

The Hindutva Fascists & the Road towards Disintegration of India

Annihilation of the conceptual premise

A state can sustain its geopolitical solidarity only on a solid conceptual premise. The conceptual collapse can only precipitate its rapid disintegration. Pakistan was created on an intense pan-Islamic zeal of the Muslims of different Indian states and languages. But in 1971, the country disintegrated as it lost its conceptual cum ideological premise to the radical nationalists. India is not an exception either. An ideology of ethnic or religious supremacism can never forge any geopolitical compatibility between people of various ethnicities, castes and religions. India is known for its plurality of race, religion, language, culture and cast. So it stands fractured in its own body polity. Hence, during the last days of the British rule, the leaders of the Indian National Congress like Gandhi, Nehru and others could easily realise that supremacism of any religion or ethnicity can only jeopardise the project of a united India. So, they were left with no other option but to take secularism as the only conceptual alternative to create a united India. Even the embedded Hindutva elements in the Congress like Ballav Bhai Patel had to accept such reality and hide his own agenda in the back seat. Hence in 1947, India was created on the basis of secularism –as it is incorporated in the Indian constitution.

Now the greatest threat to India's integration doesn't come from Pakistan, China or other foreign powers, rather from the own people. Such home-grown enemies are the ruling Hindutva fascists. They have successfully annihilated the secular paradigm. Hence, the path of disintegration that the founding fathers avoided in 1947, the country is now plunged into that with the ruling Hindutva supremacists in its driving seat. They have created a new ground-breaking reality in Indian politics that stands dissimilar to that at birth. Such a new

political reality always brings new political dynamics and outcomes.

The Indian subcontinent could enjoy a united geopolitical entity only under three non-Hindu ruling powers; they are the Buddhist Asoka, the Muslims and the British. It is also true that India could enjoy a long-lasting geopolitical unity only under the Muslims. And it owes to the Muslim rulers' inclusive policy. On the other hand, the Hindutva ideology could only show its divisive power in the name of different castes, customs, ethnicity and deities. The same divisive trend has strongly resurfaced with the advent of the Hindutva fascists in power.

The policy of exclusion & the lost raison d'être

Fascism could never bring any peace in any part of the world; it could only promote politics of exclusion, hatred, wars and genocidal cleansing. India now pursues the same divisive route. Adolf Hitler has died; but his ideology thrives among disciples like Narendra Modi, Amit Sha and many others. Hitler excluded Jews from German politics, economy and administration because of their dissimilar race and religion. The Hindutva fascists are doing the same against the Muslims. The exclusion of the Muslims has gone to the extent that in the 2014 election, 44 million Muslims of Uttar Pradesh (UP) didn't have a single MP in India's parliament.

To make India a Hindu state, the Hindutva rogues argue that since Pakistan hasn't adopted secularism as the state ideology, India doesn't need to be secular either. They also argue, since Pakistan is an Islamic republic, why India shouldn't be a Hindu state? With the same breadth, they rebuke Muslims for demanding a secular India. With such a depiction of a pure Hindu objective, they indeed dismantle the conceptual premise of India's creation. Secularism is indeed the raison d'être for India. The founding fathers of India never argued to make it a Hindu state. India got disproportionately a larger geographical territory only because of its declared secular political agenda. Otherwise, India would have been much smaller than the current size. As a Hindu state, the Indian Hindus forfeit the moral, political

and legal right to keep 200 Million Muslims, 30 million Christians and 25 million Sikhs and their genuine territorial entitlement under the occupation of a Hindu state. Such a problem doesn't crop up in Pakistan with its 98% Muslim population if its Islamist population want to pursue the Islamic objective. Because pursuing an Islamic objective was declared basis of its creation.

If Hindu India had been the agenda of Gandhi, Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad and other Congress leaders, the ancestors of the current 255 million non-Hindus would have surely detested being the citizen of such a communal India from day one of its creation. Only because of a secular India, the Congress leaders could argue to keep states with the majority of the non-Hindu population like Kashmir, Punjab, Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Arunachal and Tripura within a united India. Abrogation of such a promise will only provide the moral and legal right to the non-Hindus to disintegrate from a Hindu India.

On the other hand, the leaders of the Pakistan movement didn't keep it hidden the ideological basis of Pakistan –which could be embedded later on in Pakistan' constitution as the 22 points of the basic ideological objectives. The Muslims create a state not only to meet the economic and the domiciliary objectives but also to fulfil the obligatory Islamic objectives. It is obligatory on the Muslims to run the education, the culture, the judiciary and the warfare as per the Qur'anic prescription. The Muslim leaders of India could foresee such a project impossible to run in an undivided Hindu-majority India. They could also read the Hindu mind-set and could foresee the cleansing objective of the Hindutva majority against the Muslims –as being practised on and off since the independence in 1947. So they had no option but to create Pakistan to promote the obligatory Islamic cause. Because of the proclaimed Islamic agenda, the leaders of Pakistan movement couldn't claim the neighbouring seven non-Hindu states that are on the north-eastern border of former East Pakistan. But if India wants to be Hindu state, it can't claim these non-Hindu states either.

Hindutva fascism and the incompatibility

The Indian leaders wanted to be secular as per their own choice -as proclaimed in the Indian constitution. The Muslims didn't ask for that. But their hypocrisy in the name of secularism is huge. The Indian law against Muslim visitors exposes such hypocrisy. If a non-Indian Hindu visitor overstays in India, he or she is fined 100 rupees. But if a Muslim visitor overstays, he or she needs to pay 21,000 rupees -200 time more than a Hindu. It is noteworthy that a non-secular country like Pakistan doesn't have such an evil law. The Anandabazar Patrika of Kolkata wrote an editorial on it on 12.03.2020. The same hypocrisy is expressed through the National Registrar of Citizens (NRC) and the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA). As per CAA, discrimination is made to grant citizenship to Muslims but not to non-Muslims.

Law is sometimes framed to punish the targeted enemies. It is commonly practised by the fascists to eliminate their political enemies. For the Hindutva fascists, the Muslims are such enemy -as were the Jews unto to the German fascists. Hence in India, making laws that harm Muslims is a common practice. Secularism can never be a substitute of sharia -as prescribed by the All-Wise Allah. But the absence of law is better than an evil law. Hence, secularism is definitely better than toxic Hindutva ideology. But in India, secularism has turned into an outrageous mockery. It has become a face-saving façade for the radical Hindutva ideology. Sometimes it is the soft brand of Indian National Congress, and sometimes it is an extreme brand of the RSS-BJP axis.

Of course, if secularism could have convinced the Hindutva leaders to abandon their toxic ideology would have been better for India as well. However, one can never convince a Hindutva goon. In their mind, only a myth works and not a reason. This is why none else than Narendra Modi -the Prime Minister of India could tell in public that ancient Indians were expert in head transplantation. So, he claims, they could implant an elephant head to Ganesh -a Hindu deity! To fight coronavirus disease, drinking cow urine thus gets acceptance to such myth-inspired Indian Hindus. How can one argue with the people impregnated with such toxic belief? Such gross incompatibility with the reason, civility and

morality can only end the peaceful coexistence of people with a plurality. Such incompatibility can only promote bloody conflict and disintegration. The World Powers like the Soviet Union and the USA could suppress the political will of 25 million Afghans. How can Hindu India suppress the will of 255 million non-Hindus? 18.03.2020

The Indian War on Muslims

The Hindutva war

The worst devastations in human history are not caused by earthquakes, cyclones or tsunamis. These owe to wars -the crimes exclusively done by the humans. Only in two World Wars 75 million people are killed. After the World Wars, millions are killed in Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria; and the killing continues. The destructiveness of any war entirely depends on the toxicity of the ideologies of the warmongers. A virulent killer bug always causes killer disease. Likewise, a killer ideology always causes deaths, rapes and destructions. What would be the worst stupidity than to be dubious on its dreadfulness? All worst war-crimes are indeed the works of the people adherent to the toxic ideologies. In fact, ideologies like fascism, racism, nationalism, supremacism, imperialism, communism and religious fanaticism never passed any segment of history without making bloodbath. Ethnic cleansing, genocidal massacre, wars of occupation, regional wars, domestic wars and the World Wars indeed owe to these ideologies. Therefore, wherever these ideologies show their tide, one can be sure that some worst genocide is looming. In India, such a war has already been started since its inception; and it is against the Muslims with the embedded Hindutva fascism in its making.

War has its distinctive and defining markers; it brings gang rapes, genocidal killings, arsons, occupations, deprivation of human rights

and mass-scale torture in the lives of the stipulated enemies. The Indian Muslims pass every day and every night amidst such war-crimes. The ongoing war against the Muslims doesn't run in the territorial frontiers; rather in every Muslim enclaves. Any doubt on deadliness of a killer bug only brings more deaths. Similarly, doubt on dreadfulness of the toxic ideologies like Hindutva fascism, only exacerbate the genocide. Fascism has already shown its true face in Europe. The Muslims in India are now facing the same fate. The Hindutva fascists formed the world's largest NGO called Rastriya Shevok Sangha (RSS) not to share goodwill with the minority compatriots; but to impart ideological militancy among its members. It was created with the sole objective to make India a Hindu state. (Andersen, Walter; Damla, Shridhar, 1987). When M.S Golwalker became the RSS President in 1940, he set it a goal not to fight against the British. (M.S Golwalker, 1974). During the British raj, the aim was to gain strength and to make RSS war-ready to fight the Muslims.

From day one of its inception in 1925, RSS was focussed on mobilising and strengthening the Hindutva recruits to fight against the Muslims. In 1927, within two years of its creation, the RSS launched its first Muslim cleansing operation in its birth place in Nagpur in Maharashtra. Its militants launched an organised attack against the local Muslims and the campaign went on for 3 days and forced the Muslims to leave the city. The creation of Pakistan in 1947 infuriated the RSS cadres; as if they have cut into pieces their mother India. Now they take the fight against the captivated Indian Muslims. They consider every Indian Muslim a traitor cum termite and a Pakistani inside. (Ashish Nandi, 2002). For its terrorist activities, the RSS was banned 4 times: in 1947, 1948, 1975-77 and 1992. During British raj, it was banned for its communal terrorism by the provincial government of Punjab in 1947. In 1948, it was banned for killing Gandhi. In 1992, it had banned for destroying the historic Babri Mosque. Since Norendra Modi -a lifelong member of RSS, became the Prime Minister, everything changed. The RSS is no more alone in its mission. Along with this non-state fascist outfit, the whole state apparatus, the media, the police and the army are now working hand in hand to attain the Hindutva objective.

The cross-party epidemic

War is fought not only in the battle fields; but also fought on ideological, cultural and economic premises. Hindutva literature tells about such an inclusive war against the Muslims. All RSS compounds all over India indeed work as mini cantonment to train fighters for such a war. In fact, such a war has already been imposed on all the sectors of the Muslim life in India. They want not only the full surrender of the Muslims, but also the full decimation, demoralisation and de-Islamisation of the Muslims. For that, they have even deployed violent criminals as fighters to lynch, rape, torture and kill Muslims even on local streets and domestic premises. Thus, the Hindutva war has entered into the Muslim homes and impacted every aspects of the Muslim lives.

Malaria in India doesn't differ from malaria in Europe; the same is true for an ideological disease. Therefore, whatever the German fascists did against the Jews in Europe, the Hindutva fascists are doing the same against the Indian Muslims. Like a virus, a toxic ideology too, never stays confined within the premise of a single political, religious or terrorist outfit. It shows a cross-party, cross-country and cross-border epidemic. India is a classic example. Therefore, its Hindutva epidemic has overwhelmed not only its culture, politics, media and education; but also the whole spectrum of life. Hence, the anti-Muslim hatred in Indian politics is not the monopoly of the RSS-BJP axis, the parties like the Indian National Congress and many others have also been infected with the same toxicity. Following examples may help understand the gravity of the issue.

The spell of the Hindutva venom on the Congress politics was fully exposed during the election campaign of 1989. To appease the Hindu voters, Rajiv Gandhi –the Congress Party's sitting Prime Minister attempted to snatch the Hindutva mantra from RSS-BJP family by outplaying the issue. For that, he borrowed the Hindutva strategy of L.K. Advani –the BJP leader. He started his campaign from the district of Faizabad –known for its historic Babri Mosque. Dispelling the

previous secular stand of the Congress, Rajiv Gandhi took the banner of Hindutva agenda in his own hand. He promised to inaugurate Rama Rajya –the rule and the kingdom of Rama, in India. (Pradeep Nayak, 1993). It was a clear departure from the declared political ideology of the Congress. He even opened the door of the Babri Mosque for the Hindu worshippers –which was strategically avoided by every Congress and non-Congress government in the past. But Rajiv Gandhi displayed his sheer lack of political wisdom and foresightedness. He gave preference to getting more votes over esteemed values, justice and respect for minority rights. Such siding with the Hindu majority and robust Hindutva radicalization of the Congress by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi prompted the Muslims to quickly leave the Congress. However, in the election, his trick to amass Hindu votes didn't work. He failed to defeat the old vanguards of the Hindutva like BJP. As a result of losing the Muslim votes, the Congress ceased to exist anymore as an electable contender of power in Indian national politics. It could only show up as insignificant regional party in some smaller states.

However, Rajiv Gandhi is not the only Congress leader to embrace the Hindutva ideology. It indeed runs through the veins of many of the prominent Hindu leaders. Even, Mr. Nehru -the first Prime Minister of independent India didn't prove different from any other Hindutva communal leader. Only a thief can embrace a thief. Likewise, only a communal leader can embrace another communal leader. So, Nehru showed his Hindutva color by embracing Mr. Samya Prasad Mukherjee as a member of his first post-independence cabinet. Mr. Mukherjee was known as one of the most original gurus of Hindutva radicalization of Indian politics. He was the former President of Hindu Mahashava and the founder of Jana Sangha –the mother organizations of today's BJP. Embracing him in the cabinet tells a lot; it in fact means embracing his ideology.

Mr. Narasima Rao -another Congress Prime Minister of India, also showed a very high level of anti-Muslim venom in his psyche. He joined politics as an armed terrorist against the Muslim rule in Hyderabad. (K.S. Komireddi, 2019). While he was the Prime Minister, he allowed the destruction of Babri Mosque by his premeditated malign inaction.

As a Prime Minister, he had the full power to stop the day-long crime that was being committed in broad day light. But he preferred to stay silent. For a man in power, such deliberate silence only proves complicity in the crime. Another anti-Muslim Hindutva radical in the Congress and in the highest echelon of India's power structure was Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. He was the former President of India. He visited Nagpur to pay his deep homage to the RSS founder Mr. Hedgewar in 2018. The issue didn't stop at his homage; Mr. Mukherjee went further. He exulted the RSS founder a "great son of Mother India" in the visitor's book. Only a man with full endorsement Mr. Hedgewar's ideology could write such a high eulogy. On behalf of the RSS, it was acknowledged that after the visit of Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, the membership of RSS went high.

Mr. Hedgewar's ideology and his political objective were never hidden. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee must be knowing that. Mr. Hedgewar proclaimed that India was a land only of the Hindus and consistently loathed the Muslims. He could never swallow the Muslims' rule and their existence in India. He considered Muslims' rule in India as a disgrace for the Hindus. His obsession to take the revenge from the Muslims prompted him to form the RSS. His successor, [Golwalkar](#), was an admirer of Hitler and his policies towards the Jews. He even wrote that Nazi Germany was a "good lesson for use in Hindusthan to learn and profit by." In such writings of Mr. Golwalkar, the implied message is very clear. The Germans had the Jews and the Indians have the Muslims. Hitler had nothing to teach Indians on Hindutva. But he had a lot to teach the Hindus how he could spread the supremacist politics of hatred against the minorities like Jews. He could also teach how he mobilised and motivated the Germans to take millions of Jews to the genocidal gas chambers. Mr. Golwalkar was highly impressed by Hitler's quick success in exterminating the Jews; hence asked his Hindu compatriots to apply the same politics of hatred and the genocidal methodology against the Indian Muslims. Can a man with an iota of morality endorse such a toxic ideology? But Mr. Pranab Mukharjee travelled to Nagpur to pay homage to an icon of such ideology. A Muslim can easily understand how dreadful to live amidst hordes of such indoctrinated people. In a conventional war, fear of death runs

only through those who are in the battlefield. But for Muslims, the whole India had turned into a battlefield. Hence all-time fear of death runs through every Muslim man, woman and children.

