COMMUNAL RIOTS IN ALIGARH IN THE POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

Thesis submitted to the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIOLOGY

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PREFACE

Riots have been with us since long. Wars have been fought, treaties made and peace restored, but this casual killings of men and children and desperate destruction of property is persisting, inspite of changes in the political and social life of India. One hardly needs a definition or description of this mass killing. An Indian knows its impact, being a helpless and silent spectator of this violent and explosive rupture of relations between citizens of different faith and religion.

The history of Hindu Muslim riots in India can be traced back to the time when famous historian Ibn Batuta visited India in the second quarter of 14th century A.D. He has noted that there was a colony of about 4,000 Muslims at Manjusar ruled over
by Ram Dev, living in a suburb alongwith the town. He further observes about relations with Hindus of the place "conflicts frequently break out between them and the town peoples but Raja makes peace between them on account of his need of merchants". Again history tells us about such Hindu Muslim clashes during the reign of Allauddin Khilji.

A close study of Hindu Muslim relations during the long period of Muslim rule in India will show that conflicts were not rare between Hindus and Muslims due to the fact that though some very important civil and military posts assigned to the Hindus by almost every Muslims monarch, yet the hard reality is there that Muslims considered themselves conquerors and Hindus subjects.

1. Travels in Asia and Africa (Translation), H.A.R. Gibb P.233-34
And they were not ready to give them equal status in the society. This naturally created a feeling of insecurity and frustration among Hindus which ultimately resulted in Hindu Muslim riots on issues like cow slaughter singing before mosque, building of mosque on the site temple and religious processions.

After the un-successful struggle for freedom in 1857, Muslims were made target of ruthless use of power by the Britishers simply because the emperor at that time happened to be a Muslim. On the other hand Hindus were not so severely dealt with. Again the result was a deep sense of insecurity, economic backwardness and consequent frustration, this time among the Muslims.

1. Ellist and Dowson (Khafi Khan) P. 452
2. Magnus Affairs: T. B. Meyewalkar P. 63
3. Gazattier, Banaras P. 207-8
By the end of 19th Century A.D. when British Rules had established their empire on firm foundations, they smelt political awakening among the Indian nation at large and its consequent danger for the empire. To counteract this they adopted the policy of Divide and Rule. Hindus were reminded of the atrocities of Muslim rulers, and Muslims were made to believe that acute differences in religion, culture, customs, and their way of life could not possibly allow Hindus to have a soft corner in their hearts for them.

This changed the entire trend of Indian politics or in other words put an end to the united opposition of Hindus and Muslims to the British rule. The outcome of this unfortunate situation was the emergence of communal politics, and formation of communal political parties like Hindu Maha Sabha and Muslim League.
Communal feelings were found to such an extent by the British rulers, in pursuance of their vested interest that Mr. M.A. Jinnah once a staunch congressite raised the cry of two nation theory from the plen form of Muslim League. This filthy atmosphere hovered over the Indian politics for more than 25 years. In the mean time innumerable communal riots occurred throughout the country resulting in mass killing and destruction of property and places of worship.

Ultimately inspite of last effort of Maulana Azad, the then President of Indian National Congress and Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Sub-Continent of India was divided into Bharat and Pakistan.

Mass migration of minorities of both the countries brought with them a wave of mass killing, looting and even abduction and rape of women of both the communities. In post independence period Muslims inspite of constitutional safe guards for the minorities, felt insecure and frustrated. They lost faith in the majority community.
On the other hand Hindus believed that Muslims were not loyal to their mother land and looked forward for their emancipation to Pakistan. They were looked down upon as Pakistani spies and fifth columnists. This state of affairs created an atmosphere of hatred, mistrust and tension between the two major communities of India, which ultimately resulted in frequent riots in almost every part of the country till the declaration of emergency.

In the present dissertation an attempt has been made to discuss and examine different aspects of religious, political, economic, educational and social of communal riots in Aligarh. The conclusions have been based on the responses of a questionnaire issued to the chosen members of both the communities living in sensitive localities of the town, and on personal interviews with responsible Hindus and Muslims of the town.
In the end, I deem it my duty
to express my deep sense of gratitude to
Dr. Abdul Halim Siddiqi under whose supervi­sion and inspiring guidance I have
completed this work.

Syed Mohd Anwarul Haque
(Syed Mohd Anwarul Haque)
INTRODUCTION

The word "Communal" has been derived from the word Community. Community is the collectivity of the individuals who have norms, interaction and culture. The modes of life differ from Community to Community and place to place but they have certain limitations for social organisations. In Indian context we find community on religion, economic and social basis.

In the organisation of the communities we find certain laws and composition of attitudes in one idea. Similarly each community has certain difference of behaviour?

1. William Geddie, Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary P.213
2. Richard D. Lambert Secular Democracy P-37 New Delhi 1973
so the differentiation of interest prevails among
the communities due to their ideological differences.
These clashes are found among the communities due
to difference in ideological interest.

According to Kurt Lewin 3 is is the principle
of "diversity within Unity" which dominates productivity.
the principle that is so basic to democratic living in
all types of groups from small face to face groups to
world organisation".

He has defined the dynamic nature of group in
the democratic pattern of Society where they are scattered
into groups. The groups are based on very small number of
individuals. The individuals have social interactions
with each other.

Kurt Lewin
Resolving Social Conflicts
1948
P - 112
They say that all events that take place in the Society are responsible for tension. The tension turns the mind of individual towards disorganisation. Disorganisation leads the Society towards selfishness.

(According to R.M. MACIVER 5 Society brings inter group tensions in connection with his treatment of the topic of ethnic and racial groups and tells his readers that "the phenomena of prejudice, tension, and discrimination between group are extremely variable".

The tensions divide the individual.

---

Ernest B. Haas Hans Margenthan 4 and Fair - child emphasize that the community structure, organisation, cooperation, competition, amity and invention are the causes of tensions.

In International Organisation Inter group 1961
P-436, America

R. N. Maciver Society, Society tension Beyond the Nature State 1964 P-435
into groups, sects, castes, tribes, society and community. Failure to achieve the aim of the group creates group tension and the sentiments raise their head in the group to show their domination on other groups. This often becomes a cause of violence between group and group. Its development in the society is called "Social problem".

According to Richard C. Fuller and Richard Myers, "Social problems are behaviour patterns or conditions that are considered objectionable or undesirable by many members of a Society. These members recognise that the corrective policies, programmes and service are necessary to cope with and reduce the scope of these problems".

In the structural change we have to experience these causes for the development of Society.

According to Sir Charles Elliot, emphasis lies on Hindu Muslim differences in medieval times. "The Hindus were not satisfied under the Muslim domination but they felt a bit safer in the British period." The ideological differences were rooted among the communities which took the shape of group tension. The significance of the communal riot is due to the differences in the ideology of the two communities.

**The Role of Political Parties:**

The Political Parties perform a very important role in establishing good relations among the communities. The Political parties are the institutions where the individuals get chance to express their views and ideological freely. In the democratic pattern of Society and Parties afford opportunity to the individuals to express their views. The election is the other source of expression of the views of the individuals.
According to Gabriel A. Ahmond 8 by anomie interest groups we mean more or less spontaneous break through into the political system from the Society, such as riots and demonstrations. The Muslims were presumed invaders and the clashes between Hindus and Muslims occurred from the beginning of the political consciousness. 9 The differences of opinion developed and the Muslim League was formed in 1906 A. D. Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah became the leader of the Muslim League who gave the slogan of two nation theory. 10 Hindu Mahasabha and League were the active communal parties in India. For a long time Mr. Jinnah was a member of Congress. He gave this slogan in 1935.

Communalism is a well known concept. 11 It

8 Gabriel A. Ahmond
The Politics of Developing Areas p.34
D. Van Nastrind
10 The Rise of New Ideologies and state forms in JS
Roucek, ed; contemporary Europe

9 Dr. Satish Chandra
Communal Interpretation of Indian History p.1

11 Joseph S. Roucek
Political Behaviour as a Struggle for power
Journal of Social Philosophy
V/ (Jul/A41) p-341-351
dignifies the religious principles. (The Communal parties on the basis of different cultural and religious values plead that the two communities cannot live together.) The impetus to communalism is given by the misinterpretation of the Indian History written by English authors, who painted vivid picture of ruthless rule of Muslims and which the spirit of hatred aroused.

(According to Prabha Dixit 1; Hindus think in majority to dominate Muslim community and Muslim still face the crises". The communalism as a political phenomenon in India grew under the pressure of nationalism. The communalism is the originator of the minority problems.)

Coverage and limitations of the Study:

(Uttar Pradesh is the largest populated of India. It has 56 District.

U.P. has been the Centre of politics since the independence. The eminent leaders were and are the citizens of U.P. The people of U.P. have very importance role in the political activities.

In the light of the above description we come down to discuss the problems. The geography of Aligarh tells us the situation and environment of Aligarh. The district is divided into six parts, namely Kol (Aligarh) Sikandra Rao, Hathras, Mursan, Atrauli and Kher (Sasni). The city of Aligarh belongs to Kol tehsil and has in its hold many mohallas and wards. This tehsil has its importance due to the University and large number of Secondary Institutions & Industrial concerns. The main city is across the railway line where D.S. College, Varshency College, Mahashwari College, Tika Ram Girls College and other local institution as well as market are situated.
After Independence the educational institutions have become the source inflicting communal tension. Two kinds of educational institutions are studied for riots and violence. The first and of foremost importance is the study of environment prevailing in the University where the students of the two communities live together in hostels. The aim and object of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of this great seat of learning, was social moral and educational uplift of Indian Communities. The Muslim Community was frustrated due to the after effects of first struggle for freedom and apathy of the British rulers towards Muslim. According to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, "the Hindus and Muslims are two eyes". He wanted complete understanding among the two great Indian communities.

For the purpose of a discussion on the post independence, communal organisation the last 28 years have to be divided, (1) from 15th August 1947 to 30th January 1948 when Gandhiji was murdered (2) from the banning of communal parties to the Nehru Liaquat Pact (3) from 1962 riots of Aligarh due to the result of Students Union
election (4) and from 1972 Aligarh Muslim University Amendment bill movement and uptodate. The evidences will be produced in support of assertions about riots.

Nature of Communal riots:

The nature of communal problems in India is not very different from those in other Western Countries of the World; though there are certain problems peculiar to this Country. Religion choicism, suspicion, hatred, differences in views, ideologies and distrust among the great communities, communal organisations, mobility of population, sanskritization, pressure of political and economic groups rendered the society in India vulnerable to communal tensions and conflicts. Really they push the society towards, distintegration.

After Independence though the national Govt. accepted and declared the country a "Secular Welfare State."

13. Muslim University Gazette
Aligarh
24-10-73
its object was specified as solving various social problems of India. Yet much could not be immediately be done to suppress communal disharmony which was to lead the country towards two nation theory, resulting in generating hatred among the two great communities.

The problem of communal disturbances was developed due to the negligence of the political parties and the Government in checking the provocative activities.

**Study of Communal problem**

The Communal problems in India in the past did not receive the attention they deserved. There are many factors which lead the country and its communities towards disorganisations.

1. Religious customs and traditions are the roots of communal tension because their rigid adherence divides the society into castes, tribes and groups and the result is that communal issues crop up.
(2) The misinterpretations of history and political frustration lead the society to group war.

(3) The economic and social problems of different communities did not allow the society to accept one ideology.

(4) The teaching of secularism and national integration were not introduced.

(5) The problems of languages.

(6) Dispute over the representation of seats in the Parliaments and Assemblies were the demands under the Leadership of Mr. Jinnah in 1928. The Muslim League thus created a communal platform to voice the demands of the Muslims. (7) Split over the issues of seats in the All India National Congress. Besides within the Congress Hindu communal group was led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and groups' firm opposition to the Muslim demands led to their rejection by the Congress. (8) Illiteracy prevailing in the masses was the chief cause of their inability to see political problems in right preceptive (9) Ideological differences over the meaning of nationalism. Because the Muslims were not
ready to accept the meaning given to the Indian Nationalism and (10) The idea of Pakistan emerged in 1930 on the basis of communal considerations. Ramsay MacDonald, 14 the British Prime Minister's views are:

"The Police in India, ill educated, ill paid, and drawn from the lowest strata of society and accustomed to rough modes when actually authorised and encouraged to strike persons in the streets, irrespective of station, age or sex cannot be expected to restrain themselves. Stories of inhuman and barbarous chastisement go about, creating bitterness and racial and communal ran cour. Believe me, there will be the very direct to pay for another generation

14
Indias Search for National Identity
Ainslie T. Embere P.104
The police was blamed for communal disturbances. Provocative attitude was adopted by the police as the Prime Minister of England Macdonald has correctly said. This behaviour of the police inspite of loud claims by the authorities for the changed attitude of the police exists even today.

According to the History narrated by Mohd. Yasin. 15 the Hindu Muslim problems came into existence from 1605 and 1749 A.D. But Ibne Batota 16 says that the conflict between Hindus and Muslims came into being since the reign of King Alauddin Khilji who attacked Manglore.

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15
Mohd Yasin
A Social History of
Islamic India
1958

16
Travels in Asia translated by H.A.R. Giblin (1929)
P-233-34
History of Aligarh Communal riots:

D.R. Goyal, the editor of Secular Democracy is of opinion that the spread of communal trouble after independence has been more or less coextensive with the growth of R.S.S. The Prime Minister of India Srimati Indira Gandhi, speaking in Parliament on the Bhiwandi riots, said:

"It was a coincidence, if at all it was a coincidence, that when ever the Jan Sangh and the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh went, there were communal disturbances".

According to Dr. G.K. Narain, 18 the communal riots in Aligarh occurred in 1946 A.D. due to Hindu Muslim differences. At that time Muslims were suffering from political as well as social frustration. This was followed by the communal riots in 1950 due to Holi celebrations. On 2nd March 1951 the
riots occurred due to girl teasing in Aligarh exhibition. On 11th November 1952 once again Aligarh came in the grip of riots as a reaction of riots in different cities of U.P. 5th June, 1954 was another day of communal disharmony. It was due to a petty dispute between a hawker and a customer.

On 19th September 1956, the riots broke out on account of the agitation organised by the Muslims against Vidyasagar Bhawan publication containing defamatory observations about the Holy Prophet of Islam. Communal riots flared up on 3rd October 1961 on the occasion of Ramlila Procession. The sparking of the riot spread

17. G. K. Narain
   Thesis on changing Behaviour pattern of Rural students in an Urban set up.
   P-36

18. D.P.R. Goyal
   Editor
   "Secular Democracy"
   New Delhi
upto Kher tehsil of Aligarh and on March 13th

Cow slaughter was the reason for the ugly

incidents that took place in the town of Sikandra

Rao and the town came under the firm of communal
tension.

The riot of 1962 has its own significance

as it originated from a seat of higher learning in

the Muslim University students Union elections the
defeated candidate Sharma attributed his defeat to

the communal considerations in voting. He delivered

inflammatory speeches and roused the feelings of

Hindus; this resulted in a riot in which not a

few lives were lost and a number of shops were looted.

19 20 21
Times of India
New Delhi
17-9-56
3rd Oct. 1961
In 1971 communal riot broke out on election issue. The General elections held in March 1971, the Congress candidate was contesting election against the Alliance and the communal provocative speeches were delivered by the Communal parties during the election campaign and result was that the communal feelings of the two communities were flared up and ultimately the riot broke out.

The last and the most important communal riots showed their ugly face in 1972 due to the A.M.U. Amendment Act. The Muslims were dissatisfied with the Act. The Act was the issue of the communal riots and hatred between Hindus and Muslims because in their opinion the minority character of the University was taken away, an Old Boys Association and Muslim Educational Conference were not given representation on the Executive Council, moreover the number of nominated members was more than the elected one. The Hindu community was not satisfied because the Act did not allow affiliation of local colleges - all Hindu institutions.
There were many reasons of communal riots. These were religious issues, political issues, social issues and educational issues. These causes under the influence of district developed after the Independence and the Political parties added fuel to the fire. The citizens of Aligarh were ignorant of the historical background of A.M.U. Most of the Hindus allege that A.M.U. is the place where communal feelings are nourished and therefore the young Muslims studying in the University are responsible for reusing communal feelings and consequent riots with their vested interests. The communal Hindus and Muslims are interested to distort the image of A.M.U. The question arises why the Civil Line area where the A.M.U. is situated and Hindu Muslim communities live together does not come in the grip of violence. The answer is very explicit that the educated and conscious people live in this area and they know their duties and rights, and fully realize the consequence of such riots.

