

Call for Justice —— न्याय की पुकार

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

After passing of The Citizenship Amendment Bill in December, 2019, a wave of protests gripped the nation and a couple of months later, New Delhi was in the headlines for large scale violence, reportedly triggered by clashes between anti-CAA and pro-CAA groups in the North-East Delhi, all while the President of the United States was in the city for a bilateral visit.

The unresolved socio-political issues pending for prolonged periods were eventually resolved including Triple Talaq, Article 370, and the Ram Janmabhoomi during 2019 which somewhat brought out the anger simmering in several radical groups which were working against the interests of India and its people. Though CAA did not have any adverse ramification on any citizen of the country irrespective of cast, religion or community and the anti-CAA radical groups were losing ground amongst the public and therefore, to keep the issue burning, a series of narratives using multiple platforms, targeting different classes of the society, were spread in a synchronised manner which ultimately pushed the Muslim community into a corner and then, through mobilisation of resources, financial, manpower & others in a concerted manner, Muslim in the North East were pushed into riots.

Various radical groups such as Pinjra Tod¹, Jamia Coordination Committee, Alumni Association of Jamia Milia Islamia, Popular Front of India (PFI), etc., and the local politicians from AAP, suddenly, after election in Delhi, accelerated misinformation, hate speech campaigns using Anti-CAA as a basis. Since people in these areas are not much educated and also poverty ridden, members of these groups penetrated into the community and started campaigning in small groups, brain washing, programming and wiring them to achieve their illegal designs.

Further, in order to augment the hate speech narrative and map it with emotions, fear and religion, these radical groups managed to get the narratives delivered from the Mosques in daily meetings through Imams and also through the Azaan, broadcasted from loudspeakers in these localities multiple times daily.

After pre-planning and organising, these radical groups executed the attacks using heavy quantities of stones, petrol bombs, catapults, country made guns, acids packets, etc.

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¹ OpIndia, Delhi Riots_ 'Women's rights group' Pinjra Tod accused of inciting violence, (26/02/2020), https://www.opindia.com/2020/02/pinjra-tod-inciting-riots-delhi-road-block-anti-caa/

Further, a large number of outsiders, approx. 7000, largely in the age group of 15-35 joined the locals and led the attacks. The Bhim Army also joined hands with these groups and mobilized their community to join anti CAA protestors by mingling the issue of reservation in promotion with the anti CAA protest.

The Enforcement Directorate reported that the anti-CAA protest were funded by the Popular Front of India (PFI) and the leaders of Congress and the Aam Aadmi Party were in touch with the PFI chief and Rs. 120 crores were deposited in 73 bank accounts related to the PFI for execution of the anti-CAA drive.

The timing of the attacks, starting from 23/02/2020, was very well meticulously planned in advance as evident from Umar Khalid's comments dated 17/02/2020 in which he explicitly mentioned that the riots would take place during the visit of the US President.² The radical groups have decided the target date of visit of the US President and accordingly mobilized the resources and mapped the anti-CAA narratives focused to execute attacks and achieve the desired impact.

The objective of the attack was to create a permanent atmosphere of hostility between the Hindus and Muslims and since the entire CAA episode was painted as an Anti Muslim campaign, these radical groups had no choice but to exploit the Muslim community for their ulterior objective of dividing the country on communal lines. The Hindu community was totally unaware about the attacks while the attackers belonging to the Muslim community meticulously planned. The testimonies of a few of the witnesses/ victims reveal that on 24/02/2020, Muslims school were closed and even the parents of Muslims children withdrew their wards from Hindu schools at around 10:00 a.m., prior to the attacks.

The violence ended up taking lives of 53 people including one IB official and two Delhi Police personals, injured more than 200 people. Additionally, damage was endured by 92 houses, 57 shops, 500 vehicles, 6 godowns, 2 schools, 4 factories, and 4 religious places, to a tune of Rs. 1000 crores. More than 718 FIRs have been registered and a total of 3400 people have been detained or arrested. ³

³ Economic Times, Delhi riots: 718 cases registered, 3,400 people detained or arrested, (14/03/2020), https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/delhi-riots-718-cases-registered-3400-people-detained-or-arrested/articleshow/74629509.cms.

² OpIndia Staff, Watch: Delhi riots pre-planned? Umar Khalid seen inciting people to take to the streets against Modi govt while Trump visits, (02/03/2020), https://www.opindia.com/2020/03/umar-khalid-jnutukde-gang-delhi-riots-muslim-caa-nrc-violence-trump-visit/.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- i. Compensation to victims for the loss of life, damage of properties should be given without delay and without any discrimination.
- ii. Initiate Confidence Building measure to restore the normalcy and also to prevent the outflow of people affected by the riots.
- iii. To collect electronic evidences from the public, national / international media to identify and prosecute the offenders.
- iv. To identify the perpetrators of misinformation on social media & prosecute them.
- v. Trial of the riot cases should be expedited in the designated courts.
- vi. Efforts should have been made by the Police machinery to collect intelligence beforehand.
- vii. To investigate into the role of terrorist/Islamic outfits, Bangladeshi groups through Rohingyas, who were behind fermenting the riots.
- viii. To identify the organisations/outfits/persons who financed these activities and to take strict action against them.
 - ix. To initiate for removing the wrong apprehension of the people about CAA.
 - x. Diligent monitoring of social media on real time basis by the Govt. agencies to prosecute the offenders circulating misinformation.
 - xi. Intermediary/social media platform 'WhatsApp' providing for anonymity in communication to be blocked.
- xii. To identify fake news websites circulating hate speeches, misinformation campaigns and to prosecute them.
- xiii. Considering involvement of PFI, ISI & other inter-state and international groups, investigation must be done at NIA level.
- xiv. To take effective steps to prevent the reoccurrence of such incidents in future in any part of the country.

CAUSE AND CALL FOR JUSTICE

The trust is registered in the name and style of "Call for Justice", and has its office at New Delhi, The objects of the trust are as under:-

- i. To promote by all appropriate means within its purview the social, economic, and cultural development and uplift the socially, economically and educationally weak, disadvantaged and marginalized sections of society.
- ii. To promote by all appropriate means within its purview and uplift citizens who are adversely affected or suffering in health, education, environment, human rights and any other incidental problems.
- iii. To promote, protect and defend human rights and freedom, establish supremacy of law, to implement vigorously the concept of "Justice to All" (i.e. victims, accused, investigating agencies, persons concerned and involved in administration of justice and all related concerns) keeping in mind the principle "hate the sin but not the sinner".
- iv. To spread awareness of law, health and education, environment, human rights by way of publications, media, seminars, lectures etc.
- v. Without in any way limiting the generality of the main purposes stated above but always inconformity with the said main purposes, there are other objectives of the trust over and above referred herein above.
- vi. One of the objects as can be seen is to take suitable steps for implementing justice and maintaining peace.

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Chapter-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Preview

Consequent to the passing of CAA in Dec. 2019, protests led by various national and state political parties based on the misinformation campaigning, gained the momentum; however, it was continuously diminishing as the ramifications of the Act were being elucidated by the Government in various media and also on the social media platforms. Despite aggressive lobbying by the anti-CAA protestors, the international community also did not extend social, moral or political support to them and therefore, the protests which rose as a bubble immediately got fused theanti-CAA protestors lost the support and attraction from masses; anxiety and frustration was gradually creeping in as the brain behind these anti CAA protestors were basically Anti National, extremist Islamic groups and other radical groups which had developed a grudge against the Government due to the revocation of Article 370, Triple Talaq issue and resolution of Ram JanmaBhoomi dispute, and these groups were waiting for the opportunity to thwart the Modi Government. Hence, these groups conspired together and in a well pre-planned and organized manner executed attacks in a targeted manner on the Hindu community, as explained in detail hereinafter, from the testimonies of the victims and other relevant evidences.

1.2. Misinformation Campaign

As CAA did not have any adverse ramification on any citizen of the country irrespective of cast, religion or community, the anti-CAA radical groups were losing ground amongst the public and therefore, to keep the issue burning, a series of narratives using multiple platforms, targeting different classes of the society, were spread in a synchronised manner which ultimately pushed the Muslim community into a corner and then, through mobilisation of resources, financial, manpower & others in a concerted manner, Muslim in the North East were pushed into riots.

After the notification of CAA, national and regional political parties in an aggressive manner, despite having the knowledge that the CAA does not impact any citizen of the country or displaces them in any manner, resorted to

misinformation campaigns, inflammatory speeches, rumors, inciting contents, etc., targeted to divide the country on communal lines.

Some Inciting Remarks on Anti and Pro CAA by Politicians escalating North-East Violence

- "It is duty of all of us to come out of our houses and do andolan," Sonia Gandhi had said in a speech. She had called the anti-CAA protests "aar-paarkiladai". 1
- "Don't be afraid. Congress party is standing with you. Together, we have to fight...", Rahul Gandhi had said in a speech.²
- Mani Shankar Aiyar, a congress leader while addressing the public at Shaheen Bagh on January 14th, 2020 said that "I am ready to make whatever sacrifice is needed. Now let's see whose hands are stronger -- ours or those killers".³
- "Deshke gaddaro ko goli maro sa**n ko", Anurag Thakur in an election rally in January 27th, 2020."⁴
- AIMIM leader Waris Pathan on 20th February 2020, while giving a public speech said: They tell us that we've kept our women in the front only the lionesses have come out & you're already sweating. You can understand what would happen if all of us come together. 15 cr hain magar 100 ke upar bhaari hain, ye yaad drakh lena.⁵
- "We will not do anything till Donald Trump leaves India, we would not even listen
 to you if the roads are not vacated. Get the jaffrabad and Chand Bagh roads cleared,
 we are requesting you, after that, we will have to hit the streets."- Kapil Mishra on
 February, 23rd, 2020 at Maujpur Chowk.⁶

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¹AP Archive, Sonia Gandhi addresses anti-government rally, (19/12/2019) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=diVknnIHktY

Supra

³ Munish Chandra Pandey, India Today, Congress leader Mani Shankar Aiyar visits ShaheenBagh, creates row with 'kaatil' remark, (14/01/2020), https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/congress-leader-mani-shankar-aiyar-visits-shaheen-bagh-creates-row-with-kaatil-remark-1636863-2020-01-14.

⁴ Press Trust of India, Delhi polls: EC seeks report on Anurag Thakur's 'deshkegaddaron...' chant at rally, (28/01/2020), https://www.indiatoday.in/elections/delhi-assembly-polls-2020/story/delhi-polls-ec-seeks-report-on-anurag-thakur-s-desh-ke-gaddaron-chant-at-rally-1640760-2020-01-28.

⁵ Scroll Staff, Watch: '15 crore can outweigh 100 crore,' said AIMIM leader WarisPathan in controversial CAA speech, (21/02/2020), https://scroll.in/video/953832/watch-15-crore-can-outweigh-100-crore-said-aimim-leader-waris-pathan-in-controversial-caa-speech.

⁶ India Today Web Desk, Won't listen after 3 days: Kapil Mishra's ultimatum to Delhi Police to vacate Jaffrabad roads, (23/02/2020), https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/won-t-listen-after-3-days-bjp-kapil-mishra-ultimatum-to-delhi-police-to-vacate-jaffrabad-chand-bagh-roads-1649271-2020-02-23.

• "After 1947, we never fought our battles on the streets, had we taken to the streets after one clash, no other clash would have happened. Today you are lower than Dalits in this country. Muslims have ruled this country for a 1000 years, how can a Muslim be lower than a Dalit?......" -AAP MLA Amanatullah Khan on (around 26th February 2020)⁷

However, over a period of time, the momentum created by these false narrative was losing shine and with a bigger conspiracy in their mind, these radical groups targeted / focused the narrative, through multiple platforms, on various segments of people in specific areas including North-East Delhi, in order to convert the hatred into physical violence and provided the requisite support in terms of logistic, finance and planning/management of subversive activities.

Various radical groups such as Pinjra Tod, Jamia Coordination Committee, Alumni Association of Jamia Milia Islamia, Popular Front of India (PFI), etc., and the local politicians from AAP, suddenly, after election in Delhi, accelerated misinformation, hate speech campaigns using Anti-CAA as a basis. Since people in these areas are not much educated and also poverty ridden, members of these groups penetrated into the community and started campaigning in small groups, brain washing, programming and wiring them to achieve their illegal designs. Further as majority of these people are poor and daily wage workers, these radical groups started paying them money to substitute for their earnings and to keep the momentum going which otherwise would not have survive even a few days.

<u>Umar Khaild Speech on 17th Feb 2020 Suggesting planned</u> violence during US President visit⁸

• "The CAA has been brought to harm Muslims. The people should show the government its 'Aukaat', and take to the streets to throw it out. If enough people take to the streets, first the CAA will go, then the NPR and then NRC, eventually the government will also go". 9

⁸ Republic World, BJP alleges Umar Khalid of Inciting Violence in Speech Before US President's arrival to India,(02.03.2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MXzPC2dyGQs.

⁷ Aakash, https://twitter.com/Indiaaakash/status/1232712015925268480

⁹ OpIndia Staff, Watch: Delhi riots pre-planned? Umar Khalid seen inciting people to take to the streets against Modi govt while Trump visits, (02/03/2020), https://www.opindia.com/2020/03/umar-khalid-jnutukde-gang-delhi-riots-muslim-caa-nrc-violence-trump-visit/.

• He also invokes the false narratives of 'targeted mob lynching' against Muslims, then goes on to say that when the Muslims did not revolt against the Ayodhya judgement by Supreme Court, the government took it for granted that they can bring any law against Muslims. 10

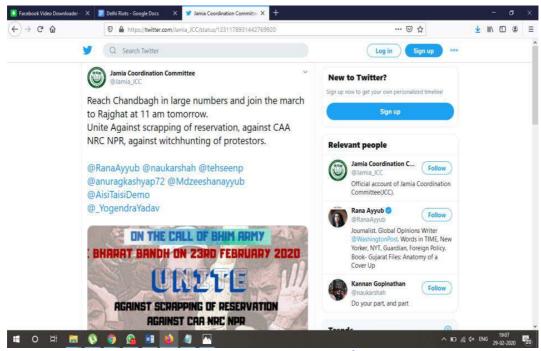


Figure 1: Jamia Coordination Committee tweeted on 22nd February 2020, calling for mobilization to join March to Rajghat against CAA

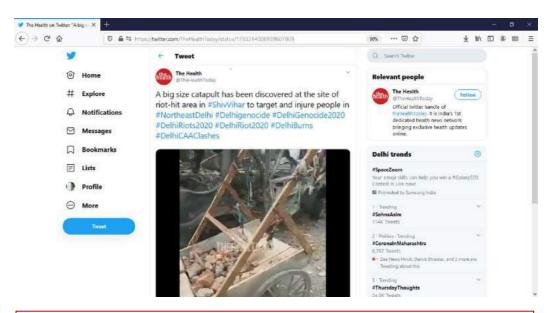
Further, in order to augment the hate speech narrative and map it with emotions, fear and religion, these radical groups managed to get the narratives delivered from the Mosques in daily meetings through Imams and also through the Azaan, broadcasted from loudspeakers in these localities multiple times daily.