In 1954, a Congress MP named Seth Govind Das moved a resolution in the Indian parliament for imposing a total ban on cow slaughter. Mr Vasan Sathe -another leading Hindutva fan in Congress, threatened to resign from the party if the party opposes the installation of a portrait of Mr. Savarkar –the original guru of Hindutva politics in India, in the parliament. (Naqvi, 2019). Moreover, the first post-independence genocidal massacre of the Muslims that took place in Hyderabad in 1948, wasn't the work of RSS-BJP thugs. It happened under the watch of Congress Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. More than 100 thousands Muslims were killed in that pogrom; and thousands of Muslim women were raped. Even in Jammu –a southern region in united Kashmir, a massive genocide took place while the Congress and its leader Nehru were in the helm of affairs. Prior to Indian occupation in 1947, Jammu had 60 percent Muslim population. But by a planned pogrom in 1948, it was brought down to 30 percent. The genocide was carried out under the direct command of Dogra king Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir -as a part of the desperate move in his last days of rule to make Kashmir a Hindu majority state. Prime Minister Nehru not only kept silence on such heinous massacre; rather gave safe sanctuary to Hari Singh in Mumbai.

A mass murderer as a ruler

Political appointments made by a ruling party always reflect its embedded ideology. Modi played a key role in mobilizing the cadres to destroy Babri mosque. In early October 2001, the Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee summoned Norendra Modi to his residence and offered him the chief minister's job of Gujrat. (K.S. Komireddi, 2019). A party like BJP or RSS are always run by a co-operative of leaders with strong ideological and cultural match. This is why a

Muslim, a secularist or communist is fully incompatible in BJP or RSS outfits. Mr. Vajpayee is usually projected as moderate in the RSS-BJP camp. But how a moderate man can match with an extremist killer? How can he appoint such a killer as a chief minister? Later on, Modi as a chief minister not only showed his own color, but also revealed Mr. Vajpayee's color as well. A leader is rightly known by his close friends and the political decision. Modi's intention, ideology and motive was not unknown to Mr. Vajpayee. Therefore, his appointment as the chief minister of Gujrat tells a lot about Mr. Vajpayee's own ideology and motive. It indeed exposed Mr. Vajpayee's own Hindutva indoctrination.

Within 4 months of the appointment as the chief minister of Gujrat, Modi showed his real color. In 2002, a train carrying Hindu extremists returning from the site of demolished Babri mosque got fire. Fifty-eight people burned to death. Mr. Norendra Modi didn't wait for the enquiry, rather grab it as a great opportunity to do what he wanted to do. He instantly called it the work of the Islamic extremists. Modi's announcement was enough to incite genocidal massacre against the Muslims in Gujrat. In one Muslim neighborhood, a mob of about five-thousands Hindus made their way through a slum and hacked ninety-seven Muslims to death and a mosque was blown up with liquefied petroleum. Across the road from the scene of carnage, stood a reserve police quarters. But no one from there lifted a finger. (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Thus, as a chief minister, Modi showed his own complicity in the crime. He need not kill or rape anybody himself; but his robust inaction worked as huge encouragement for the killers, the rapists and the arsonists to commit such crimes in thousands.

In an anti-Muslim pogrom, a Muslim of any rank doesn't make any difference to be the worst victim. Former MP Ehsan Jafri was a very prominent Muslim leader of Gujarat. He had close acquaintance with Sonia Gandhi –the leader of Congress and personally known to Mr. Vajpayee -the sitting Prime Minister. Despite all such acquaintance, he was brutally tortured and slaughtered. Mr. Jafri was sheltering about 250 helpless Muslims in his residence. He spent hours making desperate calls to Modi's office, but received no help. Modi turned

deaf. At the end he urged the attackers, "Whatever you want do with me, do it; but please don't kill those who have taken shelter in my house." But his appeal fell on deaf ears. Mr. Jafri was dragged out of his house by the Hindu mob, tortured with all possible cruelty and sliced open with swords. At the end, he was burnt alive. Sixty-nine people seeking refuge inside Jafri's house were killed in broad daylight over seven hours. In a civilized country, the police usually reach at the crime scene within five to ten minutes. But during the long period of seven hours, the state police didn't bother to show up in the scene to stop this preventable massacre. (Vinod Jose, 2012).

Under Modi's supervision, more than three thousand Muslims (in some estimate it is more than five thousands) were butchered, thousands of women were raped and more than hundred thousand Muslims were made homeless. Only a deliberate and premeditated inaction can justify such a crime. After such a criminal inaction, how can Modi deny his complicity in the genocidal massacre? But still, he didn't lose the job. Not a single police officer was sacked or punished for such a criminal negligence. It is noteworthy that Prime Minister Vajpayee and the Home Minister Mr. Advani –god fathers of Mr. Modi, didn't express any displeasure in public on such carnage. Instead, whatever carnage they could procure from this protégée, made them happy to hold the ladder at his footsteps to help him climb up to the Prime Ministerial post.

Modi: a psychopath

A man of morality usually resigns from his ministerial post for failing to prevent even a railway accident. But Mr. Modi never showed an iota repentance or remorse on heinous massacre of thousands of defenseless people in Gujrat, let alone resigning from the post. Rather, while responding to a reporter on his failure, he only lamented on the failure to control the media. As if, the genocidal pogrom against the Muslims itself wasn't any crime, rather a big success! He blamed the unfettered media for giving publicity to that crime. (K.S. Komireddi, 2019). He would have been very happy if this

carnage had gone unnoticed. Ashish Nandi –a distinguished social theorist and a clinical psychologist had an opportunity to take interview from Modi. Mr. Nandi gives a diagnosis on Modi's psychiatric ill health based on some explicit and pathognomonic symptoms. Mr. Nandi wrote, "I still remember the cool, measured tone in which he (Mr. Modi) elaborated a theory of cosmic conspiracy against India that painted every Muslim as a suspected traitor and potential terrorist". From the interview Nandi emerged 'shaken'. As if, "he has met a textbook case of a fascist and prospective killer and perhaps even a future mass murderer."–(Ashish Nandi, 2002).

Modi's role, through commission and deliberate omission, in anti-Muslim pogrom in Gujrat in 2002, indeed gives enough evidences to prove the accuracy of Nandi's diagnosis. Modi '-as the chief minister of Gujrat, has the necessary power, police forces and other security apparatus under his command to quickly control the carnage. When the people are being killed, the women are being raped and the houses are being blazed, the government must show its quick and decisive action. This is indeed the norm of civilized governance. In such a critical situation, the government's inaction for few moments means more deaths, more rapes and more arson. A single command of the chief minister was enough to bring all the security forces to the crime scenes and stop the genocide. But Mr. Modi preferred to stay silent. His silence worked as an implied message for the killers, the rapists and the arsonists. They took it as a full license to continue their crimes for weeks. Only a complicit criminal chief minister of a state can show such a role at a time when the anti-Muslim pogrom was going with the full swing. Because of his role, thousands of Muslims were killed, thousands of Muslim women were raped and more than hundred thousand people were made homeless destitute. All these crimes were done with a full jubilation on the street by the Hindutva forces. It is difficult to disbelieve that the sadistic Modi will not be celebrating his own contribution in the carnage in private.

The genocidal war

Now the same Modi is the Prime Minister of India. When such a psychopathic Muslim-hater becomes the Prime Minister of a country with 200 million Muslims, the country is bound to enter into a bloodbath. A genocidal war then enters into its cities, villages, streets, mosques, markets and households to kill the so-called enemies. Modi's home minister Mr. Amit Shah called the Muslims as termite. How can Mr. Modi, Mr. Shah and the alike sleep in night with 200 million termite in their midst? Such sleeplessness will surely make them more delusive and mad. So, Mr. Ashish Nandi's diagnosis stands accurate not only for Mr. Modi, but also for thousands of his Hindutva comrades. Because of such madness, they enjoy cow urine as holy drink; but can't drink water from the fellow humans of so-called lower caste.

India stands as a textbook case of a war-infested country. India doesn't have a war on its border against any foreign power. But it has deployed 800 hundred thousand soldiers to fight a war against an unarmed civilian population within its own border. It is unprecedented in human history. India has made a small valley of Kashmir the most militarized area in the world. Afghanistan is at least ten times bigger than Kashmir. But the USA never deployed more than 150 thousands soldiers in Afghanistan. Whereas, the USA has to fight a terrible war against the war-hardened and death defying mujahids. Even the Soviet troops in Afghanistan was never that high either. The same is true for the USA army deployment in Iraq. Kashmir has a total population of about 9 million. In 1971, East Pakistan had 75 million population. In 1971, the Pakistan Army had to fight a war in its eastern province against half a million strong Indian Army, Navy and Air Force and the India-trained Bengali insurgents. But in East Pakistan, the Pakistan Army didn't have even one-fifteenth portion of the Indian soldiers that are now deployed in Kashmir! It beggars belief! About the army deployment in East Pakistan, Lt. General A.A.K. Niazi –the Commander of Pakistan Army's Eastern Command in 1971 wrote: "The total fighting strength available to me was forty-five thousand -34,000 from the army, plus 11,000 from CAF (Civil Armed Forces) and West Pakistan civilian police and armed non-combatants." (A.A.K Niazi, 1998).

The fascists are always obsessed with the elimination of those who are dissimilar to their faith, race, color and ideology. So, their war strategy is totally different from other countries. They need all-time war in all cities, all villages, all bazars, and all residential enclaves and even in all forests. Because they see enemies (termites) everywhere. Therefore, to sustain the war, they need more soldiers in Kashmir. They also need curfew for an endless period. It is also true that under the occupation of the Hindutva fascists, the Muslims are not the only victims. A relentless war also continues against the Maoists, the Adivasi, the Naga, the Mizo, the Christians, the Sikhs and many others. And, every war has its huge collateral costs, deaths and damages. Therefore, with such warmongering madness, these Hindutva supremacists are killing their own people. They are destroying their own environment and economy. If 800 thousands soldiers stay in Kashmir for another ten years and another 400 thousands in north-east India and in other parts, the Indian economy will collapse automatically. Then, Pakistan or any proscribed enemy will seldom need to engage in any combat with India.

So India stands as the worst enemy of its own people. Along with the unending internal war, worshipping and protecting cows are the two other most important political agendas of the Hindutva leaders. Billions of dollars are being spent to build world's largest sculpture to glorify their Hindutva icons –as one built in Gujrat for Sarder Ballav Bhai Patel. As a result, they do not have enough money to look after their own poverty-stricken people. Therefore, India possesses not only the largest number of poor people on earth, but also gets the largest number of the suicidal deaths.

The culture of war-crimes

The Hindutva ideology has given birth to a strong culture of war crimes. Hence, India doesn't need a full-fledged war on its border to have the wartime crimes of genocide, rape and arson; the Indian Muslim men, women and children have already become the victim of such crimes even without a war. Inner belief or ideology become visible through

morality, culture and politics. Hence the people of same ideology show the similar morality, culture and politics almost everywhere. Therefore, the former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee –the so-called moderate face of RSS-BJP family, didn't show any discernible difference from Mr. Modi. Like Modi, he too, showed moral inability to condemn the bloodbath in Gujrat. While Gujrat was experiencing its most awful carnage in the history, Mr. Vajpayee was the Prime Minister of a coalition of about two dozen political parties. He was under tremendous pressure by those parties to sack Modi from the chief minister post. But he didn't listen to them. (K.S. Komireddi, 2019). Instead of sacking or rebuking Modi, he lashed out at the Muslim victims. While addressing a meeting in Goa, he told that the Muslims "are not interested in living in peace". (Vinod Jose, 2012). What did he mean by "living in peace"? Probably, Mr. Vajpayee had a different connotation of "living in peace" for the Muslims. Is it living in graveyards with absolute peace? Or, did he want a very peaceful submission of the Muslims to rape, arson and massacre?

In a corruptive cultural cum educational milieu, even a man with the highest university degree turns out to be the worst killer, rapist or arsonist. In such a situation, ideological sermons, political lectures, class room teachings and media reports work as powerful tools to kill people's morality, humanity and ethical values. Such corruptive and corrosive endeavours –both by the Hindutva government and the NGOs, have badly impacted India. As a result, the moral ill health or death is huge. Because of that, even acts of raping, lynching, killing and even throwing children into fire have become an acceptable ethical, political or cultural norm in the society. Therefore, those who are complicit in such crimes get elected by a huge margin to the parliament. For the same reason, the former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and many top ranking Indian political leaders and intellectuals failed to condemn rape, arson and genocide committed against the Muslims in Gujrat in 2002. Because of the same moral death, most of the political parties in India could endorse not only the annexation of Kashmir but also support the Army's barbaric atrocities there.

War brings war crimes. And fascism creates a permissive culture for the war crimes. Because of that, the German fascists could procure the necessary manpower to run their politics, administration, genocidal war, gas chambers and anti-Jews pogrom. In India, the Hindutva fascists have also been very successful to create such a conducive culture to run their Hindutva war and the anti-Muslim genocide. This is why, they could easily find a complicit media, Army, intellectuals to support endless curfew and war crimes in Kashmir. Under the fascists' rule, the whole Germany turned out to be a warzone for a Jew. The same has happened for a Muslim in India, too: the war has engulfed the Muslim life everywhere.

Visibly, the psyche of the ruling Hindutva elite is now inundated with an intense form of immorality, inhumanity and savagery. The Muslims now face a culture of deaths, rapes, tortures, destruction and other horrors of collateral war crimes. In such an awful situation, peaceful survival for the Indian Muslims stands impossible. Establishing the rule of law and punishing the worst criminals like killers, rapists and arsonists no more exists as the priority of the government. Neither the police, nor the judiciary shows any interest in such things. As if, the Muslims have no entitlement for these! So, the killers could kill more than three to five thousands Muslims and rape thousands in broad day light in Gujrat in 2002 without an iota of prohibition. The criminals didn't face any police arrest or judicial prosecution. The same happened in Nellie in Assam, in 1983. There, the killers could kill about 10 thousands Muslims in 14 villages, but not a single killer was prosecuted and punished. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi made a pact with the political patrons of the killers and pardoned the perpetrators. The police, the law and the judiciary were kept defunct by the government only to appease the killers. Thus, the Hindu supremacist thugs are given the full licence to do all heinous crimes on the Muslims. In this regard, the Congress seldom makes any discernible difference from the BJP. Hitler gave similar impunity to the German fascists to kill Jews. So it appears, the Hindu supremacists have taken lessons from Hitler –as was advised by their guru Mr. Golwalkar.

Kashmir is now Gujrat

The anti-Muslim war has attained a new intensity in Kashmir. What happened in Gujrat under chief minister Modi's direct watch in 2002, is now happening under Prime Minister Modi's watch in Kashmir. But there is a difference. In Gujrat, the carnage was carried out by the Hindutva thugs, the police and the provincial administration. In Kashmir, it is being carried out by the more powerful Indian Army and the central government. In war zone, the common people are not allowed to come to the streets. The streets are usually taken over by the Army. Eight hundred thousand soldiers of the Indian Army are doing the same in Kashmir by enforcing more than 60 days' curfew in Kashmir. Such an act of barbarity has never happened against any civilian people in the whole human history. As a result, the parents can't go to the shops for buying milk. The kidney dialysis patients can't go to the hospital for dialysis. The diabetic patients can't go to the pharmacy for insulin. The injured patients can't be taken to the hospital emergencies. The people are strictly prohibited to do any work, run any business, earn any money or buy any food. Even in wartime, people are not deprived of such indispensable liberties. Even in prison, people are not subjugated with such barbarity.

