from which Mr. Owaisi, the MIM leader has invariably won for the last 20 years. The break up of electorates here as discerned from the 1967 elections is as follows :

Muslims were 57.1% of the total electorates. The Muslims included a dense cluster of Shias in one ward. The Hindu included 5% Brahmins, 3% other higher castes, 6% Kayasthas, 17% Vaishyas (Marwaris, Baniyas, Komatis etc.), 6% Scheduled castes, 3% Hindu lower castes, and 2% Jains and Sikhs.

II

The Nizam Era

While the Nizam's army administration was predominantly run by Muslims, a few Kayasthas held key positions especially in the revenue administration. And the Kayasthas as a community prospered under the Nizam's rule till the mid-19th century. Starting with Salar Jung-I's modernization and westernization of the administration, most of the Kayasthas and local Muslims attached to the traditional administration suffered, while the new westernized elite, mostly immigrants from the North (Aligarh etc.), were prospering under the new policies. Like the new elite, the old elite also predominantly consisted of immigrant Muslims and few Hindus including some

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Kayasthas — the only difference being the fact that the older elite had migrated earlier, and so were described as local.

With the establishment of the Osmania University with its Urdu medium, the tension between the new westernized elite and the old guard took a sharp turn for the worse on the question of the kind of Urdu to be used, Lucknowi or Hyderabadi, and it snowballed into the Mulki agitation demanding greater representation and protection for the locals.

While the Hyderabad elites, the rising as well as the declining, Hindu as well as Muslim, irrespective of religion, were embroiled in the Mulki-non-Mulki tussle in the 1920s and 30s, there was a silent revolution gaining momentum in the districts. The western educated Hindus of the three regions of Telengana, Karnatak and Hyderabad were influenced by the ideas of freedom, democracy and nationalism, not to speak of their influence among the student community in the Osmania University, a sizable section of whom were from the districts. These ideas took various forms — initially cultural and religious in content against the suppression and neglect of the culture of the 85% Hindu population.

The ideas of freedom, liberation, dignity, etc. went with those who drifted to the capital city — the metropolis of Hyderabad—for white-collar jobs. Due to the peculiar concentration of various communities connected with the ruling elite and administration, Hyderabad assumed a character quite its own, and vastly different from the rest of the State which existed, if at all, only to maintain the opulent and unrealistic life-style of the metropolis presided over by the Nizam, whose vision of the state did not seem to extend beyond the suburbs of the capital.

The upper echelons of the Hindus, especially the North Indian Kayasthas, barring exceptions like the Kayastha Arya Samaj leader, Pundit Narendraji, were fairly well integrated with the Muslim elite and did not perceive any problem of cultural and political oppression as was being experienced by the lower and middle rung

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of the Hindu society. This dissatisfaction took the form of the Arya Samaj movement, comprising religious reform at first, and later opening vyayam-shalas (gymnasiums), schools, and taking out religious processions.

The Congress also tried to mobilise the people in the city but was a late entrant and does not seem to have had much success till the 40's, beginning with the Quit India movement.

The Communists were also gaining ground rapidly in the Telengana region, the Telugu speaking districts of the Hyderabad State, but made little impact on the city.

I

The first communal riots occurred in 1938 in Dhulpet, the Lodha residential area, after an emotional speech by an Arya Samaj leader, Sohan Lal. This was followed by the banning of 'Satyarth Prakash', the Arya Samaj Granth (holy book) written by Swami Dayanand and a massive satyagrah for religious freedom coinciding with the Congress Satyagrah for Liberties ensued. Thousands were arrested and heavy repression was let loose on Arya Samaj activists. The massive protest unnerved the Nizam's Government and drew it faster and more easily into the arms of the Majlis Ittehad-Ul-Muslimeen.

The Majlis, starting as a Muslim social service cum reform movement in 1927, under a noble Nawab, Bahadur Yar Jung, had within ten years become the vehicle for propagating a kind of Islamic democratisation of the polity — with the Nizam as the symbolic representative of the Muslim rule of Hyderabad State, and democracy confined mostly to the Muslims, whose sustenance seemed a dreamy possibility in the wake of the certainty of the British departure and the frightening prospect of a Hindu upheaval and majority rule. The Majlis drew their support from most of the Muslims of Hyderabad, although a miniscule but effective minority of Muslims were attracted to the CPI and the Congress.

The Nizam tried to paint a secular picture of his regime by promoting a few Kayasthas who as a commu-

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nity were neglected for over half a century due to Salar Jung's modernization policies. These Kayasthas swore by the secularism and tolerance of the Nizam and his regime. In the meantime (1946-48), the Majlis under their fanatical leader Kasim Razvi, became an aggressive voluntary militia, who went under the dreaded name of *Razakars* (volunteers), who committed arson, loot and rape of Hindus, especially in the rural areas, when the prospect of independence seemed imminent. Although these activities and the Razakars just evaporated with the 'Police Action' of the Government of India in 1948, they however vitiated the atmosphere and left behind the most bitter memories in the minds of the Hindus.

III

The Post 1948 Era

Kasim Razvi was released from Jail in 1957. Before his departure to Pakistan he was permitted a brief visit to Hyderabad during which he revived the Majlis under the reluctant leadership of a local Lawyer, Abdul Wahid Owaisi, with a somewhat modified constitution, but still an organisation of the Muslims and for the Muslims, working within the constitutional framework of India on lines similar to the Muslim League, for proportional representation, reservations, et cetera.

In the meantime, the Muslim masses were completely bewildered by the sudden turning of tables from the position as of "rulers" to that of the "defeated" and the "ruled". With the disbanding of the Nizam's army — the regulars and irregulars — and the abolition of the Jagirdari (which covered roughly one-third of the State in area as well as population) in 1949, many of the retinue of these lords were thrown out on the streets along with their masters, who were already in a process of decay and debt for over half a century, mostly to the money-lending Marwaris, Arabs and Pathans.

The fifties were a bad period for the Muslim masses and this found expression in large sections of them voting the communist sponsored People's Democratic Front

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which was the only anti-Government (anti-Congress) platform available to them, though a considerable number of middle and upper classes opted for the stability and security of the Congress. The Muslim masses and elite had suffered a steep decline after the police Action. 1948 was certainly no liberation or independence for them.

The moment the Majlis was revived — as a political party exclusively of and for the Muslims, though, technically one of its aims was to improve the lot of non-Muslims as well — painting a rosy picture of the past glory of Muslims, they swung to it in large numbers. Notwithstanding some squabbles over the property of the erstwhile Majlis, and the question of succession of the son Salauddin Owaisi to the position of the party president, the Majlis emerged as the most powerful representative of the Muslims. With the 1967 general elections the Majlis had more or less cornered the Muslim vote completely.

The Congress is suspected to have deliberately allowed the revival of the Majlis only to counter the growing Muslim support to the leftists. In the meantime the Congress fell a victim to its own factionalism, with one of the rival factions invariably supporting the Majlis clandestinely. The Majlis with its sizable following was thus a balancing factor. Its support could mean winning or losing an election. In this crucial role the Majlis extracted a number of concessions from the government, thus strengthening their image among their following and Muslims in general, while the influence of the more secular elements among the Muslims, especially those in the Congress, was increasingly undermined.

Meanwhile, the Hindu voters in the old city became increasingly disenchanted with the Congress politics of appeasing the communal forces, and gravitated towards the Jana Sangh, the new champion of the Hindu Dharma. The Arya Samaj, unable to define its role politically in a free India and plagued by internal squabbles over property soon declined into oblivion.

The Jana Sangh and the MIM, one championing the cause of the Hindus, defending their rights and

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honour of their women, and the other fighting the discrimination against and poverty of the Muslims, between them, succeeded in polarising the politics and general life of the people on communal lines in the old city area. If a Majlis candidate won the elections, no Hindu dared or was willing to go to him for help and vice versa. Even in the voting process, it is alleged that in Muslim dominant areas the Muslims do not allow the Hindus to cast their votes, and so do the Hindus in their turn.

In this charged atmosphere of relative deprivation, the need for security, justice and dignity being championed by the two parties solely for their respective communities against the 'opposite' community, communal consciousness had to be continuously sustained and whipped up, especially at the time of elections. This took the form of emotional and provocative speeches and actions which led to a situation in which the communal tensions were bound to explode.

Even in the sixties minor clashes did take place between the two communities. Two significant incidents of religious protest by the Muslims during this period, which tended to take a communal turn, were the disappearance of Hazarat Bal (the prophet's holy lock of hair) from a shrine in Shreenagar, Kashmir and the occupation of Jerusalem by Israel. A few years later, this was followed by the protest against the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque.

The protests over these incidents would typically take the form of symbolic closure of shops, an act which the Hindu shopkeepers would be most unwilling to do for such an (in their eyes) obscure reason. This would lead to skirmishes. The playing of music by religious or marriage processions in front of Mosques at prayer times, marriages across religious frontiers, claims to pieces of land on religious grounds — are some other typical issues erupting into riots. But by and large during the sixties, the communal atmosphere was still within manageable limits as far as the law and order machinery was concerned.

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IV
The Post Emergency Phase

The year 1977 is a watershed in many ways. By now many Muslims of Hyderabad had gone to the Gulf countries, employed mostly in low paid jobs, and quite a few poor Muslim girls were married off to Arabs. (Due to much abuse by the Arabs the practice has by and large dwindled to a trickle now.) A lot of money began to flow into the hands of these sections. The new found wealth along with the prosperity of the rest of the Islamic world (thanks to the oil prices) has meant a new self-confidence coinciding with the rise of fundamentalism in Islam the world over. With their new found wealth the Muslims wish to translate it into other spheres as well, such as status and reaffirmation of their religion. 1977 was also a turning point for the Jana Sanghis. As a constituent of the Janata Party which came to power they developed a new confidence and muscle, spurred on by the manifestations of the rising Muslims.

Ramiza Bee: The current series of communal clashes have their genesis in what came to be known as the 'Ramiza Bee Incident' of March, 1978. According to the Muktadar Commission appointed by the A.P. Government, Ramiza Bee, a poor Muslim lady from Kurnool district, was reportedly returning with her husband after a late night show. While her husband went to relieve himself, she was accosted by a policeman and on suspicion taken to the police station. At the police station, Ramiza Bee was raped by the Hindu Sub-Inspector and his two Muslim Constables. The next morning Ramiza Bee was taken to her place of residence and finding her husband there, both of them were brought back to the police station. Her husband was beaten up severely, and he succumbed to the injuries. These incidents occurred on the night of 29 and the morning of 30 March, 1978.

This led to the widespread protests against the police all over the city and a few other towns as well. The Majlis tried to give it a communal colour and trouble ensued when some Muslims attempted to get a Hindu

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shop forcibly closed in the old city area. The provocative speeches of Chief Minister Chenna Reddy, who was allegedly trying to pre-empt his contemplated ouster by the Congress (I) high command, also contributed to the worsening situation.

The Ramiza Bee incident was followed a few months later by a protest over the forcible occupation of the Holy Mosque in Saudi Arabia, by some suspected Khomeinists. When some Muslims went around demanding the closure of shops, some Hindu (Marwari?) shop-owners refused, resulting in a tussle followed by arson and rioting.

Mysamma : Then, in July 1979 followed the Mysamma incident at Charminar. A small corner stone at the famous Charminar is regarded as a local deity, Mysamma, by the Hindus, some of them tracing its history with the founding of Charminar. It was knocked down by a truck or a bus. An old lady used to collect money sitting next to it and applying kumkum over it.

The stone was replaced by an idol of Mahalaxmi by the Marwaris with an enclosure, railing, and a small structure, three feet in height, over it. During the last Friday prayers of Ramzan that year the Majlis leader Owaisi gave a very emotional speech. Almost immediately, the provocative 'temple' was desecrated. Riots followed with lightning speed, accompanied by stabbing of innocent people, especially in the by-lanes. The desecrated temple was resurrected, now attached Charminar, and more than twice its previous size. Now it was also provided with a Pujari, a water tap, a telephone and a bigger platform.

With the sudden precipitation of the parliamentary elections in 1980, and the rival parties — the Janata (its BJP constituent) and the MIM — competing, the rising tensions resulted in the stabbing of a lower middle class Marwari boy, who, it seems, had little to do with politics. His funeral procession, with his body draped in the Janata flag, turned into a rioting mob, burning and looting Muslim shops.

Then followed the announcement of the date (27-8-81) for the Municipal elections. The electioneering, once

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again, raised the emotions to battle pitch. A month before the elections were due, the playing of music by a marriage procession in front of a mosque led to a skirmish and clashes. A week later there was an attack on a Bonalu procession, a traditional religious procession of Hindu women. Perhaps in anticipation, it had a large number of men to protect it. (Bonalu is predominantly a women's festival, and peculiar to Telangana region.)

Consequently, the local elections were postponed. Some saw the jittery hand of Congress, unable to face up to the prospect of a 'humiliating defeat', behind the whole affair. Soon after, the temple was once again desecrated and rebuilt on a still larger scale. In fact most people have lost count of the number of times it was destroyed and rebuilt.

Ganesh Festival : Meanwhile, since 1980, some Hindu leaders have been organising massive Ganesh celebrations throughout the city and the suburbs, a-la-Tilak manner. But for the Dhulpet and Hussaini Alam area the tradition of taking out Ganesh processions is about 75 years old. It is interesting that, by and large, the Hindus of these localities have refused to join the new combined rally.

Ganesh Festival is a ten-day celebration followed by a massive single procession ending with the immersion (nimajjan) of the idols of various localities under the banner of the Ganesh Nimajjan Samiti whose active participants include the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, the Hindu Raksha Samiti, the Arya Samaj (which is against idol worship), the BJP and RSS activists, with a significant and active support of the Marwaris, large sections of the Telugu-speaking backward Hindu caste of Munur Kapus (formerly, peasants, now relatively prosperous through trade), Gollas (a Yadav community) and Harijans, who are also said to be playing an aggressive role in these festivals. Year by year the processions and celebrations have been growing increasingly bigger and are now said to have surpassed even the shows in Poona and Bombay. The organisers and the people, both Hindu and Muslim,

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are clear about the purpose of these processions — to exhibit and foster Hindu unity vis-a-vis the Muslims.

