CONCLUSIONS
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India historically was and has been a heterogeneous society. The Hindus were divided from fellow Hindus, and Muslims from fellow Muslims, by language, culture, caste, class, social status, food and dress habits, and other societal practices including the heterogeneity of faiths and beliefs. Even socially and culturally the Hindu and the Muslim masses had developed common ways of life. A Bengali Muslim and a Bengali Hindu had much more in common than a Bengali Muslim and a Punjabi Muslim had. Their interactions and inter-relations led to the growth of tolerant composite culture. It was with British arrival and their policies, misunderstanding and communal discord among them began to take shape. The Hindu-Muslim communalism is described as the legacy of British rule particularly of the time period of freedom struggle. The communal problem therefore is not much old. The founding fathers of the communal triangle in modern India were the British rulers, who were neither the friends of the Muslims nor Hindus but in reality the foes of both the communities. Moreover, Hindus and the Muslims were being equally and jointly oppressed and exploited by the British. Hindus and Muslims had fought shoulder to shoulder during the Revolt of 1857.

Hindus and Muslims had fought shoulder to shoulder during the Revolt of 1857. The colonial government treated Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs as separate communities. Along with the nationalist freedom struggle there also emerged Hindu and Muslim communalism counter working against each other and also against the nationalist struggle finally leading to the partition of the country. Partition was considered a solution to the problem of communalism. This did not happen. Rather the problem turned out to be a vicious circle in post-independent India communalizing the Indian society despite the fact that India chose to have a secular democratic set up for governing itself.

Politicization of religion for different reasons during the independence struggle was deliberately done to address to the conflicting interests of both Hindus and Muslims. Actually, religion possesses the capacity to play a dominant role in political characterization, crystallization, and conscription/mobilization of the people and communities on communal lines. The politicisation of religion continued unabated after independence causing economic destructions, social divisiveness and number of Communal Violence. What is of significance is that the Communal politics has become
the glaring feature of Indian landscape. Like the British colonialist who strategically used the religion to serve their colonial interests, in independent India this practice is continuing. Whether it is an issue of social reform, the issue of national awakening or coming to power, the religion plays a crucial role in determining their outcomes.

Communalism is not a phenomenon confined to only one community; the followers of all religious denominations have been susceptible to its influence. The division of the nation into two parts was the direct result of Hindu-Muslim communalism disguised as Hindu nationalism and Muslim nationalism respectively. Muslim communalism got its share as Pakistan representing the interests of Muslim Zamindars, Nawabs and other elites in politics not of the Muslim masses. The Hindu communalism which was spearheaded by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the Hindu Mahasabha and various other communal forces had to accommodate itself in post-independent secular democratic system adopted by the nationalist for independent India. Their ideal: a Hindu nation for Hindus remained unfulfilled. They continued to operate in different disguise to achieve their ideal. Politics became a mechanism for achieving the said ideal.

This feature in the Indian politics has become permanent and perpetuating. Most often Communal Violence becomes its habitual feature. The Independent Indian society has faced number of riots causing death and destruction of properties and above all undermining the unity and integrity of the nation. Since the 1980s, these riots have multiplied across India particularly in its northern part. Communal Violence does not happen spontaneously. They are not sudden outcomes. They are the outcomes the ongoing process of communalisation of Indian society. There exist institutionalised riot systems to carry out the targeted violence for serving the political cause.

Indian democracy has faced persistent pressure from political parties to mobilise people for electoral purposes evoking emotive issues religion, language, caste, region and parochialism. The development and other issues get transformed into communal issues. The state of Uttar Pradesh being the hot bed of communalism and the largest number of Parliamentary seats occupies an important position among other Indian states. This state remains at the forefront of the communal politics. During 1990’s Uttar Pradesh had shown the different pattern of mobilizations. The contemporary electoral politics of this state is dominantly shaped by caste and community considerations. It has never been free
from Communal Violence. The general and assembly elections of Uttar Pradesh from 1989 to 2014 were influenced in many ways by the communal politics and the violence that ensued from despite a ban on the communal electorates and use of religion for soliciting votes.