Mr. Modi and his Hindutva cronies in media, administration and politics call such subjugation of the Kashmiri people by force as progression of peace. They call it a route to economic progress. And they deliberately hide the fact that along with 800,000 soldiers, the imposed curfew has become a powerful tool to torment the Kashmiri civilians. In reality, the truth is more awful. What the Hindutva killers and rapists commit during anti-Muslim riots in other parts of India, has become every day's riot in Kashmir. The whole Kashmir has been turned to genocidal Gujrat. The killing, rape and arson in Gujrat have taken a pause; but such pause doesn't exist in Kashmir. The barbarity is going relentlessly. Therefore, the Muslim men and women that are killed or raped in Gujrat, Kashmir has at least fifty times more than that.

The war of terror

War starts and survives on vitriolic hatred against the enemies. For the Hindutva radicals of India, the perceived enemies are the Muslims. India has three wars against Pakistan. Every war against Pakistan was in fact anti-Muslim war. The war against Pakistan has now a pause; but it continues against the Muslims inside India. War brings not only deaths, destructions and pain, but also a weaponised propaganda against the perceived enemies. India is inundated with such propaganda and war crimes. So, a war of terror has come to the Muslims at their doorsteps, streets and businesses. On 28 September 2015, Mohammad Akhlaq, a fifty-year old farm worker, was dragged out of his house in the town of Dadri, an hour drive from Delhi, by a violent crowd of young Hindu men incensed by the rumor that he had slaughtered a calf. They killed Mr. Akhlaq by striking him repeatedly by bricks. They beat his son to within an inch of his life, assaulted his elderly mother, and attempted to molest his younger daughter. (Indian Express, 26 December 2015).

Like the party thugs, the Hindutva leaders proved no less heartless. They displayed their moral inability to condemn such a heinous crime. Instead, the top-tier leader of the BJP issued posthumous condemnation of Mr. Akhlaq for wounding the feelings of Hindu by eating beef. He also threatened that the Hindus should not be expected to remain silent when a cow is killed. So, the implied message for a Muslim is very clear: the Hindus have every right to break their silence by killing Muslims whenever they believe that a cow has been killed. They need not wait for a probe to establish the allegation –as happened with Mr. Akhlaq. One BJP MP Mr Shakhi Maharaj announced that he is ready to kill and get killed for mother (cow).” (News18, 6 October 2015). Similar statement came from the home minister of Gujrat; he equaled killing of cow or cow progeny with the killing of a human. (Human Rights Watch, 2019)

But the Hindutva leaders conveniently forget the other side of the reality. India is the number one exporter of beef in the world. As a

result, millions of Indian cows –worshipped as goddess, turn into kebab worldwide. Since the agenda is to bring foreign currency, mass slaughtering of their mother goddess becomes lawful and acceptable business activity. Using hides of these mothers to make shoes also becomes the part of their economics. Such acts don't touch the religious or emotional fibers of the people like Mr. Shakhi Maharaj. Nor did Mr. Maharaj get killed for saving mother cow from becoming kebab. But while politically needed to target the Muslims for torturing, raping and killing, the narratives on cows take a 180 degree shift. Then, protecting cow becomes a religious duty of a Hindu and killing a Muslim for eating beef becomes a holy act. In such politicized context, any police arrest or probe against the perpetrators of crimes turn hugely unwelcome. This is why, the BJP leaders could even intimidate the police to leave the perpetrators of murders alone. They could also tell that the Hindus are not in a mood to tolerate any harassment by the investigating police authorities. Then, the police enquiry and judicial probe –parts of the civilized norms, are labelled as harassment! One of the legislator even blamed the family for the death of Mr. Akhlaq. The crime of the family was none else but eating beef. (Indian Express, 2 October 2015).

The weaponized propaganda has other horrendous dimensions. It is aimed at putting tag of Islamic terrorism on the Muslims and justify brutal police torture and long detention against them. Here is an example. In the summer of 2007, in Mecca Masjid in Hyderabad, an improvised explosive device went off in the ablution area and killed 11 people. About ten thousand people were praying in the mosque at the time of the incidence. The authority instantly blamed Islamic extremists coming from Bangladesh and Pakistan. They were also linked with a Pakistani outfit. Immediately after the incident, 200 Muslims were arrested. After one year of nerve-wracking detention, 21 people were charged for prosecution. But all these initiatives were proved fake. The truth came to the surface only when a repentant Hindu priest - arrested by India's National Investigation Agency, confessed that the explosion in Mecca Masjid was one of the many similar staged explosions by a militant Hindu group. He also told that the group is intimately connected with RSS -the parent body of BJP. The priest also

acknowledged the involvement of an Indian Army officer. (Swami's confession, Frontline, Vol 28, 3 Jan 29 Feb 2011). But in most of the cases, none of the Hindu priests come forward to tell the truth, hence the anti-Muslim barbarity continues without any pause. The Hindutva war thus continues. 06/10/2019.

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Face to Face with the Indian Muslims

(Note: The writer visited India several times; has visited Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Jaipur, Agra, Azmir and travelled through the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. The article is based on personal observations, Indian media inputs and face-to-face talks).

The Muslim-phobia & the disbelief

In 2001 census, 13.4 percent of the Indians were found to be Muslims. It is currently estimated to be 15 percent. But, most of the Indian Muslims do not believe this official figure as true. They believe that

the actual number is much higher. They consider the official 15 percent a skilfully manipulated lie only to serve the anti-Muslim political agenda of the over-stated Hindu majority. The Hindu ruling clique strongly feels that a higher figure will generate sense of severe deprivation among the Muslims; hence may generate more communal unrest. Such a figure may also cause fear among the Hindus. Even the statistics of 15 percent Muslim population creates a lot of Muslim-phobia among the ruling Hindu clique. They consider it a great increase in Muslims from 9.9 percent in 1951 census. Such a panic in Hindu mind also gets reinforced by the falling Hindu population of 85 percent in 1951 to the current level of estimated 79 percent. They get more panicky when foresee a declining Hindu majority in the near future in some of the strategic states like Assam, West Bengal and Kerala. In these peripheral states, at least one-third of the populations are already Muslim.

The increasing surge in extremist Hindutva politics of BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) is indeed an expression of such a panic in Hindu psyche. To bring down the panic, the strategy of deportation of the Muslims –currently from Assam and other provinces afterwards, gets the priority. They don't bother to have an objective study of the causes of the surge in population; rather blame it as an infiltration from neighbouring Bangladesh. But such allegation will not help, rather can damage India's friendly relation with Bangladesh. Thousands of Indians are working in Bangladesh –especially in its garments sector; they earn huge amount of foreign currency for India. Moreover, it is well recognised that the health and socio-economic indicators of people's wellbeing is significantly better in Bangladesh and its economy is moving faster than India. The poor people in Bangladesh enjoy better opportunity for moving up faster in the socio-economic ladder than that exists for the poor in India. Even Mr Rahul Gandhi –the Indian Congress revealed such truth while he visited Bangladesh. Moreover, unlike India, no caste-based system or religious scripture label the poor as untouchable and restrict the social mobility. Having been heavily infested with anti-Muslim tyranny, rape and massacres, India seldom presents itself as an option for the Bangladeshi economic migrants.

As regards to Muslim population surge, the ground reality tells otherwise. Some of the realities have been revealed in Sachar committee report. In 2006, the fact-finding Sachar committee -set up by the former Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh published its reports on social, economic and educational status of the Muslims community of India. The report endorsed the old historic fact that the Muslim population growth was higher than the Hindus even under the British colonial rule. Despite the poor educational status of the Muslim women, the report revealed that the child death rate among the Muslims stands significantly lower than that exists among the Hindus. It also reported that despite economic deprivation, the lifespan of an Indian Muslim is one year more than a Hindu. But the Hindutva supremacists don't bother to read the scientific facts that are embedded in the report. Rather, they construct their politics on a blatant lie and generate phobia that the Muslims from Bangladesh are flooding their country. This way, they justified the genocidal massacre of about 10, 000 Muslims in Nellie in Assam in 1983 and kept 4 million Assamese Muslims out of the citizenship registrar.

The Sachar report also revealed some horrendous facts on deprivation of the Muslim population. It found that the Muslims' share in the government jobs doesn't cross even 5 percent in any of the all-Indian civil service cadres. But awfully, although such commissions cast lights on facts, but do little to solve the problems. Committees are installed under a judge or judges only to minimize the anger of the Muslims -usually after a major anti-Muslim massacre. It looks that the reports are not for consumption by the policy makers; hence, those who can solve the problems seldom read the reports. This is why, little has changed after the publication of the Sachar report. Very low share of the Muslims in Indian civil service is enough to expose the government's inherent anti-Muslim policy. Such gross injustices against the minority and the policy of exclusion are incompatible to any civilised mode of governance. Such inhumanity fits only into colonial or apartheid rule. So, the end of British colonial rule in 1947 gave liberty only to the Hindu majority, but not to the Muslims. The slavery of the Muslims still continues.

The strategic lie & the beginning of the end

India's image would have turned much uglier and shameful if the true figure of the Muslim population would have been made public. Then, the deprivation of the Muslims would have looked much worse and gloomy. In such situations, the truth proves most powerful to cause political upheavals. The aggrieved ones even turn to human bombs. Such anger of nearly 200 million Muslims would have caused a political explosion to reduce India to an unmanageable mess. Few years ago, India's vulnerability was exposed while a few Muslim attackers brought Mumbai -its business heart, to a standstill. Therefore, manipulation of the Muslim population statistics stays as a strategic tool in the hands of the ruling Hindu majority. So, the actual number of the Muslims remains highly secret and sensitive issue -as are the number of the Indian soldiers, details of nuclear bombs and the spy agents at home and abroad.

Nevertheless, the Muslims anger is now steadily boiling up. It has already inflicted a lethal blow to Indian National Congress -the original architect and the political giant of un-divided India. For more than 50 years, the Muslims used to be the traditional vote bank for the Congress. But its huge disservices to the Muslims are now fully exposed. Thousands of anti-Muslim riots and demolition of the historic Babri mosque took place under its watch. Massive deprivation of Muslims in political decision making and the exclusion in civil services didn't happen in recent years; in fact, these owe to the long rule of the Congress. As a result, the Muslims reject its rule. Due to Muslims' alienation, the Congress now stands as a political orphan. It has lost its power in the central government with little hope to come back. It has also lost power in many key states with significant Muslim population like West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Kerala. The Muslims now negotiate with the regional parties for their survival. Hence, like dinosaur, an all-India national political party is now stands as an extinct entity. With such irreparable political disintegration, this may turn the beginning of the end of India's geographical integration. In such a void, the emergence of Bharatia

Janata Party (BJP) as a Hindutva fascist party has only added more fuel to its existing socio-politico-ethnic tension rather than solving it.

The strategy for the crime

To keep the Muslim population low, the government of the Hindu majority has its own well-known strategies. Most commonly, it is done by keeping huge number of Muslims out of the census record -especially in provinces adjacent to Bangladesh like West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, and in big cities like Kolkata, Mumbai and Delhi. Only in Assam, 4 million people are kept out of the national citizenship registrar. Since they can't deport them as per their whims, they deprive them of their voting rights. To justify such exclusion, the Muslims are labelled as foreign infiltrators. Along with the party in power, all Hindutva political parties too, get united to make the Muslims political destitute. They demand their immediate push back to Bangladesh. They even launch manslaughter to reduce their number. In Nellie, in Assam, in February 1983, thousands of Muslim men, women and children were killed with no reason other their Muslim identity. The official number of deaths in Nellie were 2,191, but unofficially it was 10, 000. But none was punished for such a genocide. As if no, murderer was involved in that genocidal massacre.

Demands for the push-back and anti-Muslims agitations are usually arranged prior to any national census or voter-list update. It has been an effective ploy to curtail the Muslims' influence on Indian politics. Because of the agitation, the government gets easy pretexts to exclude Muslims from the census as well as from the voters' list. This way, the ruling parties appease the Hindu voters. Even the migrant rural Muslims of West Bengal who live in the slums of Kolkata, Mumbai or Delhi also get labelled as Bangladeshi; and left excluded from the census record and the voter list. Their non-Hindi mother tongue like Bengali become an unamenable disability. They conveniently forget the fact that West Bengali Muslims also speak the same Bengali language. Since, inclusion in the census is required as a proof for

citizenship, a large number of the Muslims are left disqualified. This way, they keep their case alive to push them back into Bangladesh at a convenient time.

In the Indian media, it is a common practice to publish highly inflammatory news and feature articles demonising the Muslims and blaming them as illegal intruders. The content, tune and political spin in these reports are almost always the same. The Muslims are blamed to cause a dangerous demographic shift in Indian population. For instance, the Time of India once published a claim made by a central Jubo Front (Youth Front) leader in a mass-meeting that Muslim population has increased significantly in Assam and West Bengal. The paper added its own hype to the fear. It reported that if such increase in Muslim population is not checked now, these provinces will turn Hindu minority province in the near future. Thus, the paper projected the issue as a great threat to India's integrity and prelude to creation of another Pakistan in its own territory. During my six months' stay in India I found recasting of such inflammatory rhetoric almost once or twice a week on the front page in major Indian dailies. The dailies like the Time of India, the Hindustan Time, the Indian Express, the Pioneer and the Statesman are in the forefront to spread such anti-Muslim venom. As a result, the anti-Muslim fervor never gets any opportunity to die out; rather receives regular boosts to stay alive. The communal parties thrive on such media-engineered phobia and anti-Muslim hatred.

Once I read an article in the Hindustan Time with the caption "Hindu Population and Muslim Population". The writer tried to tell that there are two different rates of population growth in India: one for the Muslims and another for the Hindu. And he tried to prove that the growth of Muslim population is much higher than that of the Hindus. He cautioned that the Hindu domination will soon come to an end in India if the Muslim population continues to increase with the current rate. I found it a morbid delusion; only a man with pathological bigotry against the Muslims can believe such politically motivated speculation. How the Muslims with its current 15 % proportion can emerge as the majority in India – which did not happen even in about

700 years of Muslim rule. I also wonder how these people could sleep with such terrible fear. I noted that the Hindustan Time, the Time of India and the India Today have special interest in publishing such toxic views. To keep the anti-Muslim sentiment alive, such spin-added news, news analysis and feature articles are published regularly in those papers by different people with different captions. Such propaganda stuffs indeed work as the crucial life line for the communal Hindu politics. Now, more than a hundred TV channels have also joined the battle on their side. As a result, anti-Muslim hatred in Hindu mind has raised to an explosion level. Lynching Muslims to death on alleged beef eating, anti-Muslim riots and burning their houses are indeed the expression of such hatred. However, there are few exceptions; journals like the Frontline show some courage to stand against such tsunami of anti-Muslim propaganda. Once I had a long discussion on such issues with one of the leading Indian economist from Kerala. Although a Hindu, I found him very rational and thoughtful. He studied and taught economics in the MIT in the USA and happens to be a close friend of the former Prime Minister Mr. Monmohan Singh. He also showed deep displeasure on these issues. I expressed my worries: how can India build and sustain friendly relation with the neighbouring Muslims countries with such toxic attitude against the Muslims?

The biased bureaucracy

I found it very common that the Muslims consider the civil servants of both the central and provincial governments more communal and anti-Muslim than the political leaders and activists. So, there exists active non-co-operation in the bureaucracy towards reducing the Muslims' deprivation. Such non-co-operation becomes more evident during or after any anti-Muslim riots cum massacre. They become the part of the problem by taking side of the Hindu majority and make it impossible to control the killing or undertake any impartial investigation. Because of the bureaucratic inaction, the demolition of Babri mosque or pogrom against the Muslims in Mumbai and Gujarat could continue in broad day lights for days and nights. Because of extreme

bigotry in the planning, executive and investigative branches of the government, the Indian police can't find, arrest and prosecute murderers even after a huge genocidal carnage. Active non-cooperation of the police has become so phenomenal that even horrendous murderer, rapists and arsonists need not face any prosecution -as seen in Gujrat, Bombay and Assam. Because of moral blindness, they see only the crimes, but not the criminals. This is why, the government agencies fumbled to find the criminals while the historic Babri mosque was razed to the ground in broad daylight by thousands of the Hindu extremists. In 1984, thousands of Sikhs were killed, raped and their properties were burnt down after the murder of Prime Indira Gandhi by her two Sikh bodyguards. The massacre went on for a week; but the law enforcing authority stood by only as silent watchers. Even the Christians faced similar atrocities in Orissa in 2010. So, India stands heaven for killers, rapists and arsonists -especially if the perpetrators are Hindu and the targets are the minorities.