The latter were traditionally organising the Moharrum procession on a large scale in the old city (as part of the Shia tradition of the qutb Shahi Kings of the Deccan) in which all the communities — Hindu, Shikh, Shia, Sunni, participate. While there have been pressures to turn this into a competitive affair, fortunately it has not happened till date. But the Muslims also started other processions which were not known earlier, like the 'Pankha Julus' — no match to the Hindu processions in size and scale, but nevertheless with the same purpose.

All these processions are received and addressed by the State Chief Minister (the Congress CMs earlier and now the Telugu Desham's NTR) and other leaders of the political parties — BJP and MIM representing the two communities — at important junctions in the city.

Elections

After the 1981 riots, during the next twelve months or so, there were only minor skirmishes now and then, resulting mostly in stabbings. But with the sudden announcement of State Assembly elections, tensions mounted once again by the respective shows of strength by the two rival communities, as the election date (5-1-1983) drew near.

A neck to neck race was on between the MIM and the BJP represented by Amanullah Khan and Narendra (a Yadav by caste and a trade union leader as well) in the Chandrayan Gutta constituency. Both sides were prepared for rigging and attacks. On the polling day it appeared as if Narendra would win by a small margin of two to three thousand votes. Amanullah Khan's followers completed their (partly bogus) voting in their strongholds by around noon and followed it up with attempts to disrupt the voting by Hindu women at a couple of booths, leading to a chance duel between the rival candidates with stabbings and shootings.

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A series of stabbing incidents ensued in which the victims were in nearly all the cases innocent passers-by. While repolling was ordered in a few booths, by and large, the election was considered valid and Amanullah Khan was declared elected by a margin of 3581 votes. The MIM for the first time captured five seats in the assembly, all obviously from Muslim dominant areas. A break up of the voting pattern in these five constituencies is as follows:

Constituency	MIM	BJP		Others	Total Polled
Chandrayan-gutta	43822	40241		6875	90938
Charminar	50724	18218		10249	79191
Yakutpura	46127	3161	(4th)	12847	62135
Karavan	32380	22767		17955	73102
Asifnagar	28948	5761	(4th)	28229	62938

The break up shows that it has been a cake walk for the Muslim candidates in the Muslim-dominant areas of Charminar and Yakutpura. But in Chandrayangutta it was a fierce fight between the BJP and Majlis. In Asifnagar and Karavan the MIM won by the split in the opposition votes between Congress, Telugu Desam and BJP. In Yakutpura all the defeated candidates of the major contending parties including BJP, were Muslims. The results show that while the Muslim vote had been more or less consolidated, the Hindu vote had not been yet so clearly, except in Chandrayangutta constituency, where there was a fierce tussle between the BJP and the MIM. It is also significant that the BJP turned up a poor fourth in two of the five constituencies.

Later, in the by-election in a new city constituency, Narendra contested against the Telugu Desam, which was unilaterally supported by the Majlis. The fight was keen with strong emotional and communal appeals by the BJP leaders. This time they made doubly sure that

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the Chandrayangutta story was not repeated, by ensuring that all the voting was over by 10-30 a.m. itself, and Narendra won with a thumping majority. A large number was allegedly bogus voting by BJP supporter from other areas. The result was later challenged by the Telugu Desam in the Court.

In the wake of the massive victory for the new regional party, Telugu Desam, the riots died down very quickly. The Majlis and the BJP had yet to make their equations with the new party in power. The winning of a new city seat by the BJP marks a turning point in communal politics, viz., the spread of the communal virus to the new city as well.

These dangers were already inherent in the fact that due to the policies and practices of the leftist trade unions, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, the labour wing of the BJP under the leadership of Narendra, had captured many of the major trade unions in the industrial belt in and around Hyderabad. The stage is now all set for the engulfing of the entire city and its suburbs by the communal virus thanks to the Majlis — BJP dialectic of Hindus versus Muslims.

Towards the end of May, 1983, clashes once again occurred over the issue of band music by a marriage procession in front of a mosque in the old city (deliberately for about half an hour, it is alleged). In the ensuing fracas the mosque was burnt down and indiscriminate stabbings of passers-by followed immediately. The new government offered to pay compensation to the victims and to bear the cost of rebuilding the mosque. But the violence—mostly stabbings—died down rather quickly this time, mainly because though the Muslims suffered, the MIM was not very active in these riots as it was expecting some concessions from the new government.

Come September and the now dreaded (by the police) festival season starts. With the Ganesh Utsav, Dussera and Deepavali interspersed with, and some times coinciding with, Bakri Id and Moharrum. The 'religious' emotions of the people were running high in terms of Hindu Unity

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and strength etc. with the biggest Ganesh procession in the last four years.

There were some minor incidents, e. g. the desecration of the temple attached to Charminar by a muslim (described as mad ?by the police) and the consequent refusal of the sate government to allow the BJP to organise a protest bundh.

With a few such incidents the tempo had been building up, until a Muslim dargah located within the Allwyn factory compound became the bone of contention between the Allwyn management and the Waqf board. The courts decided in favour of the board and Muslims from outside the factory tried to offer prayers there. With the BJP dominated union at hand, a scuffle ensued and the dargah was damaged. Despite a settlement reached between the two parties with the help of the BMS leader, the MIM called for a bundh in the city the next day, a Friday, when Muslims gather in large numbers for prayers.

During the exercise of forcing some shops to close down, violence erupted and continued throughout the month by way of stabbing innocent pedestrians and others. These latest incidents confirmed a growing trend :

(1) Mob violence, i.e. arson and looting was to a minimum, while street corner stabbing of innocent passersby, allegedly organised, were more common. Official statistics put the death to around 54. But the actual number may be more than double.

(2) For the first time such stabbings occurred in many areas of the new city, even in those coming under the former British-ruled Secunderabad and the industrial suburbs, paving the way for an electoral tussle between the BJP and the MIM in the ensuing Lok Sabha elections in 1984-85.

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This, in brief, is the study of the rising tempo of communalism in Hyderabad — a mix of a certain kind of politics with a certain kind of religion. One cannot help

agreeing with Prabha Dixit's understanding of communalism as "a political doctrine which makes use of religious-cultural differences to achieve political ends". It is definitely a game of power politics — the base being religious passions, and each leader fashioning himself as the defender of the faith of his followers.

The passions have to continue if the leaders have to survive, and passions erupt into violent clashes or as, it has become more common, into stabbing innocent and/or unknown people of the opposite community, thus requiring the leaders and their organisations to 'defend' the property and lives of the members of their community and honour of their women. And so the drama continues, ever rising to a new crescendo after each riot. It does not take much perception to say that much bloodier days are ahead.

But the pertinent question is : How are the leaders of these community-based parties able to rouse the people's passions so easily on communal lines? Why not some other basis?

The history of Hyderabad has shown why it has been much easier to revive the memories of the past — for both Hindus and Muslims. One can of course add the impact of Gulf money, the coming to power of the Janata, the Congress Machinations, the non-utilisation of the golden opportunity by the leftists during the 50s, when the Muslim voted for them in large numbers, and their losing ground to the BJP on the trade union front. But the fact remains that today a vicious circle has been created in most parts of the old city of Hyderabad and fast spreading to the new city — the circle of people looking at each other as Hindus and Muslims, with distrust and insecurity, reinforcing the communal parties which taught them to feel that way. In the absence of any other organisation which can offer them the semblance of protection against the 'enemy', they turn to the arms of these 'defenders of the faith'. What kind of secular alternative(s) can be posed to this communal domination of the polity in Hyderabad to day?

It is as a part of our modest attempt to answer, atleast partially, these questions that the present exercise has been undertaken.

CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS

Out of the 50 odd people we interviewed, we are considering only 45 as being substantive for the present analysis. Of these only 15 are Muslims and the other 30 are Hindus. 26 of the respondents (6 Muslims and 20 Hindus) are from the Charminar constituency of Salauddin Owaisi — the undisputed leader of the MIM. 35 of the respondents are from the old city (12 Muslims and 23 Hindus). If we add the three respondents from Dhulpet which is on the other bank of the Musi river and not very different from the old city, the figure for the old city residents would be 38 out of 45 respondents.

It would be meaningless to calculate percentages in such a small sample. We are therefore avoiding this exercise. A complete break up of the social background of each individual respondent is provided in the chart (on the last three pages) alongwith the code-name which refers to the respondent's occupation, caste and some other quality that may help appreciate the responses better, as for example in the code-name 'harijan-bandmaster-rioter'. In the footnotes of Chapter 5 the respondent is referred to only by his or her serial number in the chart — so as not to clutter up the text with lengthy names full of hyphens and capital letters.

After devising these code-names, it should be pointed out that the responses show that, often, they have very little to do with the respondent's occupation (class background), caste or education in the context of the dominant Hindu-Muslim paradigm (of stereotypes) in which the whole dialogue is taking place.

Categories of Respondents

The sample consisted of the following categories, apart from the category of religion.

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(1) Involvement in the riots :

No.	Category	Hindus	Muslims
1.	Rioters	3	1
2.	Witnesses to riots	8	2
3.	Victims of riots	2	1
4.	Others	17	11
		30	15

(2) Occupation :

Occupationwise, the respondents belong to a rich variety. We give below, separately for Hindus and Muslims, (a) the number of respondents belonging to an occupation and (b) their relation to the riots.

Hindus

Sr. No.	Occupation	No. of respondents	Relationship to riots
1.	Housewife	1	Witness
2.	Housewife-cum-Teacher	1	,,
3.	Teacher	2	,,
4.	Shopkeepers	3	,,
5.	Cycle Repairer	1	,,
6.	Cobbler	1	,,
7.	Rickshaw-Puller	2	,,
8.	Telephone Linesman	1	Victim
9.	Watchman	1	rioter
10.	Barber	1.	,,
11.	Factory Supervisor	1	Witness
12.	(Petty) Contractor	1	,,
13.	Student	1	,,
14.	Unemployed youths	2	rioter } 1 witness } 1
15.	Band Master	1	rioter
16.	Police Officials	4	3 witnesses
17.	Religious Activist	1	Organiser of Ganesh Utsav

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18.	Pensioners	2	1 victim of riots
19.	(Petty) Landlord	1	
20.	Govt. Auditor	1	
21.	Whitewasher	1	
		—	
		30	

Muslims

Sr. No.	Occupation	No. of respon- dents	Relationship to riots
1.	Clerks	2	
2.	Driver	3	
3.	Compounder	1	
4.	Editor	1	
5.	Cloth-vendor	1	(in police record for rowdism)
6.	Housewife	1	witness
7.	Rickshaw-puller	2	
8.	Businessman	1	
9.	Political leader	1	
10.	Shopkeeper	1	Victim
11.	Policeman	1	witness
		—	
		15	

(3) Education :

8 of the respondents were illiterates (4 Muslims and 4 Hindus). 13 had completed their intermediate/school final (3 Muslims and 10 Hindus). There were 10 graduates among the Hindus and 3 among the Muslims. The rest, 9 Hindus and 5 Muslims dropped out of school at various stages.

(4) Castes (Social groupings among Muslims not inquired)

Harijans	11	Khatri	4
Lodha	2	Kshatriya	2
Marathi	1	Maratha	1

Kayastha		Telugu	
Brahmin	2	Brahmin	1
Barber	1	Reddy	3
Other upper castes	3		
	—		—
	20		11
	—		—

(5) **Mother Tongue:**

Urdu	16	(15 Muslims and 1 Kayastha)
Telugu	16	(11 Harijans and
		4 police personnel)
Hindi	8	
Marathi	4	
Kannada	1	
	—	
	45	
	—	

(6) **Sex:**

41 of those interviewed were males (28 Hindus and 13 Muslims) and only 4 females (2 Hindus and 2 Muslims).

(7) **Age:**

Age	Hindus	Muslims
18-35	9	4
36-55	19	11
56-	2	—
	—	—
	30	15
	—	—

(8) **Ownership of Residence:**

7 out of 15 Muslims and 18 out of 30 Hindus were staying in their own houses. Information regarding 11 Hindus and 2 Muslims was not available.

(9) **Marital Status:**

Among the Hindus 19 were married, 4 unmarried, 1 was a widow, 3 were widowers and the status of 4 was not

known. Among the Muslims all except 2 were married. And contrary to the popular belief, each one of them had been married only once.

(10) Clusters:

We could not interview all the members of households as planned, but we do have in our sample of respondents clusters of relatives: (1) All the four Khatri respondents are relatives to each other. The Khatri School teacher and the Khatri Student are mother and son. The Khatri factory supervisor is her brother-in-law and the Khatri shop-keeper, the latter's son. (2) The Harijan landlord who owns a few old houses in the old city area is the brother of the Harijan housewife and they stay together. (3) The Harijan (petty) contractor is the father of the educated unemployed youth who is a CPI activist. The father is married to the Muslim lady whom we have categorised as a housewife among Muslims.

The predominance of Harijans here is due to several factors: Although, their percentage in the Charminar constituency as a whole is only 6 per cent, in the particular riot-affected locality, i.e. the street, their percentage may be more than 6 per cent. Riots are made to happen mostly in poor and mixed population localities. Being handy in such sensitive areas, the poor are more likely to be used as riot-fodder by the ·Hindu and ·Muslim leadership. Here only those who have either witnessed or participated in the riots have been interviewed.

WITNESSES, PARTICIPANTS AND VICTIMS

I. What We Saw

Statements of

1. The lady school teacher
2. The Khatri student
3. The Harijan contractor
4. The contractor's Muslim wife
5. The educated unemployed youth

II. What We Did

Statements of

6. The unemployed youth
7. The band-master

III. Why Me?

8. The shopkeeper-victim's statement

IV. Some Observations

This chapter has three sections:

The first section, **What We Saw,** deals with the statement of five witnesses of two incidents of rioting, two of the first and three of the second.

The second section, **What We Did,** contains statements by two participants in the second riot described in section one.

The third section, **Why Me?** has a statement by a victim of riots. But the incident described is a different one, and the victim is from an adjacent locality.

All the three incidents could be part of the same series of riots occurring near about the same time towards the end of 1979. The statements were recorded in November, 1982.

*

The First Incident

The statements reproduced here are those of the Khatri lady school teacher and her student son, who could see from the window of their house what was going on below. The incident being described has occurred towards the end of 1979 on the eve of the Lok Sabha Elections. The keen contest in the locality was between the MIM candidate and A. Narendra, the local leader of the BJP (then still a part of the Janata Party).