22 - 23
Times of India,
New Delhi
6-3-71

24
Jamhoor Urdu, Aligarh
Radiance, Weekly, New Delhi 14-4-71
Remedial steps taken by Indian Govt.

"Environmentally, 25 Integration laries best in situation controlled by social groupings representing the rational interests of urban-industrial society, groups seeking to maximize their economic benefits and dividing along regionally homogeneous ideological political line". The history of national societies show that no political, religious economic or regional group has been able to withstand for long the temptation to advance its claims by violent means if it thought it could do so without too great a risk.

Peace is essential for socio economic development in the country. The government as well as public try to establish the peaceful atmosphere among the communities. The late Prime Minister of India Mr. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said thus in the constituent Assembly on 3 April 1948:

"Whereas it is essential for the purpose of functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity that communalism should be eliminated from Indian life, this Assembly is of
opinion that no communal organisation which vested in any of its officer or organs admits to exclude from its membership persons on grounds of religion, race and caste, or any of them, shall be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the bonafide religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities should be taken.

The 1956 Amritsar Congress Session gave the country a passionate call for national unity and solidarity in view of unfortunate and disruptive atmosphere in several parts of the country, due to Re-Organisation of States. The session expressed its deep concern on the national solidarity and emotional integration.

On 23 May 1961 National Integration Committee recommended:

With a view to discourage the tendency to form or establish communal institutions, specially in the educational and social fields, in the name of caste or community it is necessary that the government and the
Public bodies cease to extend any help, grant or assistance should be made conditional upon their being laid open to all members of the public.

1. Abolition of untouchability (Art. 17)

2. Promotion of their educational and economic interest and their protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Art. 46).

3. According to Article 15 the public places will be opened for all the wells, hotels, roads and ghats etc.

4. Obligation of the state to consider their claims in making of appointments under (Art. 16 and 335).

5. Minority commission will try to settle all the problems of minorities.

6. Facilities provided for Urdu language in the Urdu speaking areas.

7. Rights of linguistic minorities are affirmed to have instructions for primary education in their mother tongue.

8. Articles 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 348, 350A and 350B give legal protection to linguistic and religious minorities in India. In these Articles the minorities are free to get all facilities from the state as well as Central Government of India.
According to section 155A and 295 I.P.C. the Central Govt. can investigate offences.

In the case of inciting communal feelings through Press the Govt. can take action under the Articles 19(2) of the Constitution.

Article 19(2) reads:— "Nothing in the sub-section (a) of clause (1) shall effect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the state from making any law.

The Representation of People Act and rules framed and there under any other law concerned with the subject be suitably amended so as to ban participation in election activity by political parties bearing lititantly communal labels such as Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha."

25. Ernst B. Haas, in International Organisation 1961 P.378

27. Hans J. Morgenthau Politics among Nations P-597

26. G. S. Ghurye, Social tension in India Chapter 4 Page 115 & 116

Whenever a commission is appointed; under the commission of Enquiries Act to enquire into the incidents of a communal nature the terms of enquiry & investigation with include:

1. Fixation of the responsibility of the local administration.

2. To enquire about all effected persons and pay them compensation.

The collective fine should be imposed in the disturbed localities.

The local administration should pay special attention to the disturbed areas.

The commissioners and District Magistrates will reach the place within 24 hours. They should control the situation.
The proportional population of the communities is shown here with the help of Census Report 1971:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Buddhists</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Hindu</th>
<th>Jains</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Sikhs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALIGARH</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>1,63,457</td>
<td>1,448</td>
<td>83,456</td>
<td>1,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATRAULI</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>12,066</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8,690</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HATHRAS</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>65,328</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>7,975</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MURSAN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,502</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SASNI</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,770</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIKANDRA RAO</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9,912</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>7,202</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 564 778 2,61,035 2,449 1,09,014 2,186

The relationship of the communities is based (on 1) Common culture (2) Common Language (3) Common dress and (4) Common transactions in the social life.

When the community splits over any issue then the friction comes in the picture.

After 1972 we find no communal riots in U.P. which has the significance to be enlisted in chronicle order. However communalism always created communal tension
which disintegrated two biggest communities of India; socially and culturally. In all its roll, it is a means to an end, before independence a weapon of English rulers to divide and rule, after independence a tool of communal political parties to with the election for the formation of their party Govt. The communal tension culminates in clashes between the two communities in which both receive injuries, suffer financial losses, destruction of property and lastly loss of lives and above all the loss of faith and confidence in each other, which widens the grief of distrust between the two communities. This state of affairs ultimately result in slow development and progress of the country.

30. Census Report of India
1971
CHAPTER I

PLANNING AND METHOD STUDY

As discussed in the previous chapter, the aim of the present study is to investigate and analyse the forces, factors and conditions that are responsible for the tensions and consequent communal riots in the city of Aligarh. It is generally believed that there are a number of causes and socio-political factors which lead to the communal tensions culminating in rioting, arsons, looting and finally in strained social relations between Hindus and Muslims.

The variables studied and analysed in the present investigation include religion, political, educational economic and social conditions on which conclusions have been based for frequent riots.

TOOLS AND TECHNIQUE

In order to study the above stated problems a questionnaire was issued to the Muslims and Hindus of different age group and social status. After receiving
answers to the questionnaire, the respondents were interviewed to seek clarifications of their answers. In all there were seventy questions in the questionnaire covering about mentions factors responsible for riots. A break down of items included in each dimension is placed below:

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The questionnaire was in the form of simple statement and the respondents were required to show their agreement or disagreement with the statement by putting a sign of \( \checkmark \) against each item for which space was provided there in. On receipt of answers to questionnaire each respondent was interviewed in order to seek clarification of their opinion and illicit
some more information the causes and remedies of communal tensions and consequent riots. All the information was thus collected and analysed will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Sample:

The People to whom the questionnaire was addressed belonged to the sensitive areas of Aligarh City. It was evidently not possible to question the whole population of town in this sample survey. Only the sensitive areas "where the percentage and frequency of communal tension and riots between Hindus and Muslims are comparatively higher" were selected on the basis of the above stated presumption. The following areas of Aligarh were included in the present survey Chaurahah Abdul Karim, Pool Wala Chauraha, Sarafa, Upper Kot, Jayganj, Madar Gate, Manik Chauk, Dubey ka Parow, Railway Roads, Rasal Ganj, Sarai Hakim, Bara Dowari and Mahabir Ganj.
It was not possible even to cover the entire population of the above areas, in the study it was, therefore, decided to select hundred Hindus and hundred Muslims males for the present study. The age group of the selected sample ranged from 21-65 years. Care was taken to select persons belonging to different occupational groups, having different educational standards, and varied social and cultural backgrounds.

The information was collected with the help of questionnaire and interviews as stated above. Each answer was discussed with the respondent by the investigator and their statements in interview based on their answers were carefully noted down and were later compiled and analysed. The researcher gave them full opportunity to express their views freely and frankly on the problems under study. The impression of such frank and free discussion were again noted down for the purpose and study.
The Control over Sample

The investigator had full control over the samples as he himself had selected them. In the selection of religious and linguistic groups the author had taken care that only the chosen persons of the most important groups be invited to answer the questionnaire.

Representative character

Since care has been taken to chose persons of different age groups and willing to answer the questionnaire and face the cross examination of the investigator, it can safely be asserted that the conclusions drawn are based on sound representation of the two communities under study.

Proportion is attained in random sampling automatically. In stratified sampling a deliberate attempt is required. It is difficult, particularly when the size of different strata is not the same.
The study has been done only in Hindu and Muslim Communities which represent the society at large. The random methods of study has been selected by the investigator taking into consideration the nature of the problem.

**Difficulties in Research:**

A field work was started in Aligarh where the investigator has to face many difficulties in the work of survey in the specified area. The difficulties encountered may be classified in two categories.

a) People who precluded that they have no time to answer the questionnaire or face interview, although as a matter of fact they did not want to involve themselves.

b) Some of them apprehended that the views expressed by them may not be used against them. Some of them thought that the investigator was a govt. spy who was
after the communal minded persons who may be apprehended at the time of communal trouble. It was with great difficulty and protracted persuasion that they were made to answer the questionnaire and face the interview. However there were others who filled up the questionnaire and returned them within time.

Some of them did not answer all the questions and the researcher had to exert to prepare them to answer all the questions.

The above will show that the investigator had to exercise great patience, suffered monetary loss and spend a lot of time in collecting data.
Classification and Tabulation of the Data:

Measure of central tendency and variability have been intensively used to analyse the maximum differences in attitude of Hindus and Muslims of Aligarh. Test suggests that the measures of central tendency and variability in addition to providing the basis for exact comparisons of the series. The items are tested for the validity and significance to make them easily understandable.

The test of proportion has also been used to analyse the differences of views in various items, between the Hindus and Muslims.

When two independent samples of size \( n_1 \) and \( n_2 \) with sample proportion \( P_1 \) and \( P_2 \) are to be compared and the significant difference between them is to be calculated and thus the test of proportion is the most suitable test. The formula is placed below:

\[
Z = \frac{P_2 - P_1}{\sqrt{n_1 n_2}} - \frac{n_1 + n_2}{n_1 n_2} \cdot \frac{P(1-P)}{n_1} + \frac{P(1-P)}{n_2}
\]

Where \( P = \frac{n_1 P_1 + n_2 P_2}{n_1 + n_2} \)
is used with null hypothesis that the two proportions come from the same population.

Kolmogarov Smirnov's two sample tests were used to analyse the differences between Hindu and Muslim points of view. This test is sensitive to any kind of difference in the distribution from which the two samples were drawn differences in location (central tendency) in dispersion; in skewness, etc. The method, rationale and other considerations regarding the advantages of Kolmogarov Smirnov's test have been discussed by Siegal.

On the statistical method, shown above, the data have been analysed and this analysis of the data and the interpretations of the findings have been discussed.

Non parametric statistics for the Behavioural Sciences
Mc Graw-Hill N.Y.P.127
By Seigel S
Tabulation of Data:

After the statistical test, the data were arranged in tables. Sifting and counting of individual items, can be done by machine. After counting and adopting process, data were arranged in tables.

(1) Tabulation indicates- the object of research and the required information accessible. It allows the observation of the whole data at a glance. The informations and tabulationshow the significance of the items.

(2) It allows the economy of space and provides clarity. The views at glance show the expression.

(3) Tabulation is the only practical side of analysis.
The Essentials

The merits of a good table are the attractiveness, the manageable size, the compatibility, the clarity and scientific value. Through a proportionate size of columns, good handwriting, clearness, a table may be good looking and attractive. (2) If the size of the table is long, the information are long, it is better to consolidate the table in one. (3) Great care should be taken to place data in a form of comparable percentage. The ratio of differences are shown in the table. (4) The table is comprehensive and even a lay-man can understand the table easily. (5) To get scientific value all important information would be incorporated.

In making a table all these conditions were followed by the investigator. Hence he had to face many difficulties. Enquiry being too large he had to form many tables with headings and sub-headings.
In this chapter the Researcher has discussed the methodology, aim and object of research in the study of the communal riots. In this regard he had faced many difficulties to study the attitudes, questionnaire, sampling method, testing method, difficulty in the field work and tabulation. In the next chapter the interpretations and analysis will be discussed.
CHAPTER II

Religious Aspect of Communal disturbances:

1. Religion, in one or the other way is related to men with a Supernatural Being or God. It provides normative patterns to the person concerned. Thus it not only unites persons into common bonds but it also generates a sense of belongingness among the people following the same religion.

2. According to Dr. Hans Raj, it is a matter of association to be effected in human groupings which are subject to laws valid for group, life in general or it is something quite different; it is a matter of individual concern only, a private matter, exempted from the validity of natural laws of social structure.

3. Religion is a social phenomenon where people gather according to their own ideology. The ideology of man differs from man to man and also the situation which causes the tension. Thus the question of population arises among the Indian Communities which breeds the differences in the ideologies of different communities.
On this matter the R.S.S. Chief Mr. Golwalker while writing about "Internal Threats" observed that "Muslims, and Christians are the very targets the Jan Sangh has picked for Indianisation. Mr. Balraj Madhok, the leader of Jan Sangh and RSS Leader Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee believed that the

| 1 | Doughlas Barry  
Bronwaski Fisher Wesley  
Man in Society Religion today  
P.124. |
| 2 | Encyclopadia of Religion and Ethics Vol.I Caste  
230 Volume 12  
P.1-8 |
| 3 | Bunch of Thought  
Internal Threats  
Chapter XII |
| 4 | International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences Chap.II  
Ideology and Social System  
Vol: 7  
P.76 |
| 5 |  |
| 6 | Indian Nationalism  
Chap.Bhartiya  
Balraj Madhok  
The problem of Muslim minority can be solved if their outlook on cultural, social and political problems of the country are Hindunised. Muslims apathy towards towards Indian culture, social customs and beliefs are the root cause of tension.

The causes of Hindu Muslim Conflict

Every religion has its own principle of worship and social customs. The Hindu religion believes in a society the doors of which closed to non-Hindus, while Islam gives a conception of a society based on human-brotherhood. Most people in fact, do not try to go deep into the religious philosophy and do not make any effort to imbibe the spirit of the religious principles. They adhere to "Social rules". According to Hindu religion custom of removing one's shoes in the kitchen is religion, fasting is religion, wearing janew (sacred thread) and clean clothes are religion, kissing of feet of religious preists is religion. On the contrary Muslim customs are totally different from the above, Muslim believe in brother-hood and shun untouchability.
As Sunti Chatterji observes that when the fully developed Hindu culture became established during the 14th and 16th centuries, the impact of Islam on India and the direct result of this was a restatement of both the thought and emotionalism of ancient and early medieval Indian which has been called Indian Bhakti movement. The Hinduism and Islam came closer with the impact of Bhakti movement and the sufism as both believed in human service irrespective of caste and creed.

The multiplicity of groups in a society always involves some kind of friction and conflict. According to Robert C Agell "so significant has been the role of free standing groups in contemporary life that one is tempted to say that our society is characterized by group individualism".
This condition creates the spirit of separation and selfishness in the society which leads to disintegration of the communal harmony. Sir Teodor Marrision and Sir Abdur Rahim have expressed their views on the differences of religious mode of behaviour. They have stated that the Hindus and Muslims could travel jointly but they could not perform the religious rites at one place.

Another example of conflict on religious issues is that religious processions passing before the Mosques or beneath the branches of 'peapal' trees flare up communal tensions resulting in conflicts.

In 1942 in a judgement the Hon'ble High Court of Judicature at Madras ruled that the playing of music near a mosque would not by itself without any thing further amount to an offence within the meaning of section 296 IPC. Any deliberate intention to disturb the worship may not be necessary but it must be found as a fact before the section could apply that there was a substantial and not merely a faciful disturbance of worship.
The above judgement was delivered on an appeal to secure court order to prohibit playing of music before mosques because it causes disturbance in worship. The facts behind this dispute are interesting. In the judgement it has been said that a mosque was built and at the time of its construction security was given that they will not have any objection to the ringing of bell and loud music etc.

In 1952 the communal riots broke out on the occasion of Semlile Procession. On an other occasion communal riots showed their ugly face on Moharram procession.

9. Influence of Islam on Indian Culture  
   Dr. Tara Chandra

10. Integration of American Society

11. Political India  
   Sir Theodore Morrison

   Ananda K Coomaraswamy  
   1972  
   P. 148

12. Communal Riots in India  
   Shevaji Rao Hyde  
   P.3
Cow slaughter was the cause of most of the riots before the independence. The cow is worshipped by the Hindus. Cow slaughtering is permissible for foreign trade but strangely it is not permitted for Muslims to slaughter a cow.