1.3. Preplanning for Attack

The attacks were executed in a targeted manner for which the targets were preidentified and heavy quantities of stones, petrol bombs, catapults, country made guns, acids packets, etc. were used. The huge quantities of these weapons cannot be accumulated or created instantly but over a period of time and requires resources. Further, a large number of outsiders, approx. 7000, largely in the age

¹⁰ Supra

group of 15-35 and trained in disruptive activities, joined the locals and led the attacks.



Eye-witnesses when interviewed revealed that:

- A lady testified that a Muslim woman asked her to vacate the school as 7000 persons were coming to that area before committee that a Muslim fruit vendor disclosed.¹¹
- Another lady told that nearly 7000 persons were gathered at Idgah and were ready for the final war.¹²

The Enforcement Directorate reported that the anti-CAA protest were funded by the Popular Front of India (PFI) and the leaders of Congress and the Aam Aadmi Party were in touch with the PFI chief¹³ and 120 crore rupees were deposited in 73 bank accounts related to the PFI and the Rehab India Foundation and each deposit was deliberately kept under Rs.50000/- to suppress the identity of the depositor. It was further revealed that Rs. 1.05 crores, out of the

¹² Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 1-3-2020

 $^{^{11}}$ Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_354 $\,$

¹³ OpIndia, ShaheenBagh anti-CAA protests funded by Islamist PFI, chief Mohammad Parvez Ahmed's links to AAP's Sanjay Singh and Congress' Udit Raj emerge, (06/02/2020), https://www.opindia.com/2020/02/shaheen-bagh-anti-caa-protests-aap-sanjay-singh-congress-ed-bank-accounts-office-cash-violence-riots/.

total funds, were deposited in 15 bank accounts belonging to the PFI and one-third of the cash was kept at its Shaheen Bagh headquarters. 14

The Bhim Army also joined hands with these groups ¹⁵ and mobilized their community to join anti CAA protestors by mingling the issue of reservation in promotion with the anti CAA protest. ¹⁶

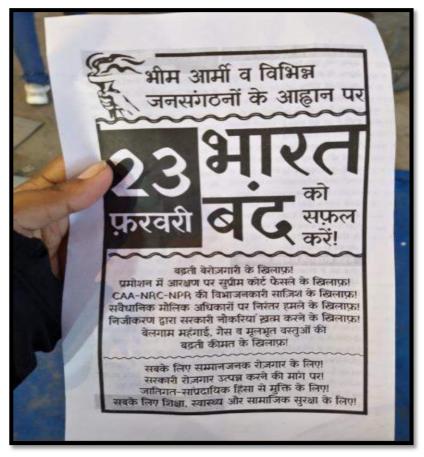


Figure 2: Bhim Army pamphlet calling for Bharat Band on 23 Feb, 2020.

¹⁴Times Now Bureau, ED drops bomb shells, links PFI-Congress-AAP with ShaheenBagh protest before Delhi polls,(06/02/2020), https://www.timesnownews.com/india/article/ed-drops-bombshell-links-pfi-congress-aap-with-shaheen-bagh-protest-before-delhi-polls/550137.

¹⁵https://twitter.com/BhimArmyCheif/status/1219870680700686337.

¹⁶India Today, Bhim Army Chief Chandrashekhar Azad taken into police custody from Jama Masjid, (21/12/2019), https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/bhim-army-chief-chandrashekhar-azad-taken-into-police-custody-1630254-2019-12-21.



Figure 3: Bhim Army Chief Chandrashekhar tweeted message on 22nd Jan 2020 that he is joining fighting place "Shaheen Bagh".

The manner of execution of attacks, kind of advance preparation which was done and resources which were mobilized and their sources clearly indicates that it was much broader conspiracy involving active participation of various radical groups and seems to have support across the borders. Subsequent to the riots, a couple who are members of the PFI have been arrested and their link with Islamic State module is also alleged, which indicate that a bigger conspiracy does indeed exist. In the midst of the riots, the ISIS had also given a call to Indian Muslims to unite and join their Jihadist cause and had also used a violent picture from the riots which had surfaced on social media. In the midst of the riots which had surfaced on social media.

1.4. Timings of Attacks

The timing of the attacks, starting from 23.02.2020, was very well meticulously planned in advance as evident from Umar Khalid's comments and also mobilisation of manpower and resources done before hand. These radical groups who failed in their endeavour to politicise the issue or to use the same for their

 $\frac{\text{protests;} \% 20 \text{Press} \% 20 \text{Information} \% 20 \text{Bureau,} \% 20 \text{GOI,} \% 20 \text{Press} \% 20 \text{Release,} \% 20 (11.03; .2020; 8:41 \text{PM})}{\text{1.03 constraints}} \frac{\text{PRID}}{\text{1.03 constraints}} \frac{1606053}{\text{1.03 constraints}} \frac{1}{\text{1.03 constraints$

¹⁷ IANS, Radical Islamic Org PFI Operative Danish Arrested For Spreading Fake Propaganda In Anti-CAA Protests,(09/03/2020), https://swarajyamag.com/insta/radical-islamic-org-pfi-operative-danish-arrested-for-spreading-fake-propaganda-in-anti-caa-

¹⁸ The Federal, Using Delhi Riot Image ISIS asks Indian Muslims to Join Jihad, (28/02/2020), https://thefederal.com/news/is-makes-poster-of-delhi-riot-image-incites-indian-muslims-to-join-them/.

ulterior motive and de-stabilize the government, were looking for an opportunity and visit of the President of USA, Donald Trump, provided them with the right opportunity. As the US president holds a unique position in the world because of the US prominence in international politics, the World Community follows him and anything spoken by him immediately reorients the political priorities of countries / organisations / groups surrounding such issues.

The radical groups were aware that the kind of anti-CAA protest going on in Delhi or India would not be of any consequence or would not be even noticed by the US President at the time of his visit, and therefore, these radical groups conspired to create a giganticbang which could not have been possible without indulging in arson, looting, blazing, casting injuries and fatalities. These groups have decided target date and accordingly mobilized the resources, manpower, finance, firearms etc. and mapped the narratives at the thread base level focused to execute attacks and achieve the desired impact. The rationale behind choosing the North-East district was multi-fold; firstly, it is densely populated so the impact would be more and disastrous, secondly, the area is having mixed population so the hate speech would aggravate into conflict easily, thirdly, bringing outsiders was convenient because of direct connectivity with the Ghaziabad border and fourthly, community in the area is poor and uneducated wherein, creating a disastrous impact by manipulating the narrative is quite easy as compared to any other area in Delhi.

1.5. Targeted attacks on Hindu Community

The objective of the attack was to create a permanent atmosphere of hostility between the Hindus and Muslims and since the entire CAA episode was painted as an Anti Muslim campaign, these radical groups had no choice but to exploit the Muslim community for their ulterior objective of dividing the country on communal lines. However, these radical groups made an attempt to mingle Dalit community with Muslims groups and took into confidence the Bhim Army, whose chairman, Chandrashekhar Azad, aggressively spread the narrative of joining the anti-CAA Muslim protestor in North East Delhi. However, it failed to yield any impact.

The Hindu community was totally unaware about the attacks while the attackers belonging to the Muslim community meticulously planned not only the manpower and other resources but also the timing as well as the pre-defined targets. The testimonies of a few of the witnesses/ victims reveal that on 24.02.2020, Muslims

schools were closed and even the parents of Muslims children withdrew their wards from Hindu schools at around 10:00 a.m., prior to the attacks.

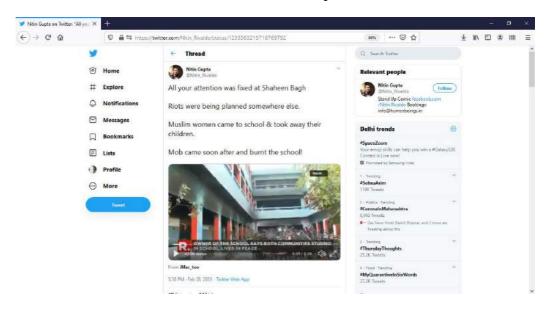




Figure 4: Nitin Gupta interviewed the principal of DRP Convent School who stated that Muslims didn't send their kids to school on the day of rioting.

Many persons during their testimony claimed that all the events that took place were pre-planned and consequently the closing of Muslim schools on the particular days was one of the events leading to the execution of riots. Parents did

not sent their wards to schools on 24th February 2020 as holiday was declared a day prior, and Muslim schools of the locality were closed. 19

It is evident from the statements of the eye-witnesses that particular time was chosen for the attacks when there was no men present at the houses and only ladies along with their children were there to defend themselves up from the rioters ²⁰

¹⁹ Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0283, MVI_0250, and MVI_0258.

²⁰ Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0284, MVI_0354 and 1-3-2020.

Chapter-2

COMMITTEE & ITS APPROACH

2.1. Constitution of Committee

The recent communal riots in north-east parts of Delhi are a matter of serious concern. It is believed that detailed and thorough investigation is being carried out by the police and other investigative agencies. However, given the nature and seriousness of the communal tension, Call for Justice has constituted a Fact-Finding Committee inviting persons of eminence and impeccable integrity, in order to prevent such incidents in future and to promote confidence-building in community. The members of the committee are drawn from the area of Judiciary, Police, Administration, Legal, Social Workers and other professional who have long standing and exposures to all walks of life including the issue at hand so that the findings of the committee would be meaningful, have objectivity& rationale, and realism from the point of view of all the stakeholders of the society. The Committee has been constituted comprising the following:

- i. Justice Ambadas Joshi (Retired Judge, Bombay High Court)—
 Chairperson
- ii. Sh. M.L. Meena (IAS Retd.) Member
- iii. Sh. VivekDubey (IPS Retd.) Member
- iv. Dr. T.D. Dogra (Former Director AIIMS) Member
- v. Smt. Neera Mishra (Social Entrepreneur) Member
- vi. Sh. NeerajAarora (Advocate) Member Secretary

2.2. Approach to Fact Finding

The Committee has adopted a holistic approach covering the riots from various perspectives including but not limited to the collection of information from the victims, Eye-witnesses, local leaders, residential welfare committee, places of incident and social media such as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, etc., comprising of the contents generated in contemporary manner at the time of the riots and also,

consequential impacts including the inputs by various stakeholders. The steps taken by the committee includes:

- i. Field visit to some of the 'most affected and damaged localities;
- ii. Interviewing the victims, eye-witnesses with respect to the incidents, attackers and consequential outcomes;
- iii. Collection of Audio and Video recordings from the eye witness, victim and other actors;
- iv. Compilation of the relevant & contemporary material in the form of videos, photographs, screenshots, messages from the social media platforms including Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, You Tube, etc.;
- v. Analysing the news reports published by media in the online and physical space.

The committee has given its inferences from the analysis of the facts collected from various resources referred above and mapping the same with the political, social, religious & sectorial fabrics, as prevailing at the relevant time. In order to bring the authenticity & reliability of the inference, the effort was made to corroborate the findings from multiple sources and the endeavor was to support the findings with corroborative material from different type of evidences such as oral testimonies, images, audio/video or news reports etc. However, as the detailed investigation is being carried out by the law enforcement agencies and is also only feasible with requisite investigating power, the finding of the present reports are more of prima facie nature getting its source from the available material and interpretation of the member of the committee who are highly skilled, has a relevant experience and practical exposure to the related& connected fields.

Chapter-3

CAA AND ITS CONSTITUTIONALITY

3.1. Constitution & CAA

The Constitution of India, adopted on 26 November 1949, is perhaps one of the most liberal documents which affirm the idea of India, with the Preamble to the Constitution making a powerful statement of intent. The words are indeed stirring and bring out the grandeur of a process of thought which encompassed a set of beliefs and principles that encapsulated the idea of Dharma and Righteousness and which have, since ages, been the bedrock of India's civilizational ethos.

The Preamble to the Constitution, when it was adopted read as under:

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity;

and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

The words SOCIALIST and SECULAR were added by the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution in 1976, to make the preamble read as "sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic" and the words "unity of the nation" was also changed to read "unity and integrity of the nation".

At its very commencement, hence, the idea of India being a state for all communities and for all religious groups was enshrined in the Constitution. This, of course, was applicable to citizens of India and not to non-citizens. The partition of India, however, happened on religious grounds and Pakistan was created on the basis of religion, as a Muslim state. This left a large number of Hindus, Christians, Sikhs and other religious minorities in Pakistan, who were vulnerable and whose very existence was threatened.

In 1955, the Government of India passed the Citizenship Act which provided two means for foreigners to acquire Indian citizenship. People from the earlier undivided India, who had come across from Pakistan as refugees were given a means of registration after seven years of residency in India. Those from other countries were given a means of naturalisation after twelve years of residency. The Citizenship Act was further amended after the Assam Accord of 1955, when the Rajiv Gandhi led government agreed to identify foreign citizens, remove them from the electoral roles, and expel them from the country. The Citizenship Act was further amended in 1992, 2003, 2005 and 2015.

In December 2003, the Vajpayee led NDA government passed the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2003, wherein illegal immigrants were made ineligible to apply for citizenship by registration or by naturalisation. Their children too were declared as illegal immigrants. The 2003 amendment also mandated the Government of India to create and maintain a National Register of Citizens. The Bill received support from all sections of India's polity, with the then leader of the opposition, Dr. Manmohan Singh stating, during the debate in Parliament that conditions for grant of citizenship to refugees belonging to the minority communities in Bangladesh and other countries who had faced persecution, should be made liberal.