In the beginning years of independence from 1947 to 1980, the communal forces remained marginalised on the political front. They were not able to gain sufficient public support to influence politics to their benefits. The forces of Hindutva and their political organisation the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) strategically and aggressively adopted the ideology of Hindutva which led to its meteoric rise in 1980’s. The gradual but continuous politicization of the religious communities through violence is a fundamental fact of the Sangh political strategy. The Congress in the late 1980’s from 1989 its power from both the Centre and the state of Uttar Pradesh. Its collapse seemingly was its compromise with the communal forces offering opportunity to the Hindutva forces particularly the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which became quite successful in the general elections of 1991, 1996 and 1998 securing more than 50 seats in each election. The Bharatiya Janata Party’s (BJP) strategy of using religion to its advantages was countered by the strategy of political parties using the caste politics. From 1989 the state of Uttar Pradesh has become witness to the caste and communalism mobilizations. The state also became witness to a political game whereby political parties used the issue of caste to stop religious mobilization and the issue of religion to stop caste mobilization. This was the inevitable by product of electoral competition. Communal Violence is the intrinsic outcome of this game to mobilise people along communal lines. This is used as a deliberate tool by the political parties in the interest of political power.

From 1980’s Communalism occupied a dominant place in Indian politics. Political parties used it to create Communal Consciousness (Sampradayik Bhav). In the elections from 1989 to 2014 Communal Violence was used to create dissensions among the voters on communal lines. The state of Uttar Pradesh being the hot bed of communal politics became witness to the open and underneath communal activities especially at the time of elections. In 2014 general election the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) mostly succeeded in the areas where communal polarisation was caused by the communal innings played by the political parties. The Western part of Uttar Pradesh which witnessed serious Communal Violence recorded heavy poll turnout. From the general elections like as
2004, 2009 and 2014 it becomes observable that the Communal Violence is the pre
planned and politically engineered game for political power. In this game political parties
particularly the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) have been playing an important role in
communalizing Indian politics. Religious intolerance and communal riots are on the rise.
Very often, India witnesses sustained periods of communal violence which undermines
the constitutional fabric of the nation and its history of peaceful co-existence. In this
regard, both the minorities as well as majority communities are equally to be blamed.
More blame goes to forces openly indulging into communalisation of Indian society.

Communalising has fortified itself at various levels of social existence. This is being
continuously abated, promoted and sustained since independence. The Indian state is also
communalisation itself by becoming party and participating in this process. It allows
communal activities in the name of freedom of religion guaranteed by the constitution.
Many ceremonies and public rituals are perceived by Hindus as cultural and nationalistic
expression and by many others including Muslims these are manifestation of Hindu
culture. These rituals are performed even in state functions and therefore, the neutrality
of the state in these matters is questioned. Moreover attempts are also made by Hindutva
forces to equate Hindu cultural symbols as national culture. This is described as Hindu
backlash to the rise in Muslim communalism and alleged Hindu persecution in history by
Muslims. The weakness of Indian state after independence was/is that it remained/remain
passive towards communalists till violence breaks out. This is like treating the symptom
not the disease. Due to the passiveness in fighting only communal violence and not
communalism, its threat remained and survived. It becomes clear that communalism and
communal riots are not spontaneous outbursts of the religious differences of Hindu-
Muslim communities they are deliberate. They are meticulously planned by vested
interests for achieving the communal purpose.

The Western Uttar Pradesh faced the sustained communal propaganda that helped
victory to the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) in 2014. There are conscious and deliberate
ways in which prejudices among Hindus and Muslims were not only allowed to exist and
grow but strengthened to cause the movement of Indian society towards the deepening of
communalization. Communalism during elections is a recurrent problem which affects
India especially the state of Uttar Pradesh in North. Political manifestoes of many parties
thrive on the sentiments of religious and ethnic identities and infest them with a sense of
Communal Violence and the individualised act of violence against Muslims are justifiably being projected as revenge for the supposedly Muslim atrocities of the last 1,000 years.

Communalism has become normal and gained credible acceptability in Indian society. It has spread all across in all walks of life. It displays itself in different forms, shapes and connotations. It is on the rise. Elections and Communalism have become contributory to each other. Their fusion has taken place. This helps the Hindutva agenda. The state of India instead of promoting constitutional values often becomes subservient to it. Therefore communalism not only survives but thrives. India as a secular state is threatened. Its capacity to face the challenges of communalism head on right from the days of independence was under question. All attempts made by Indian state to control communalism dealt with its symptoms: Communal Violence therefore failed. Coping with symptoms is not going to de-communalised India and occurrence of Communal Violence. In contemporary times the tentacles of communalism have overpowered the capacity of state to defeat it.