Cow slaughter is also a cause for disintegration of the society. Some anti-social elements flame up communal feelings on this issue resulting in communal riots. Such type of communal riot took place in Sikandra Rao Tehsil of Aligarh in 1962. A large number of people were killed during this riot.

The ideological differences among the communities lead towards the disintegration of the society. This friction when creeps into the society creates individualism. This is quite anti-democratic sentiment. These sentiments provoke the individual to adopt the aggressive attitude in the name of religion.

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13
Cow Slaughtering Aligarh
Riots in 1962
Times of India
13-3-62.

14
Ram Lila Procession Communal Riots in India Shivaji Rao P.7-8

15
Inter Group Relation and National Integration in Indian Society. Prof. R. N. Saxena.
A questionnaire was circulated in this empirical study which is common to both Hindus and Muslim pertaining to communal tension and riots. The questionnaire consists of 1 items related to the religious and political aspects. An analysis of each item is placed below: Do you think that the festivals like Moharram, Idduzzuha, Holi, Dussarah and Ram Naumi are the sources of communal tensions? The sample of the present study was drawn from sensitive areas of Aligarh consisting hundred Hindus and hundred Muslims. The respondents were asked to put (✓) sign against each item showing their agreement for disagreement with the question.

**TABLE II**

"shows the attitude of Hindus and Muslims towards the Religion as a source of communal tension".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items No.</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>HINDUS</th>
<th>MUSLIMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Festivals as source of communal riots.</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mosques/Temperlaes are the sources of communal riots.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Religion is course for national integration.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Loud music, ringing of bell and singing before mosques are the sources of communal riots.  

5. Islam is an alien religion.  

6. Religious preaching is the source of communal riots.  

7. RSS and Jameat-Islamic encourage communal riots.  

8. Hindus have greater tolerance than Muslims.  

9. Muslims donot take part in Hindu festivals and their cultural activities.  


11. Children from the very beginning are taught to be an enemy of Hinduism.
The above analysis shows that a large percentage of Hindus as well as Muslim respondents feel that the festivals are not the source of communal riots, mosques and temples are not the stores of arms and ammunition and religion is not a hinderance to national integration. They also feel that loud music and ringing of bell before the mosques are not the sources of communal riots as shown in the table. Hindus also believe Islam is not an alien religion. Muslims also reciprocate it. So far as the items no, one and ten are concerned Muslims are of the opinion that they create communal tensions. The items No. six, seventh, and eight are concerned with Hindus. They say that these causes spread communal violence both among Hindus and Muslims. But the Majority of Muslims do not agree with their opinion. Similarly the opinion of Hindus donot favour the Muslims for one and ten items as is evident from differences of attitudes established by the study of table. The opinion of two communities are shown in the table. Where they are in majority donot accept the religion as a cause of communal violence.
Significance of Religion

India has been called a museum of religions. According to J. N. Farqruhar and Prof. Humayun Kabir, classification can be put as placed below:-

1. Movement favouring serial reforms 1828-1931
2. Bhakti movement.
3. Reforms checked by defence of old faith and old religion.

The religious preachings of Ulemas and Pandith, is yet another phase in creation of communal atmosphere and social tension. They preached the superiority of their religion over the other in a provocative manner. The innocent public do not follow their interpretation of religion and its consequent psychological implication to arouse group tension and apprehension of this type of religious preaching because as he says "Coming at a time when the system of communal representation was one of the key issue in Indian Politics," it may not strongly react and create a greater sense of untouchability among the high caste Hindus. The reaction of these preachings on Muslim minds is that they are
carried away by ideological rather than by realistic considerations. The Muslims as a Community are also inclined towards groupism and the important point is that the Hindu Society is a closed society and Muslim Society is an open society. The result is that the religious differences turn into social as well as communal tensions among the communities.

According to Mr. P.M. Deoxhita Sarvakta 18 the leaders plead only to crush the heads. They are theological political and social head. They plead the spirit of intolerance, conspiracy, foul manoeuvres and violence of one group directed against the other on the basis of theological, political and social

16. History of Philosophy Mamayun Kabir
    P.14,55,105,111,115-124,128
17. The untouchables Amrit Book Co.,
    New Delhi 1948 P.80
18. Three Headed Communal Demon Radian
    21-6-70
groups. And ultimately communalism is infused in the group.

Two of them accuse the theologian, for nourishing the communalism in terms of group tension. The group violence, undemocratic manoeuvrings and conspiracies of one political party against the other party, all these incite political war against the communities. The impact of these activities the narrow mindedness, is ultimately reflected in the society at large.

According to Carman's research on Dravidian Sanskritic, there is a wide gulf between Brahmin and non Brahmines in the South India because Brahmins may that they are not only in majority in population as well as better educated. So they want to maintain their superiority and sovereignty on non-Brahmines so the religious domination is the main problem in South India. Non-Brahmines do not accept religious superiority of the Brahmins.
Since the significance of the Hinduism is {italics}atmavidya{italics} (knowledge of the self) and other worldliness and most religious and orthodox practices like meditation, asceticism etc., enjoined solitude, it is often assumed that Hinduism does not emphasis the duty to one's fellow beings and society. It is self-centred. One witness of it is that Hindus missions, societies and institutions contribute a suspicious part in relief works during floods, famines, droughts and riots where as christians who number only 12 million, (compared to Hindus 600 million and 100 million Muslims) are always in the forefront of social educational and medical aids.

19. The New Relativism in American Theology
   by Michael Novick
   commentaries by Harney Cox Daniel Collahan
   Them

20. Thomas J.J. Allizer
    David Little
    Brain wicker
    P.442
According to Gita, Dharma means a code of development or righteousness. And the Hindus knew that it was not any particular religion that would be a passport to the Heaven but that it could be attained by the development of the self. They paid more attention towards self-centred arts, science and all sphere of life. Swami Vivekanand said, "No religion on earth preaches the dignity of humanity in such lofty strains as Hinduism, and no religion on earth tread upon the neck of the men and poor and the low in such a fashion as Hinduism. Gautama Budha was one of the first Protestant Hindus".

Caste and untouchability have been the major causes of what Mr. Morass described as the "Passive cruelty"
Hindus are capable of. As a matter of fact, cruelty is being practised. Almost every month we hear of Harijans and Muslims being burnt or looted. The whole locality of "untouchables and hates" being wiped out. No one seems to have been shocked by these happenings and accidents. But Swami Vivekanand called "dottouchism" people have found justification for caste on historical grounds. It has the merit of knitting together, many races, communities and culture into independent units. Of course it deteriorated into an instrument of oppression. Hindus have closed societies and there is not possibility of mobility. It takes worst turn into communal character which inspires communal disturbances in the country. Actually Hindu religion does not teach us hate, grudge and genocide but the aim of Hindu religion for Humanity is:--

Sarvataratu durgani savokhad rani pasyati
Sarvastad buddhism apnotu sarvah sarvatranandat

(My all have safe passage through the hardships of life may all see the face of happiness, may all attain right knowledge, may all rejoice everywhere).
The dawn of eighteenth century is the start of disintegration and degeneration which were shown in the body politics of the Muslim empires. According to Mill "the forlorn Emperor, the representative of so illustrious a race, who now possesses hardly a roof to protect him. This is the way of degeneration and downfall of Muslim imperialism. That was the main shock for Muslim. But Muslim have open society for all without any prior restriction in the Islamic institutions. It has Shariat and holy Quran two fundamental of Islamic constitutional books which give us the doctrine of unity and war against inequality through peaceful means. If any Muslim goes beyond this limit that means he is deviating from the Islamic principle.

So Dr. Hunter puts his words about Muslims:

The truth is that our system of public instruction which has awakened the Hindus from the centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions unsuited to, the requirements, and hateful to the religion of Mussalmans". 22 At this time Muslims were facing
a lot of difficulties but they were with Congress against British imperialism.

So the position today where by political parties organize themselves in order to further their own plans and ideas of Govt. is accepted by democratic countries without any objection. A party does not hold itself in readiness to take over the reins of Govt. But it continually strives to influence the policy of the parties in power.

In India political parties and political movement are still divided along religious and ideological lines. Yet this has not prevented it from becoming strong. Here the balance tilts definitely in favour of the political parties. As is to be expected in an uneven relationship, the strong goes to exploit the weak. In politics we find here a basic difference in approach to the power of parties and public; whether it should be a broad focus taking in its
scope over all social and political change or the impact of the political movement in the shape of communal riots which are the worst shape in the country. The communalism is not bad. It should be in any shape in the human beings for racing and competition but in India we see it in the shape of riot, or brutal behaviour. On account of this thousands of men, women and children suffer from this ugly scene. Whatever be the position adopted as most suitable to the present conditions prevailing in the country, this much is certain, that the use of the political movements for the furthering of broad socio-political objectives disperses and weakens the economic powers of the country, which should be said countervailing power against the administration. This economic power not only prevented

22. General condition of Muslim edited by Dr. Hunter
   Muslim in India
   by Noman
   P.12
from achieving a united target, but it divides the workers and merchants on communal as well as political issues in which they have common interest. The economic life is also based on religion.

In India the shaping of the society of ideology is foremost in the mind of leaders and the people. David B. Apter speaks in this context of politicization of the whole of social life. "As purely sentimental appeals were ineffectual to excite sufficient popular sympathy, the leaders of the anti-partition movement searching for a national hero endured to import from Bombay the cult of Shivaji and appealed to the religion of the multitude by placing their efforts under the patronage of Kali, the goodness of strength and destruction.

Muslims were not satisfied with Congress and its leaders. The ultimate result was this that they formed Muslim League in 1907 and Mr. Jinnah became its leader for the security of rights and life in the country. Muslim League slogan was for the Muslim not for other communities.
It is obvious from the varying attitudes of the communities that a consensus among them on relation with Hindus and Muslims will not be easy. There is big gap for instance between the merchants and workers and consumers. The farmer, the leading members of which are Hindus and Muslims to be joined by other communities from their industrial potential want to join though low price in order to keep prices economic for their investment and consumption depend on communal feelings. According to Hutton the Hindu Caste is divided on occupational basis. Burgess also advocated the same in the Principle of Stratification where he expresses the economic role in India is mainly on communal lines for example, carpenters, smiths, weaver, butchers, shoes makers and Brahmin.

all of them are related to their caste and community. So Peacock says that monopolists create conflict and social differences among the society.

The conflict of interests and profit exist in the commodities and trade interests. The expanding influence of the communal riots which has now about Muslims and minorities associated with it comes in as a common stand and so do the political considerations of the parties. The communities being at present the dominant economic species cannot afford to miss it, if it is only in their own long term interests of survival and prosperity. The data of Aligarh show the important role of economic considerations in the communal disturbances.

A comprehensive educational transformation stresses the need to move away from the concept of communalism to that of learning, from communal to non communal education, and from a system that in effect sets too much stress on structural instruction at the expenses of a genuine process of learning skills relevant to the community and the individual. The preparation of text book of history are based on the
religion where the Britishers have left the theory of Divide and Rule. The Hindus and Muslims were treated as brothers. They had brotherly relations with their neighbours. They pay the great regard and respect to their Purvaj or ancestors.

Aligarh district was the occurrence of Hindu Muslim Unity. They had equal rights of interfering in the relation of each religion. The Hindus were permitted to enter in the holy places of Muslims and Muslims had the same right, Muslims landlords and Hindu merchants had equal rights of transaction in the life behaviour. The significance of religion shows the communal harmony in every sphere of life. The Freedom Movement was the cause of the fraction of society in the name of religion. Because the Britishers were afraid that the political consciousness was coming in the Indian Communities. So they played this role of hate against each communities.
According to Moin Shakir, "The Muslim political tradition in India has been essentially religious and medieval in character. This character was obviously unfavourable to the independent political thinking in this country. Besides Islamic polity embodies the Unity of religion and Politics. The notion of secularism has been absent in the mind of Muslim community. This should be noted that the concept of the unity of religion and politics is one of the various versions of the Islamic polity unfortunately, due to the emergence of the institution of kinship and the self-seeking worldly Ulma, this has been the dominant view regarding politics in Islam.

The Ulma and Pandit are the sources of the misinterpretation of the religious dogmas. They turn the mob for their own interest. The untouchability is also the invention of the Pandits who do not want see the Harijans on equal level. But they are a few in both the communities."
The empirical study indicates the religion has no important role in communal riots. There is no dispute over the religious issue. Equal rights have been given by the constitution of India regarding religion. Everybody has the right of freedom of worship and religious belief. There is no essentially ethical as well as emotional hatred among the two big communities. Hindus and Muslims have equal faith in God and receive guidance for practical life from religion. The Poet Iqbal says "Mazhab nahin sikhata apas men bairrakhna, Hindi hain ham watan hai Hindustan Hamara". Some anti-social elements want to defame the religion and try to disturb the religious peaceful atmosphere as is evident from the table. So the above table shows the importance of religion in the social life. The Hindus and Muslims in majority are of the opinion that religion is not hurdle among the communal harmony. Inspite of religion the members of the both communities can live together and the hypothesis for religion is wrong.
CHAPTER III

Communal Politics

Communal politics leads to the disharmony of the nation, community and group. It is the reverse politics of nation building and pluralism. American, Western and African countries are more specific. They are once again passing through a phase of racial, colour and communal tension which have renewed the feelings of apprehension and insecurity in the country's population, who happen to be black, Brown, religious, linguistic, and caste etc. According to the Times of India dated 8-6-76 the racial tension broke out in England. This time bound disturbance in the lives of the Asians of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladesh origin and of west Indians generally follows that have been identified since independence in the world. In America there is Negro and white dispute, Africans have tension against whites, Arabs have their problems against Israiles and western countries have the grudge and social tension against Asians. Mr. Enoch Powell sits in the House of common as a member of the Unionist party of Northern Ireland, but concerns himself
more with "the coloured" immigrants, than with the Catholic Protestant Civil War of sectarian killings in his constituency. His latest contribution to racial incitment was his prediction of an injection of explosive and fire arms to England with large coloured people population. According to Hindustan Times dated 10-6-1976 Govt. of India investigated against Anand Marg and the evidences are there to proof that this Fascist party was making a plan against the Govt. and the minorities. The Govt. of India succeeded in controlling the Facists parties after Emergency. The racist and communal parties whose politics is confined to campaigns designed to frighten the immigrants to leave the country.
Maximum Impact

The built up to communal parties and leaders are typical of their previous utterances on immigrants. They apparently watch for a developing situation which will give the maximum impact to their message of national doom. The present economic condition, in which unemployment is rising and inflation is to be checked by wage restraint, provided there is appropriate background to arouse resentment against the coloured and communal workers and residents. The Jan Sangh, R.S.S. And Marg Shiv Sena, Hindu Mahasabha, Jamaat Islami and Muslim League, are openly Fascist bodies, had by demonstrations in disturbed areas of Aligarh and other parts of India contrived to create incidents which focussed attention on the 40% Muslim population, competing for jobs, housing and social security with the Indian citizens. In England, the National Front has the Fascist attitude against Indians and Asians on account of Colour difference.
Going by past experience, the present flare up in racial or communal feelings should wane after a time but will not be allowed to disappear so long as communalism is exploited for political purposes.

The communal politics in India is a contradictory mixture of ideology and profit motive. It is not generally that it was the conservatives, the traders and the employers who encourage the communal politics in public and private sectors.

The greatest danger is the ignorance of the facts of the disturbed situation. The impression that is widely prevalent of hate, grudge, untouchability scrounging on social security benefits has been proved baseless by political parties and governments but the tabloids and other popular newspapers continue to publish and there by sensationalising odd cases to strengthen the pessimistic views.

Similarly the cases were occurred in England on June 8, 1976 where one Indian student was brutally stabbed by the members of National Front party on which Mr. Callaghan the Prime Minister of England apologised and he assured the Asian countries that their lives and property would be safe.
On the whole the communal politics is devastating the human life in the world. It is at the early stage.