(1) Statement of the lady school teacher:

"People like us and our neighbours have been living together peacefully. We have no problems. It is only outsiders, these unemployed fellows — students, rickshaw-wallas et cetera, who do this kind of thing. Politics is mainly behind this. But still, among the Hindus, there is no close, intimate feeling with Muslims. It was all started by Muslims — Muslim League and Majlis — all politics, for elections.

Three years ago, our area was affected. At election time Janata Party people went round shouting slogans, 'Vote for Narendra! Janata Party ki Jai! etc.' The local Muslims discovered a local Hindu youth in this group. He was later stabbed in a lane. This infuriated all the Hindus. Thousands of people came for the funeral procession.

The procession passed through the main road on which our house stands. One can see through our window. They raised slogans like: 'Khoon ka badla khoon mein lenge!'. There was a small police force. They did not intervene so long as slogans were being shouted. All the Muslims went hiding in their houses. No one dared to stir out. But towards the end of the road where it ends in a cross-road, it turned a little violent. They wanted to burn some shops of Muslims. Police fired tear gas shells, made lathi charge and beat up people mercilessly. Those who ran into the *gnllies* were caught and beaten up by the Muslims.

The rioters (processionists) had no arms. Just bare hands. With whatever they could lay their hands on, they tried to burn some shops. Since they were from different localities, not from our locality, can't say who was behind it — probably Narendra's hand.

When rioting was going on, some people saved Muslim shops. My husband saved one Muslim shop by risking his life standing in front of it and spreading his arms wide across, saying: "This is our people's (Hindus') shop". They believed him and left it. In this manner two-three shops were saved.

There was some tension during the riots between Hindus and Muslims, but now it is O.K. There were times when we ladies were afraid to go out alone. We always had to be accompanied. Now not that bad. I heard that many people have left the locality, but none that I know of."

(2) Statement of the Khatri student:

"It is all political. Some fellows are trying to gain through this. During the last riots, I saw the procession. Narendra of the Janata Party stood for elections. One autorickshaw was canvassing for him. A local boy was inside. Later he was standing at a street corner. Six or seven Muslim youths, in the 20-25 age group, approached him. One of them whipped out a knife and stabbed him. All of them ran away. The victim's friend lifted him in his arms and took him to his (victim's) house.

The next day there was a procession with the dead body. Some earlier feud was there between the victim and the attackers. Slogans of "Ramesh Pershad amar hai", were shouted in the procession. Pahelwans and goondas from other parts of the city participated. But while nearing the end of the road, they passed a mosque. Prayers were going on. So the processionists were asked by the Muslims not to shout. They refused. Stones were pelted on the processionists. They retaliated. They destroyed or damaged all the Muslim shops in the street. No arms were used. There were no deaths. Police fired

tear-gas shells. Some were injured. Among those in the procession only 150-200 were locals. Most of the processionists belonged to the 20-25 group.

Before the riots there was no tension between Hindus and Muslims. No, we don't feel insecure. But poor people, who survive on daily wages have left, especially during troubled times. Now they have settled in the new city areas."

<div align="center">*</div>

These two narrations bring out a few points:

1. The sinister role of politicians and elections in rousing communal passions;

2. the conversion of past feuds into a communal one through a clash during such tense periods;

3. the deliberate transformation of the incident into a riot by goondas, Pahelwans and youth of other areas; (but this emphasis on outsiders is somewhat doubtful if one goes by the story in which a local youth allegedly stabbed a neighbour whom they recognised);

4. the ineffectiveness of the police force;

5. the existence of a few people, contrary to the majority, willing to risk their lives to save the property of their fellowmen belonging to other faiths.

The Second Incident

All the three witnesses, whose statements are reproduced here are members of the same family, father, mother and son. The father is the Harijan contractor once active in the CPI, his wife, an illiterate Muslim of Javanese (Indonesian) origin and the son, an educated-unemployed youth (school final discontinued), somewhat active in the youth wing of the CPI.

They live in a Harijan slum colony in the old city area of Hyderabad, adjacent to a lower-middle class neighbourhood. Riots described here occurred in the area in 1979.

<div align="center">33</div>

C.R.H.-3

Some of the Harijans belonging to this slum and members of a tribal community living in an adjacent slum attacked their Muslim neighbours.

(3) Statement of the Harijan Contractor:

"There are some 'ladaku' (bellicose) elements in both the communities. It is such people who do all these things. Ordinary people, Hindus and Muslims, will never do these things. There are two big criminal gangs in the city: one of Kotha Das (close to a Congress-I Minister, as revealed later in the press) and the other of another fellow. Apart from these, Narendra of BJP has his own gang and Owaisi (leader of the Majlis party), has a very big gang. At the slightest opportunity, these gangs indulge in looting etc. They are very good at wielding a knife. They can mobilise their numbers in hundreds. The police knows all these gangs and their activities but can't do a thing because of political patronage.

During Chenna Reddy's time riots broke out somewhere near Charminar. Around 10-30 or 11-00 in the night, I got out to get myself a pan. On the streets, I found around 200 people from our locality all armed with sticks, under the leadership of Ramesh (pseudonym), a Congress (I) leader of the locality. I was approaching them, both to talk to them to find out what was the matter, and if possible convince them, and also to buy the pan.

In the meantime, I found them all staring at me. I wondered why. Looking back, I found our neighbour Janmia following me. I asked him, why he was coming. He said that since I was there he does not have to fear. I immediately advised him that it is not safe, and that he should go back immediately. So, I accompanied him back.

By the time I returned, these fellows had pounced on the few Muslim houses — fifty or so, compared to a-round three thousand Hindu houses. These Muslims were by and large tailors, drivers, kirana shop-owners etc. The crowd broke open the doors, went in, beat up every one

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and looted the houses. No, they did not rape any women. No slogans were shouted.

There were 200 youths even on a rough estimate. From each (or at least every other) house of the slum there was at least one person. Soon after the first attacks, the Muslims (presumably from nearby localities) decided to retaliate and came in numbers. But before they could do anything the Hindus already got wind of it and again attacked. After this, all the culprits disappeared.

Looking at the looting I did the next best thing. I went to the police outpost at the corner. They said they have no jurisdiction. I should therefore inform the right police station (name withheld). I said 'How can I? Could have done that in normal times. Not now.' They were still unwilling to move, scared for their own lives. There was a Muslim also among them. Then, after the looting was over, some of the victims seemed to have gone and reported to the police.

And the police came. They enquired. The commissioner also came. I told him everything. I gave the name of Ramesh also. The police had earlier arrested 50 or so people. All innocent — both the times. Those who had property or zamanat (some one to stand security) were let off. Others had to spend two-three months in jail. I too was arrested but was let off after 15-20 minutes. They got a call to let me off.

Muslims were just going in and coming out of the police station. They had people ready to give zamanat etc. All arrangements were made. To some extent Muslim police supported Muslims and Hindu police Hindus. Some of the Muslims complained to Pavithran (the city police commissioner) that I was watching the rioting but did nothing to stop it. I could have talked them out of it but I had accompanied Janmia back. In any case, I told them in the presence of the commissioner; Pavithran and Owaisi were there when Muslims poured petrol and set fire to the temple at Charminar. They could not do anything to stop it.

Ramesh was hiding in Chenna Reddy's (Chief Minis-ter's) house for three days. When I asked the C.I. (Circle Inspector) Reddy (name withheld) why he wasn't arrest-ing Ramesh, he said that they were getting phone calls from the top not to catch him. What to do? Chenna Reddy also came. Pavithran (commissioner) introduced me to him. I told him the same thing. But nothing hap-pened. The commissioner said, 'If the government it-self does not want to act, what can we do? Only a Communist government can solve this problem'. He did not know that I was a communist.

For these goonda gangs, this is a regular feature. Upon the slightest excuse of a riot, they go on a looting spree. Police knows these fellows but they won't catch them be-cause of corruption and links with higher-up politicians.

The Kotha Das gang is known to have links with Prabhakar Reddy, the then Congress Home Minister, said a public statement made by the then City Police Commissioner.

Generally, when there is a Muslim or a Hindu ma-jority area, no riots occur. This incident is, therefore, an exception. Also, people go outside their localities and do the killing etc., so that they can't be identified. Un-like what happened here. They (Hindus) used to study with them, play with them, eat dinners with them. But on the riot-day, they committed all these things. Some of these fellows have grown beards so that they can't be identified as Hindus and loot Hindus and Muslims, take revenge on old grudges etc. There are three-four fellows, who take a scooter or motorcycle, go to other parts of the city (old or new) and stab anyone who looks like a Muslim and speed away.

I have spoken to many people, fifty or so. Nobody knows who has stabbed them. All are innocent passers-by. Gangs of these lumpens go to Congress-I election campaigns. They go to Chikmagalur, Medak and even West Bengal. Thirty-five people went from our locality under Hanumanth Rao (Minister for Youth Services under

Congress Ministry). But they were warned by the communists in West Bengal that outsiders who have come to canvass should go back. So they did not stir out of their hotel and returned. All together some 700 had gone from the State.

I overheard at a friend's house the other day, (he is in Majlis) that Siddiqui (of Congress-I) has given five lakhs to Owaisi to speak out against Telugu Desam. This Siddiqui used to print counterfeit notes. Now he is considered close to Mrs. Gandhi. I know most of these fellows. How they became rich, buying up land very cheaply all round the city (often by force) and reselling it in the form of small plots to co-operative societies. Almost all those involved in this racket are Muslims. The goondas who worked for Congress-I at election time were the same fellows who committed the rioting here. At other places, BJP or Majlis goondas might have done.

Most of the Muslim families have left. Only about five-six are still left. The Government did not give any compensation to the victims. Only the Majlis gave 2 to 3 thousand to each of the 3-4 pan shops which were burnt and about a thousand each to the houses looted. One house about to have a marriage was looted. So they gave them two thousand rupees.

(4) Statement of Muslim-Housewife of the Harijan Contractor:

"It is the work of some leaders. They just rouse people's emotions — that's all, for elections and votes. They brainwash people on communal lines. And poor people, those unemployed or doing some small daily jobs, get easily influenced. They have no education. Especially youths. And just before elections all these start. They (the political leaders) come visiting houses and asking people to vote, getting taps fitted, improving roads and drains, electricity etc.

Yes, riots took place here. Somewhere in the city something happened. So here, around two in the night, they attacked the Muslim houses. Everyone all the youths

went from here under the leadership of Ramesh, the local (Congress) leader. They pulled people out of their houses. Even dragged them till here and beat them up. No rapes. Looted their houses. Even women participated. Both the Harijans and Tribals. I was watching.

After the initial raid by the youth who took away the costlier items, these women followed and took away smaller things like vessels etc. They did not shout any slogans. Simply went and looted. People who participated were not well employed. Mostly unemployed youth or those in poor jobs. Muslim houses attacked were those of drivers, clerks etc.

My husband reported the matter to the Police. They came within half an hour. When they came people accused my husband of instigating and watching the riots. Pavithran (Commissioner) could make out who is good and who is bad. Police arrested many people. They were kept for two weeks and then were left off on bail. My husband was also arrested for eight to ten days and released later. The police searched all our houses including our own. Did not find anything. Some people out of fear returned what they had looted. Some property had been dumped in the well nearby. The police retrieved that, but did not return it to the Muslims. Most of the Muslims have left the area. Police was quite effective. It was not biased.

These are not Hindu-Muslim rivalries. If it was so then the entire communities should have got involved. But it did not happen that way. Only some people have got involved. It is all these leaders' work. They have some goondas and pay them money. They will do all these things. So, even if unemployment is removed, these fellows will continue these activities.

No one helped the victims. Not the Government. Don't know if Owaisi came here. Local leaders were responsible for the riots here in our area."

(5) Statement of the Educated-unemployed Harijan Youth :

"I visited the Osmania General Hospital. I found at least a hundred Hindus. All poor people — rickshaw-

pullers, fruit-sellers, farmers, who sell their wares in the city. One person had received a lathi blow. He screamed 'amma' indicating he was a Hindu. Another fellow was let off the first time he received a blow when he shouted 'amma'. But when he proceeded a little ahead he got another blow. He shouted 'amma' again. But this time, they beat him up because it was a Muslim mob. They were going on the road when somebody gave them a blow. They cried out: 'Allah' and so were beaten. Press reports said only 15 people were wounded.

Some youths from our basti (locality), both employed and unemployed, took part in the rioting. They entered a Muslim's house. He was a Municipal Corporation driver. He had three daughters — one of whom was of marriageable age. He had saved Rs. 15th ousand plus things (saman) for her wedding to take place in a month or two. They entered the house beat up the inmates. They stole all the jewellery and other quite expensive things. They were followed by neighbours who looted the utensils and other portable saman. After the riots were over, the driver sold his big house worth around Rs. 80 thousand to a Reddy for Rs. 25 thousand and went away to another area — of Muslim concentration, may be. When I asked him why he was shifting, he told me in a curt manner! 'Tum sub Hindu log ek hain bhai' (All you Hindu people are one, brother!).

The rioters had their eyes on the house of a goodlooking girl who lives down the lane. On hearing them discussing it, I asked some friends to accompany me and we went to that house quickly. I spoke to the mother. I knew the family well and we used to even eat in their house. (When asked to eat we would not hesitate because we were afraid they may misunderstand that I am not eating because they eat beef.) So, I informed her and told her that I will take them to my house and keep them safely there. But she did not trust me and said: 'If we have to die, we will die here only.' I begged them two-three times. But she refused.

Meanwhile the gang turned up and started banging on the door. I was also outside. So I told them that these

were good people and that I knew them very well. They said 'May be, they must be your relatives. That's why you are saying like that, (my mother being Muslim) but they are Muslims. They have killed our Hindus.' I tried to argue : 'All are human beings. When you were born did you have ... our caste or religion?' and so on.

Meanwhile, two fellows managed to enter. I entered and dragged them out saying: 'If anyone enters I will not keep quiet!' I had two of my friends with me who were beginning to get scared. However, crowd withdrew at that time. But attacked later beating them up and looting their house. The lady later came and wept in our place saying she should have listened to my advice.

All the local culprits ran away. The police came and arrested all innocent people from our locality, detained them for a week and let off including my father. Now the police know that communists are their friends in this issue, so they don't do anything to us.