Hostage to the vested interests

The Indian bureaucrats are relentless to preserve their own vested interests. The powerless poor, the untouchables and the Muslims stay hostage to them. The racial, religious or linguistic identity of people decides not only the fate of the government's service delivery, but also controls the entry of people in their midst. Faith of a Muslim indeed works as the greatest disability to join their rank. In such a milieu, any small attempts of doing justice towards the Muslims proves suicidal -even for a Hindu leader. It has a long history. During the British raj, the Bengal Pact signed by Chittaranjan Das and Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy of Bengal ended in a fiasco due to the bureaucratic thugs. The Pact promised more employment opportunities for the Muslims; hence was detested by the Hindu elite. The vested interest that they established in the administration as the most obedient servants of the British raj was kept unaltered even in the independent India. In fact, the British rule survived in India for 190 years because of their deep obedience to those foreign imperialists. Mamata Banerjee -the Chief Minister of West Bengal, is rapidly losing

her popularity because of some privileged class. In West Bengal, about 30 percent people are Muslim. But in government jobs, they do not have a share of even 5 percent. Mamata Banerjee allocated a meagre monthly allowance for the imams and the muezzin of the mosques. Such a grant for the poor muezzin and imam caused huge uproar in Hindutva camp; they called it appeasement for the Muslims.

The foreign colonialists have gone. But the colonial practice and its brain-child still survive with the same agenda. However, the targets are different. They execute the same colonial policy of suppression and deprivation against the Muslims and other minorities. In the colonial era, they received benefits from their British master for the servitude. After 1947, these home-grown mercenaries proved to be very lucky to fully protect their all previous privileges. In independent India, they even ensured the same privileges for their future generation. Any possible advancement of the downtrodden 200 million Muslims into their domain of influence is perceived a real threat. So, hatred against Muslim gets deeper and more vitriolic in the fabric of the bureaucracy. They use the state apparatus as a powerful bulwark to protect their territory against any Muslim advancement. Like their past strategy of alliance with the British rulers, these communal bureaucrats made alliance with the communal politicians. Because of such alliance, anti-Muslim pogrom could be repeatedly committed even in big cities and Babri mosque could be destroyed even in daylight without any preventive efforts. As if, there exists no bureaucratic infrastructure or law-enforcing agency in India to stop such crimes. Such an unholy alliance could justify even the robust inaction of the Indian Prime Minister Narsima Rao, his whole ministry and the whole civil and military bureaucracy in stopping the destruction of Babri mosque.

One can easily sense the tip of anti-Muslim ice-berg in Indian bureaucracy after landing at Mumbai, Delhi or Kolkata airport from a European or Middle Eastern cities with a Bangladeshi passport. It seems they find it difficult to swallow the pride of a Bangladeshi Muslim travelling worldwide with an international passport. Probably they think such privilege is only the right of an upper caste Hindu -

as it is customary in India. The communal nature of the Indian administration and the police becomes more evident during any event of Muslim mass killing. The police become more active in arresting the Muslim victims than the Hindu killers. Hence, more Muslims are taken to jails than the Hindu attackers -as happened in Muslim genocide in Mumbai and Gujarat. In both the places, scores of Muslims were killed, arrested and oppressed by the state police. Hundreds of criminal charges are lodged against them. In Rajasthan, the police failed to punish the vigilante who lynched a Muslim cow trader to death; but after his death, a case was lodged against him for illegal cow transport from the state. So the police sets the priority; Muslims' life has little importance in that setting.

In Meerut, the Indian police scored a new low to its already tainted record. They dumped hundreds of Muslim corpses into a nearby canal to show the lower number of the Muslim deaths in the massacre. During the demolition of the Babri mosque, they indeed provided the necessary protection to the militant Hindus -so that they could accomplish the crime without any resistance from the Muslims. After the mosque demolition, the Hindu terrorists started mass-murder of the Muslims in cities like Mumbai. According to government statistics, more than two thousand Muslims were murdered in Mumbai alone; fire was set to thousands of Muslims' houses and shops. Women were raped and the Muslim babies were thrown into fire. What is more surprising is this: the police couldn't find any murderers or looters -as if such systemic pogrom happened out of the blue. The police made similar history in Nellie in Assam in 1983, too. About 10 thousands Muslims were killed in a single day in 14 villages of Nagao district, but not a single murderer or a rapist or an arsonist had to appear before the judge to receive any punishment. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi signed an accord with the anti-Muslim communalists to stop all judicial investigation of the massacre. Whereas, delivering justice is the most basic constitutional duty of the government. Since the victims were the Muslim, the Prime Minister could abrogate his own constitutional responsibility! This was done only to appease the murderer.

While the bureaucrats are impregnated with so much anti-Muslim venom,

it is not surprising that the officers will discover scores of fabricated reasons to exclude the Muslims from the voters' list or census record. The sheer lack of interest in protecting Muslims' lives, liberty, property and dignity has never been any hidden fact; becomes more pronounced from lack of prosecution against the perpetrators. In fact, the rapists, the arsonists and the murderers are allowed to boast in public in front of the victims. But such ugly failures make little political, moral or ethical impact on India's civil administration or political leader. Moreover, such awful failures of the politicians and the law enforcing officers have never been considered any moral or ethical disability of the complicit people. No leader get named and shame for that. Even architects of Gujrat pogrom like Norendra Modi and Amit Shah could escape the blame. Rather such complicity in crime works otherwise. Muslim-blood on the hands helped Norendra Modi to speedily climb up the political ladder and become the Prime Minister of India. It also helped Amith Shah to become the Home Minister. In fact, because of such appeasing culture for the criminals, the anti-Muslim pogrom has attained some added speed and barbarity.

The neglect

The Muslim population in Jaipur city looks quite large –easily visible by its huge number of hijabi women. But very few people could tell me the actual number. They live in a very small area of the central part of the city. The new road and house constructions are booming in all directions in the outskirts, but the Muslims are not moving to those areas. They fear, anytime the Hindu neighbours may turn murderous against them. The Muslims learned such harsh reality from the previous massacres that happened mostly by the hands of the Hindu neighbours. So in Jaipur, like any other Indian city, the heavily-congested old city centre is the abode of the Muslims. There is no park, no wide road, no clean drain, no good school or college – even no arrangement for regular removal of garbage. Piles of garbage covered with thick armies of flies and mosquitoes were visible even in the close vicinity of living quarters and mosques. Most of the civic facilities are

absent there. I saw some horrendous pictures of such neglect also in Ajmer –the city of famous shrine of Khawja Moinuddin Chisti. While visiting the shrine, at some point, I needed to go to the public toilet located at its backyard. But I could not proceed. The raw faeces and urine were overflowing its tanks and dirty footpath. This shrine brings in a lot of money to Ajmer city and huge foreign currency to India, but its basic facilities are kept in utter neglect. It depicts a clear picture how the provision of very basic services to the Muslim visitors gets ignored by the city's Hindu municipal administration. Even in Emperor Shahjahan's mosque in Agra, the mark of chronic neglect was revealing. But in famous Hindu temples, I found a different standard.

The situations are not different in Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and other cities, either. In all these cities, the Muslim dwellings are situated in unhygienic and congested city centres. The reason is the same. The Muslims suffer from a serious lack of safety and security in the prosperous areas – because of its Hindu dominance. In the past, the Muslim families that suffered the worst massacres were the inhabitants in the Hindu-majority areas. During any anti-Muslim pogrom, the neighbouring Hindus always appeared ready to annihilate them with huge jubilation. Killings, rapes and arsons in those areas did not need any outsiders. As soon as any riot starts, the Muslim men, women and children immediately become the sitting duck to be executed; all the camouflages of civility, morality and humanity disappear very quickly. As if, these neighbours were standing ever ready in the next doors for doing the job. In fact, such readiness gets constant boost by the Indian media and the Hindutva political parties; hence gets little chance to drop down. As a result, even a layman easily becomes remorseless killer, rapist or arsonist. Therefore, for gutting Muslim properties, raping Muslim women and murdering Muslim men, women and children, armies of criminals quickly get mobilised. Even an apparently normal Hindu neighbour readily joins such gang. As a result, most of the heinous atrocities are not works of the known local criminals, but committed by the so-called educated and well-off Hindus. Even the white-collar political activists, the academics and the well-placed professionals take part in the carnage. A doctor from

Rai Bareli told, how a Muslim professor was killed by his Hindu neighbour's gunshot.

The pure evil and the mass conversion

In fact, the genocidal mass-killings or mass-scale gang rapes in history have never been the works of the previously known criminals. It could only happen with the mass conversion of the common people to a purely evil ideology. In India, such mass conversion has already been accomplished by the RSS family of organisations and its militant political front called BJP. In Germany, it was done by Adolf Hitler and his Nazi followers. It was the same evil ideology of race-based supremacism. Because of such mass conversion, the German fascists could raise an army of millions to cause havoc all over Europe. And, they didn't have any shortage of people to take the Jews to the gas chambers. In India, the members of the RSS family are closely following the footsteps of Hitler. They only differ in the identity of the targets. For the German, it was the Jews. And in India, it is the Muslims. Like the German fascists, they too, believe that wholesale extermination of the target population is the quick and effective way to get rid of them. Such an evil motive of the Hindutva forces gets regularly and vividly displayed in every anti-Muslim pogrom and could instil an aura of extreme insecurity in Muslims' mind. This is why, the Muslims lose their trust in the Hindu neighbours. Since saving life gets priority than living in good locality, the Muslims voluntarily leave the Hindu-dominated areas and concentrate in overcrowded Muslim quarters. Since located at the centre, the Muslim quarters possess little room for further expansion. So the problems are multiplying with the ever-increasing Muslim population. On the other hand, the Hindus are establishing their absolute dominance in the new residential areas. The political leaders –both in the government and in the opposition, show little political commitment to resolve this inhuman issues. They only pursue to keep the status quo. Surprisingly, such a huge humanitarian issue couldn't be a political issue in India! Except a few, the so-called writers, intellectuals and social scientists are also sleepwalking with the communal political

leaders.

The Muslim migration

After 1947, the mass migration of the Indian Muslims took place primarily in two ways – external migration and internal migration. The external migration was basically exodus to Pakistan. And the goal of the internal migration was to leave villages or non-Muslim dominated areas to settle in the Muslim-dominated quarters in cities. The Indian Muslims are facing similar situations as the Jews experienced in Germany, France, Poland, Russia, and other European countries. Confronted with the persecution by the Christians, they withdrew to ghettos in European cities. Likewise, every major city in India is divided into two sub-cities: the congested central one is for the Muslims and the prosperous peripheral one for the non-Muslims. Indeed, in every Indian city, the Hindu-Muslim dividing line is too obvious to ignore. During the riot, this division-line becomes the natural frontier between the warring Hindus and Muslims. Many secular Ph.D. holders, university professors and intellectuals in Bangladesh or Pakistan may fail to understand the famous “Two-Nation Theory”; but in India, its visibility is quite distinct even to a layman. Even an illiterate man or woman can see and feel it in every second of his or her survival. The current inhuman condition of the Indian Muslims explains why the creation of Pakistan was so strongly supported more in the Hindu majority provinces of India than the Muslim majority ones. It also explains why the Indian Muslims were eager to migrate to Pakistan even at the cost of abandoning houses, business, graves of dear ones and the dearest lands where their forefathers grew up and settled for hundreds of years.

The deprivation

The Jaipur city has many mosques. Most of these mosques are old and built during the Mughal or the British era. I could not find a single mosque built in recent years. Every time of prayers, I intentionally

offered my prayers at different mosques (I visited at least six of them), so that I could get the opportunity to see different mosque premises and the different people each time. I found every mosque to be old and some of them are dilapidated. The floors, the prayer mats, the walls and the ablution areas of those mosques tell vividly the story of deprivation and poverty of the Muslims. Jaipur is a provincial capital of Rajasthan, but its mosques do not match even the standard of a district mosque in Bangladesh or Pakistan. Once I got the opportunity to offer my Eid prayer in one of the Jaipur mosques. It was one my very saddest experience during my whole stay in India. People's attire on a festive day indeed gives a true depiction of their happiness and prosperity. At least on the Eid day, the people wear the best possible dress to attend the congregation with the fellow Muslims. Thus, people's inner joys gets an unrestrained expression on that special day. Once I offered my Eid prayer in a mosque in the outskirts of Jaipur city -near to its international airport. It is also near to one of the business hub of the city -known for traditional bed-sheets and garments of Rajasthan. To my utter surprise, I couldn't find any joy and jubilant festivity in people who came to offer the Eid prayer. Even the mosque did not receive any special treatment for the Eid celebration, either. Everything inside the mosque, on its wall and in the courtyard looked old and untouched for ages. A very few people were found with new dress. Their facial expression looked gloomy, too. As if, the Muslims are living in an open prison. The people in a prison don't show any joy or festivity; every day of their captivity tells a new story of sadness and agony. As if the state itself has become a tool of oppression and de-empowerment of the Muslims. I couldn't find a single man with a smiling face. Even the imam didn't say Eid greeting to the attendants with a smile. After the Eid prayer, very few people were seen to embrace each other -which is very common in South Asian Muslim culture. Probably, ongoing poverty, alienation, marginalisation and lack of security have robbed their inspiration for any joyous living.

In most of the Indian cities like Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Jaipur, Agra, the number of the mosques did not increase even though the

Muslim population soared. The existing mosques cannot accommodate the musallies especially on Friday and Eid days. Consequently, the Muslims get compelled to spill over onto the surrounding street on Friday and on Eid occasions. As a consequence, this causes traffic jam in the adjoining areas. Such traffic jams give extra weapons to the Hindu extremists to generate more hatred against the Muslims. Without considering the reasons of such problems, the Hindutva outfits ask the government to stop Muslims' outpouring onto the streets. The Hindu communal media also make huge issues out of it. But they never ask the government to allocate adequate lands for building more mosques to accommodate the ever increasing Muslim population. They even don't bother to mention that performing prayers on Friday and Eid days in a proper mosque is the fundamental right of every Muslims in any country. No civilised country can't deny such basic religious right. To honour such right, the European governments have allocated lands to build hundreds of new mosques. As a result, in the UK alone, the number of new mosques stands more than a thousand. But in India, such religious right of the Muslims finds its place in the bin. Whenever the Muslims take their own initiative to purchase a land and build a new mosque, they face fierce resistance from the Hindu administration. While sitting in a mosque in Jaipur, one tablighi man told me how the government stopped construction of a mosque in Jaipur. Since none of the mosque in Jaipur could accommodate the participants of a large Tablighi ijtema, the local Muslims took initiative to construct a two-storey bigger mosque in the outskirts of Jaipur city. But the government did not permit to execute the plan. The official explanation was very clear. The government allows icons that fit only into its Hindu identity. Since such two-storied mosque would be a visible Muslim landmark, the government can't allow that to happen.

At some places, the mosque's own land stands annexed illegally either by a government department or by a private organisation. I visited such a mosque near Jaipur international airport to offer my prayer. The mosque stands on a very tiny piece of land, its border extends hardly beyond its walls. The surrounding huge open area of the mosque is grabbed by the government's Public Works Department (P.W.D.). The mosque was built during the rule of the British. The imam of the

mosque came from Bihar. There is a residence in the mosque premise to provide accommodation for the imam, but that has been occupied by the employees of P.W.D. I saw people gossiping in that room. Whereas, the imam has to sleep right on the floor. The huge waqf compound of the mosque has become a dumping ground for P.W.D's worn-out tools. After the afternoon prayer, I talked with few local musallies. While I introduced myself as a Bangladeshi, their enthusiasm got a bit of sudden boost. I asked them many questions. They also wanted to know many things about Bangladesh. At that time, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was in power in Rajasthan. There were no anti-Muslim riots; but the oppression was taking place in other ways. The educated Muslims didn't have any opportunity to secure government jobs. They didn't have no other alternatives but to accept low-paying menial works in factories owned by the Hindus. Since education gives little socio-economic benefit, the children get little zeal for higher education.