3.2. Citizenship Amendment Act

After the BJP led NDA alliance came to power in 2014, a Bill was introduced in parliament to amend the citizenship law, to make the non-Muslim migrants from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh eligible for Indian citizenship. The Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha but could not be passed in the Rajya Sabha. It was reintroduced in the Lok Sabha on 19th, July 2016 as the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2016²¹ and thereafter referred to a Joint Parliamentary Committee on 12th, August 2016, which submitted its report to Parliament on 7th, January 2019. While the Bill was passed by the Lower House on 8th, January 2019, it was pending for consideration by the Upper House, but lapsed consequent to the dissolution of 16th Lok Sabha.

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²¹ Explained Desk, Explained: Why the Citizenship Amendment Bill is dead, for now, (13/02/2019), https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-why-the-citizenship-amendment-bill-is-dead-for-now-5582573/

With the formation of the 17th LokSabha, the Union Cabinet cleared the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2019, on 4th December 2019 for introduction in Parliament. The Bill was introduced in the 17th LokSabha on 9 December 2019 and was passed on 10 December 2019, with 311 MPs voting in favor and 80 against the Bill. On 11thDecember 2019, the bill was passed by the RajyaSabha with 125 votes in favor and 105 votes against it. After receiving assent from the President of India, the Bill became an Act on 12th December 2019.

Protests have been raised by some sections of society on the Citizens (Amendment) Act (CAA), mostly by people who are unaware of what the Act actually entails. Imaginary fears have been aroused and despite repeated assurances by the government, including by Prime Minister Modi himself, that the Act is not intended against any Citizen of India, but is only intended to grant citizenship to a small group of people who have faced religious persecution in the Islamic Republics of Pakistan and Afghanistan and in Bangladesh which has Islam as its state religion, the protests continue in some parts of the country. This gives rise to the belief that indeed, the protests are motivated, with a hidden agenda behind them.

It is worth noting that the CAA does not violate any provision of the Constitution, as is being suggested by some. Here, false concerns have been flagged that the CAA is in violation of Articles 14, 15 and 21 of the Constitution of India. The CAA simply defines who can be considered an immigrant and has reduced the time period of legitimate stay for consideration for citizenship from 11 years to 5 years. A clause has also been introduced that such people cannot be prosecuted. This in no way is violative of Article 14, which states "The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India". The Indian citizen faces no discrimination on this count. With respect to the illegal immigrants, the CAA again is not violative of Article 14 as the concept of equality applies to those who are similarly placed. The CAA is for persecuted minorities from Islamic countries and all such minorities are being treated equally. Article 15 is only applicable to Indian citizens, so its provisions have not been violated. Similarly, Article 21, which states "No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to a procedure established by law" has also not been violated. There was also no infirmity with respect to the passing of the Bill as it was done after due diligence and debate and it was passed by both Houses of Parliament. In any case, whether the CAA is constitutionally

valid is a matter which has been placed before the Apex Court and therefore, it would behave all concerned not to pre-judge the issue.

It is also being alleged that the CAA violates India's secular character, as enshrined in the preamble to the Indian Constitution. It does not take away any rights of Indian citizens and has only been enacted to give citizenship rights to the hapless minorities of three Islamic countries who faced religious persecution, being non-Muslim. No less a person than Mahatma Gandhi had given such an assurance to the Hindus and Sikhs who had been left behind in Pakistan due to the division of the country on a communal basis. This assurance was also repeated by Mr. Nehru, so it is not something new. The CAA thus seeks to address a historical wrong and provide some element of relief to a small group of people who have been eking out an existence in India. It was not their fault that they were forced to stay behind in an Islamic country due to force of circumstances. They deserve empathy and support and that is what the CAA intends to give. In any case, the CAA does not prevent Muslims from other countries getting Indian citizenship for which separate provisions of the Citizenship Act exist.

However, consistent misinterpretation and misinformation caused misapprehension among the masses and protests began to surface across the nation. Various social groups, political activists, student groups initiated protests at various places around the entire country and political parties also got to the ground. Day long sit in demonstrations were conducted at a number of places in the national capital and afterwards, round the clock sit in protests were undertaken at KhajuriKhas, Seelampur, and most notably, at ShaheenBagh. In the fourth week of February, citing inconvenience to the public due to continued blocking of roads, a group of CAA supporters began to protest against the protesters.

Chapter-4

TERRITORIAL DIMENSIONS

4.1. Area

The North-East District of Delhi is spread over an area of 62 sq. kms and pertinently, has a population density of 36,155 per sq. km, the highest in any district of Delhi. The growth rate of population is also one of the highest and stands at 26.8 percent.²²

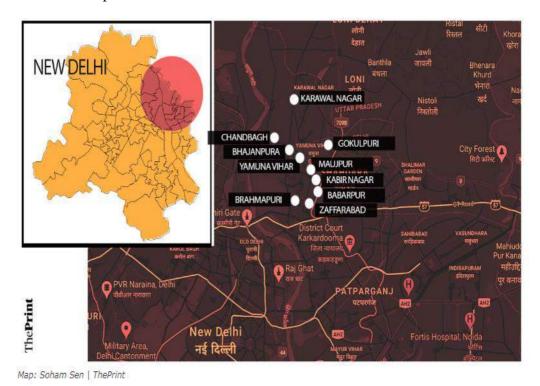


Figure 5: A map depicting the North-East District of Delhi and the riot affected areas.

4.2. Constituencies

The North-East district of Delhi has one Member of Parliament, namely Shri Manoj Kumar Tiwari (BJP), and 10 members of Legislative Assembly. The constituencies in the Vidhan Sabha, and the elected representatives are as follows-

²² Primary Data Abstract, NCT of Delhi, Census of India 2011, pg.2, (28/07/2011).

I. Burai : SanjeevJha : (AAP)

II. Timarpur : Dilip Pandey : (AAP)

III. Seemapuri : Rajendra Pal Gautam : (AAP)

IV. Rohtas Nagar : Jitender Mahajan : (BJP)

V. Seelampur : Abdul Rehman : (AAP)

VI. Ghonda : Ajay Mahawar : (BJP)

VII. Babarpur : GopalRai : (AAP)

VIII. Gokulpuri : Surendra Kumar : (AAP)

IX. Mustafabad : Mohd. Haji Yunus : (AAP)

X. Karawal Nagar : Mohan Singh Bisht : (BJP)

4.3. Population

The Muslim population of the North East District, Delhi, as per the Primary Census Abstract, Census of India 2011²³, is as follows:

Total Population : 22,41,624

Hindu Population : 15,29,337 (68.22%)

Muslim Population : 6,57,585 (29.34)

The affected areas as shown in the above chart comprises of the regions which are either having the mixed population of Hindus and Muslims or at the intersection of the predominant Hindu or Muslim regions.

4.4. Criminal Hotbed

Seelampur is dominated by the Muslim community and it was the hotbed of the first wave of anti-CAA protests. The area saw violence, arson, stone-pelting and

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²³Supra 8.

attack on civilians as well as policemen, on December 17th, 2019, and anti-CAA protesters flooded the streets and pelting stones. Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC) buses, school buses, and private vehicles were vandalised, amidst chants of "Allahu Akbar". Consequently, the Delhi Police conducted a flag march in Seelampur on 20th December, 2019, and drone surveillance was deployed. It is pertinent to note that the area is inhabited by Bangladeshi migrants²⁴ as well & in December, 2018, the NIA had cracked down on an Islamic State (IS)- inspired module operating in Jaffrabad and had arrested five persons. The NIA had also recovered 120 clocks, 25 kg explosives, 100 phones, 135 SIM cards and a country made rocket launcher. Another member of Pro-IS module Harkat-Ul-Harb-E-Islam was also arrested in April, 2019, for involvement in the procurement of arms and ammunition to carry out terrorist acts in an around NCR. In January 2020, the Special Cell of the Delhi Police arrested three IS terrorists from Wazirabad area after an encounter.²⁵

Apart from these, the victims of the riots also point their fingers towards outsiders for rioting in their area. ²⁶ Many blame the flood of illegal immigrants who have brought rapid demographic change and steep spike in crimes.

Although the riots were painted with the colors of spontaneous mob violence by many, a magnified view indicates that the demographic change in the North East District made it a vulnerable and preferred target to incite and indulge in violence. The previous incidents in Seelampur and Jaffrabad area soon after the CAA was enacted, and the evidences which has surfaced now indicate that the riots had long been in the making.

²⁴ Outlook India, Bangladeshi Muslims behind Seelampur violence: Report, (17/12/2019), https://www.outlookindia.com/newsscroll/bangladeshi-muslims-behind-seelampur-violence-report/1688219.

report/1688219.

25 Yaajnaseni, Swarajya, Explained: Northeast Delhi Riots—From Terror Hotbed and Influx Of Bangladeshi Illegals, To 70-Day Siege And Economic Chaos, (29/02/2020), https://swarajyamag.com/politics/explained-northeast-delhi-riots-from-terror-hotbed-and-influx-of-bangladeshi-illegals-to-70-day-siege-and-economic-chaos

²⁶ Testimony recorded through video by committee on 01.03.2020, 1-3-2020.

Chapter-5

ENQUIRY DONE BY THE COMMITTEE

5.1. Visiting the riot affected areas

The team comprising of the members of the committee visited the riot affected areas along with the photo/videographers on 29.02.2020 and 01.03.2020 and examined the victims, eye-witnesses and recorded their testimonies and inspected the destruction and damage to property, which are briefly narrated as follows:

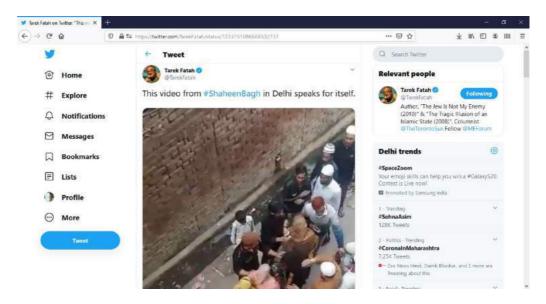
- 5.1.1. The committee visited at the Petrol Pump and adjoining area located at B-2 Block, Yamuna Vihar, Bhajanpura, Delhi and examined the persons in the locality regarding the riots which took place between 23-26/02/2020, from which it is revealed that:
 - a) The Petrol Pump located at the B-2 Block was the first property which was attacked and burnt by the rioters by putting the petrol and diesel on fire on 24.02.2020, at around 1 pm.



Figure 6: Petrol Pump which was set on fire in YamanaVihar Locality

b) Mr. Jugnu Sethi, a resident of B-2 Block, Yamuna Vihar, during his testimony deposed that the protest against the CAA was financed by the outsiders who

were managing these protests with the help of the locals. Amount of Rs. 500 per shift was given to the females and Rs. 700-800 per shift was given to the males for their participation in the protest. The said protest was happening from the last one and half months in two shifts of 8 hours each. The riots were executed in a pre-planned manner and were organized well in advance which can be gathered from the facts that on 24.02.2020, Muslim Schools were closed since morning and even, one of the branch of HDFC Bank, whose Manager is of Muslim Community, was also closed, and further the rioters were armed with sticks, petrol bombs, acid packets, etc., among other weapons. ²⁸



- c) Mr. Sanjog Chauhan, a resident of the same locality, who was injured on 24.02.2020, during stone pelting by the mob, told that the mob comprising of rioters were dominated by outsiders including boys ranging between the age group of 19-20 years.²⁹
- d) Ms. Anjali Gupta, a resident of Yamuna Vihar, C-12 Block, revealed that the entire riots were a pre-planned exercise, about which Muslim Community was already aware of resultantly, they did not sent their wards to the schools on 24.02.2020.³⁰

²⁷ twitter.com/Harishp1983/status/1233651613715202048

²⁸ Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 at B-2 Block, Yamuna Vihar - MVI_0250.

²⁹Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 at Yamuna Vihar, MVI_0255.

³⁰Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 at C block Yamuna Vihar MVI_0258.

- e) Mr. Navneet Gupta, who runs a coaching centre in the same locality, revealed that the mob damaged his coaching centre through heavy and persistent stone pelting. He also mentioned that the mob was comprised of outsiders.³¹
- f) Ms. Preeti Garg, a resident of the first floor of the same coaching centre building, stated that the mob set her house on fire at around 02:30 pm on 24.02.2020, due to which, the house was chocked with fire and smoke and in order to save her and her children's life, she had to jump from the first floor of the building, along with her children.³²
- g) Mr. Prem Khandelwal, a resident of B-Block, Yamuna Vihar, told the committee that the rioters had pre-identified their targets as a poster supporting CAA was hanging in the market area of the locality, directly indicating the support of the locality members towards CAA, which made it a target of the attackers.³³
- h) A person in his testimony deposed before the committee members that the riots were pre-planned and organised well in advance as in a Muslim School, namely, "Fahan International School", holiday for 24.02.2020 was already declared, and also, rioters indulged into arson and looting of selective and pre-identified areas³⁴. One of the hospitals in the area, namely Mohan Nursing Home was ransacked. Moreover, "Fair Deal" Maruti Car showroom was also set ablaze which was located opposite the road in Chand Bagh. A liquor shop adjoining the Maruti showroom was also looted and the liquor bottles were used as a fuel to set other properties on fire. However, a saloon shop namely Jawed Habib was spared since it belonged to the Muslim Community. 35
- i) A lady during testimony deposed that the timing of the riots was planned carefully keeping in mind the usual time by which all the male members of the locality used to leave for their respective work, leaving behind only females & children to defend themselves on their own. Further, subsequent to the riots, in

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³¹Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0272.

³²Supra.

³³Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0282.