India faces today the new challenge of an unprecedented crisis in the political, religious, economic, educational and social spheres of life where politics has become guiding factor of social behaviour of Indians. According to David B. Truman the origins of interest groups and circumstances surrounding their orientations of Govt. are among the factors most relevant to a description of group politics. It can safely be said that to some extent the group interest shape the public policy, related interests, values, or preferences which (1) antedate the existence of the organised community (2) are the rational basis for joining and remaining as members of the association (3) are articulated and heightened by virtue of the associational interactions and (4) are represented through the association the policy of the activities.

The root of the political conflict is for group domination. The groups want to thrust their ideologius
and principles on others. Thus there is conflict between those who accept a universalist morality binding on mankind and those who believe that moral values are relative. Others again think that the difference is not about ultimate ends but the difference lies between opposite views about the right relation between ends and means. The forces engaged in the struggle for mastery are, it can be ascertained strictly moral.

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1. Times of India
   New Delhi
   28-6-76

2. Hindustan Times
   New Delhi
   10-6-76

3. Disturbed in England
   Statesman
   10-6-76

4. The Governmental Process
   New York,
   Knopf
   1951, P.66
Social Class and Sex

Political orientations seem to be disturbed according to membership of or identification with various social groups. The study of political opinion and voting shows that persons of different socioeconomic status differ in their political orientations and these differences occur with considerable regularity and continuity. "Social class was measured by the occupation of the respondents' father or guardian obtained by the child's response to two questions, one open ended and the other closed ended".5

There are some historical facts behind it for example the war between Catholic and Protestant in England, the conflict between Nazis and Facists in Russia and Germany, Black and White political conflict in U.S.A. Jewish verses Arabian conflict in Middle East. Bourgeois and Proletarian conflicts and tension in the communist countries, and particularly Hindu verses Muslim conflict and tension in India. Communal conflicts are socially as well as politically harmful for the society at large.
They spread group violence in the society which is the problem of the day. In particular, the association and war with revolution has now a significance far more terrifying than at any other time in the world history, due to the brutality of modern warfare with its mass deportations and massacre of millions of the people.

Social Choice and Individual values
2nd. ed New York John Wiley and Sons
1963, Kenneth J., Arrow P. 109
Identification with a political party is an orientation of considerable importance for understanding the process of political socialization. It impact on political attitudes, voting behaviour electoral decision, and party system have been described in the dissertation.

India is a democratic country where the people have the right to form a political organisation. The freedom of the country is the ultimate result of the political activities in a country under foreign rule. Public protest to change the Govt. policy has become the institutionalised and rationalised in India. Politicians and political parties use protests teaching by their actions that violent protest is the right of a citizen of free country. Evidence indicated that the public protests are increasing since 1947 and will continue because of weak policies of the congress party. There are many communal political parties in India such as Muslim League, Jamaat Islami, Ithadul Muslameen, Muslim Majlis, Akali Dal, Hindu Mahasabha, Ram Raj Parshad, R.S.S. and Jan Sangh. These parties want to win the support of the public with communal slogan.
So religion, which in its essence, is a unifying force, is being used to divide and disunite people. Communalism in religion oriented politics has become an operative political principle for a separate ideology.

Behind the continued happening of communal riots, there are permanent interests of the communalists politicians. The sabotours of communal harmony know it fully well that they would cease to survive if perchance different religious communities in India decide to live together peacefully.

The other harmful aspect of communal parties is in the shape of militant organization, like the RSS, Shivsena Anand Marg, Hindu Mahasabha and Jammat Islami. They are in fact political armies openly preaching communal violence. The members of these organisations devise subtle and ingenious ways to preach their revivalist and fissiparous ideology in order to fan the dead wood of religious differences in the name of politics, particularly among Hindus and Muslims.
Even the history of the partition of India is the history of political opportunism of top nationalist who placed their self interest above that of the country. They accepted the partition of the country into Pakistan, India because they were in a hurry to capture the power.

Even now this can happen again if the Jan Sangh, R.S.S. and the Hindu Mahasabha are all tarred with the same brush—headed by M/s. Atal Behari Vajpayee, Balraj Madhok, Sunder Singh Bhandari. They claim to be the only descendent of Bhim, Arjun and Drauncharya. They have the back sign of oath and lesson of hatred in their prayer and give the doctrine of hate to the Hindus against the Muslim. This results in creating hatred & tension among the two communities.

6. Private Arm of S
They Illustrated Weekly of India
March 15-1970 P.613
By Malik Harji.
Problems of Minority

The population of India is 65 crores, out of which 10 crore are the Muslims. The Muslims are in minority: the Hindus are in a majority.

The word 'minority' is not defined in the Indian constitution. In the absence of any special definition, it must be held that any community, religious or linguistic, which is numerically less than fifty percent of the population of a state is a minority within the meaning of this Article (Art. 30). The Supreme Court has held that in order that persons may claim the fundamental right, under Article 29(1) and 30(1), of being regarded as a minority, it is not necessary that they must numerically constitute a minority of the population in that particular region in which the educational institution in question is situated. No group, even if it be a majority, shall impose its language, script or culture, on the minorities.
The aim of these constitutional provisions are to give equal rights to every citizen without crushing the aspirations of individual or group. The Muslims as religious minority should enjoy equal rights and receive protection as provided in the constitution.
In most societies, minorities find themselves handicapped by certain impediments to their upward growth along with the majority. They are apt to feel, in too many cases, that they do not have an equal share in the comforts of life, or they do not enjoy equal rights with the majority. These assertions can be proc or disapproved by established statistical data. For example, the difference of occupation, income and statistics among them are factors of conflict. They feel that their lives and property are unsafe.

The Muslim sense of insecurity in the 19th century was more psychological than real. Their political monopoly had collapsed, their economic prosperity was ruined and culturally they were left isolated. Naturally the Muslims as a community developed a sense of hatred towards Britishers and Hindus as active partner in their destruction. In the twentieth century the emergence of militant spirit in Hindus created the blemished for the Muslims.
Partition was the main cause of the Hindu Muslim conflict. The communalist Muslim have found their "Home land" through the emergence of Pakistan and they have lost the right to live in secular India. To some extent this opinion of Hindus for those Muslim who have chosen to live in secular India is correct.

The Muslim feel that they are politically dominated by the Hindus. Because the historical evidence tells us that Muslims were the rulers of India. According to J. N. Sarkar the famous historian, Mohd. Ghazni, Alauddin Khilji and Aurang Zeb's behaviour with Hindus were not just and the Hindus were looked upon by them as second class citizens.

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Immaturity of Muslim Ethnic
The Times of India
15 August 1970
Moin Shakir

On Liberation of Indian Muslim
By Abid Hussain
P.217
The business and employment position are not satisfactory. The Muslims feel that they are neglected by the Govt. as well as the majority community. The educational institutions are not free from the interference of the group tensions. Some of the Hindus are orthodox in casteism and communalism.

These factors directly react on Muslims minds and they feel a kind of tension. This tension creates the situation of Political insecurity. The insecurity of Muslims and backward classes pose a problem in the secular India. Under the circumstances stated above tension thus developed is apt to take place in violence.

Social stratification
Cultural Pluralism and National Integration
Bombay 1959

Medieval History of India
By J. N. Sarkar
Table No. 111

Table shows the role of Politics in the Communal disturbances.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>HINDUS</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Disagree</td>
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<td>Muslim are not safe in India.</td>
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<td>81</td>
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<td>Govt. is interfering in your religious affairs.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Govt. gives importance to the Muslim for the sake of their votes.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Creation of Pakistan is responsible for communal tension.</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Communal feeling of the Hindus responsible for the creation of Pakistan.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Hindus have some fears from the Muslims in India.</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Govt. gave importance to Hindus because they are in majority.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Some foreign countries are interested in spreading communal tension in India.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Communal riots are preplanned and organised  
   | Agree | Disagree | Total Agree | Disagree | Total |
   | 76    | 24       | 76          | 24       |       |

10. Muslims are victimized on the occasion of communal riots.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 43    | 57       | 78    | 22    |

11. Faulty leadership is a course of communal tension.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 75    | 25       | 86    | 14    |

12. Hindus Openly kill Muslims at the time of communal riots.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 29    | 71       | 73    | 27    |

13. Muslims are solely responsible for communal riots.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 31    | 69       | 12    | 88    |

14. Govt. also backs communal tension.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 49    | 51       | 66    | 34    |

15. Muslims are appeased by the present Govt. at the cost of the Hindus.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 32    | 68       | 48    | 52    |

16. Govt. has full knowledge of those who instigate communal tensions but remains unconcerned.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 74    | 26       | 100   | 78    | 22    | 100|

17. Police is ineffective in controlling communal riots.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 77    | 23       | 93    | 7     |

18. Hindus suffer a greater economic loss at the time of communal riots.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 51    | 49       | 8     | 92    |

19. Muslims regard the Arabian countries as their homeland and are disloyal of India.  
    | Agree | Disagree | Total | |
    | 66    | 34       | 4     | 96    |
The disturbances are measured on the basis of political learnings of the majority. Whether the political parties and leaders for vent the political and ideological differences among the people, the above analysis indicates that Hindus and Muslims are victims of misunderstanding and frustration. The majority of Muslims differ from the Hindu views and they say that the attitude of the majority community towards their aspirations is the cause of frustration. The Hindus have the opinion that the politics do not interfere with the daily life. The Hindus at large do not accept the assertion of the Muslims that they are insecure in the secular state of India. They emphasize that they are responsible for the creation of Pakistan by supporting vehemently the two Nation Theory but the Muslims do not agree with it as is evident from the above table. Most of the Hindus and the Muslims are of opinion that Govt. always have prior full knowledge of communal disturbances and some time Govt. encourages the unrest.
India is a Secular State where there is freedom to form political organisations and the citizens can freely express their views from platform and in press. Thus a political field of competition is created to capture seats in the local bodies and legislators by fairs and foul means.

On this occasion political parties nominate their candidates to contest from a particular constituency. The political leaders and their party workers and the candidate visit the town, Mohallas, lanes and villages of the constituency for securing votes. They employ every possible means and the worst is that they manipulate principle and facts to mobilise public opinion in support of their candidate. The emergence of election system caused to produce bulk of literature of political engineering, high lighting the achievements of the party, for a particular caste or community. The Indian election pattern created casteism, regionalism and communalism.
If the candidate is Muslim, Pandits, Bania, Thakur or Shudra, he chooses the constituency where majority of his community fellows live. The huge majority of Indians is uneducated and illiterate. They have no political sense to cast their votes for a suitable candidate, they are led by caste or communal considerations.

On this occasion the majority compel the minority to cast their votes in their favour. This kind of pressure leads to political as well as communal disturbances. Behind these activities there are personal vested interests as well as some of the communal Parties as Jan Sangh, Muslim League, R.S.S. Jammat Islami, Hindu Mahasabha and other communal parties raise a cry of religion in danger and they make an alliance with anti-congress elements to achieve their goal by exploiting innocent and illiterate masses.
The concluding lines on political issue show that political parties perform very important role in creating the conflict, hate, grudge and un-healthy competition among the communities. The leaders exploit the situation to curse the candidates of other parties in the name of communities. The Govt. also instigate the communalism because they want to cling to the power. The Muslims suffer from frustration, they feel insecure. India political parties play a foul game against the individuals and communities.

New Role of Caste as Political Pressure group
Times of India
August 1971
CHAPTER IV

Educational Aspect of Communal Riots:

The concept of education is being increasingly geared up to the needs and aspirations of national development. Hitherto considered as means of transmitting traditional values, education is now understood as a factor contributing to the change of man and his environment with healthy atmosphere. The entire functions and objects of education converge on a single focus of making the individual contributory to the development of the self and the society. One needs to be educated in order to be a better man, a better social being and a better productive and creative being. Peter Lengvel has laid down four characteristics of Education:

1. Education is both consumption and production.
It produces the skills, attitudes and personality.

2. Education promotes self discipline opens up fresh opportunities and lends range, flexibility and scope to society.
3. Education differentiates cost and put according to socio economic level.

4. Education is a process of Capital in humans.

Communalism divides people professing different religions. These differences were played upon by the alien government in pursuance of the policy of "divide et empera" and resulted in the partition of the country. People even today have their kith and kin across the borders and this may develop into divided national allegiance.

Gandhi believed that the happiness of a society as a whole meant that the duty of the man lies to promote only the happiness of the majority of mankind. He refused to accept that happiness means only physical pleasure or economic prosperity.
The partition of India could not and has not solved the communal problem. Inspite of large scale migration of minorities from both the countries, there are large number of Muslims in India and Non-Muslims in Pakistan. The migration of the population has created communal problems in India. Due to unemployment the Muslim young men migrated from India to Pakistan, similarly Non-Muslims came from Pakistan. The impact of this large scale migration is the cause of tension.

Weber has said that traditionalism as deeply engrained habits of thought and custom which impinged upon people's ability to accumulate wealth. He analysed two types of traditional organisations. Parties chaulism indicates the domination modelled after that of the master over his house hold. When this traditional organization develops it interferes with government affairs and treats Govt. employees like personal servants. Thus cultural and religious values are interconnected with the institutions of
the society and the actions of its members. Where there were marked tendencies towards active control over the environment there were remnants of rationalization reached its peak during the period of Calvinism and much obsessed by the grievances of the minority communities and have granted them constitutional protections. They have no doubt a right to ask for the redress of their grievances, but any attempt at exhaustiveness and isolation is likely to be misunderstood by the other communities and harm those who seek them. It is but natural for the various communities to take steps for the uplift of their own religious groups; but it is highly undesirable to seek advantages for one community at the cost of others.

The students at the school and college level are grown up. A majority of them are adolescence which is a period of great stress and strain. They are very inquisitive and highly emotional. Strange emotions surge up and sweep their intellect. This is the time
when the training of emotions should be emphasized. The pupils should be trained to restrain their emotions, develop a feeling set for higher values and conditioned responses for day to day behaviour. Dr. Sampurnanand proposed that a 'Special area of study' should be prescribed to help understanding creeds, faiths and aspiration of the people. The reading material should present a picture of cohesiveness and cooperation minimizing the social, religious and linguistic differences.

"All education must aim at the building up of character. I cannot see how character can be built up without religion"—GANDHI.

The Muslim League was opposed to the scheme of wardha education because it was "un-Islamic" and injurious to the cultural interests of Muslims. Indeed this completely secular and educationally sound proposal was even dubbed as specifically Hindu by a man of the stature of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. He said, 'These schemes (the wardha Education Scheme and Vidya Mandir) had been propounded after careful deliberation and with a definite object
and the communal spirit prevailed in the Congress committed to secularism. The Congress was divided into progressive and communal groups.

On this occasion Gandhi advised the Hindus and Muslims that they should have knowledge of the Gita and holy Quran. The educational system of India carved out by the British Rulers with vested interests was responsible for creating communal feelings and rousing them to culminate in communal riots. Because the political parties and anti-social elements were nourishing the policy of divide and rule. The main reason for the Britishers to adopt the policy of Divide and rule was

Max-Weber
Crucial Problems in Indian Education
Arya Book Depot Karol Bagh
New Delhi
By V. S. Mathur
P.21
to defend their kingdom. According to Radha Krishnan Report on University Education published in 1949, dogmatic education was responsible for group conflict.

The result of the western system of education forced upon Indians by the Britishers was that the Indians already caste ridden developed communalism and groupism. The students and elites were playing very important role among the two big communities.

Gandhi invited and urged students to take part in the freedom movement in 1930. The result was that All India Students Federation took birth in 1936.

In addition to the "mainstream" nationalist students movement, a number of other important trends existed within the student community. Many Muslim students, previously apathetic or procongress, were influenced by Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah's call for a separate Muslim State on the Indian subcontinent and joined the Muslim League's All India Muslim Students Federation, founded in 1937. This organisation which had substantial support of the Muslim students, did not participate in the independence movement, but instead of separate Home Land pressed
for Muslim rights to be safeguarded. After the formation of Pakistan this political party disappeared.