While strolling along the streets of Ajmer, I met a retired headmaster of a local secondary school. I found this handsome tall man in his traditional Muslim dress with a long black sherwani, white shalwar and a black cap. All four of his children were university graduate but none of them got any job. He lamented, "The Muslims have no other alternatives but to do menial chores under the Hindus. Some are living from hand to mouth by begging at the majar [shrine]". Our conversation went on while standing on the street in front of the shrine. The shopkeepers were doing brisk trade on both sides of the road. Most of the buyers were Muslims travellers –many of them are from other parts of India and some of them belong to Bangladesh. The headmaster continued, "Here you can see hundreds of shops but none of the shops are owned by the Muslims – not even the shops that sell prayer rugs and tasbees [counting beads], although the Muslims comprise 40% of the population of Ajmer. Even in Moradabad, Aligarh and Bareilly -where the Muslims are comparatively better in businesses, their shops and houses get periodically burnt down on various flimsy excuses. Such anti-Muslim arsons and killing have been very effective strategy to drive out Muslims from their established businesses. I talked with several shopkeepers at Agra – the city that boasts Taj Mahal. They sell miniature marble replicas of Taj Mahal. They told that most of their

highly educated relatives did not get any government jobs. Thus, even the educated Muslims are prevented to get nearer to the ladder of socio-economic progress, let alone climbing it up. Stagnation prevails over their entire existence.

The policy of exclusion

Apart from the business, the Muslims are also being successfully driven away from higher education sector. Aligarh Muslim University was founded exclusively by the Muslims, and with the Muslims money collected from all over India. Its objective was to promote higher education among the Muslims. After India's independence, new laws are introduced to curtail the admission of Muslim students. Instead, its gate was opened for the Hindus. It was argued that in secular India the Hindus must have the equal rights of admission in every institution even in Muslim-owned Aligarh Muslim University. As a result, the Aligarh Muslim University lost its Muslim identity. Thus, all the resources invested by the Muslims to promote education among downtrodden Muslim community were usurped. Later on, the Hindu bigots of the RSS-BJP family established their stronghold on the administration, as well as on the students' body. These days, Aligarh is more remembered for brutal anti-Muslim skirmishes than for the university. I heard from an ex-Aligarh Muslim doctor about the story how he was deprived of getting admission into the post-graduation program due to anti-Muslim bigotry of the Hindu faculty members. He said that Hindus comprise more than half of its academics.

Moreover, whenever some Indian Muslims working in the Middle-East take some initiatives to build schools, colleges or madrasahs at their own cost for the backward Muslims, the Hindu media starts vile propaganda against such venture. The RSS-BJP family and other Hindutva forces consider such Muslim initiatives inimical to Hindu identity of India; hence campaign goes vehemently against the establishment of such Muslim or Islamic schools. They even complain that an uneven competition has been started with foreign money to help the Muslims to go ahead of the Hindu. They demand equal opportunity of admission for

the Hindu students to these institutions which are built exclusively by the hard earned money of the Muslims. The government willingly yields to such demands of the Hindu communalists. As per coercion, not only the Hindu students get admitted to such Islamic or Muslim schools, but also the Hindu teachers get employed. The situation is getting increasingly worse. The Muslims are not even left with any option to grow up in their own way. Even the religious institutions suffer from blatant government interferences. Thus the majoritarian Hindutva fascism has taken full control over all affairs in India. As a result, growing up as a Muslim, living up as a Muslim and excelling as a Muslim is made extremely difficult in India. What Allama Iqbal and Mohammad Ali Jinnah could foresee about hundred years ago now stands 100 percent true in India.

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The Wild White Racism & the Mass Killing in New Zealand

The pure evil & the calamity

The Australian senator Frazer Anning has quickly discovered the cause of man slaughter of 45 people in 2 mosques in Christchurch. He blames the increasing presence of Muslims in New Zealand as the cause of such a massacre! He argues: if there was no Muslim, there wouldn't be any killing. So the Muslims are the problem, and not the murderer. So the implied solution of the problem -according to him, is taking steps to reduce the number of the Muslims amidst the white population. He would be definitely happy if the Muslims could be fully annihilated by any means. Now, it appears that the Christchurch killer has taken the gun

to achieve that. Senator Frazer may feel very happy that the steps towards solving the problem has already been started; therefore, might have celebrated the event with his ideological associates. By any standard, it is pure evil. This is indeed the true face of white racism. But Mr Frazer sits in Australian Senate. It shows how such evil people are embedded in the white majority countries.

Toxic racism never stays silent; rather expresses through hate crimes. Such crimes never stay confined with killings in mosques or stabbing on streets; rather may take robust cataclysmic forms. Colonial wars, occupational wars, World Wars, ethnic cleansing, chemical bombing and even nuclear bombings are also the classic forms of hate crimes. Such crimes have always been perpetrated in the name of national security and supremacy. So, whatever crimes the Christchurch killer has committed inside mosques, the imperialist powers like the USA, the UK, France and others have been practising for centuries in the third countries. The people of Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria are still experiencing the same by the hands of the USA state powers. Killing more than a million of innocent men and women in occupied countries, turning many Iraqi and Syrian cities to rubbles and persecution of thousands of men and women in Abu Ghareeb, Bagram, Kandahar and Guantanamo Bay are no less brutal than what happened in Christchurch. Therefore, those who committed and supported such crimes in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Israel and other occupied lands can have enough sadistic stuff to celebrate the Christchurch massacre.

Such episodic massacre are only the symptoms. The disease lies much deeper. Here, the disease owes to toxic ideology of wild white racism. Even President Donald Trump describes the Christchurch killing as a terrible act. But, he fails to condemn the vile ideology that feed the white racism all over the world. A thief can't condemn thievery. The same is true for the white supremacists. Donald Trump himself embodies the same moral disease; and Islamophobia lies in the heart of it. And as the US President, he uses the White House and its institutional infrastructure to spread the virus of Islamophobia world-wide. Since he represents the disease, he doesn't possess the moral force to condemn it.

The surge of Nazism

Racism hates logic; it flourishes only on hatred against the others. So, for a white supremacist, the increasing number of the western people in any eastern part of the globe is not a problem; but a tiny Muslim population in New Zealand or Australia is a big problem. So, the Muslims need to be vilified and demonised to make acceptable any anti-Muslim carnage. Such a mind-set raised Ku Klux Klan (KKK) –the American version of Nazi Party in the USA, to sustain white supremacy in the USA. The disease now shows a new surge –especially after the election victory of Donald Trump. Because of such a virulent moral disease, the presence of black Africans in the midst of white Europeans could work as a factor to instigate the white supremacist to reduce the number of the black people by brutal killing. Exactly the same moral disease showed its tip in Christ Church. Even President Donald Trump called it terrible incident. But he didn't utter a single sentence to condemn the real disease -the white supremacism that played the pivotal role in the mass murder. The reason for President Trump's silence against the disease is understandable: he himself is the part of the problem. Moreover, he downplayed the danger presented by the group and denied the significance of this horrendous crime.

Since Donald Trump is the President of the most powerful state on earth, his words and policies matter. The killer of Christchurch considers President Trump as a hero of the white cause. The former leader of KKK also announced his supports for him. The reason is understandable; they are partners in the same crime. The massacre in Christchurch was only a one man's job confined in two mosques. But, President Donald Trump did the same crime in an industrial scale. He engaged the US army to commit the hate crime against the Muslims in Syria and Iraq. The two mosques in Christchurch still stand on the ground; but Donald Trump razed Mosul, Raqqa, Deira Jour, Kobani, Ramadi and many other cities to the ground. He killed innocent children and women. Without extreme hatred, no one would go to that extent to commit such crimes. In fact, President Trump and the Christchurch murderer pursue the same agenda with the same intention,

but only with a difference in geographical and numerical dimensions. Like the Christchurch killer, President Trump also wants to reduce the number of Muslims amidst the white population. This is why, he rejected 37,000 visa from Muslim majority countries in 2018 without any genuine reason. The only reason for the denial was their origin from the Muslim countries.

The ideology of pure evil

What could be the worst racism than such annihilating agenda against the people of a specific faith or race? Hitler had the similar views against the Jews; therefore justified the killing of millions of them. The same ideology of white supremacy led the European colonialists to commit ethnic cleansing of the Red Indians from America, the Aborigines from Australia and the Maoris from New Zealand. The Muslims are not the new target either. The European crusaders committed similar genocidal massacres about a thousand year ago. These white supremacists think that the world must be an exclusive place for the white. They think that they must possess the invading rights, the plundering rights and the ethnic cleansing rights everywhere. The Europeans executed such rights in their colonial days; the USA execute such rights currently in the Middle East, and the Israelis execute similar rights in Palestine. And in Christchurch, the white supremacist killer practised the same right against the Muslims.

Killing of 49 people in 2 mosques in New Zealand is in fact an eruption of a volcano of anti-Muslim hatred that runs much deeper in many of the non-Muslim countries. It is only a tip of a huge iceberg. The killer doesn't represent his own madness, rather exposes the collective toxic psyche of the Islamophobic supremacists. Since such sick psychic state gets more virulence in Islamophobic tide, it wouldn't be the first and the last carnage against the Muslims. As long as the hate-mongering leaders like President Donald Trump, the Islamophobic TV channels and newspapers continue to inject anti-Muslim venom into the public psyche, hate-crime shows little sign of recession; rather may have more horrendous hypes. Since Donald Trump

stepped into the White House, the anti-Muslim hate crime shows a steep rise. The western media's contribution to such crime is awful. A recent study shows that the New York Times publishes more negative articles against Islam and the Muslims than against cancer and cocaine. And London's Daily Mail and Daily Sun regularly feed Islamophobia by publishes articles against Islam and the Muslims. The same newspapers overlook the war crimes of the occupation armies in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Palestine.

The crossroads and the only option

The western leaders are obsessed to condemn the extremists in the Muslim World. But they ignore their own home-grown extremism and terrorism. They fail to understand that what happens in the Muslim countries in the form of extremism was never there prior to the western invasion. These are indeed the reaction towards the western state-run terrorism cum colonial wars of occupation in the Muslim lands. The original venom of extremism indeed lies in the West. What could be the worst form of extremism than the white supremacist ideology that caused genocidal killing, ethnic cleansing, World Wars, war crimes and nuclear crimes?

The western countries must cure their own moral cancer. They must understand that such a disease doesn't get cured on its own. If they fail to cure it, it can only turn worse. So the western leaders stand on crossroads. They must decide which road they want to take: path of peaceful co-existence with the fellow Muslims or the path of war and mutual annihilation. They also need to understand that all humans live in the same global village; there exists no option other than sharing the same planet. Hatred is counterproductive; it can only generate more hatred. Hence, it needs to be understood that the white supremacist ideology of President Trump and his ideological mates like the Christchurch killer can't be a part of the cure. Who can deny the Muslims' right? Like any people on earth, they too, need a space to fully practise their faith in any part of the globe –as was practised by their prophet. No one can snatch the right by labelling it

fundamentalism. Donald Trump can flatten Muslim cities and kill millions, his ideological mate too, can slaughter Muslims in Mosques; but this way they can't make the world safe for anyone.16.03.2019

Sufferings of the Rohingya Muslims & The UN Policy of Palliation

Dr. Firoz Mahboob Kamal

Bangladesh government's deception

Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mr Mahmood Ali met with Myanmar minister U Kaye Tin Swe on 2nd October in Dhaka. He was Aung San Suu Kyi's envoy to the Bangladesh Government. After the meeting, Mr Mahmood Ali told the press that Rohingya issue can be solved bilaterally with the government of Myanmar. The ongoing ethnic cleansing in Arakan and the political motive of the Myanmar Government make it clear that such expectation from a bilateral negotiation is full of deception and foolishness. It is alarming that the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh has totally failed to understand the basics of the situation. The bilateral relation of Bangladesh with Myanmar is not that good that can persuade the perpetrators to take the Rohingya Muslims back. If the relation is so conducive for a bilaterally negotiated solution of the problem then why the Bangladesh government could not stop the influx of the refugees in the first place. The Myanmar Government is so non-cooperative and insensitive to extreme moral issue that even the UN

Secretary General failed to convince the Myanmar government to allow some neutral observers to oversee what is going on in Rakhine state. Even the International Red Cross bosses couldn't convince these rogues to allow some relief goods and medicines for the displaced and sick Rohingya people. They have proven to be stubborn liars and killers. Even Aung San Suu Kyi –the de-facto leader, didn't prove to be better either. Even she is denying that any ethnic cleansing or killing of the Rohingya Muslims have taken place in Myanmar. As if, more than half a million Rohingya people descended from the Sky on the soil of Bangladesh. How one can negotiate with such killers, deniers and liars who are still busy with killing, raping and ethnic cleansing. From the statement of Bangladesh Foreign Minister, it appears that the government is toeing to the Myanmar policy of isolating the Rohingya issue from global stage. Ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya Muslims is going on for more than three decades. Only at the finishing stage, the issue has become a global issue because of its catastrophic proportion. Now the Myanmar government -as well as other complicit patrons of the crime, wants to quickly scale it down. The best way of doing that is to make it a bilateral issue only with Bangladesh. On Kashmir issue, former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India could seduce Zulfikar Ali Bhutto- the former Prime Minister of Pakistan to fall in the same trap. Hence on Kashmir issue, as per treaty, now Pakistan cries alone in the UN and on other global stages. Now it seems Bangladesh is being enticed to fall into the same trap.

Whereas, genocidal cleansing of a population is always a global issue. It is the gross violation of universal human rights. Bangladesh government can't solve the human rights issue inside other countries - like Myanmar. Bangladesh government has already signed many bilateral agreement with Myanmar, for example one in 1992. So far, none has worked. As a result, more than 400,000 Rohingya Muslims -who came in earlier years, never could return back. They are living in the refugee camps for decades. Hence, one can easily guess that any future bilateral agreement with Myanmar will fail to convince Myanmar to take back the recent arrivals, too. Moreover, the Myanmar government is in a state of total denial of the crime of ethnic cleansing and genocidal cleansing that has been committed to the Rohingyas. So they will

surely put resistance to bear the burden of the alleged crime. Moreover, they have made their mind clear by embedding the Myanmar-Bangladesh border with thousands of mines. It is done only to obstruct the return of the refugees. More the eviction still continues.

The ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya Muslims must be put on the global stage. Since the genocidal regime of Myanmar is not the creation of Bangladesh, therefore Bangladesh government can't take the burden of solving this problem on her own shoulder. It must be properly presented as a burden on all humans. Moreover, the Bangladesh government must deploy its wisdom and political acumen to turn Rohingya Muslims's case into a pan-Islamic rallying cry as well as a pan-humanitarian issue. Only this way they could fight China, Russia and India – the main complicit patrons of Myanmar. No one can deny the political, economic and strategic importance of 1.6 billion Muslims of the world. In comparison to such a massive Ummah, Myanmar is a peanut. Bangladesh is not weaker than Afghanistan or Vietnam; and Myanmar is not stronger than Russia or the USA. China needs to run its so-called economic belt through Muslim countries like Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Iran, Turkey and other Muslim countries. India's largest foreign market is Bangladesh and its trucks and trains need to run a long route amidst its Muslim villages and townships. Indian police or Army can't protect her business in Bangladesh. And Russia has its own huge Muslim population. The largest anti-Myanmar protest rally was not held in Dhaka, Karachi or Jakarta, but in Grozny –the capital of Chechnya. Even the USA can't run its empire taking side against the Muslims. So it will be suicidal for their own economic and political interest if these friends of genocidal regime of Myanmar want to continue their support.

Mere repatriation of the Rohingya people back to Myanmar is the best option. But the question arises, is it conceivable or viable with the current policy of Myanmar Government which is bent upon ethnic cleansing? Currently under the pressure of the international community, the Myanmar government has signed a memorandum to repatriate the refugees. But the Myanmar government has proven to be persistent back tracker from such previous promises. They want to

continue only with the policy of ethnic cleansing. It is now clear that they may allow some pauses in the cleansing, but not ready to fully abandon it. Now, if they are pushed back to Myanmar, they will be kept only in concentration camps and their lands and homesteads will be seized only for building more army barracks or industrial zones –as have been done in cases of previous evictions. Hundreds of thousands of such victims of the past eviction episodes still live in such unhygienic shanty concentration camps. These are the perfect tools to keep the Rohingya Muslims captivated, and de-empowered without giving them the legal rights of citizenship and other civil liberties. This way, they force people to slowly die unattended by any doctor or silently disappear from Myanmar through its porous border. Such a coercive process of decimation is already in place for more than 40 years; and exacerbated in 1982 when their citizenship was taken away and were made stateless.