Anupam Kumar Singh, OpIndia, Shiv Vihar ground report: Tale of two schools, one owned by a Muslim used as a war base, the other, owned by a Hindu, gutted by Islamists, (29/02/2020), https://www.opindia.com/2020/02/delhi-anti-hindu-riots-ground-report-shiv-vihar-rajdhani-school-drp-school/

³⁵Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0283.

the evening, the male members could not return on time as most of the roads were blocked/ closed and Metro services were also suspended.³⁶

- j) A person during testimony deposed that the mob was not only pelting stones but was also engaged in throwing acid packets which they were carrying, resulting which the entire market in the area was closed.³⁷
- k) Mr. Jaibeer Singh, who has a shop in Noor-E-Ilahi, is a Muslim dominated area, stated that the mob looted the only two Hindu shops in the area, namely 'Ganga Medical Store' belonging to Mr. Sharma and 'Misra Paan Bhandar' located in the area and set them on fire. Stones as well as petrol bombs, already stored on the roof of high rise buildings by the Muslims, were used in the attack on the people of Hindu Community. The outsiders were headed by the locals & one of the persons namely Haji, helped the mob in arranging the stones for attack.³⁸
- 1) Another person during testimony deposed that the locals were leading the riots and he further disclosed names of two persons, Danish and Haji Islam, who were among the leaders of the mob.³⁹
- m) Mr. Pramod Gupta, councilor of the Yamuna Vihar area, stated that two mobs of the rioters comprising of members from Muslim community, one came from the side of Noor-E-Ilahi and and another came from the side of Chand bagh who simultaneously attacked various buildings and also burnt the vehicles parked on the side of the roads; one of the restaurant namely Kesariya Restaurant was also set afire.⁴⁰
- n) Mr. Shri Satish Gupta who was working in the Allahabad Bank, located at B-1/14A, Yamuna Vihar, East Delhi, stated that on 24.02.2020 a mob came from the side of Chand Bagh at around 01:30 pm and started setting the vehicles on both sides of road on fire using petrol bombs. From the petrol pump corner till the end of the road, where Anand Sagar was located, all the cars which were parked were burnt including the ambulance at the Mohan Nursing Home. On one side, the mob came from the Chand Bagh side, and another mob came

³⁶Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0284, MVI_0354,1-3-2020.

³⁷Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0298.

³⁸Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0312, MVI_0313.

³⁹Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0322.

⁴⁰Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0345.

from the Noor-E-Ilahi area and in no time, the entire area of Yamuna Vihar was surrounded by rioters from both the sides. Youth which were in the age of 15-25 years used stones and petrol bombs to attack the houses of Hindus. He also referred to one incident wherein when one of the rioters came to know that the vehicle he was setting ablaze to belonged to a Muslim resident of the area, he stopped at that very instant.⁴¹

o) A group of ladies residing in the area of C-12 Block, Yamuna Vihar, revealed to the committee members that Muslim ladies belonging to Kardampuri area did not report for work on 24.02.2020 and other daily wage workers working in the area went back prior to the initiation of the riots. It was also being told by a fruit vendor one day prior to the riots that 7000 persons have gathered at Idgah and they would be coming to the area for the final war. Another lady told that continuous announcements being made in the Masjid at the midnight of 24th and 25th February, 2020, during 01:30-03:00 a.m. whereby Muslims were told to visit the Mosque for Namaj. 42

It was further being told by these ladies that there were a few police officials in the area and on being asked for help they simply replied that they do not have orders to take any action.⁴³

- 5.1.2. That on 01.03.2020, the members of the committee had visited the area of Chand Bagh,Brijpuri, and Shiv Vihar and examined the following persons:
 - a) Mr.Sonu, interviewed near the main road of Chand Bagh, where the Fair Deal Maruti Showroom and liquor shop was burnt, it was told that there was a protest against CAA since last 2 months. But suddenly, on Monday 24/02/2020, the situation in the area became tense which ignited the riots. Another person in the shop told that the mob looted vehicles from the Fair Deal showroom 44
 - b) Chaudhary Bheem Singh, a resident of the Chand Baghareasince 1979, mentioned in his statement that the mob was comprised of outsiders in which young boys were also present.⁴⁵

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⁴¹Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0346.

⁴²Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0354, MVI_0359.

⁴³Testimony recorded through video by committee on 29.02.2020 MVI_0354, MVI_0359.

⁴⁴Testimony recorded through video by committee on 01.03.2020, 1-3-2020.

⁴⁵Supra

- c) Mr.Vinod, a resident of Chand bagh told that there was a camp of protestors who were protesting against CAA and on 24th Feb., the unruly mob armed with weapons, acid, and petrol bombs, etc., with their faces masked and covered with helmets, marched and were raising slogans of 'Azadi'. The mob was trying to close the road while the police was trying to get the same opened and meanwhile, there was a rumor that a boy was hit by the police bullet which made the mob aggressive and thereafter, the mob looted a liquor shop and used the looted liquor bottles to burn properties. Firstly, Muslims burnt the properties of Hindus and then the Hindus retaliated on the next day and attacked the Muslims and their properties. There were no sufficient police on the spot and the police ran away when HC Ratan Lal got a bullet wound from the gunfire by protestors. The protesters also set the vehicle of the DCP on fire and also attacked the DCP who was badly injured. If anybody tried to shoot a video, then the mob attacked that particular person.⁴⁶
- d) Mr. Mahesh, a resident of Brijpuri told that the local Muslims helped the outsiders in identifying the target and only the properties relating to Hindus were burned selectively. He further stated that Haji Yunus, the local MLA, came on the pretext of maintaining peace in the area and identified vulnerable targets and later on shared that information with the rioters who then attacked the so identified target. He further stated that there were regular Azaan from the Mosque addressing the resident Muslims to come on the road and fight, for the last 2 months.⁴⁷
- e) Mr. Chetan Sharma whose house was set on fire by the mob told that the mob of a particular community came between 03.30 p.m. - 04:00 p.m. and trespassed into his house from top floor and looted money, ornaments, etc., from his house. He told that a stock of Rs. 96 Lakh, Rs. 28 lakh cash, and 700gm of gold was looted.⁴⁸
- Mr. Abhishek Sharma, who runs Arun Modern School, told that the mob captured the school on February 25, 2020. Police help was requested by civilians but police denied due to non-availability of orders.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Supra

⁴⁷Supra

⁴⁸Supra

⁴⁹Supra

- g) Mr. Shamshad, a member of Muslim community & resident of area since 30 years, told the committee that the mob consisted of outsiders. He further admitted the fact that the activity of 'calling muslims on the road for the final fight' every night during Azaan, was wrong and it shouldn't have happened. He further told that the outsiders came in midnight and in morning they started riots.⁵⁰
- h) Mr. Dilip, a local resident told that a local MLA allowed the public to do stone pelting from his own house which was further endorsed by the statement of the in-charge of DRP Public School. The lady told that the school is there since 1998 and now has a strength of 1200 students and on 24th Feb., 2020,there were routine activities in the school but suddenly people of the Muslim Community started coming to take back their wards at around 11 a.m. On being asked, they told that there was a crowd outside regarding NRC, hearing which the school allowed students to leave. Suddenly the school staff sensed some trouble as why only Muslim parents were taking their wards back and not Hindu parents. The school then made phone calls to parents of the rest of the students and asked them to take their wards home following which, the school was closed at 1 p.m. Thereafter, immediately, a mob comprising of Muslims trespassed in the school and looted the property of school including laptops. There were 3 attacks on the school on February 24, 2020, due to which the police was called but they came at 8 p.m. on the next day, i.e., February 25, $2020.^{51}$

⁵⁰Supra

⁵¹Supra







i) Mr. R.D. Sharma, a resident of Shiv Vihar, told that there was a lot of material including stones, petrol bombs, acid packets, catapults, etc., on the roof of Rajdhani Public School, one of the high rise building in the area, which was used by culprits during riots and from that building, attackers put on fire adjoining two car parking by throwing petrol bomb. Both car parkings were having vehicles of Hindus only. The Rajdhani Public School was the base camp of rioters and from there, they threw petrol bombs and pelted stones on surrounding areas. He told that Haji Yunus, MLA of the area went to mosques and convinced the mob to attack and all the attacks were pre-planned and targeted.⁵²

⁵²Supra



Figure 7: A burnt and decimated parking lot.

- j) Mr. Pawan Kumar who owns a mobile phone shop told that on the afternoon of February 24, 2020, when he was present at his shop, as soon as he heard some loud noises of attack, he closed his shop and ran back to his home. The attackers comprising of young boys captured high-rise buildings of the area and from there, they threw stones & petrol bombs over people and the surrounding buildings and they also attacked police personnel by throwing acid packets. He told that the attack was a pre-planned one and MLA Haji Yunus had visited the area on February 23, 2020, with 15-20 boys but did not respond during riots and only after 36 hours of riots, Haaji Yunus tweeted and misled the public that police is assisting Hindus only.⁵³
- k) Mr. Amar Singh, a resident of Shiv Vihar, told that the attack was pre-planned as the logistics found in Rajdhani Public School could not be arranged within a day as such quantity of stones, petrol bombs, acid packets, guns, etc., could be arranged only with pre-planning. The school is run by one person named Faizal.⁵⁴

⁵⁴Supra

⁵³Supra

- l) Mr. Suresh, whose brother Dinesh passed away in riots due to a bullet wound in his head told that Dinesh used to do a private job. He further told that the way to GTB Hospital was blocked by mob of Muslim Community. He suspected the people of Mustafabad for firing bullets, throwing petrol bombs and pelting stones in the area and also made a demand to regularly check the Muslim areas to prevent any such situation in future.⁵⁵
- **5.2.** The team members have collected the data from Twitter, Facebook& other news media which is generated in the form of news, audio, video or images in contemporary manner. As these evidences are prone to tempering & manipulation and further deep fake video can be created easily, the efforts was made to get these evidences corroborated not only from more than one type, i.e., testimony or audio or video or news but also wherever possible also from various type of sources such as oral testimony, news reports, social media posts, etc. The integrated approach not only increases the authenticity and reliability of such inferences but also testified the veracity of the testimonies recorded by the members of committee.

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⁵⁵ Supra

Chapter-6

RELEVANT & INCIDENTAL ISSUES

- **6.1.** The violent North-East Delhi Riots 2020, ended up taking lives of 53 people including one IB officer, 2 Delhi Police Personals and left 200+ injured. ⁵⁶In addition to this about 92 houses, 57 shops, 500 vehicles, 6 godowns, 2 schools, 4 factories and 4 religious places were blazed in fire which amounts to over Rs. 1,000 Crores of property and business damage. ⁵⁷ In relation to North-East Delhi Riots 2020, more than 718 FIRs were registered and a total of 3400 people were detained or arrested. ⁵⁸
- **6.2.** Apart from the above-mentioned FIRs and other actions taken by Police, several petitions for registering FIRs against politicians have been moved in Delhi High Court and Supreme Court of India which are as follows:
 - 6.2.1. After the riots on 26.02.2020, on the phone call of Advocate Suroor Mandar, the Division Bench of Delhi High Court, comprised of Justice S. Murlidhar and Justice Anup J. Bhambhani, conducted the hearing at 12:30 a.m., at the residence of J. Murlidhar and directed the Police to ensure safe passage to Government Hospitals and emergency treatments for injured and spoke with doctor Anwar of the Al-hind Hospital situated in New Mustafabad who deposed that they are looking forward for police assistance since 4p.m. on 25/02/2020 without success, to manage the 2 dead bodies and provide medical care to 22 injured persons.⁵⁹
 - 6.2.2. A two judge bench led by J. Murlidhar watched the videos of the speeches made by BJP leaders Kapil Mishra, Anurag Thakur and said these speeches were "ex facie" inflammatory and an attempt to create disharmony between religious groups, a punishable crime under Sec. 153A of the IPC. In addition to this, the

⁵⁶ The Wire, It's Official: Police Says 53 Dead, 200+ Injured, 2200 Arrests in Delhi Riots (08.03.2020), http://thewire.in/government/delhi-riots.official.toll-hurt-cases.

⁵⁷ Chayyanika Nigam, India Today, Long road to rebuilding: How riots ravaged northeast Delhi, (01.03.2020), https://www.indiatoday.in/mail-today/story/how-riots-ravaged-northeast-delhi-1651246-2020-03-01.

⁵⁸ Supra 3.

⁵⁹NorthEast Today, Delhi riots: In midnight hearing, High Court asks police to ensure safe passage, treatment of injured, (26.02.2020), https://www.northeasttoday.in/delhi-riots-in-midnight-hearing-high-court-asks-police-to-ensure-safe-passage-treatment-of-injured/.

police was given time till afternoon of 27/02/2020 to make a decision, whether to file FIRs against hate speeches made by leaders or not.⁶⁰ It is pertinent to mention that as detailed above, misinformation/ hate speech campaign was primarily launched by Congress, AAP, other left parties, their student unions, and Bhim Army, however, this petition was specifically targeted at BJP leaders who were speaking on pro-CAA stance.

- 6.2.3. In the day time on 27/02/2020, a bench led by Chief Justice (Delhi High Court), DN Patel directed Delhi police to take a month to make a decision, whether to file FIRs against hate speeches made by BJP leaders or not after Solicitor General Tushar Mehta argued that filing FIRs has the potential to create disturbances. The proceedings were adjourned until 13/04/2020. 61 Following this, a Supreme Court bench headed by CJI, SA Bobde, considered the High Court's one month's delay to hear the plea "Unjustified" and directed Delhi High Court to hear the plea on 06/02/2020 instead of 13/04/2020. 62
- 6.2.4. On 28/02/2020, the Delhi high court issued notices to the Delhi Government and the Central government seeking their response on FIRs against Congress Party leaders namely Sonia Gandhi, Rahul Gandhi, and Priyanka Gandhi for hate speeches made by them for inciting public. 63 On another plea, the court issued notice to Delhi police and Central Government for their response on lodging FIRs against Amantullah Khan (Aam Aadmi Party MLA), Swara Bhaskar, Harsh Mander (Civil rights activist), Asaduddin Owaisi, Akbaruddin Owaisi and Waris Pathan (AIMIM leaders). 64 Also notices were issued to Congress and AAP leaders including Sonia Gandhi, Rahul Gandhi, Priyanka Gandhi, Deputy

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⁶⁰ Economic Times, Delhi High Court CJ Patel's bench gives police a month to decide on hate speeches,(28/02/2020), https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/delhi-high-court-cj-patels-bench-gives-police-a-month-to-decide-on-hate-speeches/articleshow/74369048.cms

⁶¹ The Hindu Special Correspondent, Delhi HC to hear plea for FIRs against 3 BJP leaders on April 13, (updated 28.02.2020;18:41 IST) https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/delhi-hc-to-hear-plea-for-firs-against-3-bjp-leaders-on-april-13/article30931718.ece.