The Hindu right wing also gained strength, as a reaction to Muslim separatist attitude. The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), founded late in 1920, appealed Hindu nationalism to react to anti-Muslim and anti-Christian feelings. By upholding traditional Hindu values, the R.S.S. was able to attract many Hindu students, particularly in schools and colleges. The Hindu Student Federation, founded in the 1930s with similar ideology as that of the RSS, had a more sophisticated approach and greater appeal for students. Its influence is limited to the north India, and now it is a threat to national integration.

For description of the role of student Unions in University Politics see Joseph DiBona, Change and conflict in the Indian University Bombay 1971
Student Unions in a number of Colleges have acquired political importance. In some of the more volatile of the north Indian Universities, such as Aligarh and Banaras, students have spearheaded protest campaigns. Agitations undertaken by student Unions usually stem from local issues, such as examinations, disciplinary action taken by the University in connexion with protest against Amendment Act, 1972, living conditions, but in some cases Student Unions are controlled by ideological factions attempting to exploit the Unions as instrument of operations against an opposition political group within or outside the University. Communists/socialists, Jan Sangh's and factions within the congress party have not hesitated to use students Unions to achieve their own political ends, all the while there is decrying political interference in the Campus.

The political parties in the Country have adopted an selfish attitude towards students in recent years. The Youth Congress was formed in 1949 by the All India Congress Committee. Despite its claim that it was the India's largest Youth organisation, it did not attract much
attention of the Indian youth and served mainly as a "front group" of the Congress, because the leadership did not encourage open political discussion, the organisation failed to draw able, and politically oriented youth, and the Youth Congress had few active chapters before its dissolution in 1965 because of internal political differences.

In the recent past, a right wing student political organisational efforts have been quite successful in some regions. One of the most important student organisations in India today is the Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad. This group, commonly called the Vidyarthi Parishad, claims to be non political despite strong evidence suggesting that it is the youth wing of the rightist Hindu Communalist parties, and particularly of the Jan Sangh. Local students of Aligarh who are students of D.S. College, Varashney College, Maheshwari College, Tikaram College, D.A.V. College, Naurangi Lall College are active members of the communal parties. They openly defame the A.M.U.
we get all type of freedom without any communal considerations. A good number of the members of teaching staff is Hindu. They get regard and respect from Muslim students as they get from non-Muslims students. There are no instances of University students indulging in arson or looting any property while such indulgence is not lacking in other institutions.

All India Muslim Educational Conference was held in Bombay from 26th to 28th May which was inaugurated by the Chief Minister as Maharashtra Mr. V.P. Naik. Over 600 delegates from different states of the Country took part. The Conference discussed various educational and socio-economic problems of the community.

For a study of the Hindu nationalist movement, Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics, see Joseph Curram The case of the R.S.S. (New York) Institute of Pacific Affairs 1957.
Apart from Chief Minister Naik those who addressed the Conference on various problems included Late Chief Minister Barkatullah Khan of Rajasthan, Union Minister of state for Home F.H. Mohsin and Mysore Minister Aziz Seth. Two Maharashtra Ministers - Health Minister Dr. Rafiq Zakaria and Education Minister Prof. A.N. Namjoshi also addressed the conference.

All these ministers stressed the point that the Muslim community in every state may have its own educational problems but so far as the socio-economic problems are concerned they are common to other communities. They lauded private efforts made by the community to elevate itself educationally but warned that no such step be taken which would take them away from "Main Stream".
Mysore minister Aziz Seth stressed the fact that the rich in the community and the funds of the wakfs should contribute to the educational uplift of the community. F. H. Mohsin emphasised that Urdu must be taught but regional languages should not be ignored. Papers were read by the experts in various fields. Dr. Salamatullah, Principal, College of Education Jamia Milia, New Delhi and several other prominent personalities in the field of Education read papers on Primary and Secondary Education - Fatima Akhtar, Chairman of siet College, Madras, and others dealt on women's education. Mysore minister Aziz Seth, Rajasthan Chief Minister Barkatullah Khan and Union Deputy minister for Home F. H. Mohsin and others emphasised that Muslim Youth should go for higher education.

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Promotion of Minorities Social and Constitutional Sanction Main Stream dated 9-6-73

By A. K. Gupta
Y. A. Fazalbhoy, an industrialist of Bombay, Dr. P. K. Abdul Ghafoor, President Education Society of Calicut, and others spoke on the need of vocational and technical education. Dr. A. M. Khusro the then Director, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi and others highlighted socio-economic problems. Maulana Abdul Hasan Ali Nadvi and former Union Minister Yunus Saleem laid stress on giving religion education side by side the secular education.

The conference was presided over by justice Basheer Ahmad Saeed of Madras, Education Society.

Why Sir Syed Ahmad Khan felt need of educational reforms? Nineteenth century was the period of expansion and development of sociology. At the advent of British rule in India, the society underwent various changes. The first European country where industrial revolution and social changes of great significance took place, was England. This revolution was itself the reaction of climate in which important and valuable discoveries, researches, inventions, innovations and transformations were taking place.
That was the period of harassing the forces of nature as well as acquiring knowledge of space by human beings. The social structure was the result of a new spirit of free inquiry based on the knowledge and social interaction Darwin's theory of "species" and Ricardo's principles of Political Economy were the sources of development of biological sciences and political conditions. The impact of Britishers and Industrial Revolution were changing the social orders. The school of philosophical radicalism pursuing Bentham teachings of law and free contract, self interest, justice and equality were mainly based on Industrial Ahmad society. Sir Syed Khan conceived that Indian People could not grow and prosper until the spirit of the broadmindedness as Europeans had, is born in their hearts. This was the period when Britishers fully captured power and Muslims were left economically, socially and educationally worried and frustrated.
In the changed regime he got the employment under the British rulers and came into contact with British Officials and he had many English friends. The result of his friendship and social contacts with Britishers was useful which inspired him with the idea to bring about social change in his community. The reactions of these happenings ultimately gave birth to the spirit of social change and reforms in education. At the time, he thought that the social depression or the feelings of complexes can be removed only by acquiring eastern culture and rendering scientific education in Indian languages. The knowledge to be imparted was to be such that it could be used directly for improving the economic condition and social status of the Indian. He had a very clear idea in his mind that reform could be brought through the mending of social structure and imparting education. This would run both as a source of inspiration and alerting the people to come on the front to achieve the end. He emphasized the need of reform of weaker section of the people.
Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had established school, Madarasa Chashme Rahmat Ghazipur under the supervision of Raja Deo Narain of Banaras in 1863 and a Scientific Society was founded at Banaras and Ghazipur and through these institutions he inforced the spirit for acquiring western education. Medical Hall Press, Banaras and its paper Rafaaul Akhbar. Ghulam Husain alias Proprietor and Editor of Mumabi Syed/Faida Hussaini cooperated with some rich and influential people of the time who gave whole hearted financial support. Sir Syed Ahmad was honest in his task of spreading education and urge for learning science, but any how he could not succeed there and shifted his mission from those places to Aligarh. He was an ardent admirer of western education and civilization. He believed and prached inter communal harmony.

The Passing of Traditional Society
Glencoe, The Free Press 1958
By Daniel Lerner
P. 60
He wanted equality in all spheres of life for Muslims because Indian Muslims were victim of frustration, economic depression, dis-unity and discontentment. They were victim of poverty, political harassment, illeracy and social disorder due to British rulers. He told the Indian masses if any section of the people would remain backward that would mean that the country could not achieve social, moral, political and economic advancement and majority would be responsible for this state affairs. He visited England to study the method of education. Inspite of strong opposition from the Muslim community at large, he founded M.A.O. College in 1875, which ultimately acquired the status of A.M.U. in 1920. Khan Bahadur Shamsul Ulma Maulana Abdul Khair and Maulana Amanatullah Ghazi-puri the famous and well reputed intellectuals of their time were the ardent supporters of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.
There is a misunderstanding among Hindus regarding A.M.U.'s character. They are mistaken that the doors of the University are closed for Hindus. Sir Syed once remarked "....All rights of the college appertaining to those who call themselves Muslims are equally to be enjoyed by those who call themselves Hindus without any reservations. There is no distinction what so ever between the Hindus and Muslims". Here in this college both Hindus as well as Muslims are entitled to get the stipends and both of them are treated as par as boarders". I regard both Hindus and Muslims as my two eyes". So the admission and employment both are opened for non-Muslims. Today we can say that there is a great number of non-Muslim students and staff members in the University.

Vice-Chancellor, Prof. A.M. Khusro, in his speech pointed out at the time of A.M.U. Centenary celebrations, that Aligarh Muslim University is not a communal but a national institution.
The Indian Society today is a society in transition and Sanskritization. Srinivas has indicated that education is a main factor of social change or sanskritization. The mobilization of population is due to education and industries.

A transitional era is marked by confusion and conflict in beliefs which at once are the cause of differences in the society.

Traditional beliefs developed under different conditions no longer are completely relevant to guide the lives of people under radically changing society. People differ widely not only as to the substantive beliefs required by contemporary life but also as to the basic methods through which they believe that confusions and conflicts are best resolved. If the full tasks of re-education now required is to be appreciated, the old system of education should be changed for better communal understanding.
James S. Coleman suggests that there is some correlation between competitiveness in the political sphere and the degree of economic performance, but that even in highly competitive political systems there is a "tendency towards unitary government and heavy concentration of decision making", and his second notion is that one of the primary avenues towards the achievement of higher status in developing countries is through recruitment into the political or the administrative bureau. And that the attainment of education is the major alternative to various essentially required needs for recruitment. The developing countries have traditional societies and method of education and appointment of teachers is based on traditional system or hierarchy, therefore the leadership of the country has to perform a great task for education and services. In this way the unfit persons get opportunity for services and education. Then they infuse the spirit of communalism and casteism in their area of influence.
Table IV

Table shows the roles of education in the communal feelings:

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<tr>
<td>M.M.U. is a seat of communal tension.</td>
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<td>Hindi institutions are the sources of communal tension?</td>
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<td>77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Islamic teachers spread hatred against Muslim.</td>
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<td>Muslims cannot get entry in the Hindu organisation except they kill their conscience.</td>
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<td>68</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hindus donot sent their children to M.M.U. because it is Muslim institution.</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>The demand of the affiliation of Hindu institutions with M.M.U. is genuine.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83</td>
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<td>Muslims should not be allowed for higher education.</td>
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Education is essentially a group phenomenon. It is not one individual's effort at understanding a perplexing situation and his personal exercises in arriving at a stage of belief which can be given the name intellectuals. The intellectuals perform their role in controlling the spirit of violence among the communities. Specially in Aligarh educational institutions have become the seats of tension. It is, therefore, very important criteria of research to know the fact whether the students and teachers try to disturb the peace of the society or not.

James S. Coleman,
A large number of Hindus and Muslims of the Aligarh feel that educational institutions are responsible for creating tension between Hindus and Muslims. The respondents have different opinion about A.M.U. in this respect. The majority of Hindus (63% of the total population) are of opinion that the University is the seat of communal tension but the Muslim group (82%) refuse to accept this assertion. Similarly the question was asked from respondent about Hindu institutions. They have expressed different opinion. 77% Hindus donot agree the Hindu educational institutions create communal tension but 69% Muslims believe that they are. The question were asked about teacher's behaviour in the institutions. Majority of Hindus and Muslims have the same opinion as shown in the above table. The questions were asked about the admission and appointment of teachers of different communities in the University and the local institutions.
64% Hindu respondents are of opinion that they do not send their wards to A.M.U. only because it is a Muslim institution while 63% Muslims do not agree with it. Question was asked about the Muslims killings in reply 65 Hindus shown their disagreement and 68% Muslims show their agreement.

The demand of the affiliation of local colleges to A.M.U. and the demand of minority character are genuine. 57% Hindu respondents showed their agreement and 78% Muslims differed from this opinion. Similarly there is very minor difference among the Hindus and Muslims about the demand of minority character as shown in the table.

The most important role of the text books prescribed by the Govt. where 82% Hindu respondents out of total population showed their disagreement and 61% Muslim respondents are of opinion that these books help to flare up the communalism among the Hindu and Muslims. This factor
shows the intensity of the disturbances in Aligarh. The friction among students in the long run takes turn into communal conflicts as shown in the table.

The Role of Education

Education is a main source of communal disharmony in Aligarh. Because there are two section of intellectuals in the Aligarh institutions. One progressive group who asserts that they are not communalists while the other group have communal learnings. According to Dr. G.K. Narain, the popularity of Jan Sangh is quite natural. It is the product of reaction against Muslim communalism. A.M.U. is the centre of Muslim communalism in his view. A wave of fear, uncertainty and insecurity had swept over the entire country. There were serious communal disturbances in the country in 1946.
The M.A.O. College (which was established by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1875) was converted into Aligarh Muslim University in 1920. The doors of the University were practically closed for the Hindus due to fear, insecurity and communal tension in the country. These colleges were established to fulfill the needs of higher education of Hindus of the City and neighbouring villages.

But Sir Syed Ahmad refused to accept it as described elsewhere. There are only 63% percent Hindus of the total population who accept this view but 37% Hindus refuse to accept it while 82% Muslims out of the total population do not agree with it. Mis-understanding about the University authorities attitude towards Hindu students, and the communal tendency prevailing in local colleges are the causes of conflict between Hindus and Muslims of Aligarh after 1947. There is large gulf between the A.M.U. students and the students of the local institutions in every walk of life as Dr. Narain has asserted. The conclusion based on

G. K. Narain
p. 36
Thesis on changing behaviour pattern of Rural students in an urban set
on facts and figures force us to believe that the causes of riots in Aligarh are due to the faulty system of education and prevailing atmosphere in educational institutions in Aligarh. The exhibition ground and Railway station are the fields of battle between the students of different institutions. This conflict raps the whole district and city into communal tension. This type of communal tension disturbs the peaceful atmosphere of Aligarh as well as the country. The communal parties should not be allowed to open their centres in the educational institutions. The quota system of admission as well as appointment should be adopted in the local colleges and the Aligarh Muslim University. The atmosphere of good will and amity should be allowed to prevail among the students as well as the public for the prevention of hatred, grudge and aggressive attitude.
CHAPTER V

Economic Aspect of Communal Disharmony

Some one has remark that if you add to this figure a tinch of partictism you paint a faithful picture of the English man and statesman of his day, "Said Gide and Rist".1

The main object of political economy of every country is to increase wealth and power of that country (AdamSmith). 2

Political economy or economies is a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life; it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the attainment and with the use of material requisites of well being. Thus it is on the one side a study of wealth, and on the other and more important side a part of the study of man 'Alfred Marshalli'. 3
The range of our enquiry becomes restricted to that part of social welfare that can be brought directly or indirectly into relation with the measuring rod of money (A. C. Pigou). 4

Economics lays emphasis on the man power and the natural resources where the individuals try to acquire social status. The social status is measured by money. The relation of economics with individual is as follows:

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3
Principles of Economics
By Alfred Marshall
P-1

2
Wealth of Nation
Book 4 Chap. 5
By Adam Smith.

4
Economics of Welfare
By A. C. Pigou.
P.1

1
History Economic thought
By Gidi and Rist
P.86
In the mean time, rapid political changes were taking place in the country, resulting in the independence of the country in August, 1947. This fact was naturally hailed with joy by the people at large, because they felt that the many handicaps from which they suffered hitherto, would now disappear and that they would be in a position to achieve rapid economic progress. Independence meant to them the Development of the Resources of the country in the national interests and for raising the standard of living of the people, or in other words, the advent of a welfare state. The hopes and aspirations of the people were raised further by the lofty promises held out by the Congress party. Sincere in their professions, the Congress party thought of achieving the millenium in their time by the quickest possible action in all spheres of life. Their aim was to secure to complete economic and social revolution in the country by changing the existing order.
It goes without saying that communal disturbances are bound to stagnant the economic growth. This would increase the difficulties of the transition period. For example, the attitudes of rioters, communalists, fascists and capitalists to some of the changes contemplated were bound to be adverse, as they were threatened either with extinction or with reduction in their profits, power and influence. To some extent the country is dependent on them for production directly or indirectly, and question therefore, arises whether their attitude has not come in the way of greater production. The proposed reforms appeared to be comprehensive in character, calculated to bring about a social and economic revolution in all the spheres of life. If the fascists elements are free in the open market that they will capture the market. Then the market will be under the influence of communalism and Fascism. The result will be inflation.
Economic institutions in complex communal societies do not typically define the behaviour of man in accordance with the theory of analytic economics. Production is generally for use by the producer rather than for sale in the market. There is little emphasis on increasing the maximum capacity the economic income or on using the most rational techniques for securing income.