I asked the mother of a Muslim Pahelwan who was beaten severely. 'Isn't it true that he beat up some Hindus and they beat him up in turn?' His mother replied: 'This fellow is as bad. He is not any innocent. He too indulges in all such things.'

Riots are very profitable for businessmen. During curfew relaxation time they will hike up the prices of all goods three to four times. And even during .curfew they will keep a small door open and will be selling at high prices. They (businessmen) also encourage these goondas. They feed them and pay them. I have followed them and seen where they go. All the Seths are behind it.

My question is why only the poor die? Why not even one rich fellow, or this Narendra or Owaisi or their relatives? I don't know why people behave the way they do during riots. I have not been able to follow that. And there is a clear link between these Seths and Pahelwans. Seths encourage Pahelwans. Feed them. During curfew, people need food, so they pawn their watches etc. and take money at 25 per cent interest. What to do? Good business for Seths.

When a Muslim dies, Owaisi visits his house. Narendra does not. Only when some Seth's son dies he is at the head of the procession. So many poor people died. No one to even bury the dead bodies."

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While rich information is provided in these statements what is important to remember, as the contractor pointed out, is that this particular riot was somewhat unusual, in the sense that people attacked their own neighbours whom they knew for so long. Something akin to the partition riots.

The present trend, as pointed out by the contractor and confirmed by the subsequent communal incidents is attacks by unknown people or goonda gangs on strangers in lonely places.

II

What We Did

We are presenting here the statements of two men who participated in the arson and looting described by the three witnesses earlier.

One of them is an unemployed youth of twenty. He is illiterate. He does odd jobs for the municipality, like being employed in road-laying work, off and on.

The other is a local muscleman used to the underworld ways. After the experience of these riots he decided to make a clean break with his past and became a band-master of a brassband. After the recent riots the government banned the playing of music for marriage processions. It is very doubtful that he is still in business. Castewise, they are both Harijans.

(1) Statement of the Unemployed Youth :

"Mainly leaders, Narendra and Salauddin Owaisi instigate people: 'Don't hesitate. Maarte jao! They are raping your sisters and mothers and you are keeping quiet.' says Narendra. When people are incited like this they will do something in their emotions.

It all started with our Bonalu (festival) procession. When we started the procession, they threw stones. Vic-

tims were Sadar Bazaar Hindus. Then they came running. Ours was next. They told us.

Actually, raping of Hindu women has been going on for quite a few days. We have been tolerating it. We came to know of it. It does not come in papers.

The pujari of our temple said that he will play the radio (records) aloud when we have to be alert. Just as in the mosques they give a call in the middle of the night. He used to give these calls and we all used to go to the temple and take shelter there when the police used to raid our houses.

When the first news of the riots came, about a hundred of us assembled—all youths of the locality, both employed and unemployed. And the leaders of the basti spoke, and around midnight, attacked the Muslims on the opposite side of the road living in all those lanes.

We went on a rampage. We wanted to take revenge against their molesting Hindu women, shouting 'Bajrang Bali Ki Jai.' We smashed their houses, beat up whoever was inside and shoved them into the bathrooms. This continued till early morning. 95 per cent of the looting was done by the tribals. We did not loot.

After the event, I ran away to my sister-in-law's place near Guntur and returned only after 15 days. Police used to raid the houses here and take away all the young men for about a week. All the junior policemen are Muslims and they favour Muslims, though the officials are Hindus. The police are scared for their lives. They come after the event. They are themselves looters.

Most of them (Muslims) went away from the areas. Some compensation was paid by the government—50 per cent to those who suffered in the riots.

I do not think any political leaders came. Mainly these two fellows, Narendra and Owaisi, are responsible for the riots. The announcement of elections had a lot to do with the riots. I am expecting the riots to take place once again. Can't say (why). I feel so. If the situation is allowed to go on like this more riots will occur."

"There is no one reason for riots. Somewhere a small fight takes place and they turn it into a riot. Political leaders stand to benefit. By this they can show their weight and influence in an area. Election or no election. Only thing is that during election time it will be a little more. Actually these elections have spoilt our lives. They have created so many splits in us. Previously, our community was united. All Congress-I. But now, it is split into many parties: CPI, Janata, Congress-I, ever since the end of the emergency in 1977.

During a riot, many people settle their old scores. Everything goes in the name of a riot. Yes, I participated in the last riots which took place here. I went with the tribals. They don't speak out which people went with them. Not like our Harijans, who will tell if someone forces them. We did not give any slogans. Quietly we all went and attacked their houses.

It all started with some molestation of Hindu women and burning of the temple at Charminar. Our Kula Devata, Amma is there. They broke the idol and burnt down the temple. Then it spread all round the city. They do everything according to plan. A little bit here, a bit there. Stabbing, burning, everything is over within 10-20 minutes. By the time the police arrive, everything will be over.

We did not loot or do any such thing. Didn't give any slogans. We beat up people and set fire to houses. That's all.

After everything was over, I knew the police would be after me. That is why I ran away. I went to the house of so many of my acquaintances. Nobody gave me shelter. Then, I went to Bombay (Kalyan). Spent four months and came back. By then I had so many cases against me. I engaged a lawyer. They could not produce witnesses to give proper proof of my guilt. I said only one thing to the judge. I have not done anything. They let me off.

The police is blind and the court is deaf (Urdu saying). They don't see whether the fellow they have caught is really the thief. There is a case. Got to produce someone and so produce him. That's all. The real culprit makes good. Runs away. They catch someone else. In the Courts they need evidence. No one is bothered whether the evidence is true or false. If you give ten rupees to someone he gives the evidence in your favour.

The lower rank police are all Muslims, though all the top officials are Hindus. What is the use? The government is weak. If someone says, release them, they just release them.

I don't like this business, these 'dhandhas'. One should have a good name in society among people. Our life should run smoothly. Why do we need a lot of money? Should live with dignity. That is all. I have a lot of experience of these things in life. I can recognize immediately who is good and who is bad by merely looking at people. I don't like to talk too much. There are some who are educated also. But they are not good. There is no use (of their education).

There are no cases against me now. I am a free bird (Sukhuna Pakshi). I can't stay for long in one place. I don't like to work under someone else. We should have our own thing, independent. Only twice I worked under someone else; once in a toddy shop as a kid washing bottles and serving, and at another place, that's all.

Whatever we may do, everyone takes our help but when (we are) in need not a single chap comes to our aid. What can we do alone? We can do nothing. Suppose, we do something, then the police will get to know after sometime. They will take you to the jail and give their treatment. Then what is the use of life? No one comes to your aid. That is why, I keep watching. Looking at everything. But don't do anything.

What can I do? I helped Congress-I party also, somewhat. But I was not in the party ever. Why do we need these things? What for? My elder brother (cousin)

is there. I got this loan sanctioned through him only. I salaamed all those people who I would never have thought of speaking to. What to do?

I did everything (in my life). All kinds of (illegal) acts you can imagine. But escaped entering rowdism record of the police.

I worked for some days temporarily in police CPL (may be CRP). Used to stay in Yakutpur. Similar 'gudbud' (riots) was going on. I took strict action. Instead of taking action on those who committed the offence, I was suspended. After that for some days, I worked at IDPL (Indian Drugs & Pharmaceuticals Ltd).

I know Zafar Pahelwan. Used to throwing his weight around, he was also a constable who was detained under NSA for beating up policeman and other problems. That fellow and myself, we used to work at one place only. Once, there was a confrontation between us. I used to do my duty perfectly those days. That fellow used to come swinging his hands like a Pahelwan, mark his attendance and push off. No work. One day there was an argument between the two of us. Gave him a good drubbing. After that I did not go that side. They were looking for me.

I made a lot of money. I don't care for money. This Congress party is all "paisa mamla" — all full of thieves-all. No cadres. They are all the time looking out to see what benefit they can grab. If you take money and do work then that is not service. That becomes business.

The Majlis fully participated in the riots on behalf of Muslims. They give them all the training from childhood in the Masjids. Narendra is a good fellow. But this RSS has no guts. When they used to do their daily shakhas some Muslims approached them one day and asked : What is the matter (Kyon mia, Kya baat hai? Kyon aisa kar rahe ho?) and beat them up. Nobody spoke up. No one did anything.

When I wanted to inaugurate my shop, I wanted to have mike (loudspeaker) permission for pooja and Katha Kalakshepam in the evening. These Muslims here objected

because they felt that they had two mosques here. One opposite and one on the side. So, what I did : I kept one loudspeaker facing this mosque and another one facing that mosque and held my function."

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While we shall attempt a general analysis of these two statements together with the other statements at the end of this chapter, some minor points need to be raised at this juncture.

Firstly, we have reproduced most of their statements, including those sections which do not seem to have a direct relevance to the riots described so as to get a feel of the personality of the person who committed the riots.

Secondly, while it is remarkably honest on their part to have admitted that they did take part in the riots and while they give the sexual atrocities committed by Muslims on Hindu women as one of their main reasons, it is difficult to believe that they did not go beyond beating up people and burning homes. Further, while the unemployed rioter denied any stealing and blamed the tribals as the chief thieves, the Band-master put it the other way round.

From the evidence rendered by the three witnesses it is more likely that looting did take place in the manner described by the witnesses. Going through the statements of the rioters, one is struck by their basic goodness, especially of the Band-master (like that of all criminals) and the general pathos of the situation—the combination of circumstances which result in such actions.

It is also interesting that the change of heart of the band-master was not the result of any pious preachings by either peace committee or a political party, or the government or any social worker, but the result of bitter experiences which life taught him in a moment of dire 'want' when he was on the run.

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Why Me ?

The statement reproduced here is that of a Muslim shopkeeper running a kirana (provisions) store. The shop was burnt down near about the same time as the riots described above by the wtinesses and participants.

Statement by the Shopkeeper-victim:

"On one festival Friday, our Owaisi gave a very emotional speech. People became aroused and did some stone-throwing et cetera on the temple near Charminar and burnt some shops.

So in retaliation some Hindus attacked all the big Muslim shops in our locality. Hindu shops were not touched. The local Hindus gave all the necessary help to some people of other localities, and they came and did it, so that they can't be recognised.

We have information that the PSI of the local police station, a Reddy, was given Rs. 15 thousand to keep quiet when all this was being done. When they came and attacked we bolted the doors from inside and escaped through the back-door. Within minutes they had set fire to our shop-cum-residence.

I rushed to the police camp in the back street. They said they were not connected with this. (It was a training centre). But they rang up the fire people. The fire engine arrived but was not allowed to come near the shop by the goondas, who put up big boulders across the road and also threw stones at it. The police was there in sufficient strength. But no action was taken. Local people did not help us at all.

Nor did the government give any compensation. I was of course in no fit state of mind to think of even asking for compensation. I lost around Rs. 57 thousand (Rs. 30 thousand for shop alone). The Chief Minister (Chenna Reddy) and Police Commissioner (Pavithran) came and saw. They did not recognize me, of course, as I was standing on one side in the crowd. Our Owaisi also

came. He too did not say anything as there were many such instances. But I was given Rs. 2,000. I wish Narendra had come and seen. We would have been happy.

Later, my brother sent me Rs. 30 thousand from Dubai and I restarted the shop after three months, although many advised me not to. But I was determined. We are born here and will we die here. We can't go anywhere.

Neither before the riots nor after, can I imagine, when I meet Hindus, that Hindu-Muslim riots can occur at all."

IV

The instances of rioting (loot, arson, molestation) described by the witnesses, participants and a victim help us to get a closer picture, though may be not quite complete or clear, of the sordid drama that erupts off and on as a communal riot.

On the basis of the data given in the foregoing pages, let us try to make some general observations:

1. The rioters were mostly slum-dwelling youth, goondas and Pahelwans of the underworld, fed on stories of Muslim excesses on the Hindus, real or imaginary.

2. This anti-muslim consciousness seems to have grown over a period of time but an immediate act spurs them on to action — murder of a Hindu youth, or desecration of a Hindu temple. They are also not willing to believe the papers and the official media on this count.

3. The local leaders with allegiance to one political party or another, in the first case the Janata (BJP later) and in the second instance the Congress, encourage them to take 'revenge'.

4. Old scores are settled during riots especially by goondas. In the legitimized role of defending their religion or fellowmen, and the honour of their women, there is a free-for-all to indulge in their excesses and repressed desires. The opportunity is inviting enough for even passive women folk to indulge in some looting.

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5. The rioters or processionists in the first incident were pahelwans, or goondas, or youths from other localities and so strangers to the local residents. In the second instance also, it is plausible that most of the rioters and the victims were not acquainted with each other, though perhaps some of the rioters were recognised as residents of the nearby locality.

6. The actual rioters run away. The police are always late on the scene, either because they fear, or they are not informed in time, or because they are biased or corrupt. They catch some innocent people since they have to catch somebody and leave them after a week or two.

7. The political leaders, especially of the congress party which was in power, have been exposed as a gang of unscrupulous businessmen, hand in glove with anti-social elements who serve their political—mainly electoral—needs.

8. The leaders of the two parties which openly declare their community based representation have also been exposed as playing important roles in rousing communal passions of the people of their respective communities, especially the poorer ones.

9. In all the din and noise of the causes and control of riots, the victims of riots are forgotten by almost all, if not all. Very little or nothing is provided by the government whose primary duty is to protect the life and property of its citizens.

10. The neighbours too do not come out well. In fact they seem to be more on the abetting side by and large. But it is refreshing to hear that there are still people in these localities willing to risk their lives to save the property of their neighbour belonging to the opposite community irrespective of their beliefs.

11. As described in the first incident, whole families had to shift to areas of their own community, in utter humiliation and shock. Only those determined and lucky to have resourceful relatives have been able to stick it out.

C.R.H.-4

12. The poor, daily wage-earners seemed to have suffered most next to the victims.

13. At the ground level it is immaterial which political party one supports — Congress, BJP or Majlis or any other party. The point is that the circumstances have favoured and fostered a communal consciousness among the people of both the communities. And all become Hindus and Muslims and act as such rather than as supporters of this or that party.

14. But saying that does not absolve these parties for the sinister role that they have been playing. It should be noted that while the Congress has to pay bitterly for its mischief, the others are gaining rich dividends, vindicating their thesis of deliberate communal discrimination, and are emerging stronger with each riot as the champions and defenders of their respective communities, to the exclusion of any other kind of political language, let alone action.

Is this, then the picture of rising communal tensions and riots?