Financial Express, Delhi violence: Supreme Court admits plea seeking FIRs against BJP leaders for hate speech, hearing on Wednesday ,(02.03.2020), https://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/delhi-violence-supreme-court-admits-plea-seeking-firs-against-bjp-leaders-for-hate-speech-hearing-on-wednesday/1886143/? twitter impression=true&utm source=Taboola Recirculation&utm medium=R C&utm campaign=FE.

⁶³ IANS, India TV News, Delhi High Court issues notices on plea for FIR against Gandhis, others, (28.02.2020), https://www.indiatvnews.com/news/india/delhi-high-court-issues-notices-on-plea-for-fir-against-gandhis-593358.

⁶⁴Aditi Singh, Bar & Bench, Breaking: Delhi HC issues notice in pleas seeking FIRs against SwaraBhasker, Amanatullah Khan, Harsh Mander, RJ Sayema and Owaisi brothers,(28.02.2020), https://www.barandbench.com/news/breaking-delhi-hc-issues-notice-in-pleas-seeking-firs-against-swara-bhasker-amanatullah-khan-harsh-mander-rj-sayema-and-owaisi-brothers.

CM of Delhi Manish Sisodia and Amanatullah Khan to draw their attention toward petitions filed against them.⁶⁵

6.2.5. While hearing petitions for registration of FIRs against BJP leaders for hate speech including one filed by activist Harsh Mander on 04.03.2020, Supreme Court came across a video containing speech by Harsh Mander at Jamia Milia Islamia University where he allegedly said, "I do not have faith in the apex court and that it did not safeguard humanity, secularism and equality in the cases related to National Register of Citizens (NRC), Ayodhya Verdict and Kashmir... 'ultimate justice' could only be done on the streets." Upon watching the video, the Bench headed by CJI Bobde refused to hear Mander's petition and directed the Delhi Police to submit an affidavit in response to the contempt of court and incitement done by Harsh Mander. 66

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⁶⁵Economic Times, Delhi HC issues notices to Sonia, Rahul, Priyanka Gandhi for Alleged hate speeches, (29/02/2020), https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/hate-speech-hc-seeks-centre-delhi-govt-response-on-plea-for-fir-against-sonia-rahul-gandhi/articleshow/74376919.cms.

⁶⁶ HT correspondent, Police seek contempt of court action against Harsh Mander over speech at Jamia, (03.03.2020), https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/police-seek-contempt-of-court-action-against-harsh-mander-over-speech-at-jamia/story-SuJeH49xdpaV8sTd9rwADL.html

Chapter-7

PROTEST AGAINST CAA

7.1. Protests

Within India, the coordinated nature of the protests once again indicates a great deal of prior planning to enable simultaneous execution at multiple points across the country. Interestingly, most people who form the large crowds collected at various places are for the most part unaware of what the issue is about against which they are protesting. Obviously, the crowds have not come spontaneously for a cause in which they believe in, but have been collected together through financial or other inducement to partake in the protest.

What is being witnessed in the protests against the CAA is a classic case of information warfare, to shape the information environment. The opinion of a large segment of India's youth, especially its students have been influenced to believe that the CAA will deprive millions of Muslims from their Indian citizenship. Many students also believe that the CAA is aimed at appeasing Hindu nationalists. Nothing could be further from the truth but the way false information has not only been spread but found a great deal of credibility among vast segments of society, points to forces which are inimical to Indian interests and which are working to destabilize the country. Innocent youth have been caught up in this vicious propaganda, as have other segments of society, especially segments of the Muslim community

7.2. Organized Subversive Activity

The manner of protests also points to forces at work which are working against India's unity and integrity. While Article 19 of the Indian Constitution guarantees the right to freedom of speech and expression and to assemble peaceably without arms, such rights are not absolute and cannot impinge on the rights of other citizens. Blocking of public roads as a symbol of protest thus violates the Article 19, as the rights of others to use that road have been negated. Burning of public buses and public and private property also does not come within the ambit of freedom of expression. But most importantly, when such protesters demand turning back a validly passed Act in Parliament, and state that they will not allow the government to function unless such an Act is abrogated, they are striking at the very heart of Indian democracy, with a view to derailing India's democratic

structure. Under no circumstances can a few thousand people getting together to spread anarchy, be allowed to derail the will of the people of India. This is clearly unacceptable.

This is not to state that dissent is an illegitimate activity. Dissent against the government is clearly permissible by the Constitution and is a legitimate part of democratic functioning. This facet was reiterated by Justice DY Chandrachud, a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court of India. Speaking on the 15th Justice PD Desai Memorial Lecture, on 'The Hues That Make India: From Plurality to Pluralism,' Justice Chandrachud said: "The blanket labeling of dissent as antinational or anti-democratic strikes at the heart of our commitment to protect constitutional values and the promotion of deliberative democracy". He further added, "The destruction of spaces for questioning and dissent destroys the basis of all growth–political, economic, cultural and social. In this sense, dissent is a safety valve of democracy."

What Justice Chandrachud said is all to the good, but it implies also that the means of protest and the means used to dissent must be in conformity with law. When protesters assemble in public spaces and deny to the rest of the populace the right to use those public spaces, then it is not dissent but anarchy. When protesters misuse their freedom of expression to spread hate and vitriol and sow divisions among communities, it is again not dissent but anarchy. And when protesters use public platforms to publicly seek the break-up of India, it is, once again, not dissent but anarchy.

The Government is duty bound to uphold the Constitution of India. It is duty bound to ensure the unity and integrity of India. It is duty bound to ensure Justice, Liberty, and Equality to all its citizens. It must therefore do its duty with diligence and secure the maximum good for the maximum people. It must never ever submit to the tyranny of the mob.

Chapter-8

TIMELINE OF ACTIVITIES

8.1. Pre-riot

As soon as the assent was accorded to CAA by President of India on 11.12.2019, the radical groups started protests across India including Delhi. In Delhi, among the major protest group, one of the prominent groups emerges from Jamia Milia Islamia University wherein some students gave a call for Jihad to fight against the Government. ⁶⁷One of the messages from Facebook is extracted as follows:



Figure 8: A student "Ladeeda Sakhaloon" called for "Jihad" through the medium of Facebook on 11th December 2019.

The agitation also accelerated in the various parts of the country and one of the JNU Ph.D. students, Sharjeel Imam was caught on camera threatening to cut off North-East India from the rest of the country. On 14.12.2019, the protestors gathered at Shaheen Baghunder the patronage of various self-proclaimed groups/radicals including Sharjeel Imam,Pinjra Todgroup etc. which mark the beginning of protest at Shaheen Bagh which is continued till today.

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⁶⁷OpIndia, BarkhaDutt's 'shero' Ladeeda gave call for Jihad, AyshaRenna called India fascist for executing terrorist YakubMemon, (16/12/2019), https://www.opindia.com/2019/12/ladeeda-sakhaloon-aysha-renna-jamia-protests-profiles/

On 15.12.2019, AAP MLA and Delhi Sunni Waqf Board chairman Amanatullah Khan was spotted leading the riots in Jamia Nagar. Buses were set on fire and chants of 'Hinduon se Azadi' were raised in that area. On the same night, Delhi Police entered the campus of Jamia Milia Islamia University and acted on the miscreants. Subsequently the riots also broke out in the Seelampur wherein a School Bus was set on fire and situation becomes tense in the North-East District. It is to be noted that Amanatullah Khan was also seen in various videos making rounds on social media platforms wherein he claimed that in the coming steps, the Govt. would ban the broadcast of Azaan from Masjids, loudspeakers would be banned, Muslim won't be allowed to wear caps, and Burqas would be banned.

The protests continued in small patches and on 24.12.2019, another radical group Pinjra Tod, started marches and subsequently held demonstrations at various places which continued. In North-East District, the protest was done in the Khajuri Khas Area on 12.01.2020 and subsequently in Seelampuri on 15.01.2020, and which follows in Karadampuri and Chand Bagh in next week. 70

The Shaheen Bagh, thereafter remain the centre of protest of the radical groups on Anti CAA, which was slowly losing the support of the general public despite various political parties and other groups including Bhim Army continuing with their hate speech on the issue. On 02.02.2020, the counter protest was organised by the pro CAA Groups which infact gave the opportunity to the radical groups to fuel the diminishing anti-CAA protests by aggravating hate speech campaigns.

8.2. Planning Attacks

The campaign of Anti CAA Protestors was losing its relevancy and significance among the local public and it was moving towards failure. On 17.02.2020, one of the members of Tukde-Tukde Gang, namely Umar Khalid⁷¹ incited the public to take to the street on February, 24th 2020, at the time of arrival of US President,

⁶⁸OpIndia, AAP MLA Amanatullah Khan spotted leading the protests which turned violent in Delhi: Reports,(15/12/2019), https://www.opindia.com/2019/12/amanatullah-khan-delhi-protests-citizenship-amendment/

⁶⁹ https://twitter.com/Indiaaakash/status/1232712015925268480

⁷⁰Aishwaria Sonavane, Republic World, Delhi Violence Timeline: Capital Witnesses Shocking 4-day Escalation; Here's The Sequence, (26/02/2020; 18:05 IST), https://www.republicworld.com/india-news/general-news/delhi-violence-timeline-capital-witnesses-shocking-4-day-escalation.html.

⁷¹ Supra 11.

Donald Trump.⁷² This indicates that by that time the planning &organizing of attacks in furtherance of a conspiracy has already took a shape and these radical groups were preparing to shape their illegal design and were in process of mobilization of resources.

Meanwhile, one of the main contributors in terms of the hate speech narrative and also in terms of the participants supporting the protest, the Bhim Army Group, continued to support the anti-CAA protest with the other protestors and also trying to create synergy with the protesting groups against the Government citing reservation issues. In one of the Anti CAA Protest on 20.12.2019, Bhim Army played the active role during the riots at Jama Masjid/ Delhi Gate and subsequently, on this account, Bhim Army Chief, Chandershekhar Azad was arrested by Delhi Police on 21.12.2019.⁷³

Meanwhile, also, the Supreme Court, on 17.02.2020, appointed two mediators, Senior Advocates Sanjay Hegde,Sadhna Ramchandran and Former Chief Information Commissioner Wajahat Habibullaah to talk to the Shaheen Bagh protestors to resolve the issue amicably. The mediation with the protestors failed on 20.02.2020, as they fail to arrive at any settlement.⁷⁴

8.3. Timely execution of attack

The events leading to the riots started from 22.02.2020 and continued till 27.02.2020. The sequencing of events and corresponding narrative shows that the activities were part of a bigger design executed in a pre-planned manner and the same are summarized as follows:

i. On 22.02.2020, at 11:30 am, Shaheen Bagh protestors tweeted to initiate the protest from Chand Bagh to Rajghat which is as follows:

¹² Supra 2.

⁷³ India Today, Bhim Army Chief Chandrashekhar Azad taken into police custody from Jama Masjid, (21/12/2019), https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/bhim-army-chief-chandrashekhar-azad-taken-into-police-custody-1630254-2019-12-21

⁷⁴ Ashlin Mathew, National Herald, SC appointed interlocutors hit a wall at Shaheen Bagh, (20/02/2020), https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/india/sc-appointed-interlocutors-hit-a-wall-at-shaheen-bagh



Figure 9: Tweet depicting the announcement of March from Chand Bagh to Rajghat on 23rd Feb 2020

ii. On the same day at 01:30 pm, Bhim Army declared and tweeted 'Bharat Band' on 23.02.2020 and Chandershekhar, Bhim Army Chief also visited the Maujpur in North-East Delhi and also the Shaheen Bagh and tweets are as follows:

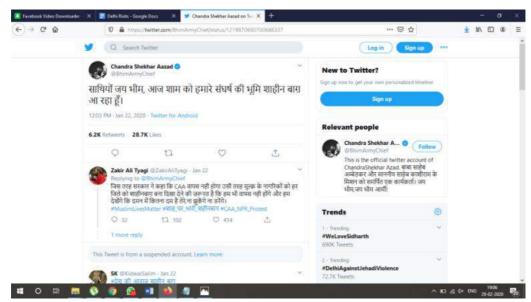


Figure 10: Bhim Army Chief Chandrashekhar tweeted message that he is joining fighting place "Shaheen Bagh".



Figure 11: BASF calling for "Bharat Band" and also to trend on Twitter from 22nd Feb 2020



Figure 12: Picture showing Bhim Army banner under the Jaffrabad Metro Station, Calling for Bharat Band on 23 Feb, 2020.



Figure 13: Picture showing Muslim women, gathered under the Jaffrabad Metra Station, holding the Indian Tri-Color and Portraits of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, evidenting the intermingling of CAA and reservation issues.

iii. On the said day at around 05:30 pm, one side of the road was got vacated from the protestors and at this stage, the radical groups proactively acted to regain their position and further agitated which is reflected from the one message on the Facebook wherein, Meer Faisal, freelance correspondence of Jamia Times was inciting the public at large to block the road. The screenshot of the message is as follows:

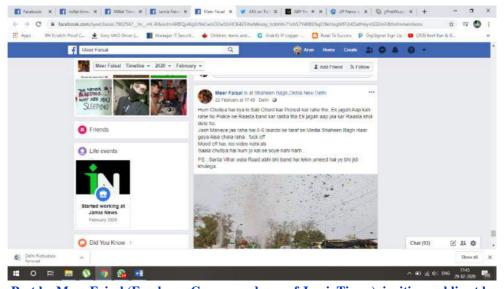


Figure 14: Post by Meer Faisal (Freelance Correspondence of Jamia Times), inciting public at large

iv. At around 09:00 pm on the same day, consequent to the narrative of the radical group asking the people to block the road, approximately more than 500-1000⁷⁵ Muslim women emerged at Jaffrabad Metro Station and blocked the road which connects Seelampur to Maujpur and Yamuna Vihar.⁷⁶

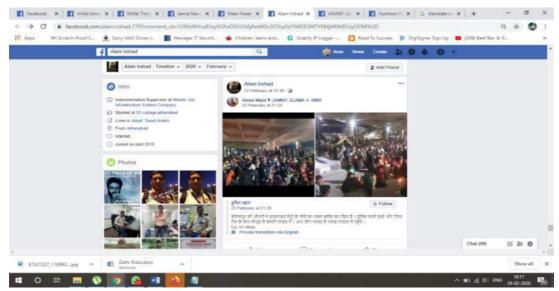


Figure 15: Depicting Blocked roads under Jaffrabad Metro Station

v. The protestors continued to increase and the Police deployment was also increased during this period and the protestors sought further mobilization as evident from a tweet posted at 10:46 pm and 11:23 p.m. on the night of 22.02.2020, from the CAA/ NRC Protest Info page, which is as follows:

⁷⁶ Press Trust of India, Fresh anti-CAA protest site emerges as hundreds gather at Delhi's Jaffrabad, (23/02/2020), https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/anti-caa-protest-continues-at-delhi-s-jaffrabad-120022300113_1.html.