The UN policy of palliation and salvation of the Rohingya Muslims

The UN could display some sympathy only in building some shanty tents and collecting relief goods or medicines for these worst victims. These are giving some palliation only to die in tents. But the root causes of the problem still thrives. Hence, providing tents and relief goods are not going to solve the problems. Even, the relief goods would stop flowing if the TV camera are taken off from the horrific scenes of cleansing. The Myanmar Government is waiting for such days. Those who imposed some soft embargo on the ruling military despots for human rights violation in the past, have already been lifted after the election in 2015. Now, the countries like China, Russia, and even Pakistan are selling weapons to these killers. Is it not the part of terrorism to support these perpetrators of state-terrorism by delivering arms? Now the question arises, if the UN and other international players fail to solve the problem peacefully, what option will remain open for these much Rohingya people? Just to die the slow death in tents. In such a desperate situation, arms struggle

would be the only legitimate option. To get back the robbed basic survival rights, they will need to fight a long battle. How long Rohingya people should await in Bangladesh while no one has shown hope that their own birth place, lands and assets in Myanmar will be returned back to them.

If they are not given the legitimate right to enter peacefully, must be taken over by war. Nothing can be more just than such a war for their own right. Otherwise, it will be total submission to pure evil. No one should support that. In fact, the enemies of freedom of the Rohingya Muslims want full submission to such evil forces of occupation -as has been the policy of the occupying forces in Palestine and Kashmir. Hence, fighting against the pure evil of state terrorism of Myanmar should be the rallying cry not only for Bangladesh, but also for all the freedom loving countries of the world. If not pursued by the peace loving states, some non-state forces will make it a holy and legitimate cause against the evil.

Hence, it is the core responsibility of the UN and other international actors to fix the problem as soon as possible. Otherwise, they should help in all possible ways the Rohingya Muslims to fix the problems themselves. The ultra-nationalist racism can fill the land only with a war. Myanmar has taken that route. Surrender to the perpetrators of genocide is never a civilised option. The Rohingya Muslims must not be forced to live in concentration camps. In the name of settlement, the refugees must not be handed over to the killers who are determined only to kill, rape and blaze everything that belong to Muslims. Such a push back would tantamount only to put them back into a cage full with hungry wolves. Such a step was taken in 1978, but didn't work. It only increased the number of deaths, rapes and torture cells for the Rohingyas. Any amount of appeasement of such killers would only mean complicity in the crime. The world leaders who fail to bring any peace for the Rohingyas don't possess any right to lecture them on peaceful tolerance of such appalling brutality either. The legitimate battle of the victims for their own survival can't be labelled as terrorism either. Terrorism -as per any standard lexicon, is the use of force or threat to frighten any people to get political, economic or other

gains at the expense of others. It can be practised both by the state and non-state actors. And in Arakan, it is being exclusively deployed by the Myanmar Army, the security forces and other state outfits to ethnically cleanse the Rohingya Muslims from their birth place in Arakan.

The war of narratives

All forces of coercion, occupation and imperialism coin their own narratives to suit their political agenda. In their vocabulary, even occupying countries, bombing cities to rubbles and killing men, woman and children are called promotion of liberal values and democracy –as is the case of the US and its partners in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. India in Kashmir and Russia in Syria are doing the same. Whereas standing against such pure evil is called terrorism in their lexicon. The genocidal regime of Myanmar also makes use of such narrative to pursue their evil agenda. They could even invent justification to snatch citizenship from the Rohingya Muslims on the ground that they belong to different faith, ethnicity and language. Therefore, like Adolf Hitler, they could forge fabricated ground for total ethnic cleansing of these marginalised minority. But the question arises, whether the Muslims too, should accept such fabricated political narratives? Such narratives are indeed the expression of some specific political faith and ideologies. So the people of different faith differ not only in their beliefs and cultures, but also in their narrative. As per corruptive narratives of the nationalists, racists and ethnic cleansers, any attempt of standing against the ethnic cleansing is called terrorism. The criminal regime of Myanmar then point of the Muslims which is totally dissimilar to that of the kuffars. It is the part of muslims' fundamental belief that Islam has its own narrative, vocabularies and criteria to judge the right and the wrong; and also prescribes the path of action. It is the most most ugliest state of the Muslims that they badly devide on this issue. The ruling elites of the most Muslim countries incorporate the western route and their narratives. And they quickly join the occupying forces in the Muslim countries; hence those who Afghanistan

and Iraq are not alone. They could get millions of Muslims in their rank. The scenario is going to repeat also in Arakan. As long as the TV camera is focussed on the Rohingya refugees, the relief goods will continue to flow in. As soon as the camera is taken off, the international bodies will forget to persuade Myanmar government to take the refugees back -as happened in the case Palestine and Kashmir. The issue of plebiscite in Kashmir, and the return of Palestinian refugees to their houses now stays in cold storage. Harlem's anyone bother about that. So, the return of the Arakan' Rohingya Muslims is going to be another cold storage staff. The secularist elements in a Muslim country has a mastery of doing that -the PLO did it the Palestinian cause. The secularist forces in Bangladesh is ready to take that route. They look for international aids only to feed their greed.

Another staff for the cold-storage?

It is unfortunate and unethical that the imperialist world powers acceptable political path and narrative for the whole world. In their vocabulary, even occupying the countries, bombing the cities to rubble and killing men, woman and children are called promotion of liberal values and democracy. Whereas standing against such pure crime is called terrorism. The genocidal regime of Myanmar makes use of such a political milieu of the world, hence emboldened to pursue the path of total cleansing. 50 years ago the world was not so permissive for such a horrendous crime. But the question arises whether the Muslims should surrender to these kuffar narrativeives? If they accept these kuffar narrative then standing against ethnic cleansing will be called terrorism and the criminal regime of Myanmar will be given the formal licence to continue the crime and will receive the necessary weapons. India, China and Russia, Japan have already taken the route. The US hasn't any moral guts to oppose such a option either. Here lies the distinctive point of the Muslims which is totally dissimilar to that of the kuffars. It is the part of muslims' fundamental belief that Islam has its own narrative, vocabularies and criteria to judge the right and the wrong; and also prescribes the path of action. It is the most most ugliest state of the Muslims that they badly decide on

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Economic greed overrides morality

Now the world politics suffers from a serious moral collapse. The Rohingya Muslims are indeed the victims of such a collapse. While the economic greed works as the only guiding compass, humans turn to pure economic animals. Then, survival of the fittest and destruction of the weak become the norm. In such a beastly milieu, higher values like morality, humanity and honesty directly go to the bin. Exactly that happened in the case of Rohingya Muslims. This is why, the brutal ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya Muslims couldn't draw any sympathy from Russia, China, India, and Japan. In 2004, huge deposit of oil and gas was discovered in Arakan's coastal bed. Hence, the greedy eyes of the predator countries became glued to those new resources. The strategic location of Arakan is also very important. It can open door to land-locked southern part of China and the eastern provinces of India. China alone takes oil of 1.5 billion dollars per year from this oil field through Arakan-China pipe line. India is building a deep sea port to connect Mizoram and its other eastern provinces. Hence, they

are not interested to see other human or moral issues. Such moral ills of the economic animals is not unknown to the Burmese ethnic cleansers; hence they could go any length to execute their crimes. Because of the same economic reason, even Saudi Arabia stays deaf and dumb. Saudi Arabia is competing with Russia to find its oil market in China. According to London's the Independent newspaper (21.09/2017), Saudi Arabia runs a 479 mile long Burma-China pipe line across this Arakan state to Yunan province of China. It is a joint venture of a Saudi company called Aramco and a Chinese company called Petro-China. It pumps 200, 000 barrels of oil daily from Bay of Bengal for China. It cuts the voyage time by 7 days, avoiding the Strait of Malacca. Therefore, Saudi Arabia does not want to annoy the Myanmar government by condemning its crime. It is worth mentioning that about 2 years ago, Saudi Arabia announced the formation of 37 Muslim countries' coalition force under retired Pakistani general Raheel Sharif to protect its security against possible attack from IS or Iran. But doesn't talk about such a force to protect the poor Rohingya Muslims.

Hypocrisy and trickery have always been the indispensable parts of the imperialist policy for the Muslims. The imperialist-led UNO promised plebiscite for deciding the fate of Kashmir-whether to go Pakistan or India or stay independent. But that didn't happen. The the UNO and all the western and eastern powers promised the right of return to the evicted Palestinians to their ancestral homes. But that didn't happen either. The Palestinians still still live concentration camp live ghettos in the occupied West Bank, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria. On their cleansed lands, the Israeli government is building luxurious apartments for the Jewish immigrants from different parts of the world. Thus the Jews are being attracted to settle in Palestine. Those who decide the fate of world politics are paying blind eyes to such awful show of obvious crimes. The same calamitous crime is being perpetrated against the Rohingya Muslims. The Bamar nationalist planned to confiscate 1.2 million hectares of land of Rakhine state. The need this land to build Special Economic Zones (SEZ) for Japanese, Chinese, Indian and other multinational companies. The need land to build deep sea port for the China and another deep seaport for India.

The need huge area of empty land to build barracks for the army and the other security forces to ensure security to these economic establishments. Hence they needed to ethnically cleanse the originally settled Rohingya Muslims from the land. To show the justification of the crime, they needed to do another crime. In 1982, they deprived them of Myanmar's nationality

Now they are telling the world that the Myanmar Army is not evicting the Foreigners who have no legality to stay in Myanmar. Thus they have manufactured the illegality for the Rohingya Muslims. Now they have been new identity as refugees. The same crime happened against the Palestinians. Birth in Palestine and thousands of years ancestral history in Palestine couldn't give the right of Palestinians to stay in Palestine. But those who are born in Europe or America or any other parts of the world and their tens of generations never lived in Palestine are given the right build a state on a forcefully occupied Palestine. And that state was given the legality by the UNO and many other countries . The thrives , the robbers, and the women traffickers have their own societies, too; and there they congratulate each other for the committed crimes. They also enjoy a permissive and codified cultural milieu in their own world to celebrate the most heinous crimes. This is the sign of moral cancer. The whole world is now inflicted with a massively metastasising moral cancer. This is why the Americans could elect a thoroughly inhuman man like Donald Trump as the USA's president and the Indians could elect a proven terrorist like Narendra Modi as the Prime Minister. Due to the same disseminated moral cancer, the US and the Russian Bombers could turn cities and villages in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan into rubbles and could kill thousands of people there. The same moral cancer has turntable the Myanmar Army more beastly than any worst animals. The animals do not engage in killing and evicting people, but the Myanmar Army heavily enjoy doing that. And the government of China, India, Russia and Japan are fully supporting that heinous criminal acts.

Cost of cure of the disease

Now Bangladesh government is working on a singular plan on resolving the Rohingya problem. The government doesn't have any other

alternative plan. The government is using its all diplomatic channels to persuade the Myanmar government to take back the Rohingya refugees. The UNO, the USA, European Union and other world powers also support the plan. But the question arises whether the plan is going to work. So far it didn't work. This is why more than 400,000 Rohingya refugees from previous eviction still stay stagnant in horrific concentration camps in Bangladesh. In 1992, the Bangladesh government achieved some success with the collaboration of the UNO to persuade Myanmar government to take back them. But that didn't help them to return back to their ancestral homestead and land, rather to open air jail called camps for displaced people. Their lands, homesteads still stayed occupied by the Army, police and other state institutions. The UNO didn't go that far to pressurise Myanmar government to allow them to have the possession back on their own domestic premises and properties.

Sent from my iPhone

The Victims of Pure Genocide

The pure genocide

"Genocide" is the cruellest and the most violent form of crime against humanity. It targets people for arson, rape, torture and total annihilation purely based on race, religion, and language. Therefore, no one needs to do any wrong for becoming the definitive target of genocide. His or her faith, race, language or religion is enough to invite the worst type of murderous thugs, robbers and rapist at the doorstep. The case of Rohigya Muslims is the perfect example of that. It is indeed a violent expression of the very fast growing metastasising moral cancer. Now it appears that the cancer has deeply affected not only the whole civil and military institutions of

Myanmar, but also the country's Buddhist monks, the political elites, the intelligentsia, the media and a large section of the common people. Because of such a tsunamic scale of the moral disease, on 30th October 2017, tens of thousands of Burmese people assembled on the streets of Yangon –the former capital of Myanmar, to show full support for the Army. It was indeed a huge homage to the Army for the execution of its policy of killing, raping and ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya Muslims.

When a moral cancer is not treated at its early phase, its rapid spread cause massive number of deaths, rapes and arsons on earth. During Hitler era in Germany, the same moral cancer could quickly engulf the whole Europe. It led to a devastating World War. Because of it, more than 60 million people had to die. Moral disease thus proved to more catastrophic than any physical illness. In fact, no other physical illness could cause such a massive and rapid destruction of life and wealth –as done by this moral disease. In Rakhine state of Myanmar, the same moral cancer is showing its destructive and de-humanising power. It could cause the “textbook case of ethnic cleansing” and the “fasting growing refugee” on earth. The disease could also get embedded inside the UN and its powerful stakeholders like the USA, Russia and China. The disease could kill the moral authority and the sense of perception of the leaders of the UN and the affected states. As a consequence, even the most visible symptoms of genocide in Arakan could stay unnoticed in their moral radar. This is why, a robust form of genocide could continue for decades in broad day light. These world leaders showed, how easy to condemn a dead Hitler but difficult to avoid close collaboration with the living ones. The UN and these controlling states failed similarly and terribly in the case of genocide in Bosnia, Rwanda and Cambodia. In fact, the crime of genocide by the Myanmar Army and the crime of inaction by the UN and its stakeholders continued side by side for decades. The recent declaration of support by China, Russia, India and Japan for the Myanmar government has indeed added more fuel to the ongoing genocide. As a direct consequence of such patronisation, the Rohingya villages continue to burn. And the Rohingya people continue to get raped, killed or evicted from them home to Bangladesh.

The word "genocide" was coined with *genos* (Greek: birth, kind, race) and an English suffix *-cide* by Raphael Lemkin in his book "*Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*" in 1944. Now, almost all the international bodies of law label a crime as "genocide" while a state and state sponsored perpetrators of the crime incorporate the "intent to destroy" a population of dissimilar race, language, religion or geographical identity in their operational objective of the crime. In fact, such an intent to destroy the Rohingya Muslims is not hidden in the ruling circle and among the nationalists Buddhists of Myanmar. It is indeed clearly visible in all the anti-Rohingya policy of persecution of the civil and military institutions of Myanmar government. Only in three weeks, ethnic cleansing of more than half a million Rohingya Muslims from Rakhine state, killing of more than three thousands and raping thousands of Rohingya women and girls are the robust expression of such a genocidal intent. Here, the selection of the target for physical extermination, rape and torture are made only on race and religion. And the scale of killing and eviction are conducted only to achieve the stipulated target of elimination of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. So, it needs little intelligence or research to uncover the real motive of the perpetrators. Even a Rohingya child can see that. This is why, the Rohingya men, women and children are fleeing from Myanmar amidst harsh difficulties only to save their life.

Even the Head of UN Human Rights Commission had to describe it as the test book example of ethnic cleansing. Therefore, how such a crime of ethnic cleansing can be delinked from the crime of genocide? Cleansing of a race, religion or ethnicity always operates through massive arson, gang rape, mass killing and forced eviction. In Myanmar, all these genocidal tools are being used against the Rohingya Muslims. The UN Human Rights report stated that the Rohingya Muslims are the most persecuted minority on earth. But how such a worst persecution aimed at a single ethnic and religious community could be different from a planned genocide? All the genocidal crimes in human history gave birth to wholesale migration –as happened in the case of the Red Indians, the German Jews and the Bosnian Muslims. That is happening with the fastest possible speed in the case of Rohingya Muslims, too. This is why, the UN Security General Mr Antonio Guterres had to say that they

are the fastest growing refugee in human history. Only a highly motivated genocidal regime in Myanmar could carry out such a man-made disaster of an epic proportion.