In a communal society, dominated by one association or by an alliance of several, economic activity may be guided by the dominant group for their own gains. Such gains may involve an accumulation of economic wealth for the elite of the society, or economic activity may be guided for the benefit of the entire society. Thus in the communal societies dominated by totalitarian states, economic activity is organised largely for the maximization of the war efficiency of the state.
In contrast to the economic system of communal societies, the economic relationships of the associational society are separated from the other major areas of social life, are divorced in certain respects from the ultimate value system of the society, and dominate therest of the life of the society. Communal societies have not normative pattern but they have disorganization in the societies. Communal societies do not respect law and order. The associational state formulated a complex system of legal institutions defining the rights of property owners and the rules of contract relations, and within this legal frame work it was expected that there would arise a self-regulating economic system. Even the worker were viewed as businessman whose intention was to sell this labour at the highest possible price. Production and distribution were to be regulated by the market, i.e. by the important economic decisions of small competitors, each making his
own choice on the basis of calculated self-interest. No single decision of any one competitor could significantly influence the market, but the spontaneous consequences of all decisions would result in a maximization of income for the country. All economic principles are meant for the benefit of man. His well being is the ultimate goal. Now if he fails to imbibe good values of life, who will preserve the manner of the society? For, surely, the total well being of man can never be brought about by bringing a change in the material conditions of his life alone. It is essentially in this context that the entire economic problems should be studied based on a new pattern of thinking with a view to attain full and perfect development of man and his society. Today India has to face a lot of problems because our social and moral structures are built up on religious foundations. We think that every problem that arises or any development that is achieved is God sent.

Socio Economic Change and the Religious Factor in India
By C.P. Loomis, L.K. Loomis
Besides the teachings of Ram, Krishna, Vivekananda, Vishnave, and Caliph Omer and other philosophers, and others who impressed Gandhiji's mind were Ruskin's Unity. Gandhiji himself records in his autobiography that he derived the following ideas from Ruskin's work in the year 1904:

1. that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.

2. that a lawyer's work has the same value as the barnar's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood by hard work.

3. that the life of labourer i.e. life of the tiller of the soil and the artisan is the life worth living.

In this regard we quote here the example of Alfred Marshall who accepts economics as the science which studies welfare of man in ordinary business of life. But Gandhiji says that Economics hurt the moral well being of an individual or a nation and
therefore, is sinful. That means economics permits to supercede one person to other persons. Because economic competition leads to looting, arson, firing massacering and corruption etc. This creates the violent situation in the society.

But Gandhi differs from Keynes, Marx and Marshall on this point because Gandhiji did not want to bloody revolution in the society, while these philosophers disregarded the moral values and human sentiments.

Peace is absolutely necessary for the progress of the society, without communal harmony we cannot achieve the aim of welfare state.

We give hare example of highly equitable economy. It aims at achieving high level of moral level of moral wealth at the low level of economic wealth—just necessary for the satisfaction of primary wants of its members viz. food, clothing and shelter.
And beyond this it does not accumulate economic wealth. Knowing that it will come in conflict with the moral wealth of the countries. Thus if we take the liberty of conceiving 'moralwealth' and material wealth' as two distinct coordinates of "progress".

Ideal state lies some where high on the line IP and the ideal path of human progress lies along the broken arrows. The progress function is of the type of the curve OPF. Beyond the level of primary wants, material wealth comes in conflict with moral wealth of communities and the relationship between the two becomes universe as shown by the segment P'F of the progress function. Up to the
the primary wants level, material wealth being minimum necessity for living, must go hand in hand with moral wealth.

The economy, since it has moved beyond the primary wants level, lies to the right of IP at any time. Let it be initially at G. I. So long as GI is to the right of P'F, it is possible for the economy to increase moral and material wealth simultaneously and reach the function at G2. At G2 however it faces an unpasse. If it accumulates material wealth, it must go down along the progress
To avoid this contingency, two alternative courses, however, are open to the economy. If you suppose that the countries don't stand in the society then it may begin to deaccumulate its material wealth gradually and move to PI and therefore along the ideal state path—second, if while prizing moral wealth it is still desirous of moving material wealth, it may move along the path of solid arrows. Moral wealth of communities in the process may be forthcoming.
from structure observance of the rules of income distribution and 'bread labour' and also of the equality of all types of work. If the observance of these rules may involve a slowing down of 'growth' along the material coordination so the economy will not be bothered. As it moves along this path, the ideal state path will go on recording from it, yet the moral progress will remain unchecked.

Aligarh is a home of lock factories. large number of people are earning their living through the business of lock making. The population of Aligarh is about 24 Lakh. Most of the people are engaged in steel works. Aligarh has some prominent businessman such as M/s. Surendra Kumar, M/s. K. N. Agarwal and M/s. Azimullah etc. The local market of Aligarh, Railway Road, Phoolwala Chauraha, Abdul Karim Chauraha, Bara Bazar, Sarrafa, Madar Gate, Manik-Chowk, Mahabir Ganj, BaraDwari are populated
by businessman and these are also main business Centres. The ratio of population is Hindus 80% in these areas and Muslims are 20%. Thus in riots normally this area suffers greater economic loss than any other locality. The areas of Muslim population are Upper Kot, Turakman Gate, Usman Para and Delhi Gate etc. But as this area is not a business centre comparative loss is less than in the Hindu majority business Centres. Thus one of the sociologist R.K.Merton calls the 7 "personality", cause of tension. The bureau critic personality in Aligarh is the cause of all kind of tension, conflicts and frustrations. It will be worth while to have look at those persons who are interested to do communal riots for their business interest and labour market. Maxwelber shows the strained relations between Catholic and Practitioners.

6
Economics of Welfare
A.C. Pegou
P.No.1

7
Preface to New Edition of Maxweber
The Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism
By Talcott Parsons
1937P-XVII

Analytical Economics
Cambridge Mass 1966
Harvard University
By George Seve Reogan
P-101-03

An Intellectual Portrait
Reinhard Bendix Maxweller
P.421
Protestants He found that religions beliefs check the economic growth.

He thought that the Indian disinclination to control the environment activity and aggressively was related to the Hindu disposition to endure the world. The social elements and processes seemed to be important factors in the initial development of rational organisation. This encourages India towards rationalization or rational organisations.

The Indian castes are divided due to the economic stratification, as life was graded and out of the mass of agriculturists, evolved the vaishyas the agriculturists, artisons and merchants; the kshatriyas, or rulers and warriors; and the Brahmins, Priests and thinkers who were supposed to guide policy and preserve and maintain the traditions of the nation. Below these three there were the Shudras or labourers and unskilled workers, other than the agriculturists. Among the indigenous castes and tribes many were gradually assimilated and given
a place at the bottom of the social scale, that is among the shudras. This process of caste interaction was a continuous one. The caste system creates social tensions among Hindus. Probably the ruling class showed superiority and any person who by conquest or otherwise poissued power, could, if the desired to join the hierarchy as kshtriya and priests. This main classification of society into four castes are similar to Plato’s four fold classification of the early Greek society. Plato recognised the four told classification of the society. They were treated as guardians, the warriors, the artisans, and the slaves. Manu gave highest position to Brahimins in the society in the same way as Plato assigned the highest position to wise men or guardian of society. The slave had the lowest position in both the social and economic systems of Manu, Kautaliya Arth-Shastra and Plato. So the castes are divided into four classes of people. The social conflict can be traced in the Indian society from Aryan.
The crucial observation remains, however, that a few members of scheduled castes and minorities enjoy higher economic symbols and rank than many higher castes Hindus. This show in the relationship between lower Hindu castes and economic status is observed as a conflict between economic behaviour patterns in a competitive system and caste patterns, deriving from a system of social stratification based upon marks of colour and blood.

In so far as the present economics of the caste system is concerned it appears to have been operating upon two principles: that of the sanctity of private property and that of free competition. This latter aspect of the national economy and legal structure has given rise to the small scale industries and factories. These manufacturing firms hire labour as cheaply as they can get it, with the result that in industries where Hindu workers and specially higher caste workers have not been able to establish caste labours, coloured workers are
employed to do much the same type of labour as other Hindus. They may even be preferred to some caste workers because they can be hired on a lower wage.

These non-local industries not only tend to disrupt caste relations in labour but they put into the hands of Muslim workers money which the local storekeepers are extremely anxious to obtain. Since money has the highest value in the economic system, it causes conflict among the two communities. Money thereby creates difficulties in adjustment among the communities, which seems to be essentially a structure of pastoral and agricultural societies, as compared to a manufacturing and economy. This money economy like leads to the growth of group of enterprizers and middlemen to whom it has given rise the most powerful group in the production of lock and electrical goods because they control credit and therefore production to be unmindful whether they buy locks and electrical goods from Hindus or lower caste
Hindus and Muslims workers, whether they are shoe makers, Tailors, and Fruit sellers or others whether they allow non local industries to subordinates the lower economic group of minorities. Prof Bipan Chandra was speaking in a seminar at Amritsar where he said that the Bourgeoisie play an important role in communal riot or social tension. Because they try to exploit proletariats. Actually there is a conflict between two groups- Bourgeoisie and proletariate but Bourgeoisie deshape the conflict and give colour of communalism so they call Hindu Muslim communal riots. In Aligarh particularly the communal riots happened on these grounds. The capitalists are opportunists and they try to avail the opportunity to show their monopoly among the communities. They have interest in earning more black money or more profit by any means. It indicates a fundamental conflict between the economic system and the religious dogma.

Seminar on communalism in Amritsar
Bipan Chandra
National Hearld Paper News Paper, Lucknow
10-6-70
It is essential to point out, however, that the modification of the caste and religious societies in the interest of the profits of the Hindu economic groups by no means have economic relationships. The Bourgeoisie class of Hindu would also demand that cheaper Muslim labour and lower castes of Hindu should be employed in the "Hindu business organisation, government offices, stores, banks. In the field, however, the interests of the employer group comes in conflict with not only those of the lower economic group of Hindus but also with those of the more literate and aggressive group of Hindus.

On the whole the Muslim economic condition is depressed and economically they are backward. They waste their leisure time in gossip in tea stalls, restaurants, and hotels etc. They look frustrated bankrupt, and dull in all economic activities. On account of this, they are not able to take part freely in economic
activities with Hindus. More than 90% Muslims are socially backward due to economic frustration.

India's lack of economic development should be attributed in considerable measure, to her political backwardness. From the beginning almost until the end of British regime India was regarded as a kind of economic complement to the Britain. The British rulers never allowed the Indian economy to grow, and they never wanted to see India economically strong. The natural consequence was suppression of economic growth.

There was a small class of elite, wealthy people with land and property rights, which enjoyed a good deal of political and economic power. The rest of the population fighting against natural odds and suffering from mass illiteracy, castism and communalism, could not march on to the path of progress. These people live in very lamentable conditions under these circumstances the citizens cannot be expected to be loyal to the nation.
The social system of most underdeveloped countries has tended to perpetuate a low level of social and economic welfare. At the top level there is a small, wealthy autocratic, chauvinistic Fascist and usually corrupt class made up of largely landlord owners, traders and Govt. employees. The upper class of people maintain their position in social order through exploitation of the poor and low paid workers.

Table No. V

Table shows the importance of economics in the Communal disturbances

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<tr>
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<th>HINDUS</th>
<th>MUSLIMS</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Hindi workers are not getting opportunities for employment in Muslim firms.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>2. Muslims prefer to purchase goods from Hindu shops because Muslims are dirty?</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<td>3. Hindus do not appoint the Muslims in their organisations.</td>
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<td>74</td>
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<tr>
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<td>HINDUS</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Muslims are not taken into Govt. services because they are Muslims.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Muslims have equal shares in the economic growth but they enjoy lesser privileges than Hindus.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Hindus don't get proper profit from economic growth because the Muslim population is increasingly rapidly.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Hindu industries are getting all profit and aid from Govt.</td>
<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Govt. is not financing Muslim industries to setup new plants.</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Muslims have become financial bankrupt after independence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hindus are becoming rich day by day.</td>
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An analysis of the economic depression and frustration are evaluation of persons in a particular community which can be fascinating study in its own way. The analysis shows the differences of opinion on the economic issues among the two big communities. A large number of Hindus do not agree that Muslims' economic position is not better than that of the Hindus and the largest percentage of Muslim respondents are of opinion that they suffer from economic frustration as shown in the table.

The relationship of Hindus and Muslims in respect of employment and purchasing power is like this that 50% Hindus and 50% Muslims respectively do not agree with the item and they gave nothing important on the above analysis the questionnaire show agreement and disagreement of the opinion of the respondents. In this connection the hypothesis indicates the important role of economic factor in the communal riots. After independence it has become a problem for Muslims to face this crisis.
Significance of the Economic factor

"Happock found that the social status of occupation was directly related to degree of satisfaction." 10

"Mc Cormich suggests that individuals seek in their job a status that approximates their current goals in their work situation, and the lack of recognition of this fact can easily create personal problems." 12

The people earn money for the satisfaction of their primary needs. The role of man is known by his status. Economics helps him to express his role and status in the society. The status fixes the stratification of the society. If he is not getting any satisfaction for his job, he will involve himself in conflict from home to community. The economic factor breeds the differences in the attitude, behaviour and way of life.
The racial, colour, caste communal and political war depend on mutual respect and regard between the communities, because the people show their domination and monopoly on the community and the individual. The hoarding of money is yet another cause of friction. So the importance of economic factor is increasing day by day in the society. After Independence the Hindus think to regain their lost status and feel that Muslims were the raiders and the looters of the Indian property-Muslims are economically frustrated due to the abolition of Zamidari and migration of Indian Muslims to Pakistan on a major scale. Creation of Pakistan is responsible for the economic debacle between the two largest communities of Aligarh.

Economic factor is the most important factor of the conflict and tension. The conflict and unequal distribution of income always strained and caused tension on human minds. The Hindus opinions about the economic factors which are received from the respondents show that economic factors donot effect
on communal tension but the Muslims opinions regarding the economic factors indicate the importance of economic depression and frustration among the Muslim community. They consider their lives as well as property unsafe during communal disturbances.

1. Happock
   Job Satisfaction
   Harperthry

17. Psychology of Industrial Relation. Making the Best Employee choice
    Mecormich
    McGren Hill. N.Y.
CHAPTER VI

Social aspect of communal riots

(History is anti-thesis of sociology.) History indicates the relation of sociology with anthropology.

It shows the historical facts behind the problem. Forces of religion, politics, and economics together shape the human society. (The religious, political and economic war effects human mind in terms of the construction and destruction.) The sociology indicates the repercussion of the conflict. The group conflict and the group tensions have been described in different ways.

(The individual action creates social problem.) By nature man has different attitudes and lives in different environments such individual attitudes gradually take the shape of group attitudes.
Conflicting attitudes of individuals in a group, family, or community then create atmosphere for confrontation with other communities. The war may be in family, caste or communities. The anthropology, history, politics, religion, ethic and economic causes the social as well as economic problems of the communities. (The result of this conflict shows the migration, unrest, mobilization from lower strata to upper strata and the life of the communities become disturbed. The sparkling of conflicts develops due to psychological as well as sociological effects on the society and the individual minds. Rogers the Psychiatrist interesting approach is in a scientific, unmissionary-like spirit.)