⁷⁵ Ndtv.com, 1,000 Women Block Delhi Road Over CAA, Back Bhim Army's Strike Call, (23/02/2020), https://www.ndtv.com/delhi-news/hundreds-of-women-block-delhi-road-back-bhim-army-chief-chandrashekhar-azad-shutdown-call-2184296

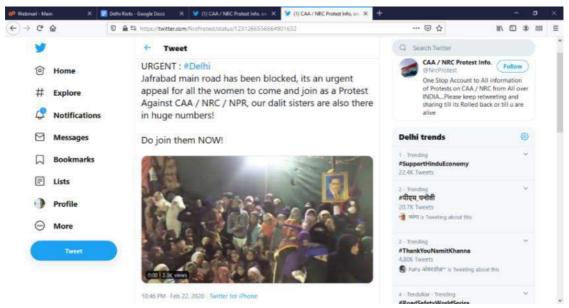


Figure 16: Tweet by NRC/ CAA protest calling for more women protestors to accumulate and block Jaffrabad Main Road.

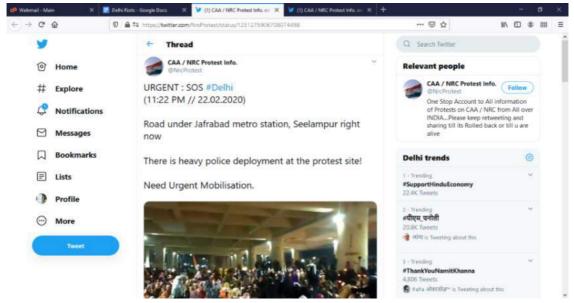


Figure 17: Tweet depicting the condition of Jafrabad Metro Station at 11.22 pm with heavy police deployment and calling for urgent mobilization

8.4. Executing subversive plan

The protest continued on 23.02.2020, and events unfolded as follows:

i. In the morning, police reinforcement arrived to remove the protestors which in turn seek more reinforcement as evident from the tweet at 06:50 am posted by the CAA/NRC Protest Info official handle.

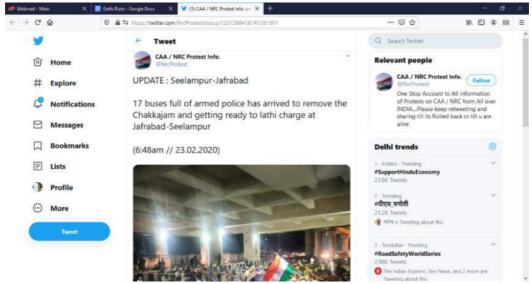


Figure 18: CAA/NRC Protest Info. Updating the condition of the area- 17 Buses full of armed forces to have arrived.

ii. However, more protestors were mobilized at the Jaffrabad Metro Station and also created the stage similar to ShaheenBagh and following the interruption, Delhi Metro shut down the Jaffrabad Metro Station Gates at 08:25 am.



Figure 19: Tweet showing a similar stage set-up as that of ShaheenBagh, under Jafrabad Metro Station.

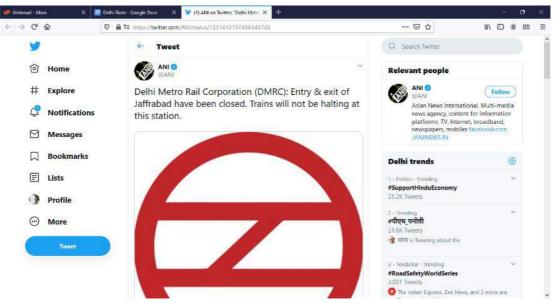


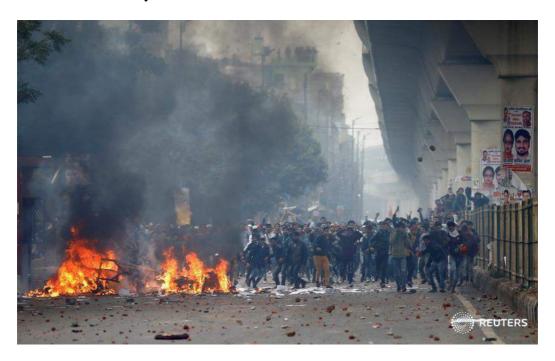
Figure 20: ANI tweet regarding the inconvenience of Metro services at Jaffrabad Metro Station.

iii. Meanwhile, around 09:00 am, Delhi Policeintervened told the protestors that the permission to march from Chand Bagh to Rajghat, has been declined and told the protestors to vacate the site.Bhim Army also sent the message for seeking more mobilization to assist the protestors at the Jaffrabad Metro Station which is evident from the tweet as follows:



Figure 21: Bhim Army Chief, Chandra Shekhar Azad calling for mobilization of Bhim Army at Jafrabad to ensure safety of their people.

- iv. At around 03:00 pm, Kapil Mishra of the BJP, reached at Maujpur Chowk and in a provocative speech told the crowd there to hit the street if the Police failed to clear the protest site in Jaffrabad and Chand Bagh. He threatened that peace would be maintained only until US President Donald Trump leaves the country.
- v. After that, clashes breaks out near the Maujpur Metro Station between the Pro and Anti CAA Protestors, pelting of stones started and Anti CAA Protestors burnt the cars belonging to the Hindu Community and only allows the Muslim cars to passed through the blockage.⁷⁷
- vi. Thereafter the clashes spread to other adjoining areas, Brijpuri, Chand Bagh, Babarpur and Karawal Nagar and Delhi Police resorted to Lathi Charge and Tear Gas and Paramilitary forces were also called in.



vii. Meanwhile, clashes were also reported from Hauz Rani in South Delhi area, where Police resorted to Lathi Charge and situation was under control.⁷⁸

⁷⁸Jeevan Prakash Sharma, Outlook India Delhi Riots 2020: Who Fanned The Flames of Hatred? Is Kapil Mishra Only To Blame?,(09/03/2020), https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/india-news-delhi-riots-2020-who-fanned-the-flames-of-hatred-is-kapil-mishra-only-to-blame/302875; See also: Himanshu

⁷⁷K Bhattacharjee, OpIndia,Chronology of events that led to the Delhi Riots and the Khilafat 2.0: The call for a Direction Action Day next?, (27/02/2020), https://www.opindia.com/2020/02/delhi-anti-hindu-riots-khilafat-2-direct-action-day/

viii. After a brief period of calm, the riots again broke out on both sides of Karawal Nagar, Chand Bagh, Babarpur and Maujpur.

8.5. Critical Phase

The clashes again broke on 24.02.2020 were the most fatal and events unfolded as follows:

i. In the morning, Pro CAA and Anti CAA Protestors were close to each other near the Jaffrabad Metro Station and shouting the slogans. DMRC shut down Metro stations Jaffrabad and Maujpurin the morning at 07:00 am.

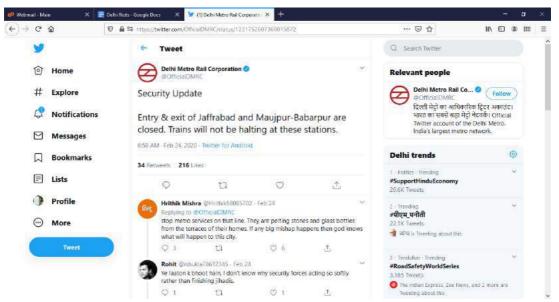


Figure 22: DMRC notification of suspension of Metro Services at Jafrabad, Maujpur and Babarpur Metro Station.

ii. At around 01:00 pm, a mob of Muslim men armed with sticks, stones and petrol bomb scam from Chand Bagh side and moved into the Bhajanpura and first they attacked the Petrol Pump, set it on fire, moved to the Yamuna Vihar by lane, damaged coaching centre and burnt the various houses in the same locality and continue with the burning of all the cars parked in the B-2 Block, by lanes using petrol bombs and then crowds moved into the Yamuna Vihar, Delhi.

Mishra, India Today, Anti-CAA stir at Hauz Rani: Protesters allege lathicharge by cops, Delhi Police says protest held without permission,(updated 24/02/2020; 08:44 IST)

https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/anti-caa-hauz-rani-protesters-allege-lathicharge-cops-delhi-police-says-protest-held-without-permission-1649309-2020-02-23.



Figure 23: The vandalized petrol pump.

iii. The mobs moved inside Yamuna Vihar from the Anand Sagar Mod from the B-2, Block and continued to attack civilians, houses, and burn cars as it was a Hindu locality.



Figure 24: Clashes between anti-CAA and pro-CAA groups.

- iv. At the same time, another set of mob emerged from the side of Noor-E-Ilahi, Seelampur and moved to the Yamuna Vihar and Yamuna Vihar was surrounded from both the sides by the mob which was indulging in arson, looting and putting the fire on the vehicles, shops and buildings which continued till 05-06 p.m. and during this period, the Police were outnumbered and in absence of any reinforcement, they were running to save their lives and the entire Hindu Community was on their own, unable to save themselves and their property and the protestors armed with the Acid, Petrol Bombs, Sticks and Stones attacked everything which come into their way.
- v. At the same time, another group came from the side of Kardampuri/ Kabir Nagar and attacked from the C-2 Block Side, Yamuna Vihar and burnt cars, attacked civilians, and houses.
- vi. One of the rioters, Mohd. Shahrukh was captured by the media, pointing his gun at a policeman and fired the shots on the protestors of other group.



vii. Meanwhile, section 144 Cr. P.C. was invoked by the Administration in the North-East District. At around 04:30 pm, mob attacked the Police Team comprising of DCP Shahdara who was badly injured into the incident.⁷⁹

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⁷⁹Arvind Ojha and Chirag Gothi, India Today, Delhi violence: Capital on edge ahead of Donald Trump's visit, (updated 24/02/2020; 18:10 IST), https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/delhi-violence-capital-on-edge-ahead-of-donald-trump-s-visit-1649543-2020-02-24.

- viii. At around 11:00 pm, the rioters alleged to be from the Hindu side, burnt down the Tyre Market in the Gokulpuri.
- **8.6.** That the riots continued throughout the night of 24/25 February, 2020, and the events reported as under:
 - i. At around 09:00 am, incidents of stone-pelting in Maujpur and Brahmpuri area between two groups took place and the internet services were suspended in Seelampur, Jaffrabad and Maujpurand resultantly, the RAF held a flag march.
 - ii. At around 01:30 pm, gun battle between both groups started and several rounds were fired from pistols. The police fired Tear Gas shells to disperse the mob.
 - iii. At around 02:30 pm, violence again started near Bhajanpura Chowk and stone pelting was resorted toby both groups.
 - iv. At around 03:30 pm, 2000 additional Police personnel along with Paramilitary forces were deployed to clear the New Jaffrabad area.
 - v. The violence irrupted in Chand Bagh, Khazuri Khas and rioters torched vehicles and clashed with the police.
 - vi. At 07:30 pm, the police put barricades and sealed roads that lead to Gaziabad from North-East Delhi. Section 144 was imposed in 16 Districts across Western UP and paramilitary forces were deployed.

8.7. Receding Phase

On 26.02.2020, the incidents are as follows:

- a) Death trolls climb to 17 overnight and over 200 injured.
- b) Paramilitary troops conducted flag marches in the riot affected areas and NSA Adviser Sh. Ajit Doval visited the affected areas.

Chapter-9

DELHI RIOTS- A PRE-PLANNED CONSPIRACY

9.1. Planned attacks on the Hindu Community

- i. The targeted attacks on Hindu community were executed in a pre-planned manner, organized in terms of logistics, and targets were pre-identified, and timings were synced to cause maximum impact with minimum resistance. As told by the victims/ eye-witnesses, Muslim schools were closed on 24th of February, 2020, while Hindu schools were open. Even Muslim children who went to the Hindu schools were withdrawn by their families prior to 1 p.m. and some of the Muslim parents told the school authorities that something big is going to happen.
- ii. One of the branches of HDFC bank, which was located in B2 block, Yamuna Vihar, was also closed prior to 1 p.m. despite the fact that normal working hours of the bank are till 04:00 p.m., and it was revealed that the branch manager of the bank was a Muslim person who was aware about the timing of the attacks and the target area. Residents of the C2 block, Yamuna Vihar, stated that 12 Muslim maids working in their homes did not report for duty on 24.02.2020 and other daily wage workers left the work and returned back to their home prior to 01.00 p.m.
- iii. One of the victims from the Yamuna Vihar area stated that as per routine practice, the main member of the family left the house by 10-11 a.m. and by the time, i.e. 01:00 p.m. approximately, the attackers attacked their houses, there was no male member in most of the houses as male members left for their job and there were only women and children and no one was there to help them and even police have come after 06 p.m.
- iv. One of the victims told that there was announcement from the local Masjid in the midnight of 24/25.02.2020 at around 01:30 p.m., whereby all the Muslims were told to come on the road and agitate on the next day.
- v. These facts clearly show that the members of Muslim community were aware about the attack in advance and on the other hand the members of Hindu community were having no knowledge about the attacks.