Well, that is what we are trying to draw from the statements of these very valuable respondents. But these are limited experiences in themselves, and one would have to search and find many more dimensions — sometimes disproving, sometimes improving, and sometimes reaffirming what has been observed here.

These first person accounts may have helped us in forming a hazy picture of communal tensions.

We shall now move on to other respondents of varied backgrounds and see how they perceive the past, present and future of communal relations. Their responses may help us in getting a clearer picture of the communal situation.

THE IMAGES

We have broadly classified the responses of the 45 interviewees into the following three broad categories:

(1) Hindu : Muslim
(2) Hard : Soft.
(3) Pessimists : Non-pessimists*

Category 2 : It has been further elaborated as Hard, Hard-militant, Soft and soft-secular.

Category 3 : Taking into consideration their disposition towards the effectiveness of the ameliorative action, we have also tried to view them as Pessimists and Non-pessimists.

Thus, for the Hindus we have the following categories : 1. The hard-militant Hindu, 2. The hard Hindu, (3) The soft-Hindu, (4) The soft-secular Hindu, 5. The pessimist Hindu: (i) soft and (ii) hard.

Among the Muslims, we have not succeeded in obtaining the full complement of these categories because we could contact only a small number of them. We therefore, have only the following three categories for the Muslims:

1. The hard Muslim, 2. The soft Muslim, 3. The Pessimist: (i) hard and (ii) soft.

After a full discussion of all the hard, militant, soft, secular and pessimist views (positions) on both sides, toward the end of this chapter, we shall try to classify the respondents themselves into various typologies of categories.

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* The responses of Non-pessimists, generally differ only in their degree of pessimism—in perceiving a solution to the communal problem. Hence our preference for the term 'non-pessimist' rather than 'optimist'.

The Police view : Considering the large number of responses highly critical of the police it would be interesting to see what the police have to say. We shall, therefore, consider the responses of the five police personnel separately.

In this chapter the respondents are indicated by their serial number in the Social Background Chart (last three pages), so as to avoid the repetition of lengthy code-names.

It should be remembered that this classification is only one way of attempting to understand the responses. It is neither exhaustive nor may it be the best. Perhaps a larger number of responses would have resulted in some other form of classification.

*

We have tried to build up each of the above images through the responses of each of the respondents to our questions regarding her/his

- (1) beliefs
- (2) behaviour
- (3) perception of the problems of his community as well as other community
- (4) social interactions
- (5) images of history
- (6) opinion regarding why riots occur
- (7) suggestion on how to combat communalism.

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The Hard Hindu

In response to our questions the Hard type of Hindu expressed the following views or beliefs.

(1) He sees no possibility of co-existence between the followers of Islam and Hinduism as they are based on antagonistic principles, Islam on violence and intolerance and Hinduism on non-violence and toleeance.

(1b) Hinduism is a superior religion because of its basis on non-violence and tolerance.

(1c) R-12 says : Never forget that a muslim is a political being and not a social being. They are muslims first and only later anything else.

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(2)   Some respondents made the following observations :
      The muslims have this grand strategy of ruling over
      India, if not the whole world, by simply increasing
      their numbers through multiple marriages, conver-
      sions, re-marriages and lack of family planning. The
      way they are increasing, they are quite close to their
      goal; some ten Respondents said : may be in decades,
      two-three generations, or ten to fifteen years. This
      is a kind of slow poisoning.

      R-12 says : "Has ke liya Pakistan, ladke Lenge Hindu-
      stan, that is their slogan".

      R-13 says : Now they are demanding concessions for
      minorities. When they become a majority they will
      demand rights for the majority.

(2b) He sees the Muslims as traitors. Seventy five per
      cent of them are unpatriotic says R-5.

(3a) They are dishonest, merciless, aggressive, intolerant,
      very united, and without scruples — prepared to do
      anything and everything for money, such as selling
      their women to Arabs, smuggling etc. If they can they
      will try to get at your hair. If not, they will catch
      your feet.

(3b) They always think of how to bring difficulties to
      others. They only think of themselves.

(4)   They are getting plenty of money from the Gulf
      countries and so have no problems whatsoever.

(5)   They don't take care of their children.

(6)   They are dirty, having a bath once in a week.

(7)   They eat beef. They kill cows in front of us, just to
      provoke us.

(8)   They are incestuous — marrying their own (cousin)
      sisters. They are very lustful. They marry four times.

(8a) They commit all kinds of atrocities on Hindu women,
      with the government taking no action.

      R-20 says : "They cannot control themselves. After
      seeing second show (late night cinema show), they try
      to tease and molest (Hindu) women on the roads."
      R-21 : "Compare the situation of Hindus in Pakistan

with that of Muslims in India. There, our people have to be submissive. If some young and youthful (Hindu) woman is there, they will just take her away. Can't do anything about it. And here these fellows wag their tails so much".

Stories of sexual excesses by the Muslims during the Razakar period and soon after, when the Congress government was in power and the subsequent inaction by both the governments was narrated by R-12.

The B.J.P. candidate, A. Narendra, narrated in the course of one of his election speeches in the recent by-election (Feb. 1983), two separate incidents (date and place not mentioned) in which Majlis goondas molested a pregnant Hindu woman and another young Hindu woman and killed them after cutting off their breasts and womb in the former case — the incident not being reported in the press and no action being taken by the government, said Narendra.

"Suppose we let out a portion of our house to muslims, their eyes will always be on our women—how and when to take away any of them — so, constant worry. Even others will think what is this fellow doing, leaving all his people at the door of a Muslim! They protect their women — let it be any Muslim. Even if you give a glass of water to any Muslim girl, they will say : 'Why are you trying to run after her?' (R-13)

(9) He will never think of giving his house on rent to a Muslim, nor even take one. Neither would he like to employ or be employed under a Muslim. He would never invite a Muslim to his house nor visit a Muslim.

> "Muslims are good servants but bad masters."
> "They eat in your house and put a hole in your own plate. I won't allow a Muslim fellow into my house. I talk to him on the road itself and send him away." (R-13 and 17)

(10) Muslim women are oppressed and need to be liberated by Hindu boys marrying them. (R-17)

(11) a.   While Hinduism is superior to all other religions because of its tolerance and non-violence, Hindus lack unity and are docile, soft and cowardly. The Government appeases the Muslims for their votes.

     b.   The Hindu boys don't get employed partly due to their false sense of dignity in accepting 'low' jobs.

Regarding History:

(12) Maharana Pratap and Shivaji are the two best rulers of India, having stood up and defended Hindu Dharma, while Aurangzeb was the worst — most intolerant — say R-7 and 5.

(13) a. The British had no role in Hindu- Muslim relations, and (b) the partition of India was wrong.

(14) All conversions in history were forced.

(15) a. Life of Muslims under the Nizam was excellent. Now even more so. (b) Hindu-Muslim relations under the Nizam were 'peaceful' as they were the relations of the oppressor to the oppressed. R-12 recounted : "I had a teacher at Jalna, called Fakhruddin, who told us that but for two useless fellows, Shivaji and Rana Pratap, India would have been strong and united. Akbar and Aurangzeb were trying to do just that, and but for those two, would have succeeded. We were also expected to write these as the correct answers. All history books would say that Hindus were uncultured and primitive. And it was the advent of Muslim rule which enlightened them and so on. This was similar to the English education of 'white man's burden'. The Hindus graduating from Osmania University were such that they would even prefer a Muslim barber to a Hindu one."

(16) During the Razakar movement, horrible atrocities were committed on Hindu women, life and property. Arya Samaj was the only defender of the Hindus.

(17) Muslims under the leadership of the Majlis, especially those who have immigrated into Hyderabad from the districts are the cause of the riots. They are always on the offensive and then cry out as if they are the victims, implicating Hindus who are trying to defend themselves.

(18) They are financed by Arab money and Muslim businessmen. "Even Mrs. Gandhi said so!" It is all part of their political scheme to rule over India. Through riots, intimidation and goondaism in elections, Majlis men are trying to increase their political strength.

(19) The police are partial to Muslims as all lower level police personnel are Muslims, as far as riots are concerned. Moreover, as they come only after everything is over, they are very ineffective as a force. The government is weak, soft and appeasing.

(20) Peace Committees are useless. Instead, people (i.e. Hindus) should have their own protection committees.

(21) They (Muslims) are the fellows who start all these things. Where is the question of protection committee for them?

(22) But these protection committees are also not effective since people (Hindus) are not willing to fight off the Muslim goondas.

(23) The Urdu press is highly communal—pro-Muslim.

(24) Ninety per cent of the victims of the riots are Hindus.

(25) To the Hard Hindu, it is possible for Hindus and Muslims to live together provided : (1) "we control the situation properly." (2) He says, in this state of 'cold war', attempts to fight the communal menace by solving the problem of unemployment, illiteracy and under-development (especially among Muslims) will be a futile exercise as it has something to do with the nature and mentality of muslims. (2a) "Hindus and Muslims follow different occupations." (3)

Instead, India should be declared a Hindu State, wherein others are allowed to practise their faiths but as second class citizens, that is, they are to have no voting rights and are to be subject to a uniform civil code, (no four wives' business) to curb indiscriminate breeding by Muslims. (4) The police should be made strong and efficient and impartial by removing all the Muslims from the forces. (5) There should be also a ban on the Urdu press which is highly communal. (6) All concerned sections (of Hindus) including the government, political parties, leaders and activists must try and build up national spirit among the people. Those seriously concerned could start RSS Shakhas in their localities as also vyayamshala etc., to develop "one nation, one culture".

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Hard-Militant-Hindu :

He is a more extreme version of the Hard Hindu especially with regard to strategies to combat the communal problem.

(1) To him it is a 'state of war', in which there is a total lack of confidence in the government (weak and appeasing) and its law and order machinery ('which only does panchnama'), and consequently, as the Muslims are already armed, arming the Hindus, opening vyayamshalas, RSS shakhas, giving rifle training to Hindus etc. are advocated to save India and save Hindus and Hinduism. "They bring people from Lucknow, Delhi etc., and give training in fighting etc."

(2) He sees only one permanent solution to the whole Hindu-Muslim communal problem : "Kicking them all to Pakistan."

*

The Soft-Hindu :

He believes that good and bad people exist in all communities. He sympathises with the Muslim's plight. He believes in his basic goodness.

(1) He appreciates his culture and moderateness and more importantly, sympathises with their extra-sensitivity or over-reaction to incidents as minority behaviour.

(2) He recognizes the problem of illiteracy, over-population, poverty, and backwardness among Muslims as nothing special to them but perhaps a little accentuated among them (compared to Hindus).

(3) He however, does not perceive any deliberate discrimination against the Muslims as seen by the Hard Muslim.

(4) He advocates some ameliorative measures for the Muslims such as better education and job facilities.

(5) He advocates changes in Muslim personal law after obtaining the consent of the Muslim community.

(6) The religious soft Hindu sees the common essence of all religions, while the soft atheist-Hindu does not bother about such questions.

(7) The Soft Hindu also has no problems of mixing with, employing, being employed by, letting out his house to, or renting the house of a Muslim.

(8) The religious one had also visited places of worship belonging to other faiths, though very rarely.

(9) He also does not believe that many Muslims have actually benefited from the Gulf money. The Senior-Reddy-Police Officer said: "Even if a large number of Muslims are benefiting from Gulf money, what is wrong? Is it the privilege of only Hindus to be well off?"

Regarding History:

(10) He feels that basically all kings have done some good and some bad deeds.

(11) The Leftist-Soft-Hindu believed that
   (a) all kings were basically exploiters. Generally speaking, he would say that Akbar and Ashoka were the two good kings in Indian history.
   (b) While differences did exist, prior to the British entry, between Hindus and Muslims, the British utilised the situation by actively exploiting the differences to their advantage.
   (c) Conversions in History were, he feels, largely of free will although inducements might have played a part.

(d) Life of Muslims under the Nizam was not
     very rosy except for the few rich Jagirdars.
     But they at least had enough to eat.

(e) Muslims suffered a lot immediately after the
     Police Action. But are better off now.

(f) Hindu-Muslim relations under the Nizam
     rule were excellent except for the Razakar
     Period, during which horrible atrocities were
     committed on the life and properties of
     Hindus and their womenfolk.

(12) Arya Samaj as an organization tried to resist
these atrocities.

(13) Opinion was divided among the Soft Hindus
whether partition was right or wrong.

(14) (a) Riots are the handiwork of unemployed
fellows indulging in drinking, gambling and goondaism
who are normally made use of by politicians including
the Congress—thus legitimizing their activities.

(15) He severely condemns politicians for their degene-
ration into exploiting communal sentiments with selfish
motives.

(16) The politicians, especially those professedly re-
presenting specific communities, such as the BJP and the
MIM rouse people's emotions so that goondas, victims of
earlier riots, and unemployed people commit riots usual-
ly in localities other than their own. "Outsiders—not
local people". The rousing of communal passions helps
them in winning elections on communal lines.

(17) With emotions running high and a looting
spree ahead of them, the rioters do not need any mone-
tary incentive to commit riots, says the watchman-rioter.
The unemployed youth rioter also speaks of emotions
worked up by politicians. R-3 says: "For Muslims, there
is no need for Arab money. One speech in a mosque
is enough."

(18) The police, though not biased, are not really
effective as they usually arrive late on the scene.

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(19) The government is inefficient and corrupt.

(20) The peace committees are useless but could perhaps be made effective.

(21) He believes that Hindus and Muslims can live together amicably. He gives top priority to developing mutual tolerance among the people of the two communities—a genuine change of hearts.

(22) He, therefore, gives utmost importance to (a) education, especially of children and (b) the mutual love and compassion extending to celebration of each other's festivals.

(23) He sees the role of the government as being (a) primarily to foster this kind of education and (b) to some extent, in maintaining impartial and effective law and order.

(24) R-4-6 and 15 advocated "simple living to reduce corruption".

(25) The peace committees and similar organizations such as protection committees and youth organizations have an equal, if not a more important role to play in bringing the people of the two communities together in various activities and dispelling their mutual suspicion, fear and hatred. R-4, 5, 7, 8 and 9: Local protection committees, youth associations should meet each other and discuss, hold cultural and sports meets and functions together.

Peace committees should provide quick information to the government and the police to help curb riots.

Peace committee members will be familiar with the local people. They can identify people who are antisocial elements and get them weeded out.