Certain realities of national politics must be accepted as dogmas, specifically the existence of diversities of interest among communities, and human ignorance vis a vis the question of how to create peaceful condition and maintain them with these considerations firmly
in mind, the sociologists can make important contributions to the study of community character violence and its causes, the behaviour of individuals in groups, decision making, political systems and institutions. American Psychologists after a research have concluded an adult's aggressiveness is positively related to his preference for violence. This they demonstrated on the television the youngster of 8-9 years age and further more, that his preference for violence during this critical period is the one cause of his aggressiveness. Adult is naturally inclined towards aggression.

(The impact of assessed anxiety on physical aggression were studied by the psychologists and sociologists in a reaction time task under conditions of increasing attack from "antagonist". High anxious SS are found to set less intense shocks for their enemies
than low anxious SS when attack was less than maximum.

skin attack reached the maximum allowed by the procedures,

no differences were observed. While previous studies have

observed high start rate (HR) and greater HR reacting

for low than for high anxious SS, the opposite was

found both in the over all range of HR levels and

in the HR responses of these groups to the task

instructions. High anxious SS were also observed to

have greater over all skin conductance (SC) ranges in

this study. Reward for higher shocks intensities set.

Compared concepts of aggressive energy are instinctive

animal passion, and conditional responses in several theories

of human aggression. Fromm looks closely at the concept of

character in his suggestion, instinct provides a defensive

agression but mens extra aggression, that which can make him

destructive

1. Rogers Anxiey Aggression and Physiological aroused Journal
   of experimental research in Personality Vol.5 Sept. 1971
   P.223-232 Lengerink H.A.
2. The Lich from in Theory of Aggression
and cruel more than most of the mammals is rooted in his character*. Observing that there are wide individual differences in character. From describes three character structures - sadastic, necrophilic, and boredom and interprets the roots of their aggressive behaviour. Boredom, he suggests, may be "the most important source of aggression and destructive tendency", a second block of trials, the ordering of attack aggressor fires and victim last was maintained the subject in each condition. Fear aroused was strongly elicited in the subjects in part because the aggressor now had the last chance to shock them. A broad interdisciplinary effort is getting underway to explore the biological nature and origin of violence. "The approach transcends the traditional cleavage between theologians and sociologists - the former favouring a hereditary and the latter an environmental explanation of human
violence. The two approaches are intertwined, because "the environment itself can leave a physical imprint on a developing brain". Child's upbringing is thus of crucial importance. (The mechanism that initiates and controls violence lies in the limbic system of the brain: the main organ of both calmness and rage is the hypothalamus, the amygdala restrains these impulses; the septum in events both messages; the cerebellum filters sensory impulses. The hippocampus, a short term memory bank, is also involved in still unknown ways. Using electrodes inserted in animal brains, scientists can induce or stop aggressive behaviour at will. A tumor in the hypothalamus or imp the amygdala can turn a peaceful person into violent in the first two years of life. Normal pathways in the brain donot develop in children so deprived......
Bandura demonstrated in children, using inflated plastic "Bolio dolls" violence in children or adults can be set off by seeing violence on film by the presence of fire arms in the room (even if not used in the attack), and by witnessing real life violence.) Male sex hormones in puberty stimulates aggressiveness in adolescent boys. We need find out if "men through conscious control and training can override the physiological changes involved in aggression").

In 1934, Moreno, a Psychiatrist, introduced an interesting technique for studying the organisation of social groups. He called the technique and the theoretical structure on which it was built" Sociometry". Moreno asserted that a social group has stability only if the internal arrangement of the group is satisfying to its members. If they
donot satisfy then they establish smaller groups and they like to live separately one! but corrective surgery is still controversial, as is the use of drugs which minimize the neurotransmitter chemicals. Genetic determinants of violence are still unknown although the effect of the extra chromosome has been prominently mentioned as a factor in violence. But this is not a simple effect - it depends on whether the XY male inherited the extra Y chromosome from peaceful or aggressive father. A certain strain of mice (DBA) have a genetic defect in the hippocampus which makes them susceptible to epileptic seizures and uncontrollable rages; some patients whose brains were stimulated in the same circle also were violent though previously mild mannered. Subtle forms of brain damage are probably widespread in the population, accounting not only for many crimes, but also harmful delusions.
Some brain abnormalities are traceable to the lack of love and physical handling of the infant.

India is a big country. She has many problems for example, economic problems, industrial problem, marketing problems etc. The population of the country exceeds 60 crore and this population is divided into more than thousand castes and many religions. But we get conflict only among two communities. These are Hindu and Muslims. They are not prepared to accept the supremacy of one over the other. In pre independence period Britishers were rulers and Indians were subjects. Britishers did not like to give any chance of development of healthy social relations between the two communities. Maciver and Page told us that society is the web of social relation. We observe the role of Hindu and Muslim in society. We find gap of hatred, grudge, frustra-
tion and misunderstanding among them. "Social problems are behaviour patterns or conditions that are considered objectionable or undesirable by many members of a society. These members recognize that the corrective policies, programmes, and services are necessary to cope with and reduce the scope of these problems. Richard C. Fuller and Richard Myres in "Some Aspects of a theory of social problems", say that "when individuals differ from individual to individual and society to society that means there would be clashes among the people. Clashes depend on the nature of the society. The society may be stratified on communal or economics basis. When the stratification may be developed, the competition, domination, and supermacy may be developed in the society."
"Marx is of opinion that the clashes are found in the society due to the lack of division of labour and wealth.

The practical struggle of these particular interests, which constantly run counter to the communal and illusory communal interests, make practical intervention and control through the illusory general interest" in the form of the state. The social power, i.e. the multiplied productive force, which arises out of the cooperation of different individuals as it is determined within the division of labour, appears to these individuals, since their cooperation is not voluntary but un-natural, not as their own united power, but as an alien force existing outside them, of the origin and about the end of which they are ignorant, and which they cannot control.

4. Inter Group Tension "Society" Maciver and Page

History is the past sociology and it tells us the past social system. The historians tell us the causes of communal conflict due to domination and control, of one community over the other.

According to this, the family groups are the units of society. Family units further develop into more complex social organisations and institutions. Social order is the further development of the family order.

In family there is natural affection between its members. In a well ordered and harmonious community also the selfishness of individuals is checked and is not allowed to give into communal differences through effective methods of social control.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>Social theory and social structures</th>
<th>Declaration of Emergency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>group behaviour Mertor</td>
<td>Hindustan Times Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26.6.1975</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now in the light of the above notions the Declaration of Emergency by the President of India Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad is perfectly justified and the actions of Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi are commendable under the tune of disorganisation and communalism in the country. The sociologists are pleased to appreciate the actions of Smt. Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister for the benefit of the people of India. Historical background of the downfall of Muslim imperialism has thus been explained. Britishers were rulers and Indians were ruled. They had captured power from Muslim imperialists Hindus were in majority in population. In this period both were victimized of frustration. This spirit was developing day by day and in the end the two brothers were involved in conflict. The conflict ultimately took shape of
communal tension on the basis of separate social traditions. In other words we can say that anomic came in the way of social behaviour.

In this connection it is better to quote the writings of Parsons restructuring of Merton's paper on "Social structure and Anomie". Parsons writes that "what Merton calls, 'conformity' is clearly what we here mean by the equilibriated condition of the interactive system without conflict on either side or alienative motivation, if we give the equality "Rebellion" and Alienation and "Conformity" and "Equilibrium". If this element we find in the society there would not be equilibrium and pleasant atmosphere. Modern sociologists donot accept the theory of social deviant due to social change but it breaks down the chain of social relations.
The entire concept of deviant behaviour or social disorganisation itself rests in a faith because communal riot's importance depends on the study of the situation and statement from the point of view of established unity as to the sanctity of private property, and act of communalism might increase in the same way as an act of political rebellion, e.g. the physical damage involved in the "Freedom Riders" actions. If the individual or group is prevailing deviance or anomic in the society, there would be lawlessness and disorganisation in the society. This behaviour may lead to looting, arson, firing and massacring. The result would naturally be loss. As a reaction of these abnormal activities that section of the people would be frightened, frustrated. Because the industrialists, not capitalists, artisans and manufacturers would like to stay under these circumstances and the best technicians would like to migrate from here to anywhere, where they
get peace and calm. Thus the country where such conditions prevail would be backward, economically, socially and politically. This is a great internal danger to the nation.

Some democratic states have exhibited such pluralistic tendencies that they offer to the world a picture of near anarchy. They seem to speak to the world with conflicting voices and to act as if one agency or factor does not know what the other hand is doing... (In) some... states integration is so poor that other states must deal with parts, rather than with a fictitious whole, if diplomacy is to be effective.

The main minority problem of India centres around Muslims, who are both a religious and a linguistic minority though they are not mentioned as such in the Constitution. It is necessary to discuss present social relations of Hindus and Muslims.
The unfolding of this phenomenon to the century of political awakening in pre-independent India has been put before the public by many scholars and was a live topic of controversy for some years before independence. But we have to study the social reaction of communal riots and the consequent frustration of Muslims. Madhok, Leader of Jan Sangh assured on communal tensions and riots in Parliament that Muslims attack first at the time of communal riots. He doubts it is a psychological factor that when an individual finds himself helpless and supportless in the face of a danger or killing, he will take initiative.

Violent behaviour is itself tension manifesting as conflict and social deviation, and affords the most dangerous sign of lack of solidarity. It shows inefficiency.
disgracefulness of the communities. The following types of tensions are found in India:

1. Linguistic

2. Regionalism

3. Hindi and Urdu conflict

4. Industrial conflict

5. Social conflict on the grounds of customs and traditions including castes and community or group.


Dr. N.R. Saksena, Sociologist, defines social conflict, which has great social importance is intergroup tension between two communities, Hindus and Muslims, which is popularly known as communalism. In the wake of recent 'communal' riots in Aligarh there has been considerable thinking on this sudden spurt of violence and serious efforts are being made to probe into the cause of recurrence of communal trouble at frequent intervals in our society. It might be possible
to check the riots in future. The Indian structure of the society is highly diversified and an stratified organisation which has allowed various castes, creeds and religions to coexist throughout her history to constitute a unified whole despite so many diversities, yet this harmony is shattered by the communal tension. That would be the cause inherent in our social and cultural structure that creates such tensions leading to violent conflicts.

Dr. R.N. Saksena says that it is no use blaming the Muslim community for fomenting communal trouble in the country. The Indian Mohammadan provides us with a unique phenomenon. He is essentially the product of Indian soil and our cultural heritage. It may be that he is the heir to Arabic influence, stemming from the Holy Quran and its ideology. But what needs
to be emphasised, in addition, is the Indian intellectual, social and customary differences are found in Indian society.

A sociologist calls it molifury, violent explosion of the subdued hatred and hostility against a person or class of persons. Desire to destroy others is never accidental or occasional. It is a long persistent acquired habit of hatred which makes man violently destructive. Every citizen grows in the atmosphere of his country, the atmosphere of social contact, religious teaching, contemporary political thinking and the collective way of life. If this atmosphere is of hate and hostility, opposition and controversy, rupture and breach, the poison of destruction will be the first acquisition.

12. Inter group Relation and Communal Riots in India
National Integration in Sampradayak Virodhi Committee
Indian Society New Delhi
R. N. Saksena
Shivaji Rao Ayde gives the characteristics of rioters: (1) Mental abnormal (2) rioters are victims of provocation acting as tools, instruments and agents. (3) the last category of rioters are those people who are sheer spectators and sightseers but lend strength due to their presence in the mob. But the Punjab High Court in Durgadas Sohan Lal and others Vs The State (1960 Cr.L.J.647) has laid down that:

"A person who encourages or promotes or takes part in rioting, whether by words, signs or gestures or even by wearing the badge or ensignia of the rioters becomes a rioter for in this case all are deemed principals on the other hand a mere presence without encouragement is not enough to establish criminality."

13. Shivaji Rao Ayde
   Communal Riots in India, Sampradayak Samiti Committee
   Nagpur 1954
   P-677

14. Constitution of India
    New Delhi.
    1954
Thus any attempt to create communal riots or communalism in the society is a social crime. The involved persons are liable to be prosecuted in the court of law. Because court of law are the seat of social justice or social reforms where the people get legal redress and they save the deviant behaviour from man to man. The life of the people may be saved by giving them legal protection.

The constitution of India defines minority" any section of the citizens.... having a distinct language, script or culture", and guarantees to it in Article 29(1) "the right to conserve the same language". At least in four other Articles the word minority occurs; in two of which, Article 30(2), it is specified as "based on religion or language". In other two, Article 350 and 350(B)(1), we find the mention of "Linguistic minority groups" and "linguistic minorities". It is thus clear that for the constitution of India minorities based on culture or race or "nationality" are non existent, they are based only on language or religion and by implication on both in combination.
The League of Nations have given the security to the minorities "the interests of inhabitants differing from the majority of the population of the states in race, language or religion", the League of Nations recognizes only racial, linguistic or religious minorities.

The principal rights of racial linguistic or religious minorities were:

(1) Nationality: - a person who resides in a particular territory or born of parents living in that territory
(2) Life, personal liberty and freedom of worship entitling all inhabitants to the "free exercise, whether in public or in private, of any creed, religion or belief whose practices are not enconsistent with public order
(3) Equal rights for all (4) Nationals belonging to minorities shall have "an equal right to establish, organise and control at their own expenses charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments", and to use their own language.
(5) Govt. shall not impose any restriction on the activities of the minorities specified in above. (6) State shall give facilities to use the language in the Court and in other use. (7) Govt. would provide all possible aid
for charitable hospitals and public utility institutions of minorities. (8) In the case of Muslims in Albania and Greece the State takes measures to decide questions of family law and personal status to be regulated in accordance with Muslim usage.

The third ordinary Assembly of the League of Nations thus declared the duties of minorities:

1. The Primary right of minorities to be get protection from the League from oppression. It also emphasizes the duty incumbent upon persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities to cooperate as loyal fellow citizens with the nations to which they belong.
2. The secretariat of the League, should not only assist the council in the study of complaints concerning infractions of these treaties, but should also assist the council in ascertaining in what manner the persons belonging to racial, linguistic or religious minorities perform their duties towards their states.

In our country we are facing a number of difficulties to remove the social conflict among Indian Societies. There are many castes among Hindus who say that they are minorities because they are treated like second class citizens. Harijan and Scheduled Castes are mentioned among those. Gandhiji and highest ranking Congress Leader made attempt to include them in the Hindu Society but he failed due to Hindus social rites and customs. Ambedkar declared that the Harijan may be converted into Buddhism. He pressed the people to remove untouchability.

16. Shriman Narayan

The selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi
Vol.IV.P.187.
When India became free a little over 24 years ago, administration devolved on persons who cherished the idea of social justice. They set together to frame the constitution of India. They tried to make constitution on the basis of classless society. The framers of constitution emulated the examples of Budha, chaitanya, Vivekanand, Rabindra Nath Tagore and Gandhi, and eschewed all that of rigid repressive and reactionary in the class and caste mentality. This new attitude has been focussed in the preamble of the constitution which pin points "Justice social, economic and political; liberty of thought expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity and promotion of "fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation".
The constitutional sanction for safe guarding the interest of the minorities is the outcome of good sense and pragmatism. Partition of India was a pointer to show that under these circumstances the Hindu Muslim unity was difficult. The mounting unrest among the Muslim and scheduled castes who are half of the total population of India is a reaction of partition.

If the social frustration and pessimism hanker on the minds of the minorities, the Swaraj cannot bring true happiness for the society at large. The objectives are (1) The territorial solidarity of India (2) Democracy (3) Secularism (4) the socialistic pattern of society.

In tackling the problem of the minorities and giving them adequate protection in terms of the provision
of the constitution all these objectives have been kept in view. The main idea is that the minorities should have a sense of involvement in the all round activities of the country. They should not feel helpless, and hopeless, being cut off from the main stream of national life. If they are allowed to drift away they will not weaken the solidarity of the country but will also be a source of danger to the country's peace and progress.