9.2. Attacks at Pre-identified targets

- The testimonies and other evidences revealed that the attacks were done i. Hindu localities and there also, the persons who were rich or influential have been made specific targets and their houses suffered maximum damage. In Yamuna Vihar, petrol pumps located at the road was the first target, which was burnt by the attackers followed by the houses located in that lane. The houses located in the B2 block on the road are the prime and most valuable properties in the Yamuna Vihararea. In the same locality, when the mob was burning the scooty belongingtoa Muslim family, the Muslim family shouted and informed the mob that they are Muslims, the mob placed back the scooty in the proper manner. Similarly, house of the local councilor of the area was made prime target by the mob. In Brijpuri area, the local councilor, HaziYunus visited a day or two before the attack and he note down the properties which were later on made as target and burnt by the mob. In Noor-E-Ilahi, the mob burnt the three shops which belong to the member of Hindu community while none of the properties belonging to Muslim community was even touched by the mob.
- ii. When the mob moved from B2 block inside the Yamuna Vihar, at the same time, another mob from the Noor-E-Ilahi side came in the Yamuna Vihar area and a third group has come from Kardampuri / Kabir Nagar from C-2 block side, thus, surrounded the houses located in Yamuna Vihar from three sides and in these houses, only there were ladies and children and there was no one to protect them. Thus, there were syncing of area to be attacked, line of attack, and the timing between the different groups of attackers from Muslim community while the members of Hindu community were caught unaware, unarmed and also there was no police force to protect them. The mob goes on vandalizing the locality and damaged more than 100 houses, burnt more than 300 properties and 300 vehicles. The eye-witnesses stated that the policemen were running to save their own lives and few police men took shelter in the houses in the locality itself.
- iii. The role of AAP Leader Tahir Hussain in the riots also cannot be ignored. Several in-riot and post-riot videos surfaced on the social media and the news media which showed that his house was used as a base for attacking the nearby

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⁸⁰ Abhishek Dey, Hindustan Times, 122 homes, 301Vehicles damaged in Delhi Riots, Says Interim Damage Report, (03/03/2020), https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi-news/delhi-riots-122-homes-301-vehicles-damaged-in-mayhem/story-yUqXEVoYZ9Ekm0HpZ1SkbL.html

localities through petrol bombs, sling shots, and catapults. ⁸¹ Videos also showed scores of men gathered on the roof of his house and packets of acid were also recovered from his house. The relatives of Ankit Sharma, an IB Official who was brutally murdered, stated that Tahir Hussain's goons attacked Ankit following which he has been arrested. ⁸²



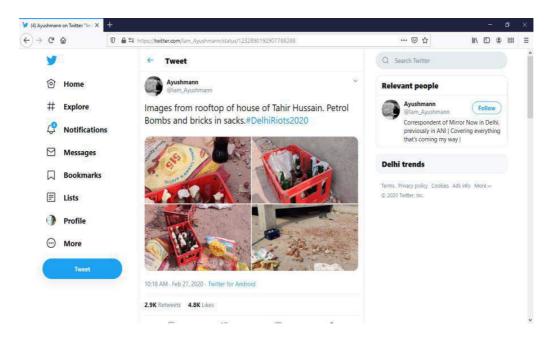
Figure 25: Alleged body of IB officer Ankit Sharma, lying in the Chand Bagh drain.

⁸¹ Vikas Bhadauria, https://twitter.com/vikasbhaABP/status/1232703622493982720

⁸² OpIndia, AAP Leader Tahir Hussian's goons Attacked Him, Says Family of IB Officer Murdered in Delhi Riots,(26.02.2020), https://www.opindia.com/2020/02/aam-aadmi-party-ankit-sharma-murder-delhi-riots-chand-bagh/



Figure 26: Petrol bombs recovered from the roof of AAP leader Tahir Hussain. Acid Packets were also recovered from the site.



9.3. Organized mob with a common objective

i. The testimonies as well as other evidences / news reports reveals that the mob attacking the Yamuna Vihar locality as well as other areas were—comprising of outsiders as well as local and the outsiders were in majority and locals were leading the outsiders, telling them the target and executions were being done by the mob. One fruit vendor told to the resident who was examined by the committee in the C-2 block, Yamuna Vihar that over 7000 persons have

gathered at Idgah and they would be on road today and were ready for final war. One of the Muslim witnesses also admitted during testimony that the mob consisting of outsiders came in the night and started attacking / rioting during the day.

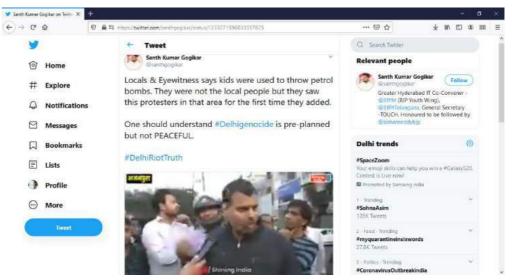


Figure 27: A local stating that the attackers mainly comprised of outsiders.

- ii. The attackers seem to be trained in the subversive activities as they were moving in the groups and attacking by surrounding the areas from various sides and even if they get some resistance on one side, they moved to another side immediately and the intention was to cause maximum damage of properties and human lives with minimum loss to themselves. Initially, they did not get any resistance from the police as either the police was not available or they were less in the number and run to save their own lives but later on, when police came in numbers in the evening, these attackers run away.
- iii. The proper organisation of the attack in advance can be gathered from the fact that most of the high rise buildings were used by the attackers from the Muslim locality to cover the maximum area and huge impact. In Shiv Vihar Area, the attacker used Rajdhani School, a five storey building and highest building as their control centre to attack on the houses of Hindu community. On the top of said building, improvised big catapult was installed from which, large number of stones and other articles can be thrown to a long distance in one go. From the said building, the petrol bombs were thrown to put the fire on the houses of the Hindu community. A large quantity of stones, petrol bombs, acid were taken on

the top to do all these illegal activities which cannot be a spontaneous act but the activities well planned in advance.



Figure 28: Catapult attached to the roof of Rajdhani Public School.

iv. The large quantities of stones, petrol bombs, acid packs, country made guns, sticks, house / shop breaking tools were used by the mobs throughout the North-East district during attacks and these were collected over a period of time prior to attack in furtherance of a conspiracy which is not only planned in an organised manner to escape the clutches of law but also with the financial backing received from the radical groups. Further, the murder of Ankit Sharma, the post-mortem report of which reflected more than 12 "incised stab wounds" all over his body and merciless beating leading to 33 injuries and 13 lacerated wounds, mostly on his head and face, caused by a blunt object, reveals that the murder was committed in ISIS fashion to imbibe fear in the heart of Hindus.⁸³

In order to achieve the malicious design, the conspirator/ brain behind the attacks, used multiple approaches and mingled them to assemble the mob which

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⁸³ Ananya Bharadwaj, The Print, IB staffer Ankit Sharma, killed in Delhi riots, was stabbed 12 times & had 33 blunt injuries, (13.03.2020), https://theprint.in/india/ib-staffer-ankit-sharma-killed-in-delhi-riots-was-stabbed-12-times-and-not-400-times/380720/.

was then persuaded by the common objective of inflicting attack on the members of Hindu community. In the cases of burning the houses/ shops, it was revealed that wherever possible, first mob broken the shutter/ gates and then looted the content to the extent possible and then only, it was put on fire. It indicates that the mob was equipped with house/ shop braking tools and also, one of the objective was to loot the property. In another case, in DRP School, the attackers goes inside the classroom and damaged the board, desks and also burnt the files to destroy the marks sheet of the students and the mob has come from the adjoining school i.e. Rajdhani Public School and as such, the conduct itself indicate to settle score or personal bias of the attackers.

Chapter-10

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

10.1. Financial abetment in riots

- i. As explain above, from the testimonies of the victims/witnesses, it is evidently clear that the attack was meticulously planned in advance and suggest involvement of large number of persons from various states, use of large material in form of petrol bombs, acid & other materials. The attacks were synched in terms of directions, places, and timing and thus, leading to the inference that at the ground level, large number of persons were involved in managing, organizing and executing this task.
- ii. An Enforcement Directorate report revealed that the PFI had played a vital role in raising funds and backing the anti-CAA protests financially. The report further revealed that PFI's Delhi President, Md. Parvez Ahmed was in touch with AAP's MP Sanjay's Singh, and several Congress leaders including Udit Raj. He was also a member of WhatsApp groups such as 'Bhim Army top 100', 'Unification of Muslim Leaders etc.' Congess leader Udit Raj has accepted that Parvez was calling several parties, Muslim leaders and Dalit groups to unite against the CAA.⁸⁴
- iii. The report revealed that the PFI spent about 120 crores in a month to orchestrate violent riots in the country and also names eminent lawyers Kapil Sibal, Indira Jaisingh and Dushyant Dave as the beneficiaries of PFI funding ⁸⁵Further, since the Citizenship Amendment Bill was passed in the Parliament, over one crore rupees were deposited in the accounts of PFI and its related organization Rehab India Foundation. The deposits ranged anywhere between 5,000- 49,000 to avoid detection. Ten months prior to the riots the PFI received Rs. 30 Lakhs as donation and out of the above mentioned sum, around 50% was received in cash. Out of the cash donations, approximately 60-65% was deposited in the bank and the rest was kept at PFI's National headquarters at Shaheen Bagh. Between December 4th, 2019 and January 6th, 2020 an amount of more than 1.34 crores

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⁸⁴ Supra 13

⁸⁵ OpIndia Staff, Nexus between Congress and Islamists in stoking anti-CAA riots? PFI spent over 120 crores, transferred huge sums to Kapil Sibal and Indira Jaising: Read details, (27/01/2020), https://www.opindia.com/2020/01/enforcement-directorate-anti-caa-violence-riots-up-delhi-bengal-pfi-islamic-kapil-sibal-indira-jaising-dushyant-dave-shaheen-bagh/.

were allegedly withdrawn from the accounts of PFI, to be distributed among violent rioters to incite them. The PFI activists and members allegedly received cash from people all over India and gave it to their area specific handler, who travelled to Delhi and deposited the cash at Shaheen Bagh. ⁸⁶

- iv. It is to be noted that more than 130 members of the PFI were arrested during anti-CAA protests in Uttar Pradesh for inciting violence in different parts of UP and allegedly masterminding violence in Lucknow. RAfter the riots, a couple with alleged links to a module of Islamic State (IS) was arrested from Jamia Nagar-Okhala Area and later, another member of PFI was arrested in connection with the case. The couple was allegedly linked to the Islamic State's Khorasan module and held for instigating anti-CAA protests in Delhi. The couple was inciting Muslims to take up the violent struggle against the state.
 - v. Another PFI member, namely Danish, was arrested by Delhi Police Special Cell for spreading false propaganda during anti-CAA protests, on inputs of PFI supplying money and people during the violence in national capital. ⁸⁹
- vi. Testimonies of the victims/witnesses, news media report also suggest the involvement of large number of outsiders who were trained in subversive activities. It was also revealed that as the protest was losing shine and people were not participating, money was being paid to the people to participate in the protest daily in shifts of eight hour.
- vii. Executing all these subversive activities in a planned, coordinated& synchronizing manner requires some sort of expertise, involvement of professional and also funding for all these activities. Though, ED has already identified PFI as one of the organization and arrested one of the Kingpin, namely Danish in Delhi but it seems to be a small fish in the subversive operation where crores of rupees has been spent under the patronage of the some professional

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⁸⁶ Supra 12

⁸⁷ Nilanshu Shukla, India Today, 108 PFI members arrested in last 4 days for inciting violence during anti-CAA protest in UP,(03/02/2020), https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/uttar-pradesh-108-pfi-members-arrested-inciting-violence-during-anti-caa-protest-1642769-2020-02-03.

⁸⁸ Arvind Ojha, India Today, Delhi Police detains PFI member linked to couple with connections to IS module,(updated on 09/03/2020), https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/delhi-police-arrests-couple-with-connections-to-is-module-recover-material-pointing-to-terror-strikes-1653683-2020-03-08.

⁸⁹ ANI, PFI member arrested by Delhi Police; 'wider conspiracy' being investigated, (09/03/2020), https://www.aninews.in/news/national/general-news/pfi-member-arrested-by-delhi-police-wider-conspiracy-being-investigated20200309181109/.

organization and as such, the role of the agency like ISI & other organizations cannot be ruled out.

10.2. Terror Funding-International Nexus

The Law Enforcement Agencies conducting the post riot investigation, found credible information of funding and managing the attacks in the North-East by the ISI of Pakistan. The agencies have also picked up international calls where people believed to be Pakistani Operators are rebuking their sources in Delhi for not mobilizing enough crowds for the anti-CAA protests on March 3-4, despite having sufficient funds at their disposal.⁹⁰

The agencies further red flagged an Indonesia based NGO with past links to the Falah-e-Insaniyat Foundation (FIF). This foundation is the charity wing of Pakistan based terrorist organization Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT). It is reported that the FIF was raising funds in the name of North-East Delhi riots and the money was to be sent to Muslims who either lost their family members, were injured or lost their property. Further, an Indonesia based NGO, namely A.C.T⁹¹ has been making attempts to send Rupees 25 Lakh to the North East Delhi Riots victims with its board of trustee members contacting local Muslim organizations to distribute the same. The said NGO is also circulating selective images/messages to further spread its propaganda through its social media handles. The NGO has a track record of being a highly radicalized group which has provided financial assistance to Muslim communities in different countries including Rohingya Muslims in Bangladesh. The NGO has, in past, also helped Jamat-ud-Dawa, the parent organization of Lashkar-e-Taiba, in establishing Rohingya camps in Indonesia.⁹² The present outlook provides a sound footing to the suspicion that radical/terrorist organizations based in India as well as outside India are trying to outreach/exploit Rohingya and other immigrating Muslim communities through financial aid to increase their footprint in India.

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⁹⁰ Shishir Gupta, Hindustan Times, Indian agencies point to Pak link in anti-CAA protests, (07/03/2020), https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/indian-agencies-point-to-pak-link-in-anti-caa-protests/story-qWCiqnXCO285Qsv1rFQJeL.html

⁹¹ India TV News Desk, Indonesia-based NGO linked to Hafiz Saeed funded Delhi riots: Report, (12/03/2020), https://www.indiatvnews.com/news/india/breaking-indonesia-based-ngo-funded-delhi-riots-hafiz-saeed-link-report-597438

⁹² Shishir Gupta, Hindustan Times, Security agencies flag Indonesia link to Delhi riots, (14/03/2020), https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/security-agencies-flag-indonesia-link-to-delhi-riots/story-ysdToRBSLbjWqp2a0d6u6L.html

Chapter-11

NARRATIVES, SOCIAL MEDIA AND THE INTERNET

11.1. Internet: Runway for fastest narratives

Internet has played a dominant role in the present riots at every stage; including spreading misinformation about the CAA, manipulating narratives at pre-riots stage, flaming it during the riots as well as post the riots to misrepresent the Muslim community as victim. In India, people have addiction to the social media and India has become the biggest market to WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc. The narrative influencing power of the social networking websites has become one of the tools which is being used by all the communities, politicians, social workers, business class to spread their propagandas, ideologies, beliefs, and the internet has been developed as one of the most effective tools because of its power of instantaneous communication.