Peace committees should go round houses, explaining to the people that they are the ones who will suffer and lose in riots.

(26) consequently, the Soft Hindu also gives low priority to programmes of development and employment-generation as helpful but not really tackling the crux of the issue.

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The Soft-Secular-Hindu:

(1) He is a variant of the Soft-Hindu. He shares with the Soft Hindu a positive attitude towards members of the Muslim community.

(2) But the basic difference between the two in their approaches is with regard to the role of religion. He would like to go beyond religion. He would not like to emphasise the religious identity of a person.

(3) He gives primary importance to employment,

(4) education, especially technical, and

(5) development of various facilities in the old city. "Old city is like a sick person."

(6) Preferential and if possible protective measures should be provided for Muslims such as reservations in education and employment.

(7) Take effective steps against these leaders (Narendra and Owaisi) both, of them are hand in glove.

(8) The police should be strict and impartial.

(9) The government should keep a watch on encroachments in public places in the name of religion.

(10) There should be a ban on communal organizations and parties.

(11) Political parties should stop exploiting the communal feelings of people and take up their real problems—those of unemployment, education, food, housing etc.

(12) He emphasises political organization of the people if anything substantial is to be achieved.

(13) He does not see much of a role for peace committees.

(14) Rich have become very strong and powerful. There are for instance, 20 to 25 Golla (Yadava) families here. They control about three thousand houses here. How are they able to do it? The poor have become weak. Unless we break this—organise the people—we can't do anything.

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Pessimist Hindu:

We can talk of the pessimist image only with reference to its completely negative picture of the reality and the inability and futility of action on the part of anyone.

1. Among the Hindus (R-3 and 14) the negative responses were mostly initial reactions:

Too late. The poison has set in. Nobody can do anything. Can't solve this problem. The effect of the present trend will be there after three-four generations. Waste of time. Things will become worse only. We cannot do anything, only the government has to....

Something can be done only as a political organisation... but there are so many parties. What can be done?

2. All the respondents had much more to say by way of suggestions.

3. Considering their other responses, which are militantly anti-Muslim, perhaps, we could categorise the Barber and the Marathi-Brahmin-Linesman as Hard Pessimists.

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The Hard Muslim:

1. He is a firm believer in the superiority of Islam over the pagan, idolatrous and hierarchical Hinduism. Islam is so perfect in all respects.

2. People come to our religion because it is better.

R-35: There is equality and dignity (in Islam) unlike Hinduism.

3. He prays regularly and observes all the festivals and fasts and has become a Haji or is planning to be one.

4. He has not visited the places of worship of other religions. He has no close friends following other faiths.

5. Compared to Hindus, he feels, Muslims are more honest, clean in habits, united and disciplined.

R-32: "Hindus put cowdung in their houses. Whatever you may say, dung is dung. And they rarely wash

themselves. Only once a day. Muslims wash five times a day before prayers; whether people follow it or not is another matter. Among Hindus, only Brahmins take bath regularly."

6. The government having passed out of their hands ever since the end of Nizam's rule, Muslims have become second class citizens. They are facing discrimination in employment, education, housing and all other development.

7. The government does not trust Muslims. What's more, it does not want them to come up. It is best that Muslims stop looking to the government for help and try and stand on their own feet. "Hum her kisam se dabey huye hain!"

8. He feels very much harassed and insecure. But he is not willing to give up: "we were born here...and will die here."

9. If things get worse he may even demand a separate district.

But, as of now, reservations in jobs and educational institutions, a Finance Corporation for Muslims and development of areas inhabited by Muslims would be the main demands on the government.

10. He dismisses the problems of Arabs marrying Hyderabadi Muslim girls as a non-issue, non-existent.

11. He does not think the problems of Muslims have anything to do with having too many children or too many wives. The question of number of children is decided by God and number of wives depends on one's capacity to maintain them. More than one is a difficult proposition, he feels.

12. In any case, there is no question of altering the Shariat, the Muslim personal law, on any ground whatsoever.

13. He dismisses the feeling that Muslims are not patriotic as sheer nonsense, citing Muslims who died for India in wars against Pakistan.

14. In any case, no one can demand of him to hate Pakistanis as they are his own blood relatives.

15. He feels that Muslims have ruled India for over seven centuries.

R-37: At least those Muslims were saved from the sufferings and humiliations we are undergoing. The government says one thing and does just the opposite.

16. Aurangzeb was the best ruler—very pious and very strict.

17. British had no role to play in Hindu-Muslim relations.

18. The partition of India was right.

19. Conversions to Islam in history were never forced.

20. Position of Muslims under the Nizam of Hyderabad was very good, but now it is horrible.

21. Hindu-Muslim relations under the Nizam were excellent.

22. During the Razakar movement, he feels, no atrocities were committed.

23. They (RSS-BJP) are financed by Hindu businessmen, especially those at the lower levels, and mostly Marwaris, who perceive a threat of competition from Muslims with Arab money.

24. At the time of the riots all Hindus become one, irrespective of parties.

25. But more precisely, parties like the BJP arouse people's emotions on communal lines around election time for the sake of votes.

26. The police are Hindu dominated and anti-Muslim.

27. They are also corrupt and hand in glove with anti-social elements.

R-11 and 44: Muslim policemen are afraid of being labelled as being 'soft' to Muslims. So they beat up Muslims. Muslim police officers don't want to be posted in the old city because they fear they will be branded as communal if they do a small act. They are afraid.

28. The government is also communal and does not even bother to do something for the victims of riots.

29. All peace committees are useless, only goondas who commit riots get into them.

30. The MIM party is helping or defending Muslims, somewhat.

31. It is no more possible, or has become too difficult for Hindus and Muslims to live together peacefully and amicably. However, if the government is serious about combating the communal problem in Hyderabad, the police should be made honest, impartial and ruthless, as in Saudi Arabia or Pakistan, and arrest all anti-social elements.

<div align="center">*</div>

The Muslim Pessimist—Hard:

The image of the Muslim pessimist is more elaborate and emphatic than that of the Hindu pessimist.

1. Although Hindus and Muslims could live together amicably it has now become too late, he feels.

2. The government itself is communal and so does not want Muslims, who are oppressed from all sides, to come up in any field, nor can it provide any protection.

3. The political leaders and parties are after votes and cannot be depended upon to defend or uplift the people.

4. The peace committees are not worth mentioning.

5. The poor are too divided, too weak to do anything.

6. The youth has gone film crazy to the detriment of religion.

7. "If things go on like this Hindustan will become a Kabrastan."

<div align="center">*</div>

The Soft Muslim:

1. He believes that essentially humanity is one and that the message of all religions is the same—to be good, honest and peace-loving.

<div align="center">65</div>

Regarding Employment, Education and Development:

24. While one section of opinion gives them a relatively low priority, saying that they could also help in reducing tensions somewhat, another section of the 'Soft Muslim' opinion feels that if the problem of unemployment is solved then riots will not occur.

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The Soft Secular Muslim:

Perhaps, the latter opinion above belongs logically to a 'soft-secular-Muslim' position, as among the Hindus.

The soft secular Muslim is logically a category that ought to be discussed. Unfortunately we have not interviewed respondents with predominantly secular views, though one did and does come across such people in daily life. Perhaps the soft-secular Muslim could be reconstructed from the views of such people as communists and socialists who happen to be Muslims, and those under the influence of, broadly speaking, Western (convent or public school) education.

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The Police View

Apart from the positive responses there have been broadly four categories of negative responses regarding the police from the non-police respondents:

(A) Police are biased as a whole, with the Hindu sections supporting the Hindus and the Muslim sections of the police supporting the Muslims. "60 per cent their people, 40 per cent our people."

(B) They are ineffective—arrive late on the scene, catch the wrong people, succumb to political pressures, don't arrest and detain known offenders, etc.

(C) They are corrupt—can be bribed into action or inaction; don't part with looted property seized by them etc.

(D) They are scared.

These views are found in various permutations and combinations in individual responses.

It is in the light of these varied opinions that we have decided to try to construct a 'police view' of the problem. It is of course difficult to generalise from five responses—two Hindu senior level officials, one Hindu middle level officer, and two Head Constables (one Hindu and one Muslim). Indeed it would be foolish to try to present these as *the* police view. Especially, as shown by the responses, various identities of the individual respondents, such as their religion, caste, linguistic, educational and class-rank background have clearly coloured many of their answers.

Yet we cannot help drawing a rough picture from what we have heard which, with all its constraints, is still a part of the police view.

1. (a) In their general, overall view, the two senior officials speak more as learned men trying to analyse an issue at hand, while (b) the two head constables' views arise more from their immediate concerns and experiences.

2. The rioters are mostly unemployed youth from the slums, victims of earlier riots, and anti-social muscle men operating in other neighbourhoods, settling old scores by indulging in arson, loot etc.

> R-27: Also road-side vendors. The middle class is generally in the background. They instigate and encourage.
>
> R-28: Only 10-15% of the people are active in riots.
>
> R-42: Local thugs send word to those in the neighbouring locality to escape identification.

3. Marwaris are supporting Hindu communal activities and organizations, perhaps to protect their properties and culture.

4. The role of Arab money is not clear, apart from infusing confidence among Muslims and decreasing their sense of insecurity.

> R-26 adds: It is good. If people go there they are exposed to new technology and also come to feel

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part of a wider community which makes them feel less insecure.

R-42: Gulf money spent on themselves—acquiring two wives etc. has no influence on riots.

5. "Political and communal leaders and parties such as the BJP and the MIM create a communal atmosphere. The rioting is much more when they abet and much less when they don't.

6. The slum culture of (a) poverty, (b) large families, (c) irresponsible parenthood, and (d) lack of education are responsible for creating rioters or anti-social elements in urban societies.

7. Among Muslims (a) the psychological impact of the reversal of roles from 'rulers' to the 'ruled' as a community, and (b) the communal leaders harping on them as caused by Hindu domination, lead to a sense of insecurity.

8. Congress factionalism strengthens the communal parties by encouraging and conceding to Majlis demands.

9. Almost all Congress leaders tried to utilise the Muslims for their personal or political goals.

R-26: Public militancy and private amenability of the Majlis leaders contributed to their growing strength.

10. The Hindus feel that the Government is appeasing Muslims. The government has no clear policy, and sometimes, even supports one of the communal parties resulting in the increase of riots.

R-26 and 27 mention BJP, RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Hindu Raksha Samithi among the Hindu communal organizations. While the MIM, Tamir-e-Millat and the Muslim League could be recognized as their Muslim counterparts.

11. The communal parties fund and encourage vyayamshalas for members of their own community for self-protection.

R-26 felt that the vyayamshalas being too few, could not be playing much of a role.

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12. The police is also from the same social environment, and so, is somewhat influenced by the communalising of social life, but not much.

R-28: If there is communal polarisation in the society the police will also reflect it.

R-42: "In curfew times, if a Hindu is trespassing, Muslim police will beat him and vice-versa." He also narrated how, when he visited a Harijan basti to record and investigate a complaint, lodged by the basti people themselves, no one would talk to him as soon as they realised that he was a Muslim. But when he visits a Muslim locality he would be flooded with complaints and requests.

13. The communal political leaders are always trying to undermine the police and demoralise us. At the same time, the politicians pressurise us for the release of the goondas.

14. Police efficiency is quite low.

R-27 would rather emphasise police inefficiency, especially at the lower levels, rather than the political influence. But R-28 did not think so.

15. Police strength is inadequate. Posting to riot-prone areas is thought of as a punishment —with low allowances and an intimidating atmosphere.

R-27, 42 and 29 felt the same way. But R-27 felt that generally speaking the police strength was adequate.

16. Peace Committees are quite ineffective, not genuine.

17. One is worried at the growing hiatus between Muslims and Hindus, even between their children, but especially between the youths.

18. Muslims, as a community, are more militant.

19. It is not possible for the police to prevent the first attack in a communally charged atmosphere. It is difficult to predict.

20. But effective bundobust can be made in the gap between the first and second attack, if the police force is efficient.

21. Social-economic and political conditions are the basic cause of riots. If you want to treat it as a mere law and order problem and ask us to control it, how can we?

22. They, however, stress the need for more stringent laws to detain those arrested for riots, especially since (a) it is difficult to get people to give evidence, and (b) the ready willingness of the courts to grant bail to all and sundry, irrespective of the consequences.

Suggestions:

23. Reorganise the electoral constituencies so that no election could be won on the basis of the support of a single community.

24. Encourage Muslims to take to technical education and to go to Arab countries for work.

25. Common legislation to curb indiscriminate breeding, especially by Muslims, without responsible parenthood.

26. The extreme suggestion of separating the two communities geographically was made by R-26 as a permanent solution to the problem.

27. The Government should be consistent in its policy towards the communal problem and that political leaders must desist from communalising politics.

28. However, banning communal parties was not favoured as a long-term solution. "Only a temporary solution...like we arrest some people and the court releases them on bail."

29. The politician-goonda nexus and its influence on the police should be broken, especially at the lower level of policemen.

30. They did not see much of a role for peace or other such committees.

31. The genuine ones could help the above efforts of the government and try to promote understanding between the two communities.

32. The police (except R-28) by and large, felt that it is possible for Hindus and Muslims to live together amicably.

33. They also gave primary importance to the role of education. While R-26 emphasised technical and general education, R-28 stressed upon moral and ethical learning.

34. They also stressed the need for the Government to take up developmental activities — providing better employment and living conditions on a massive scale — with a special emphasis on Muslims, who inhabit most of the slums in the old city.

From the above responses it seems more reasonable and realistic to talk of a 'police view' only with reference to the law and order problems.

The other remarks of the police personnel are somewhat disparate to form one single distinct category. And therefore they could be (as they have been) classified under the general 'Hard' and 'Soft' images we have constructed.

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Summing Up

Thus we have four major positions :

The Hard Hindu and the Hard-Muslim, the Soft-Hindu and the Soft-Muslim. Towards the end, discussing the responses on how to combat communalism, we have added two further categories of the Hard-Militant-Hindu and the Soft-Secular-Hindu. And lastly we have added the pessimist.

At different stages of constructing these images, we have compared their relative positions. It is now time to have an overall view of the various positions.

Hard:

1. The Hard Muslim and Hard Hindu share very similar perceptions: for both of them the main battle is Hindus vs. Muslims, all other contradictions being secondary.