The conceptual basis of the genocide

For every genocide, some toxic ideologies, an extreme form moral sickness and a paranoid mind-set must work together to prepare the ground for that. Only because of deep ideological, political and cultural perversion in a huge section of population, Hitler's gas chambers could operate in broad day light on an industrial scale in the heart of so-called civilised Europe. Only because of such conceptual cum ideological shift towards evil, the criminal herds of Europe could give birth to so many evil ideologies like colonialism, imperialism, fascism, communism, and racism in the past. The colonial wars, the occupational wars, the World Wars, the cold wars, ethnic cleansing and other tools of pure evil could also flourish on the same perverted conceptual premise. It is significant to note that such a perverted psyche still survives. Therefore even today, those who carry the legacy of the colonial crimes take pride in that. This is why, on 2nd of November, 2017, the British Prime Minister Theresa May could join the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu to celebrate hundred years of Balfour Declaration –the pure evil of British colonialism, that caused so many wars, so many deaths and evictions through illicit creation of Israel. In the past, the people with such perverted colonial psych didn't feel any shame or remorse for the most genocidal massacre of the Red Indians of America, the Aborigines of Australis and the Maoris of New Zealand. Rather, they thought such crimes as the part of their civilizational mission! The Burmese nationalists –like the ideological Nazi cousins have taken the same route.

Today, the moral, ethical and political ill health of the world leaders looks seldom any better or different from that of the genocidal colonial past. Because of the same conceptual base of genocide, the same genocide still continues on an industrial scale; only the tools, the targets and the venues are different. Instead of

gas chambers, the new tools are the barrel bombs, cluster bombs, mother of all bombs, depleted uranium bombs, drones, and missiles. These are being deployed to commit the same crime with the same cruelty. As a result, hundreds of Syrian and Iraqi cities and villages are turned to rubbles by the US and the Russian bombers. More than a million are killed. And about 6 million Syrians and Iraqis are made refugees. Now, the Muslims are the new target. And, Arakan, Syria, Iraq, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Xinjiang and many other Muslim lands are the new killing fields.

The visible evidence of the genocide

No crime can hide its crime-site, motive and evidences. That is equally true for the genocide in Myanmar. The most important proof of any genocide is the genocidal intent of the perpetrators. In Myanmar, the perpetrators of the crime operate in such a strong anti-Muslim hatred of the local people, the media and the Buddhist monks that they never felt any need to hide their motive. Nor do they need to stay underground for committing the crime. Therefore, the motive of the crime is clearly visible. And the perpetrators of the crime are also well identified. They are the ruling elites of the government, the Army, the Buddhist nationalist monks and the Islamophobic political cadres. The motive of these people is to uproot the Rohingya Muslims from their birth place. In fact, both the civil and military wings of the ruling ultranationalists are operating with the same motive. Besides, they have a strong delusional base to support that motive. The existence of the Muslims in Rakhine state, is perceived as the existential threat to the Burmese Buddhists. The whole genocidal crime against the Rohingya Muslims operates on such a sick, hateful and delusional concept. Because of that, inside Myanmar, there exists no sympathy for this most persecuted minority on earth. Rather, ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya Muslims through arson, mass slaughter, gang rape and forced eviction enjoys huge popularity among the cadre of the ruling party, the Army, the Buddhist monks, the political cadres and the general public.

If 1.2 million Rohingya Muslims are evicted from their farm lands, gardens, homes, businesses, and community institutions like mosques and madrasa, the local Burmese people will get the opportunity to grab these Muslim properties without any hindrance. This is why, the genocidal intent against the Muslims enjoys a popular base in Myanmar. Such a huge economic temptation pulls people to the crime scene to actively engage in the crime. Thus, the anti-Muslim campaign is being used as a tool of mass-scale robbery, raping, arson and killing against the Muslims. In the past, the same happened in America against the Red Indians and in Nazi Germany against the Jews. Therefore, it raises little wonder that on 29/10/2017, a huge rally was held in Yangon –the former capital of Myanmar, to celebrate the large scale eviction of the Rohingya Muslims and to show their support for the Army. (Source: Al Jazira, 29/10/17). Because of such an evil motive, a cataclysmic crime against the Rohingya Muslims could run for decades with the public support. But the UNO and the world leaders continue to commit their own crime of silence and inaction, too. It is indeed an extreme form of moral collapse as well as the worst form of leadership failure that even the worst genocidal regime in Myanmar could enjoy support from so many states. Such supportive leaders for the genocidal state have indeed proven that they are the part of the same moral disease.

The success of the state-run genocidal scheme in Arakan huge. It is easily visible from drastic downsizing the Muslim population there. In this traditionally Muslim majority state of Rakhine, the Muslims have been reduced to a minority. Now, its two-third population are the Burmese Buddhist. In 1952, the Rohingya Muslims were 1.2 million (Source: *Countdown to Annihilation: Genocide in Myanmar*, a research study of London's Queen Mary University, 2015). Now it is 1.1 million. So there is a 8% reduction in Rohingya population in last 65 years. Whereas, in the same period of time, the population in Bangladesh showed more than 4 folds increase. In Pakistan, the increase was 6 folds. (As per census of 1951, the population of former East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) was 42 million; and in 2017 it is estimated to be 170 million. As per same census in 1951, the population was 33.7 million in former West Pakistan; and in 2017, it is 207 million).

Genocide: the literal meaning & the execution

The UN General Assembly's resolution passed on 9th of December in 1948, brought into effect on 12th of January in 1951 (Resolution 260 (III)), specified the definition of genocide in following terms: "Any of the acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group; killing members of a group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to its members; deliberately inflicting on their conditions of life, calculated to bring about the group's physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. It is also the intended and the coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of the national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be to disintegrate the political and social institutions, culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of the national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups."

In 2002, Article 6 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court assigned almost similar narrative for the crime of genocide. It stated that "genocide" means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, such as: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. As per above definition, the Rohingya Muslims are the victim of all brutal specifics of genocidal crimes committed by the Myanmar Army, the

Police, the Buddhist monks and the racially motivated common people. The catalogue of such crimes include arson, mass killings, rape, gang rape, torture, burning homes, deprivation of citizenship and civic rights, forceful eviction, and segregating in concentration camps. In order to facilitate their death, the Rohingya people are not allowed to have any access to healthcare. They are even deprived of basic education, jobs, income generating activities, social and cultural institutions, and mobility in the community. They are not allowed to perform even the obligatory prayers in public. On 2/06/17, AFP reported from Yangon that Myanmar Authority charged three Muslims men for holding Ramadan (Tarawih) prayers on the street. It was also reported that they were performing prayers on the street because of closure of the two local schools that gave premise to hold prayers. The schools were closed in late April 2017 after the ultra-nationalists complained to the ruling authority that the school-premises are used by the Muslims for the congregational prayers. Thus, the congressional prayer was taken as a serious crime to close down the school! And, it is done at a time when Aung San Suu Kyi is the de facto leader of the so-called democratic government.

Malnutrition has also been used as an effective weapon against the Rohingya Muslims. Those who are kept in camps are subjected to slow death through it. They are allowed to survive only on sub-subsistence level through international relief goods. Along with other horrendous means of persecution, such a dreadful situation was created only to promote silent disappearance of the Rohingya Muslims through desperate migration to other countries. Only in three weeks in September-October in 2017, about 600, 000 migrated to Bangladesh. In addition, more than 400,000 migrated to Bangladesh on previous episodes of similar forced evictions. About 400, 000 migrated to Saudi Arabia, about 350, 000 to Pakistan, 40, 000 to India and about 100, 000 to Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia.

The genocide in phases & the Myanmar style

Genocide always follows a classical pattern –as postulated by a famous social scientist named Mr Daniel Feuerstein in his book *Genocide in Social Practice*. The case of Myanmar isn't different either. These are: 1). Stigmatisation; 2). Harassment, violence and terror; 3). Isolation and segregation; 4). Systemic weakening; 5). Extermination and 6). Symbolic enactment. The case of Myanmar indeed presents the textbook example of passing through all such genocidal phases. It starts with the imposed stigmatisation by the perpetrators of genocide between "us" and "them". Here, "us" are the agents who commit the genocide. In Myanmar, they are the Myanmar government and its civil and military institutions, the Buddhist monks, the ultranationalist political thugs and the state-run gangs of salaried murderers. "Them" are the people who are stigmatised as the target of elimination –either by a process of mass killing or by forced eviction. In Myanmar, the term "them" was assigned for the Rohingya Muslims. They are made scapegoat for all the failures of Myanmar as well as cause of the future threat; hence black listed as the perfect target of genocidal elimination.

In such an appalling situation, it was the duty of the UNO and its Human Right offices to identify such a genocidal phase at its earliest stages. It was also their duty to pressurise the Myanmar government to refrain from such an act of criminalising the innocent people for ethnic cleansing and extermination. The duty of other world players and human right organisations should have been the same to save the innocent people from a man-made barbaric catastrophe. But they could display only the awful failure. None of the prophylactic or curative interventions by the UN or by any other state or international body happened to protect these people from ongoing genocide. Rather, they did exactly the opposite. The US removed the already imposed embargo; and the countries like India, Russia, and Japan increased their political, diplomatic and economic cooperation with the genocidal regimes. And Aung San Suu Kyi -the de facto leader who currently presides over the genocide, was given a Nobel Prize –a certificate of so-called upright moral conscience! As a result of such commission and

omission, the whole community of the Rohingya Muslims was thrown into a death trap. Thus, the genocidal process was allowed to march into a phase of protracted harassment, violence and terror.

The final phase

The Myanmar regime deployed all possible tools to carry out the physical as well as the psychological torture against the Rohingya people. These are done deliberately to pass on the message that they have no political, cultural and survival space in Myanmar. Taking away their right of citizenship in 1982 indeed worked as a powerful tool to give them such a message very crudely. It terrorised them psychologically and made them refugee in their own birth place.

Living in a state without its citizenship indeed worked as source of all-time fear and agony. Moreover, the Buddhist monks and nationalist extremist leaders were let loose to label them publicly as the foreign infiltrators from Bangladesh and future threat to Buddhists' existence in Myanmar. Thus, they instigated violence against these captivated poor Muslims and prescribe full elimination from Arakan. As a result, even a few nationalist thugs could feel highly emboldened to snatch domestic cattle, hens, vegetables and other staff from their Muslim neighbours. Thus they became hostage to frequent arson, violence and rape by the state and non-state agents. And the Muslim women became the regular target for the sex predators of the Army and other security apparatus. The state-run violence, terror and harassment were made deliberately the parts of their daily life. As a result, those who had the means, silently left the country. A field research done by London's Queen Mary University in 2015 gave a very detailed information of such systematic physical, and psychological torture. Even at this phase of state-run protracted genocide, the UN and other agencies kept their eyes closed and showed a policy of total inaction.

The Burmese ultranationalist can't believe that the Rohingya Muslims have any survival rights or human rights in Myanmar. They could only

prescribe a premeditated blue print of total extermination from their birth plac –as Adolf Hitler had for the Jews. It is the strategy of isolating and segregating the Rohingya Muslims in concentration camps and restricting their food supply and prohibiting their health, social and educational care. These camps are called the Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps. In order to feed these concentration camps, the Rohingya Muslims are periodically evicted by force from their homes, farms and businesses. Therefore those who were evicted in 1978, 1991-92, 2012, 2013, and 2015, never had any chance to return back to their own homes, farm or business; rather found their final abode in those concentration camps. Those who wish to return back from Bangladesh to Arakan, they do not see any different or better future either. Thus, only a road of physical, moral, cultural and emotional death through systematic weakening is left open for them. Those who do not finish this way, mass slaughtering and forced eviction to other countries wait for them. Now, the long process of such a forced elimination of the Rohingya Muslims has indeed reached the final point. 04/11/2017

Face to Face with the Indian Muslims

The disbelief

According to 2001 census, 15% of the Indians are Muslims. But most of the Indian Muslims do not believe this official figure. They think it skilfully manipulated to serve their political purpose. The Hindu ruling clique strongly feels that a higher figure will generate more sense of deprivation; and may cause more unrest among the Muslims. Currently, the Muslims don't have even a 3 per cent stake in the

government jobs -as revealed by the statistical data and the facts-finding minority commissions set up by the government. These commissions comprising some ex-judges are usually formed after a major anti-Muslim massacre, mostly to minimize the post-massacre anger.

Although low figures of Muslims in employment are enough to expose the government's longstanding anti-Muslim policy, the actual picture if revealed, may turn more awful and de-stabilise the country. The ruling political elite have genuine concern that such revelation of truth will further aggravate the Muslims' antipathy towards the government, and may precipitate a major political upheaval. Many may turn even human bombs. Such anti-government anger of nearly 200 million Muslims may work as a huge explosion to reduce the country into a mess. The true nature of the Muslims' marginalization may also tarnish India's image internationally, especially in the Muslim world. Such apprehension of the ruling Hindu is working as a strong factor for planned manipulation of the Muslim population statistics. Hence the actual number of the Muslims remains highly secret and sensitive -as are the number of the Indian soldiers, details of nuclear bombs and the spy agents at home and abroad. Such fear has already proved true and the Muslims anger is now boiling up. It has already inflicted a major blow to Indian National Congress -the original architect of un-divided India. For more than 50 years, the Muslims used to be the traditional vote bank of the Congress, but those days are now history. Due to Muslims' alienation, the Congress has lost its power in many of its stronghold states like West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Kerala. These provinces are known for significant Muslim population. The Muslims in those states have negotiated with other regional parties. Hence, like dinosaur, an all-India national political party is now an extinct. This may turn a starting point for the future disintegration.

The hostile strategy

To keep the Muslim population figure low, the government tactics are well-known. The most common strategy is to keep huge number of Muslims

out of the census record, especially in the provinces adjacent to Bangladesh like West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, and in big cities like Calcutta, Mumbai and Delhi. To justify such exclusion, they invent some fabricated pretexts. They label millions of Muslims as foreign nationals - calling

them illegal intruders from Bangladesh. The political parties like BJP (Bharatya Janata Party), Bishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Congress), RSS (Rastriya Shebak Sangh), Shibshena, Bajrang dal and other communal parties make explosive issues out of the same story. They allege that millions of Bangladeshis have entered and settled in the bordering provinces around Bangladesh. They also demand immediate push back of these Muslims to Bangladesh. In Assam, along with anti-Muslim political agitation, thousands of Muslim men, women and children were mass-murdered in the eighties. And no one was punished for such heinous crime. Such demands for the push-back and the anti-Muslims agitations with that demand are more commonly arranged prior to any national census or voter list update. The government then gets easy pretexts to exclude huge number of Muslims from the census as well as from the voters' list. Even the rural Muslims of West Bengal who live in the slums of Calcutta, Bombay or New Delhi to make a living also get labelled as Bangladeshi, and thus left excluded from the census and from the voter list. The allegation they face is based on their mother tongue which happens to be Bengali – conveniently forgetting the fact that West Bengali Muslims also speak the same language. Since the inclusion in the census is required as a proof for citizenship so large numbers of the Muslims are left disqualified to register as Indian citizen. This keeps the door open for the government to push them back into Bangladesh at a suitable time.