The instantaneous communication coupled with the audio and visual impact which is further magnified with multiple options to post at various places, forward, share, creates a cascading impact and yield the result which were not possible on any other platform or which were never thought of by the community. Audio- video narratives posted by the community in general or by those who are leaders of the community has more impact as this narrative seems to be more convincing or reliable and if these are forwarded or liked by those who are known, anybody could become infallible to it. Further, the ease with which deep fake images, videos can be created provides ample opportunity to miscreants to manipulate & exploit general public or followers in a particular group by creating or manipulating these material to generate a particular narrative which not only would seems to be genuine but also validated by a large chunk of the relevant community.

Instigating riots using 'fake news weapon' through the Internet/ Social Media:

Facebook being used as weapon of mass propaganda in Dalit Violence

A video was uploaded on Facebook which showed a youth addressing a handful of students at Ambedkar Hostel exhorting Muslims and Dalits to protest collectively. Dalit riots which happened in 2017 Facebook was used as mass weapon for propaganda. This and similar videos spread like wild fire across India through further forwarding, sharing, liking on various medias thus, generating a cascading impact on the people in the

community and ultimately resulted in a sudden spurt in violence and riots. The entire riots were the outcome of misinformation and hate speech generated by few radical groups with their ulterior objective to divide the community on caste lines. Community for mass protest. ⁹³

Inhibiting rumours through media/ social media:

Ayodhya Verdict, Article 370 abrogation:

Both these decisions had Social, National, and Political Impact. In both these cases, impacting Hindu-Muslim communities, riots could be avoided as the transparency about the events were shared by the Media/ Social Media in a transparent manner ruling out any scope to create the rumors and radical groups did not get any opportunity to exploit the same. It helped in establishing peace and harmony between different communities, thereby reducing the communal riots and tensions to negligible.⁹⁴

The only way to break the impetus of such fast misinformation campaign is to not only to provide the correct information with the equivalent or more speed but also to stop the dissemination of such information through social networking websites or internet medium and measures including blocking of internet, removal/blocking of relevant contents, deleting the fake profiles, prosecution of the perpetrators of crime, educating & creating awareness among the users to appreciate such content in true perspective and authenticate them before forwarding them or relying upon them.

Countering the use of Information and Communication Technologies for Criminal Purposes

International Community has appreciated the use of internet control to counter the use of information and communication technologies which were being used by the criminals for criminal or against the state. The UN approved a resolution on 18/11/2019, led by Russia to create a new convention on cyber crime which is aimed at criminalizing information offences, undermining freedom of online expression, emphasizing state

News18.com, In Wake of Ayodhya Verdict, UP Police on Constant Alert; DGP Says Social Media Being 'Monitored', (12/11/2019),https://www.news18.com/news/india/in-wake-of-ayodhya-verdict-up-police-on-constant-alert-dgp-says-social-media-being-constantly-monitored-2383659.html.

⁹³ Mausami Singh, India Today, Facebook being used as weapon of mass propaganda in Dalit violence, (04/04/2018)_https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/facebook-being-used-as-weapon-of-mass-propaganda-in-dalit-violence-1204870-2018-04-04.

control of the internet which further provides for State's seizure of property and shutdowns. The resolution was passed 88-58 with 34 abstentions, aims to establish a group to examine cybercrime and set up a convention to prevent it. ⁹⁵

11.2. Misinformation through Internet/ Social Media



Figure 29: Fake News spread by Alam Irshad on 23rd February 2020 at 15:06 when no violence actually took place ⁹⁶.

The conspirators behind the riots and the anti- CAA protests were cognizant about this fact and exploited the narrative power of the internet to spread misinformation, propaganda, and to influence the public to follow their propaganda. These were used by the radical groups from the inception to create false propaganda, spreading the same to the masses and also to manage, coordinate the protests as well as riots among the groups which were spread over a geographical area.

⁹⁶ Fake News spread by Alam Irshad on 23rd February 2020 at 15:06 when no violence actually took place, https://www.facebook.com/alam.irshad.779?ref=br_rs

⁹⁵ Business Standard, UN backs Russia on internet convention, alarming online rights advocates, (28/12/2019), https://www.business-standard.com/article/technology/un-backs-russia-on-internet-convention-alarming-online-rights-advocates-119122800126 1.html.



The picture as portrayed on social media and the news media was different from the ground reality. Several locals from the Seelampur area reported on February, 23rd itself had reported that local women protesters disagreed with the road blockade plans of Pinjra Tod, but were given a response that, "Kafan Bandh ke aye hai jo hamare sath nahi vo desh ka gaddar hai." They further charged that while they were trying to maintain peace in the area, groups like Pinjra Tod were inciting violence and for their misadventures, the local people suffer. It was also alleged Pinjra Tod had made multiple attempts even in the past to block the roads in Seelampur but had failed because of the intervention of locals.





Sharjeel Imam, the mastermind of Shaheen Bagh protests, had visited AMU and had openly revealed his plan of action and called upon the Muslims to undertake a 'Chakka Jam' in 500 cities of the country, especially in North India. Later, on 17th January, 2020, Sharjeel, a JNU student & alumni of the IIT Bombay, infamously claimed of his main aim to cut Assam and North-East India from the rest of India, once again at the AMU campus. He further misinformed the public he was addressing that the Assamese Muslims were already being detained in detention centers and asserted that the Muslims needed to stop the supplies of

Indian Army to Assam in order to stop the application of NRC in Assam. ⁹⁷ Videos relating to these events were seen by thousands of people on the internet and spread provocative content and misinformation at a large scale. There was also a video in which men were seen climbing the minaret of a Mosque, reportedly in New Ashok Nagar, which was made viral on social media and termed as 'Babri Masjid'. However, ground reports burst the bubbles of fake news as the locals claimed that a Shiv Mandir was targeted and attacked and bullets were fired inside the Mandir following which several men reacted and attacked the Mosque. ⁹⁸

Another feature about the North East District is that the Muslim community living in the area is poor & uneducated and they are not able to understand the implications of CAA on its own and were more persuaded by the local leaders, Maulavi and narrative which were reaching to them and for them, more reliable due to false impression of insecurity created post CAA. The narrative of the opposition parties, Muslim leaders even at the national level was misleading and with ulterior objective which were further mis-shaped by the local leaders, Maulavi & these radical groups to exploit the local uneducated population to carry on attack on Hindu community as their own means of survival.

For this purpose, the radical groups largely used social media through posts, videos, photographs, etc., on platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and even TikTok. ⁹⁹ The platforms proved to be unregulated chaos riddled with rumours ¹⁰⁰, provocative and inciting content ¹⁰¹, hate speech ¹⁰², calls for

riots_in_5e5d0553c5b6beedb4ee9a28?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLm_NvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAKLo269gXBdxnyRLG8aNUg5FLtd3EwxRP8m6m88qSZx6LwLVA_66jb-

⁹⁷ India TV News Desk, 'Aim is to cut Assam and Northeast from India': JNU student Sharjeel Imam,(25.01.2020), https://www.indiatvnews.com/news/india/sharjeel-imam-says-cut-off-assam-and-northeast-from-india-shaheen-bagh-protest-582837

⁹⁸ Sanjeev Newar, twitter.com/SanjeevSanskrit/status/1233382995207184384

⁹⁹ Piyashree Dasgupta, Huffington Post, 'Modiji, Strike With Lathis': On TikTok, People Are Romancing Delhi Riots, (03/03/2020), https://www.huffingtonpost.in/entry/tiktok-delhi-riots_in_5e5d0553c5b6beedb4ee9a28?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLm

 $[\]underline{99t8opeij8AUB8XdZinloLWPOhFxJsY1wyvH1tTGUqcpi22CH8PPRDiShZ4r1RVo6S32a5GCKxS9z1caEKjm4rq9il8qAYcSv2je3GYvep2KIHSVJVwqtd}$

HT Correspondent, 24-year-old, with 10,000 Twitter followers, held for rumours about Delhi riots, (02/03/2020), https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/24-year-old-with-10-000-twitter-followers-held-for-rumours-about-delhi-riots/story-OmuM0MX3V9gfRI3aDgXKiJ.html.

¹⁰¹ ANI, Delhi violence: 13 cases registered for posting provocative content on social media, (29/02/2020), https://www.aninews.in/news/national/general-news/delhi-violence-13-cases-registered-for-posting-provocative-content-on-social-media20200229220234/.

Web Desk, The Week, Watch: Kerala police arrest 'RSS worker' for hate speech on Delhi violence; troll him in video, (26/02/2020), https://www.theweek.in/news/india/2020/02/26/watch-kerala-police-arrest-rss-worker-for-hate-speech-on-delhi-violence-troll-him-in-video.html

mobilisation¹⁰³, etc. The protests and riots could not be contained to the limits of Delhi, as the information, rather misinformation, was being spread to a great extent which created troubling situations throughout the nation.¹⁰⁴



Figure 30: Anti-National slogans on the walls of the Riots-affected Areas.

11.3. Post-Riot Scenario

The radical groups have already planned everything including use of internet/social media to create misinformation, propaganda for inciting the public at large into attacking Hindu community to propagate communal riots. These organised used of outside criminals, use of acid attacks, petrol bombs & other preparations are bound to expose the illegal design of these radical groups and could exposed them to prosecution and also before the national & international community and there radical groups not only during the riots but also after riots continued with their mis-information campaign to shift the burden on government & Hindu community for planning and committing the attacks on Muslim community.

¹⁰³ Supra

¹⁰⁴ Neelanjan Sircar, The Print, Not all communal riots are local, Social Media is making them National, (04/03/2020), https://theprint.in/opinion/not-all-communal-riots-local-social-media-is-making-them-national/375277/.

11.4. Why radical groups succeeded in mis-information campaigns?

We need to appreciate that the cyber space is made up of code and it does not understand any language. In 1999, Professor Lawerence Lessiz in the theory of Cyber Jurisprudence "Code is law" stated that the code is the building block and architecture of all internet protocols. If you want to control the cyberspace, you can control is by controlling the code. So on the internet, the argument which would come on the top in the search result is not which is correct but the argument which is posted more times or liked or accessed more.

Simon Weckert, about three years ago, observed during May Day demonstration in Berlin that Google maps showed a massive traffic jams due to mass of people carrying mobile phones and even when there were zero cars on the road. ¹⁰⁵

Taking idea from the episode, Weckert borrowed 99 phones from friends & rental companies and put them into a little red wagon and by moving on the road, befooled Google maps into drawing an inference that there is a huge rush on the road.

This is what did by radical groups. These groups through their members created hundred of accounts on social networking websites and message posted by them were forwarded, shared and propagated further which created cascading impact on the ordinary public and led them to believe the mis-information narratives.

11.5. Some of the twitter account whose posts were forwarded 1000 times

Another reason which helps these conspirators to succeed in the manipulating narratives is the failure of the government to take any steps to control the misinformation campaigns through the regulators or controlling and directing the social Media. The government also did not launch any dedication program or initiative to counter the misinformation or to create transparency on CAA particularly for the poor & uneducated classes as residing in the North East, Delhi.

¹⁰⁵ Brain Barrett, WIDE, An Artist Used 99 Phones to Fake a Google Maps Traffic Jam, (02/03/2020) https://www.wired.com/story/99-phones-fake-google-maps-traffic-jam/

Chapter-12

RECOMMENDATION

- i. Compensation to victims for the loss of life, damage of properties should be given without delay and without any discrimination.
- ii. Initiate Confidence Building measure to restore the normalcy and also to prevent the outflow of people affected by the riots.
- iii. To collect electronic evidences from the public, national / international media to identify and prosecute the offenders.
- iv. To identify the perpetrators of misinformation on social media & prosecute them.
- **v.** Trial of the riot cases should be expedited in the designated courts.
- vi. Efforts should have been made by the Police machinery to collect intelligence beforehand.
- vii. To investigate into the role of terrorist/Islamic outfits, Bangladeshi groups through Rohingyas, who were behind fermenting the riots.
- viii. To identify the organizations/ outfits/persons who financed these activities and to take strict action against them.
 - ix. To initiate for removing the wrong apprehension of the people about CAA.
 - x. Diligent monitoring of social media on real time basis by the Govt. agencies to prosecute the offenders circulating misinformation.
 - xi. Intermediary/social media platform 'WhatsApp' providing for anonymity in communication to be blocked.

- xii. To identify fake news websites circulating hate speeches, misinformation campaigns and to prosecute them.
- xiii. Considering involvement of PFI, ISI & other inter-state and international groups, investigation must be done at NIA level.
- xiv. To take effective steps to prevent the reoccurrence of such incidents in future in any part of the country.









Jamia Coordination Committee

Reach Chandbagh in large numbers and join the march to Rajghat at 11 am tomorrow. Unite Against scrapping of reservation, against CAA NRC NPR, against witchhunting of protestors.



साधीयों जय भीमा

कल 23 फरवरी को आरक्षण को बचाने और CAA, NPR, NRC को खत्म करने के लिए भारत बंद होगा। आज शाम 7 बजे से हम ट्विटर पर ट्रेंड करेंगे।

#23फरवरी भारत बंद



Shaheen Bagh Official

.@Chandbaghoffic1 has called for a march towards Rajghat tomorrow, 23rd of February at 11:00 A.M

Join in! March in solidarity!

#IndiaAgainstCAA_NRC_NPR #notocaa_nrc_npr



Chandra Shekhar Ascad O

देश का बहुजन समाज 23 फरवरी को भारत बंद करके ये बता देगा कि भारत देश को हिन्दू राष्ट्र बनाने की जो कोशिश आरएसएस और बीजेपी कर रही वो कभी भी सफल नहीं होगी। हम अम्बेडकर के सपनों का भारत बनाएंगे।

#23फरवरी भारत बंद





#Aligarh Police ki taraf se Aligarh me Peacefully Chal Rahe Protest Ka mahol kharab karne ki koshish