"Remember that you are a Muslim first and only later anything else", said an MIM political leader, in an election speech. In a similar vein, there is a marked stress on "Hindu Ekta" and "Jagruti" in the Ganesh processions.

Both of them are filled with hostility, suspicion and dislike of the other, coupled with pride in one's own community.

2. There is the feeling among both that one's own community has been wronged.

3. There is a complete lack of faith in the government and its law and order machinery which are seen as either pro-enemy or ineffective, or both.

4. Therefore, if one's community-nation-culture-religion (all are more or less synonymous) is not to be destroyed, one's community must organise itself to become a strong and united force to oppose the intimidation and aggression of the other (opposite) community and defend the honour of one's women-nation-religion-culture-community.

5. While the Militant-Hindu would like to send the Muslims away to Pakistan for a lasting solution to the Hindu-Muslim communal problem, the more moderate Hard-Hindu suggests some measures like defranchising the Muslims to 'control' them.

6. The Hard Muslim suggests some measures for protecting his community and for improving their lot. He is prepared to fight it out and die in the process if necessary, but not leave.

Soft :

1. The 'Soft' positions are of two types: religious and secular. The first has been termed as soft and the second as soft secular. But both share a broad frame-

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work of outlook up to a point. The soft Hindu and Muslims including the soft-secular, believe that the main enemy in the battle against communalism are ignorance and poverty exploited by self-seeking politicians.

2. The 'Soft' emphasises the ignorance aspect while the 'Soft-Secular' emphasise the poverty aspect.

3. They share the belief and stress: (a) the oneness of mankind, (b) good and bad people being in all communities, and (c) the essence of all religion being the same. (d) The Soft-Secular one would perhaps like to dereligionise society, if it were possible.

4. They do not think the government and the police are so partisan to one or the other community, as much as that they are corrupt, inefficient and weak and therefore, need to be toned up.

5. They lay greater emphasis on genuine change of hearts, teaching tolerance to children, and the role of peace committees and similar organizations and individuals in these efforts.

6. The Secular one may stress removal of poverty more than anything else.

7. The soft-secular Hindu demands some ameliorative measures specifically for the uplift of the Muslims such as : reservations (preference) in employment and education as a step towards combating the communal problem.

8. (a) The 'Hard-Muslim' also demands similar measures. But, he sees them as part of the steps to be taken to solve the problems of the Muslims, not specifically as measures to combat communalism. (b) According to him the cause of communalism is the Hard-Hindu's alliance with goondas, the police and the government.

9. The pessimist as a category could belong to any of the above positions in his beliefs and perceptions, save his opinion that nothing much can be done by anyone now.

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Limitations :

A. The various positions described above are best seen as nodal points, as abstractions re-constructed from beliefs, perceptions and actions of the respondents. Obviously, they are not exhaustive of the reality.

B. Our exercise also does not attempt to make clear the more crucial question of which set of opinions reflects the actual situation in the field best, or the trend of opinion and action among various sections of the people.

C. The responses can be seen as part of a dynamic of beliefs and practices, fast changing and being reformulated, due to the rapidly changing situation — a very sensitive and highly communal one, forcing the opinions of various people to coalesce and polarise at certain nodal points, while breaking away at certain others.

D. We are also not saying that any one set of these images is more desirable, or good, or real at this juncture.

That choice and decision we shall attempt in the next chapter, when we discuss as to what we can do.

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Typologies

We shall now attempt a classification of our respondents in terms of the typologies we have constructed:

(a) *The Hard-Militant-Hindu category* would include:

    1. Kayasth-Hindu-Mahasabha-Veteran
    2. Harijan-Watchman-rioter
    3. Harijan-Bandmaster-rioter

(b) *The Hard-Hindu Category* would include :

    1. Lodha shopkeeper
    2. Khatri shopkeeper
    3. Uppercaste North Indian shopkeepers
    4. the Barber
    5. the Khatri School teacher
    6. the Marathi-Brahmin-linesman

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7. the Vishwa Hindu Parishad Activist
   (A Telugu Brahmin)
8. Marathi School teacher (Brahmin)
9. Marathi School teacher (caste not known)
10. Middle level Reddy Police-Officer

(c) *The Soft Hindu Category* would include :

1. the Maratha-White washer
2. Kayastha-Mansabdari-pensioner
3. Khatri student
4. Harijan Housewife
5. Unemployed-youth-rioter
6. low-caste-police constable
7. the cobbler

(d) *The Soft-Secular Category* would include :

1. Harijan-auditor
2. The Harijan contractor
3. Harijan-unemployed youth (AIYF activist)
   (all-sympathisers or activists of the Communist
   Party of India)
4. Reddy senior Police Officers
5. Upper-caste Senior Police Officer
6. Rickshaw-Puller—1 (Harijan)
7. Rickshaw-puller—2 (Harijan)

The Khatri factory supervisor would come somewhere
in between the Soft and the Hard Hindu, but probably
moving towards the latter position.

The Marathi-Brahmin-Linesman and the Harijan
Rickshaw-Puller—1 and, to some extent, the Khatri student
would come under the category of the pessimist as well.

A. *The Hard Muslim Category* would include :

1. Ex-Jagirdar's son-turned driver
2. The Cloth Salesman rioters
3. Graduate working girl
4. Businessman

B. *The Soft Muslim Category* would include :

1. Government Clerk
2. Illiterate Housewife of the Harijan Contractor

3. Compounder in Govt. Unani Hospital
4. Driver with Arab sons-in-law
5-6-7. Three Rickshaw-Pullers
8. Young driver from the new city
9. Shop-keeper victim
10. Police Head Constable

The political leader and the newspaper editor are somewhere in between the two categories of 'Hard and Soft' but probably closer and also moving towards the Hard position.

C. *The Pessimist Category* would, more or less, encompass all those in the 'Hard' position but more specifically the rioter-cloth-salesman, the jagirdar's son-driver and the driver with Arab son-in-law. From the soft category it could also include the compounder.

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Some Reservations :

These groupings as made do not explain why people with such varied background are having the opinions they are having.

For instance, what is so common between a self-employed barber, a Harijan watchman rioter, a Khatri school teacher whose husband saved the shop of a Muslim, and the middle-level-Reddy-Police Officer that they should hold such 'Hard' views against the Muslims?

Or for that matter, the Harijan-housewife, the Kayastha-Mansabdari-pensioner — most of whose friends are Muslims, and the Marathi white-washer who has never mixed with the Muslims, and the unemployed-Harijan-Youth activist of AIYF to hold such 'Soft' opinions regarding Muslims?

Or among the Muslims, what is the difference between the Jagirdar's son turned driver, the cloth-vendor, rowdy-sheeter and the graduate-working girl on the one hand, and the hospital compounder, the shop-keeper-victim and the Government clerk on the other?

Perhaps we may have to go deeper into the kind of upbringing each of them had and their interaction with a certain kind of environment i.e. their experience.

Another point worth recalling is how people (including ourselves) tend to interpret differently the same issue or incident, fitting it into their preconceived notions, or sets of classification of various issues.

The remarks and the interpretations of the respondents demonstrate fairly clearly that people tend to believe what they want to believe, in spite of evidence to the contrary, which is either reinterpreted or discounted, so that one's existing opinions are only further reaffirmed by 'experience'.

Thus we have the Hard ones for ever emphasising the differences and the communally based injustices meted out to one's own community — to the benefit of the 'opposite' community, while the soft ones are looking towards the commonalities (economic, cultural etc.) between the members of the two communities and underplaying their differences.

Therefore, any effort at combating communalism will have to (a) stress on the common interests, traditions, beliefs and practices, the unities and contradictions common to both the communities, while (b) attempting to resolve the differences where it is desirable and/or necessary, and (c) encouraging a spirit of tolerance where it is not.

May be this exercise has shed a little more light on the Hindu-Muslim communal problem especially in Hyderabad, to the reader, may be it has not.

As far as we — those involved in carrying out this study in various capacities — are concerned, it has definitely made us more aware of the problem and of the extent of our ignorance, if nothing else.

Let us now consider what the activists can do.

CHAPTER 6

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

A lot has been written about the Hindu-Muslim communal problem and what is to be done about it. But precious little has been done by way of a sustained campaign to fight the menace.

If this exercise too is not to be still-born, then the right lesssons must be derived from our efforts (as well as those of others) and be translated into action, starting with ourselves.

The present effort has thrown up a vast canvass of issues that need to be tackled. As narrated in the introduction the field situation seems to be, by and large, rapidly moving towards the Hard position — both among Muslims and Hindus. The moderate opinion, never very strong, seems to have weakened considerably to the point of making the Soft and Secular individuals to be isolated ones.

In drawing up 'what is to be done' we shall, as described in the last chapter, attempt to build upon the shared unities and contradictions of interests, traditions, beliefs and practices of Hindus and Muslims — a desire indicated by the Soft and Soft-secular Hindus and Muslims.

And in attempting to do so, it needs to be recognized, as Prabha Dixit points out, that one is essentially dealing with already fairly consolidated and fast expanding power blocks whose base is essentially the communal appeal.

Consequently, any non-communal intervention being contemplated must recognize that it is attempting to cut into and challenge these existing power blocks and would have to face stiff opposition from the community-based parties of both Hindus and Muslims.

Therefore, the opposition to the communal forces will have to be consolidated primarily in the form of political organisation, whatever forms — religious, cultural, civic rights etc.— the efforts may initially take.

We shall broadly divide the suggested courses of action into these categories :

1. Further research
2. Governmental measures to be adopted
3. The role of concerned people

I. Further Research

More than helping us understand the Hindu-Muslim communal problem, our study has only exposed the extent of our ignorance and the need for further study of this complex problem, through both conventional as well as non-conventional (e.g. participatory research) methods.

The responses have thrown up some common beliefs which need to be explored and verified and the findings communicated to the people — through pamphlets, talks, films, plays etc. (It is important to know the truth, however bitter or dangerous it may appear due to its potential for communal overtones and communal exploitation, because only correct knowledge can lead to correct, i.e. effective action) Hence, we suggest research in the following areas.

(1) Demographic and Kinship Patterns

(a) Population Growth :

To verify the truth of the Hindus' fears by ascertaining the rate of growth of population, the number of children per family, the prevalence of family planning practices among different sections of Hindus and Muslims as well as other communities in Hyderabad as well as other parts of the country.

In a number of responses of the Hindus, the fear of the rapidly growing numbers of the Muslims has been expressed with varying interpretations as to reasons and implications.

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(b) Polygamy, Divorce and Remarriage :

To verify the prevalence and reasons for the practice of polygamy, divorce and remarriage among Hindus and Muslims as well as other communities and among the different income and occupational groups within each community.

It has been argued by a number of Hindu respondents that Muslims have four wives and twenty children or near about, and that they remarry widows and divorcees and resort to proselytization.

(c) Cross-cousin Marriages :

To locate the practice of parallel cousin marriage prevalent among some Muslim communities within the wider map of kinship practices in different societies, within and outside India.

For instance, the practice of cross-cousin marriages and uncle-niece marriages is fairly common in many south-Indian Hindu communities also.

(d) Hindu-Muslim Marriages :

The impact of Hindu-Muslim marriages, and the peculiar problems of those who opt for such marriages.

Such marriages are known to have generated social tensions. It may be noted here that responses to questions on this subject were quite disparate.

(e) Conversion :

To study the extent of conversions from one faith to another in the country, both in the past and present, and the nature and reasons for the conversions.

(f) Andhra Muslim Immigrants from the Districts in the City of Hyderabad :

Muslim immigrants to the city of Hyderabad from the districts have settled in various localities of the old city, as fruit vendors, rickshaw-pullers etc. They are alleged to be very aggressive and indulging in criminal activities including sexual atrocities and active partici-

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pation in riots. Validity of such rumours or views need to be investigated.

(2) Socio-Economic Conditions of Hindus and Muslims

A comparative study of the socio-economic conditions of the Muslims and Hindus and other communities, with regard to questions such as (1) which sections of Muslims and Hindus have benefited or suffered and in what manner in the past, and (2) which sections of Muslims and Hindus are involved in what type of legal and illegal activities and why.

Many of the Muslim respondents complained of discrimination against Muslims by the government and the Hindu public at large, while many Hard Hindus felt that the Muslims had no problems worth mentioning.

This study may be divided into following areas:

(a) *The Golla (Yadav) Community of Hyderabad:*

At least three Hindu respondents have mentioned the rise and dominance of the Golla Yadav community, due to the rising prices of milk, especially in urban areas. With their lack of education and desire to translate their new wealth into religious, social and political status, their role needs a closer look.

(b) *The Lodha Community of Hyderabad:*

The community has allegedly been noted for its strong communal stance, its illicit liquor trade, vyayam-shalas, and knife wielding 'dadas'.

(c) *The business, cultural, political and religious interests and apprehensions of the Marwaris:*

The role of Marwaris has been suspected by many Muslims and Hindus in fueling riots — e.g. their enthusiastic funding and participation in the Ganesh Utsav processions and other festivals, in the construction of the Lakshmi temple at Charminar etc.

(d) *The Impact of Gulf Money:*

Who is getting how much money from the Gulf (and other) countries among Hindus and Muslims and how it is being spent by them.

Money has been frequently referred to as playing a mischievous role in conversions, in buying up properties with designs of establishing Muslim zones, in financing riots and so on. The truth of these statements is very difficult to verify. But attempts could be made to assess.

(e) *Eviction of Hindus and Muslims from localities dominated by the other community:*

It is alleged that Muslims forcibly occupy government lands, and use intimidatory tactics to evict Hindus from Muslim dominated areas. Similar accusations have been made against Hindus buying up houses of Muslims dirt cheap in Hindu dominated areas.

(f) *Forms of entertainment and recreation:*

Recreation activities of the people in riot-prone areas, and how they differ from other areas.

For instance, the vyayamshalas, existing separately for Muslims and Hindus, are suspected to be breeding grounds of communal consciousness.

(3) **Writing Correct History**

(1) History books should contain correct and scientific data, so that it is able to debunk some myths about Hindu and Muslim rulers such as that

(a) religion has often been used as a garb by many apparently intolerant or tolerant rulers as an easy means to capture power, mobilise people, maintain unity and control loot and pillage.

(b) Instances can be cited to show how various leaders belonging to almost all the sects. or beliefs, at different times, indulged in such intolerance especially when they are engaged in a struggle for power or control over resources.