The Islamophobia

Very inflammatory as well provoking news and feature article demonising the Muslims and blaming them as illegal intruders appear regularly in the Indian media. The tune and flavour of those reports

are almost always the same. The Muslims are blamed to cause a dangerous demographic shift in Indian population. For example, the Time of India once published a claim of a central Jubofront (Youth Front) leader in a mass-gathering that Muslim population rose significantly in Assam and West Bengal. The paper added its own hype to the fear that if such increase in Muslim population is not checked now then these provinces will turn Hindu minority province in near future. The paper projected it a great threat to India's integrity and prelude to creation of another Pakistan in its own territory. During my six months' stay in India I found recasting of such inflammatory news almost one or twice a week on the front page in major Indian dailies like the Time of India, the Hindustan Time, Indian Express, the Statesman and many others. So the anti-Muslim fervent never gets any opportunity to die out, rather continuously receives a new lease of life. The communal parties thrive on such media-engineered phobia and anti-Muslim hatred. Once I read an article in the Hindustan Time under the headline "Hindu Population and Muslim Population". The writer tried to tell that there are two different rates of population growth in India: one for the Muslims and another for the Hindu. And the writer tried to prove stated that the growth of Muslim population is much higher than that of the Hindus. He cautioned that the Hindu domination will soon come to an end in India if the Muslim population continues to increase with the current rate. I found it a morbid delusion; only a man with pathological hatred against Muslims can believe such politically motivated speculation. How the Muslims with its current 15 % proportion can emerge as the majority in India – which did not happen even in about 700 years of Muslim rule. I also wonder how these people can sleep at night with such tremendous fear. I noted that the Hindustan Time, the Time of India and the India Today have special interest in publishing such views. These types of much spin-added news and feature articles are circulated through these papers by different names and in different perspectives at least few times a week. These articles are published as regular refreshers to the Hindu communal so that the anti-Muslim sentiment is always kept alive.

The role of the Indian newspapers and magazines to generate such fear

in the Hindu mind is on the increase. There are few exceptions, but the circulation of those newspapers is very limited. Once I had a long discussion on the issue with one of the leading Indian economist from Kerala. Although a Hindu, but I found him very rational and thoughtful. He studied and taught economics in the MIT in the USA and happens to be a close friend of Monmohan Singh –the current Prime Minister. He agreed with my observation. I also told him that how India can have a friendly relation neighbouring Muslims countries with such a hatred against the Muslims.

The biased bureaucracy

I found a very common notion among the Muslims that the Indian governments' civil servants are more communal and Muslim basher than the political workers. So there exists an active non-co-operation in the bureaucracy towards reducing the Muslims' deprivation. Such non-co-operation becomes more marked and evident during or after any anti-Muslim massacre. These bureaucrats then make it impossible to quickly control the killing or undertake any impartial investigation. So the demolition of Babri mosque or massacre and destruction in Mumbai and Gujarat could continue for many days in broad day lights. And the people in charge could not find any murderer for the dead three thousands. In a civilised country with a huge army and police force, the criminal killers cannot enjoy such a free hand in planned mass-murder and destruction. But that happens in India again and again.

These Indian bureaucrats are more active to preserve their own vested interests; they possess little interest to cater services without racial, religious or linguistic bias. Any small attempts of doing justice towards the Muslims are viewed suicidal by them. And it has a long history. During the British rule, the Bengal Pact forwarded by Chittaranjan Das and Suhrawardy ended in a fiasco due to these bureaucrats. The reason was that the Pact promised more employment opportunities for the Muslims. The vested interest that they established in the administration as the most obedient servants of the British raj was kept unaltered even in the independent India. In fact,

the British rule survived in India for 190 years because of their most obedience to those foreign imperialists. They foreigners have gone, and now they have their own dominance over the Muslims. They received huge benefits from the British for their servitude. After 1947, they could protect their privileges too. Now in India they want to ensure the same privileges for their future generation. The possible advancement of the downtrodden 200 million Muslims may make some crossover into their privileges; hence consider them as a real threat. So, Muslim hatred gets more intense and bloodthirsty. In fact, they use the state apparatus as a powerful weapon to protect their territory against any Muslim advancement. As they made alliance with the British rulers, these communal bureaucrats also made alliance with the communal politicians to promote their self-serving cause. This why when Babri mosque was being destroyed in daylight during whole day, the Indian Prime Minister Narsima Rao, his whole ministry and the whole civil and military bureaucracy stayed in closed door offices to silently watch the destruction on TV, and did nothing.

One can easily sense the tip of the anti-Muslim ice-berg in Indian bureaucracy after landing at Bombay or Calcutta airport with a Bangladeshi passport. It seems they find it difficult to swallow the pride of a Bangladeshi Muslim travelling worldwide with an international passport. Probably they think such privilege is only the right of the upper caste Hindu as is customary in India.

The communal nature of the Indian administration and the police becomes more evident during any event of Muslim mass killing. The police become more active in suppressing the Muslim victims than the Hindu killers. More Muslims are taken to jails than the Hindu attackers -as happened in Muslim massacre in Mumbai and Gujarat. In both the places, numerous Muslims were killed or arrested and oppressed by the state police. They also faced the criminal charges. In Meerut, Indian police added a new chapter to its already tainted record. They dumped hundreds of Muslim corpses into the nearby canals to show the low number of Muslims deaths in the massacre. During the demolition of the Babri mosque, they indeed provided protection to the militant Hindus so that they could accomplish the crime without any

hindrance or resistance from the Muslims. After the mosque demolition, started the Muslim massacre. According to government statistics, more than two thousand Muslims were murdered in Bombay alone; fire was set to thousands of Muslims' houses and shops. Women were raped and Muslim babies were thrown into fire. What is more surprising is: the police were not able to find a single murderer or looter -as if nothing happened in that systemic pogrom. Not a single murderer, rapist or arsonist had to appear before the judge to receive any punishment. While the attitude of the bureaucrats is such, it is not surprising that these officers will discover scores of fabricated reasons to exclude the Muslims from the voters' list or census record. The sheer lack of their interest in protecting Muslims' lives and property becomes more evident from the lack of judicial prosecution in any anti-Muslim genocide. But such failures make little political and moral impact in India's civil administration; therefore such killings happen again and again –rather with more frequency and ferocity.

The neglect

The Muslim population in Jaipur is quite large; but very few people could tell me the actual number. They live in a very small area of the city. The new constructions are booming in all directions in the outskirts, but the Muslims are not moving to those areas. They fear, anytime the Hindu neighbours may turn murderous against them. The Muslims do not miss such message from the previous massacres that happened mostly by the hands of the Hindu neighbours. So in Jaipur, like any other Indian city, the heavily-congested old city centre is the abode of the Muslims. There is no park, no wide road, no clean drain, no good school or college – even no arrangement for regular removal of garbage. Piles of garbage covered with thick armies of flies and mosquitoes were visible even in the close vicinity of living quarters. Most of the civic facilities are absent there. I saw some horrendous pictures of such neglect also in Ajmer –the city of great shrine of Khawja Moinuddin Chisti. While visiting the famous shrine, I needed to go to the public toilet located at its backyard. But I could not proceed. The faeces were overflowing its dirty footpath. This

famous shrine brings in lot of money to Ajmer city and huge foreign currency to India, but its basic facilities are kept in utter neglect. It depicts a clear picture how the provision of very basic services to the Muslim visitors gets totally ignored by the Hindu administration. Even in Shahjahan's mosque in Agra, the mark of chronic neglect was revealing. But in famous Hindu temples, I found a different standard.

The situations are not different in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad and other cities. In all of these cities, the Muslim dwellings are situated in unhygienic and congested city centres. The reason is the same. The Muslims suffer from a serious lack of safety and security in the prosperous areas of the cities – because of its Hindu dominance. During the Muslim massacres in the past, the victimized Muslim families happened to be the inhabitants living in the Hindu-majority areas. During any anti-Muslim slaughter, the neighbouring Hindus always appeared ready to annihilate them with huge jubilation. Those killings did not need any outsiders. As soon as any riot starts, the Muslims are immediately robbed of their houses and properties. As if, there were ready-made forces standing very close for doing the job. In fact, such readiness is furnished by the Indian media and the communal political parties by their continuous anti-Muslim hate campaign. The Muslim houses are gutted, the women are raped and shops are set on fire. Murdering the Muslim men, women and the children remains on the top of the agenda. Probably the killers believe that such murder is the most effective way of elimination of the Muslim population in India. What is more shameful is: these kinds of heinous atrocities are committed not only by the criminals of the localities but also by the so-called educated and well-off Hindus –even by academics and other professionals. The so-called intellectuals not only help in instigating riots, but also actively engage themselves in the arson given the opportunities. A doctor from Baireli recalled how a Muslim professor was killed by his Hindu neighbour's gunshot. And this is exactly the reason why the Muslims have lost trust in Hindu neighbours and left the Hindu-dominated areas and gathered in over-crowded Muslim quarters. Since located at the centre, these areas possess little room for further expansion. So the problems are multiplying with the ever-increasing Muslim population. On the other hand, the Hindus are

establishing their absolute dominance in the new residential areas.

The Muslim migration

After 1947 the mass migration of the Indian Muslims took place primarily in two ways – external migration and internal migration. The external migration was basically exodus to Pakistan. And the goal of the internal migration was to leave villages or non-Muslim dominated areas to settle in the Muslim-dominated areas in the cities. The Indian Muslims are facing similar situations that the Jews experienced in Germany, France, Poland, Russia, and other European countries. Confronted with the persecution by the Christians, they withdrew to the ghettos in the heavily congested areas of the European cities. Likewise, every major city in India is divided into two sub-cities: the smaller congested one for the Muslims and the other one for the non-Muslims. Indeed, in every Indian city, the Hindu-Muslim dividing line is all too obvious to ignore. During the riot, this division-line becomes the natural border between the warring Hindus and Muslims. Many Ph.D. holders or university professors in Bangladesh or Pakistan may fail to understand the famous “Two-Nation Theory”; but in India, its visibility is quite distinct even to a layman. An illiterate person can see it and feel it in every moments of his existence. The current inhuman condition of the Indian Muslims explains why the movement for the creation of Pakistan was so strongly felt in Hindu majority states of India; and why the Indian Muslims were eager to migrate to Pakistan even at the cost of abandoning the dearest lands, houses, business and dear ones where their forefathers grew up and settled for hundreds of years.

The deprivation

The Jaipur city has many mosques. Most of these are old, and built during the British rule. I could not find a single mosque built in recent years. Every time of prayers, I intentionally offered my prayers at different mosques (at least at six of them) -so that I

could get the opportunity to see different people each time. I found every mosque to be old and some of them are dilapidated. The floors, the prayer mats, the walls and the ablution areas of those mosques told the story of deprivation and poverty. Jaipur is a provincial capital, but its mosques do not match even the standard of a district mosque in Bangladesh. Once I got the opportunity to offer my Eid prayer. It was one my very saddest experience during my whole stay in India. People's attire on a festive day gives a true depiction of a people's happiness and prosperity, at least on that day people do not hide their reality. At least on that day people's inner self gets an outward expression. I offered my Eid prayer in a mosque in the outskirts of Jaipur city, near to its international airport. It is also near to one of the business hubs of the city - known for its traditional Rajasthani bed-sheets and garments. On that Eid day, to my utter surprise, I could not find any joy and jubilant festivity in people who came to offer the Eid prayer. Even the mosque did not receive any special treatment for the Eid. Prisoners do not show any joy in their march, the same thing I saw in people who came for Eid prayer. Even very few people joyfully embraced each other after the Eid prayer - which is very common in any free Muslim country. Poverty was evident from their dress. The facial expression showed a very gloomy frustration. Probably poverty, alienation and marginalisation have robbed their inspiration for any joyous living and cultural expression.

In most Indian cities, the number of the mosques did not increase even though the Muslim population soared. I saw similar pictures in Delhi, Agra and Bombay. The existing mosques cannot accommodate the musallies especially on Friday and Eid days. Consequently, the Muslims become compelled to stand on the street during Friday and Eid prayers. As a consequence, this creates traffic jams in busy areas. And such traffic jams generate utter hatred in Hindu minds against the Muslims. Without understanding the real reasons of such a problem, the Hindu asks the government to stop Muslims' outpouring onto the streets. The Hindu communal organisations made huge issues out of it, but they never ask the government to allocate adequate lands for building more mosques to accommodate the ever increasing Muslim population. Whereas performing

salah in a proper mosque environment is the most fundamental right of the Muslims in any country. But in India such right goes to the bin in front of these Hindu eyes. Whenever the Muslims take their own initiative to build a new mosque they face fierce resistance from the Hindu administration. While sitting in a mosque in Jaipur, one tablighi man told me how the government stopped further extension of a mosque. Since none of the mosque in Jaipur could accommodate all the attendees during any large Tablighi Ijtema, the local Muslims took initiative to construct a two-storey big mosque in the outskirts of Jaipur city. But the government did not permit to execute the plan. Since such mosque could be a visible Muslim icon, the BJP government of Rajasthan rejected the plan on the ground that it does not want any such new icon of any Islamic significance in their state. They did not hide to remind that India is a Hindu country, so its priority is to promote icons that fit with its own identity.

At some places, the masjid surroundings had been annexed illegally by either government or non-government organisations. I witnessed the process of dispossessing all the surrounding land of a mosque located near the Jaipur international airport by the government's Public Works Department (P.W.D.). The imam of the mosque hailed from Bihar province. The mosque was built during the rule of the British. There is a residence in the mosque premise to provide accommodation for the imam, but that has been occupied by the employees of P.W.D. I saw many people gossiping in that room. The imam now sleeps right on the floor of the mosque. On the huge waqf compound of the mosque lie the worn-out metallic tools belonging to the P.W.D. After the prayer, I talked with the attendees at the mosque. Knowing that I was a Bangladeshi, their enthusiasm got quite a bit of boost. I had the opportunity to ask them many questions. They also wanted to know many things about Bangladesh. At the time, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was ruling Rajasthan. There were no riots but oppression on the Muslims was taking place in other ways. The educated Muslims had no chance to secure jobs. They did not have other alternatives but to accept low-paying jobs at the factories owned by the Hindu businessmen. As a

result, they have little zeal for higher education.

While strolling along the streets of Ajmer, I came across a retired headmaster of a local secondary school. All four of his children were university graduate but no one got any job. He lamented, "The Muslims have no other alternatives but to do menial chores under the Hindus. Some are living from hand to mouth by begging at the majar [shrine]". We were discussing while standing on the main street in front of the majar. The shopkeepers were doing brisk trade on both sides of the road. Most of the buyers were Muslims travellers –many from other parts of India and many from Bangladesh. The headmaster continued, "Here you can see hundreds of shops but none of the shops are owned by the Muslims – not even the shops that sell prayer rugs and tasbees [counting beads] even though the Muslims comprise 40% of the population of the city of Ajmer. Even in Muradabad, Aligarh, Baireli where Muslims are somewhat successful in businesses, their shops and houses were burnt many times under the pretext of different flimsy excuses. This is how attempts were undertaken to drive the Muslims away from their established position in business. I talked with several shopkeepers at Agra – the city that boasts the Taj Mahal. They sell miniature marble replicas of Taj Mahal. Most of their highly educated relatives did not get any job. The Muslims can't even get near to the ladder to socio-economic development let alone climbing up that ladder. Stagnation prevails over their entire existence. Apart from business, the Muslims are also being gradually driven away from the higher education sector.

The policy of exclusion

Aligarh Muslim University was founded by the Muslims, with Muslims donation from all over India. After India's independence, new laws had been passed to curtail the admission of Muslim students and introduced the admission of the Hindu students. The logic shown is that the Hindus must have equal rights of admission in every institution in secular India even in Aligarh. As a result, the Aligarh Muslim University has lost its Muslim identity. Instead, the Hindu

fundamentalists of the BJP have achieved a stronghold. These days, the city is remembered more for brutal anti-Muslim skirmishes than for the name of the university. I heard from an ex-Aligarh Muslim doctor about his story of how he was deprived from getting admitted into the post-graduation program due to the meddling of ever-increasing Hindu faculty members. He said that Hindus comprise more than half of the number of teachers of this traditional Muslim University. Whenever some Indian Muslims working in the Middle-East countries take initiative to build schools, colleges or madrasahs at their own cost for the backward Muslims, the Hindu media starts storms of propaganda against such venture. BJP and other communal parties assume an active role against establishment of such Muslim schools. They complain that an uneven competition has been started which will help the Muslims to go ahead of the Hindu. They demand equal opportunity for the admission of the Hindu students at these institutions which are built at the sole expense of the Muslims' hard earned money. The government yields to their demands. Consequently, not only the Hindu students get admitted, but also the Hindu teachers are given appointments. The situation is such that the Muslims can't grow up in the way they want. Everywhere, including at the religious institutions, there are government interferences.

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