There is, however, a modified opinion in some quarters which has been aptly expressed by a member of the Commission on Untouchability set up in 1969, in the following words, "I feel that the aspect of untouchability has been too much exaggerated ---

I am not saying that there is no untouchability in the country. I mean only that economic and educational development of scheduled castes are the major problems and untouchability is only a secondary one. Once, we are able to uplift and partiality will automatically disappear. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that the Central and the State governments should immediately adopt measures for economic, social and educational betterment of these unfortunate communities".

Dr. Ambedkar's and Dr. Paridi's approach to the subject was intensive. They were of the opinion that the lot of the backward people should be improved in such a way as to take them fit for top posts. Apparently this will project a new image and pave the way for indigenous leadership.

The Directive Principles of the constitution also lay down that the state shall endeavour to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may be social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall be uniform for all the institutions of life. These principles include, amongst others, promotion of educational and economic interest of Muslims, Harijans and other weaker sections.

Communal organisations of the society never made an attempt to involve people in the national problems with the result that of the socio-economic reforms are lacking in the country. At the time of election communal parties raise the communal slogan before public and tension rises. Thus there was a far greater tendency for careerists and opportunities to enter these organizations. There was a set back
before the partition that Ahrar and Jamaatul Ulma could get popularity among the Muslims. All the remedies of this slackness are to provide opportunity of jobs in public and private sector. The ratio of the employment should depend on population basis.

(The oppressed class is frustrated because this class find themselves supportless and helpless in the society. The events of communal riots in Aligarh show that Muslim Community is frustrated educationally, economically, politically as well as socially. They are fearful and they cannot express their ideas openly in the public and in the Govt. sectors. This is also the cause of backwardness which inclines the Muslims towards quarrel after independent.---
There is social disintegration among this community. The Hindu Community of Aligarh have not only full sense of security, and have ample chances for unabated progress, but they think they belong to ruling class. These factors evoke the people towards social tension. Answers to the question indicate the social factor of conflict between the two communities.)
Table fifth (V) shows "the Role of Social Hindus Problem".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HINDUS</th>
<th>MUSLIMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Social institutions are founded by religionists who propagate communalism.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Muslim culture is source of communal tension.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Muslims suffer from social frustration.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Crimes and delinquencies are developing among Muslims.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Suicide cases are among Hindus.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Muslims donot have good institutions about Hindu women.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Purdahis a source of communal tension.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Muslims are subjected to social injustices.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Goondas are the source of communal tension.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Hindus maintain separation with the Muslims.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. Muslims are liberal with the Hindus in their behaviour. 30 70 74 26

The above analysis of the data shows the significance of the social problem among the Hindus and Muslims. The question was asked by the researcher about social institutions. The next item is about Muslim frustration where 74% Hindu respondents are of opinion that Muslims are not victimised by the frustration and 66% showed their agreement. The most significant question was asked if the Muslims were subjected to social injustices. 78% Hindus out of the total population do not agree with it and 72% Muslims assert that social justice is denied to them. The next question was asked by the researcher that if the goondaism is the source of looting, arson and killing. The reply of 93% Hindu respondents was in negative but 54% Muslims replied in positive.
The item was about Hindu separation with the Muslim, 85% Hindus did not agree which it and 60% Muslims showed their agreement.

This is the importance of the question where 70% Hindus out of the total population show their disagreement and 74% Muslim respondents agree with the view expressed in the question. On the whole the Hindus and Muslims have the same views and attitudes as shown in the table. They agree that they have no difference of opinion regarding social system as the majority of the members of each community have expressed their views as shown in the table.

The questionnaire shows that Hindus opinion that social aspect of riots does evoke the tension among the communities. But the Muslim group expressed their views that social aspect of the communities living together was a factor of communal tension as
well as social tension in the communities.

The definition, history and the significance of this factor show the causes of group tension among the communities. The groupism is the creation of social disorganisation. The family and community organisation generate the corruption, raping, crimes and suicides and violence in the society. The inequality in the society is the pessimistic aspect of the communities life, where the community adopt the aggressive attitude. This is social anomic in the society. The empirical study indicate that there is big gulf between Hindus and Muslims. The differences exist because of the difference in the way of living customs, languages and traditions as shown in evident from the table. The communalism is found
among the few of Hindus and Muslim who are conservative and backward or politically depressed.

Suggestions made by Hindus and Muslims for united communal relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestions</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Friendships should be among both communities.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mutual understanding.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Religious education should be compulsory.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Under certain limitation of political freedom.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Govt. should watch the anti social activities.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. All Muslims should be converted into Hindu</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Prevent Pakistan provocation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Proper distribution of income and property to the communities.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Control on Press freedom.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Equal employment in Public and Private sectors.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Proper ratio in Police and other Departments for employment.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Education pattern should be changed and democratic.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Re-writing of History in the light of communal harmony.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestions</td>
<td>HINDUS</td>
<td>MUSLIMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. A peace committee should be organised.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. A.M.U. should be under the control of Muslims.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Govt. should punish the elements of C.I.A. and G.B.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Re-union of India and Pakistan.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Both Communities should have arms and ammunitions for defence.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Muslims should accept India as Mother-land.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Hindus should treat with Muslim brotherly.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Communal parties should be banned in India.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Text books should be democratic.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. All things should be nationalised.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Social system should be free from Politics.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Quota system should be in Admission and employment in all institution to maintain peace.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The suggestions from Hindus and Muslims are not overlapping. We observe better in sight image of the typical Hindu minds than that of the Muslim from the suggestions put forward by these communities of Aligarh. The samples came equal for both the communities but the suggestions of Hindus are partial and that is not intellectual deficit on the part of Muslims due to the majority in population. In the light of the suggestion we can bring about communal harmony in the society.
Conclusion

Communal tension, the well known concept of group tension; has been the subject of through study by national and International organisations. Tension takes the form of conflict, and violence but in India communal riots are exclusive problem for Indian life. The reason for the existence of such group tension amongst the various religious linguistic, caste, economic, social and regional strata of Indian society may be traced in Political developments in the Country, the case of Hindu Muslim relations in particular historical back ground should also be taken into consideration.
Tensions are universal phenomena of human life. In whatever field or area of human life they exist or have existed, their coming to the fore-front and various problems arising out of this behaviour need through research. Inter group prejudices are often due to mutual ignorance about the bright side of each other's religious and cultural heritage which is due to each group living in its own air-tight shell of ignorance resulting in social isolation and frustration.
In this connection I may narrate the
designation which prevails the spirit of hatred,
grudge and communalism among the communities in
various parts of the country.

Apart from conferring the undignified
epithets of kafirs and melechas on each other,
Muslims and Hindus show their mutual animosity
and intolerance in several other ways too. Muslims
are named by different terms of contempt by their
Hindu compatriots in the various regions of India.
In Punjab, U.P., Bihar and M.P. Hindus usually call
Muslims as Moalas, in Bengal and Assam states as Mians,
in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh as Tulkas. Hindus themsel-
in north and central India are similarly referred
by Muslims and other non Hindus as Banias and
Dhoti Prasad etc. Particularly in Aligarh Hindus
name Muslims as Mian or Males and Muslims only say
Kamdhu (Hindu).

Because of the Problem of communal riots
and communalism the country has to face difficulties
and losses of good will at the international level.
The result is that Indian Democracy is looked down
upon as mis honour by the western-countries. The
fact is that intensification of communal elements a
free hand in the country. The failure in fact leads
to a questioning of the conscious of the leaders in
accepting the partition of the sub-continent on terms
which have not solved the socio-economic problems
for which it was said to be the remedy.
Indeed the conditions of communal exclusiveness and distrust which eventually culminated in the partition in 1947 are beginning to build up again.

1. The condition of social injustices provided grounds for generating social tension among Hindus and Muslims.

2. The comparatively simple but sentimental attitude against the Muslims.

3. The rumours fan the tensions and create frustrations.

4. Muslim community is victimized to the extent of depression and Hindus fear the Muslim Raj.

5. The empirical study show the significance of both the problem in the social system.
The study is based on the Religious, Political, Economic, Educational and Social issues in the social relation of two communities.

The empirical study on religious issues indicated importance on the basis of religion. But the study clearly shows the basis of communalism and communal tensions in the society as table No. two shows.

The position today is that political parties organize themselves in order to further their own plans for the formation of a Govt. of their own ideals. These political activities of different parties are recognised in democratic countries without any objection. Not only this that the party holds itself in readiness to take over the reins of Govt. but it continually strives to influence the policy of the party in power.
In India political parties and political movements have so common political ideology and therefore they strive hard to maintain their separate identities. Yet this has not prevented the parties from becoming strong. Here the balance tilts definitely in favour of the political parties. The political parties are the result of the different political ideologies of the different communities and therefore they exploit the weak in the name of religion, caste, region and language etc. The object of political parties is to create social and communal problems for capturing the power as is evident from empirical study in the table/three.
The economic problem is the most important problem of social life. Money is the purchasing power of commodities. It is the measuring rod of human prosperity. It is obvious from the varying attitudes of the communities that a consensus among them in relation to Hindus and Muslims will not be easy. There is a big gap, for instance, between the industrialists and workers and consumers. The political parties gamble with the life of the people in the name of economic problems. The caste and group problems are based on economic factors as the history of Hindu religion tells us that the Hindu Community is divided into Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaish and Shudras. In India Muslim society, inspite of the
fact that Islam believes in International brotherhood also came under the impact of Hindu casteism.

The conflict of interest casts its shadow on trade interests and relations between the two communities increasing influence of the communal riots took shape of a common stand against Muslims and minorities other, and the same is the case with the political considerations of the parties. The table No. four shows the significance of the economic problems for the two communities. The Muslims take initiative in the communal riots due to the fear of property and lives both.
The most important aspect of life is education where child's civic sense is developed under the guidance of teachers. The teachers are more responsible for shaping the career of a boy than his parents. Many people have blamed the educational institutions founded with communal considerations and where preferential treatment is given to the student of a particular community or religion. Particularly in Aligarh we have seen the primary and secondary data about the students conflict between local colleges and Aligarh Muslim University which often leads to communal tension as shown in the table No. fifth. Unnecessary involvement of the
local collegiate in the A.M.U. affairs is harmful for the national unity. The communalist as well as local politicians exploit the strained relations of the communities as a result of riots. The text books, misinterpretation of history and preaching communal doctrines in the class by the teachers are the sources of spreading hatred, grudge and communalism among the students.

The causes of the social problems in India are not new but it is a well known concept of the Indian history. The European and American countries have the problems of colour, creeds in the social life and often these problems take the shape of violence in
the western countries but in India we face
the problems of castes, religion, sects,
regions and languages etc. and these
problems create an atmosphere not conducive
for peaceful living. The anti-social element
exploit this state of affairs to fan tension
which definitely results in riots. The reasons
may be the transformation, sanskritization,
westernization and evolution of society. They
often create the unrest in the society. The
ultimate result of this social attitude is that
it leads the society towards arson, looting,
prostitution, juvenile delinquencies and heterogeneity
from person to person etc.
The influences of these happenings are the ultimate reaction on oppressed people in India. Most of the people are oppressed due to political, educational, economic and social injustices but they think that their backward condition is the result of the organised communal violence. They refuse to believe that the riots are not planned and organised. So the two biggest communities of Aligarh even after the Rotecaust have occurred do not consider the unfortunate incidents as something inevitable. In fact, the responses of the two communities from the same locality unknowingly indicate an urge for cooperation and co-existence which dissolve the differences.
and conflicts indicated in responses from members of the two communities after the communal riots. The Government machineries and peace committee have failed to control the communal disturbances. The suggestions can be seen in the thesis for the social as well as uplift of the country. The people are much worried on account of national disintegration. Most of the members of both the communities want to maintain peace and order and exchange the sentiment of brotherhood for their good will and happiness.
APPENDIX

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY ALIGARH

A Sociological Study of Communal riots in Aligarh in the past Independence period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobelle</td>
<td>District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.No.</td>
<td>Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you think Festivals are a source of communal riots?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do you think Mosques/temples are the sources of communal riots?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do you think Religion is a curse for national integration?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do you think Loud music ringing of bell and singing before mosques are the sources of communal riots?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do you think Islam is an alien religion?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do you think Religious preaching is the source of communal riots?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do you think RSS and Jammat Islamia encourage communal riots?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus have greater tolerance than Muslims?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims do not take part in Hindus festivals and their cultural activities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims do not like Hindu religion and its traditions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Do you think Muslim children from the very beginning are taught to be an enemy of Hindus?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.No.</td>
<td>Items</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims are not safe in India?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do you think Govt. is interfering in your religious affairs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do you think Govt. gives importance to the Muslims for the sake of their votes?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do you think creation of Pakistan is responsible for communal tension?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do you think communal feeling of the Hindus responsible for the creation of Pakistan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus have some fears from the Muslims in India?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do you think Govt. gives importance to Hindus because they are in majority?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do you think some foreign countries are interested in spreading communal tensions in India?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do you think communal riots are preplanned and organised?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims are victimized on the occasion of communal riots?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. Do you think faulty leadership is a curse of communal tensions?

12. Do you think Hindus openly kill the Muslims at the time of communal riots?

13. Do you think Muslims are solely responsible for communal riots?

14. Do you think Govt. also backs communal tensions?

15. Do you think Muslims are appeased by the present Govt. at the cost of Hindus?

16. Do you think Govt. will know the knowledge of those who instigate communal tensions but remains unconcerned?

17. Do you think Police is ineffective in controlling communal riots?

18. Do you think Hindus suffer a greater economic loss at the time of communal riots?

19. Do you think Muslims regard the Arabian countries as their homeland and are disloyal to India?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you think A.M.U. is a seat of communal tension?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do you think Hindu institutions are the sources of communal tensions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do you think Hindu teachers spread hatred against Muslims?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims teachers give the lesson of National integration?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims can not get entry in the Hindu organisations except they kill their conscience?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus do not send their children to A.M.U. because it is Muslims institution?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do you think the demand of the affiliation of Hindu institutions, with A.M.U. is genuine?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims should not be allowed for higher education?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus should not be allowed for higher education?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Do you think text books approved by the Govt for educational institutions contribute to Hindus communalism?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Do you think the demand of minority character for A.M.U. is communal?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.No.</td>
<td>Items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus workers are not getting opportunities for employment in Muslim firms?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus prefer to purchase goods from Hindi shops because Muslims are dirty?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus do not appoint the Muslims in their organization?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims are not taken into govt. services because they are Muslims?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims have equal shares in the economics growth but they enjoy lesser privileges than Hindus?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus do not get proper profit from economic growth because the Muslim population is increasingly rapidly?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus industries are getting profit and aid from Govt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do you think Govt. is not financing Muslim industries to set up new plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims have become financial bankrupt after independence?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus are becoming rich day by day?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.No.</td>
<td>Items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you think social institutions are founded by religionists who propagate communalism?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do you think Muslim culture is source of communal tension?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims suffer from social frustration?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do you think crimes and delinquencies are developing among Muslims?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do you think suicide cases are found among Hindus?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims do not have good intention about Hindu women?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus is a source of communal tension?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims are subjected to social injustices?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do you think goondas are the source of communal tension?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Do you think Hindus maintain separation with Muslims?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Do you think Muslims are liberal with Hindus in their behaviour?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please give in short the causes of communal riots and tensions and suggestions in short some of the remedies which you think would minimize the communal tensions and conflicts.
**B I B L I O G R A P H Y**

**INTRODUCTION**

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Chapter VI

Socio-Psychological Aspects of Social Conflict


From Marx and Engels: Inter group tension. Society.


<table>
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<tr>
<th>Author/Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Prof. R.N. Saksena</td>
<td>Inter group Relation and National Integration in Indian Society Seminar in A.M.U.</td>
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<td>I.H. Qureshi</td>
<td>The problem of Minorities 1939 p. 27.</td>
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<td>Early Essays on social Philosophy London Routledge 191.</td>
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