(2) The philosophy underlying the teaching of history, apart from stating facts, could be as follows:

(A) Whatever be the past, a new polity and society is being attempted to be built on mutual tolerance, love and co-operation between people practising different faiths and beliefs.

(B) Dominance and suppression never really pays in the long run.

(C) Members of our society today, be they of whatever faith or identity, are in no way responsible for the past deeds of their ancestors.

(D) People should be judged from their basic goodness.

While such activities of research can be undertaken, one must recall that people tend to believe only what they want to believe in spite of facts to the contrary.

II What the Government Can Do (Or Be Made to Do)

The following suggestions would require massive investments by the government. As such we realize that the present day communal problem is in large measure, a product of poverty and scarce economic opportunity.

Education:

1 (a) Massive expansion of government schools with conscious attempts to create an atmosphere where boys and girls of different religious backgrounds are able to mix together.

(b) Technical Education: Open technical schools in or near the city area to enable the residents of these areas to benefit from them and thereby have better chances of employment.

2. Housing (Slum Clearance) : Take up on a large scale slum clearance and civic amenities improvement programmes in the affected areas and provide alternate accommodation for the slum-dwellers in the new city areas of Hyderabad.

3. Employment: Introduce one job per family scheme rigorously to fight the unemployment and poverty problems.

4. Recreation : Open new recreation centres and improve existing sports and recreational facilities such as gymnasiums and libraries in the old city areas.

5. Encroachments : Take firm action against encroachments in public places in the garb of religion. A thorough

enquiry should be instituted into all such attempts, starting with the growth of the Lakshmi temple attached to Charminar and necessary steps be taken following the results of such enquiries.

6. (a) Transformation of the Police : As almost all the respondents including the police personnel indicated, the police force is in urgent need of a complete overhaul with respect to combating the communal problem.

(ɔ) Riot-Police : As in many countries, it is necessary to raise a special force to deal specifically with communal situations. The members of this force should be carefully selected and trained in ideas of tolerance. They should reside in various riot-prone areas, mixing freely with the people of the locality. The pay and allowance of these personnel should be adequately high and be commensurate with the risks and the delicate tasks they have to tackle.

7. Liquor and Gambling Dens: Take strict action against illicit liquor dens in the old city areas, and preferably, introduce prohibition. The government should see that all gambling and liquor dens in the old city area are permanently closed and the people engaged in these occupations are rehabilitated in other walks of life. Alternative forms of inexpensive but healthy entertainment could be encouraged through installation of community TV sets, organising exhibitions, fairs of various types, sports meets etc.

8. A thorough re-organization of the school curriculum of the schools in the city which may include:

(a) Introduction of History books with the kind of perspective described above.

(b) Teachers to be adequately trained in these subjects.

(c) Making the National Service Scheme a compulsory activity in all schools and colleges involving the students in social work; discussing the various problems of the people living in the affected areas and assisting them in solving them.

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9. Keep a strict watch on all those indulging in inflammatory communal speeches, and on all such literature in the form of newspapers, periodicals, books etc.

10. Encourage voluntary organizations which could help governmental efforts in (a) providing better facilities to the poor of the old city and (b) conducting night classes in various skills and (c) encourage a spirit of tolerance towards members of other communities among the residents.

11. Take special measures to promote welfare of the minorities, e.g. help them retain their identity of culture through measures such as use of their mother tongue in education and administration where the minorities are concentrated in sufficiently large numbers.

12. Shifting government offices and ministers' houses : A good number of ministers and important officials must reside in different parts of the old city area and adopt the various localities. Similarly, some of the government offices could also be shifted to the old city area. This will help in greater attention being bestowed on the improvement of the old city area.

III The Role of Concerned People

The main thrust of their efforts could be to help people of different faiths know each other and their main problems better so that they lose their fears and false notions about each other bred through ignorance and lack of friendly interactions.

Concerned people (activists) could promote youth organizations which can take up the following activities involving members of both the communities of riot-prone areas, so that they can get more opportunities to interact on a non-communal basis:

(a) Sports
(b) Gymnasiums
(c) Libraries
(d) Curbing drinking and gambling in the area
(e) Improving civic amenities in the area

(f) Encourage people to participate in the other communities' festivals.

(g) Alert the people as well as the government about the activities of unscrupulous elements among politicians and pseudo religious organizations who are trying to exploit festivals politically.

(h) Help initiate action against encroachments on public land in the name of religion.

(i) Last but not the least, concerned people should be willing to give sufficient time and energy to their chosen activity, and that too over a long period of time.

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We have so far enumerated a number of steps that could be taken up by various organizations and individuals. Most of these suggestions have been thrown up by the research effort undertaken here, as either suggestions from the respondents themselves or as our reaction to the responses of the people interviewed.

While we have listed out many things which the government could do, in our opinion, the role of the government, in this effort will be really very minor. It is the mobilisation of the people to demand such measures and their own self-help efforts which, we feel, really matter.

Perhaps one could go a step further and say that the very act of such mobilisation is more important in combating communalism than in obtaining the fruits of such a mobilisation.

*

This exercise was started by a few individuals who were feeling increasingly concerned and frustrated at the growing communal tensions and violence in Hyderabad.

In 1979 itself, soon after the second series of riots and communal clashes a "Purana Shahar Nagarik Suraksha Samithi" (Old City Citizens' Protection Committee) was formed by some of the activists associated with this

effort. The organization held a few meetings in the old city area and issued a series of pamphlets demanding the implementation of various measures by the government, most of which have been included here.

With the communal fire subsiding temporarily, the organization also slumbered. Subsequent efforts to revive the organization have occurred after each major communal clash. It is hoped that the present efforts to re-activise the organization, of which this small exercise also forms a part, will meet the challenge.

We are aware that the Hindu-Muslim communal problem is but one (viz. religious) dimension of the communal problem based on identities other than class and sex, such as race, language, region, caste etc. though at times some of these identities tend to merge, especially in the form of the concept of a Nation.

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As stated earlier, this study addresses itself mainly to those concerned with the Hindu-Muslim communal problem today and more specifically to those people in Hyderabad who intend to work with the people in the affected areas. With those from other areas we would like to share experiences and exchange notes on facing this problem of preserving ethnic identities and at the same time fighting its exploitation. Those in Hyderabad who are sympathetic to these effort could come forward to give some of their time for the efforts underway.

At the end, may we say: you are needed.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF HINDU RESPONDENTS

1 No.	2 Code name	3 Occupation	4 Education	5 Mother-Tongue	6 Age & Sex	7 Marital Status	8 House : Own or Rented	9 Political affiliation	10 Other Remarks (R— Respondent)
1.	Harijan Housewife	—	7th class	Telugu	40-F	Widow	Ancestral house in old city	Votes Congress	Staying with brother —R-2
2.	Harijan landlord	Landlord of 4 shops and 3 acres of land near old city	B.A.	Telugu	43-M	Married	—	C.P.I. supporter	Atheist
3.	Harijan Auditor	In A.G. office	B.A.	Telugu	40-M	Married	—	Trade Unionist, CPI Supporter	Owns another house in the new city
4.	Lodha shopkeeper	Assisting in family's provision store in Dhulpet	Intermediate	Hindi	24-M	,,	Ancestral House	Congress supporter	12 member joint family
5.	Lodha Cycle-repairer	in Dhulpet	10th class	Hindi	31-M	,,	,,	Janata (BJP) since '77; Yuva Morcha working committee member	Joint family; earns Rs. 12 per day

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6.	Maratha White-washer	—	School Final	Marathi	52-M	Widower	Rented in old city	Alternates between Congress & Janata	Immigrant from Nizamabad–1958
7.	Kayastha Pensioner	Formerly Mansabdar	Matric, F.A.	Urdu	65-M	Married	Ancestral house in old city	Votes Congress	Singer of Hindustani Music esp. at functions
8.	Lady (Khatri) School teacher	—	Matric	Hindi & Punjabi	40-F	Married	,,	Votes for a 'good' candidate; likes Lok Dal	Witness to riots
9.	Khatri Student	Under-graduate	B.Sc. final	,,	19-M	Un-married	,,	Favours Lok Dal	Son of R-8; witness to riots
10.	Khatri Supervisor	In factory	Matric	,,	52-M	Married	,,	Ex-Socialist Party	Brother-in-law of R-8
11.	Khatri Shopkeeper	—	Disconti-nued after 7th	,,	22-M	Un-married	,,	Votes Janata, Supports BJP	Son of R-10
12.	Hindu Maha-Sabha Veteran	Freedom fighter; Pensioner	B.A.	Hindi	35-M	Widower	A temple complex in old city	One of the founder-members of Hindu Mahasabha	Was beaten up by Muslims; back broken. At one time thought of convert-ing to Islam—before coming under Aryasamaj influence

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
13.	Marathi Brahmin	Telephone Linesman	Knows Urdu	Marathi	47-M	Married	Ancestral house in old city	As a voter feels: RSS is not militant enough	Lost four members of family in 1948 disturbances.
14.	Barber	—	Learnt Hindi through Arya Samaj	Telugu	45-M	Married	Own house	Always voted Congres—except Janata in 1977	Running a shop in old city
15.	Rickshaw puller-1	Rickshaw puller	—	Telugu	35-M	Married	Own house in old city	—	—
16.	Rickshaw puller-2	,,	—	Telugu	40-M	Married	—do—	Formerly communist in the district	Prominent Ganesh procession organizer
17.	Vishwa Hindu Parishad activist	Religious activist	Graduate(?)	Telugu	50-M	Married	Office-cum-residence: new city	Vishwa Hindu Parishad	—
18.	Harijan (petty) contractor	PWD contractor for weaker section housing scheme	10th class	Telugu	55-M	Married	Own house in old city slum	Veteran Communist now sympathiser	Married a muslim lady R-36
19.	Harijan watchman rioter	In Govt. office	2nd class	Telugu	45-M	Married	—do—	—	Ex-serviceman; '79 riots participant

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20.	Harijan unemployed youth rioter	unemployed	Illiterate	Telugu	21-M	Un-married	—do—	—	Participated in '79 riots; casually employed in road-levelling work
21.	Harijan Band master, rioter	Band master	7th class	Telugu	25-M	Married	—do—	Active Congress supporter but not member	Pahelwan; '79 riot participant; loan from brother and bank
22.	Cobbler	Cobbler	7th class	Kannada	45-M	married	Rented in Dhulpet Old city		Migrant from Bidar Karnatak
23.	Marathi Teacher-1	In Govt. school	Graduate(?)	Marathi	40-M	married	Old city	RSS, Hindu Mahasabha sympathiser	—
24.	Marathi Teacher-2	—do—	—do—	Marathi	40-M	married	—do—	—do—	—
25.	Harijan un-employed youth; AIYF activist	Assisting father in work	10th class	Telugu	20-M	Un-married	Own house	AIYF-CPI sympathiser	Witness to riots
26.	Senior Reddy Police officer	Police officer; Worked in old city area	Graduate	Telugu	48-M	Married	Govt. Quarter; new city	—	,,
27.	Senior Upper caste officer	Police officer in old city	Graduate	Telugu	40-M	Married	new city	—	,,
28.	Middle level Reddy Officer	Police officer in old city	Graduate	Telugu	40-M	Married (?)	—	Feels BJP is a defensive organisation	,,

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29.	Hindu Head Constable	Head Constable in old city	Intermediate	Telugu	32-M	Married	Old city	Ardent BJP supporter	—
30.	Upper caste north Indian shopkeeper	Cloth trader	Intermediate	Hindi	40-M	Married	new city	—	—
31.	Clerk	In Govt. office	Graduate	Urdu	51-M	Married	Rented; old city	—	Wife is a nurse in Govt. hospital
32.	Ex-Jagirdar, Driver	Govt. service	7th class	Urdu	42-M	Married	—do—	MIM supporter; formerly driver for RSS-BJP for 10 years	Left RSS during cyclone relief-work due to RSS partisanship; Jagirdar's son Only Muslim house left in the lane; Hindu tenant
33.	Compounder	In Govt. Unani hospital	Matric	Urdu	50-M	Married	Old city	Condemns BJP and MIM	—
34.	Editor	Editor Urdu Tabloid	B.Sc.	Urdu	35-M	Married	Own; old city	MIM sympathiser	—
35.	Cloth-vendor (rowdy in police record)	Door-to-door vendor	4th class	Urdu	25-M	Married	Rented; old city	Formerly Congress, then closer to CPI now independent	Noted as a rowdy in police record; harassed Witness to riots
36.	Housewife of Harijan contractor	Housewife	Illiterate	Urdu	45-F	Married	Own; old city slum	CPI sympathiser	—
37.	Driver-2 with Arab sons-in-law	Working off and on in Saudi Arabia	Illiterate	Urdu	40-M	Married	Rented; old city	MIM sympathiser	Two daughters married to Arabs in S. Arabia

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
38.	Working girl	Proof-reader cum typist-clerk	B.Sc.	Urdu	18-F	Un-married	Relative's new city	—	—
39.	Rickshaw puller-1	Plying in old city	—	Urdu	40-M	Married	—	—	—
40.	Rickshaw Puller-2	—	—	Urdu	40-M	Married	—	—	—
41.	Businessman	Businessman	Literate but not educated	Urdu	50-M	Married	Own; new city	MIM sympathiser	Involved in many land grabbing incidents; now running a political party witness to riots
42.	Muslim Head Constable	Working in old city	H.S.C.	Urdu	30-M	Married	Old city	—	—
43.	Shopkeeper victim	Shopkeeper running a kirana shop in old city	H.S.C.	Urdu	30-M	Married	Own house cum shop; old city	—	Victim of riots; shop burnt down
44.	Political leader	Leader of MIM	Graduate	Urdu	50-M	Married	New city	MIM sympathiser	Sitting MLA; jailed several times under NSA; lives in new city with parents
45.	Driver-3	Driver in Govt. service	7th class	Urdu	21-M	unmarried	Own; new city	leader of MIM	—

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Setu

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The objective of Setu is to generate and disseminate socially relevant knowledge—knowledge that gets defined in activities, actions and struggles by peoples' groups. It intends to carry on research, both participative and theoretical, on movements and peoples' groups.

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We would like our readers' help and co-operation through exchange of information and ideas with us. It is hoped that it is this kind of exchange of facts and ideas that would ultimately result into a radical transformation of our stagnant and ancient society.

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