

Delhi Riots

2020

Report from Ground Zero



The Shaheen Bagh Model in North - East Delhi: From Dharna to Danga

Group of Intellectuals and Academicians (GIA)

New Delhi

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Findings and Recommendations

The Fact Finding Team came back from North-East Delhi after intense field study of the situation. The findings are as follows:

1. **Riots in North East Delhi were a planned conspiracy:** The Delhi riots 2020 were pre-planned. There are evidences of a 'Left-Jihadi model of revolution' that has been executed in Delhi and is sought to be replicated at other places.
2. **There is evidence of a Urban Naxal- Jihadi network that planned and executed the riots:** The Delhi riots are not genocide or a pogrom targeted at any community. They are a tragic outcome of a planned and systematic radicalization of the minorities by a far left-Urban Naxal network operating in universities in Delhi. Both communities have suffered greatly as a consequence. The presence of Jihadi organizations like Popular Front of India (PFI) at dharna sites has been observed.
3. **Radicalization of Muslims over a long period led to the riots:** Around 15 December 2020 and two weeks after that, protest sites were established in all major areas with concentration of Muslim population.
4. **Riots originated in Anti CAA Protest sites:** Women sitting on dharna since 15 December, 2019 came on roads, blocked metros and thereafter mobs pelting stones led to riots. (This also happened in areas as far as Malviya Nagar.) After blocking roads the protesters got into confrontation with the Police. The situation turned violent and communal in such areas. Rioting continued in the area from 24 February till 26 February 2020.
5. **Women used as a shield in all protest sites:** In all dharna sites women were kept at the forefront and men operated from behind this shield.
6. **Anxiety and fear among the locals:** Most protest sites relayed a constant stream of high decibel sloganeering continuously for the past 8 weeks leading to anxiety and fear amongst the local population.
7. **Protest marches on streets, roads, markets etc. at odd times leading to chaos:** Most of the protest sites are in public spaces; under metro stations, in public parks. Anti-CAA protesters moved into key market areas, roads, metro stations at night or early mornings repeatedly, leading to chaos in the local population.
8. **The Shaheen Bagh Model:** The content of most of these protests was a mixture of Left-wing Jihadi and anti-CAA, NRC, NPR activism. Slogans had a content of anti-Amit Shah, anti-Modi, anti-Fascist rhetoric. Most of these sites still have 'revolution' slogans painted on the walls. Azadi, Anti-government rhetoric, dangers of fascism slogans are raised on public address systems and painted at protest sites. Songs from the Italian folk tradition like Bella-Ciao are sung daily. This is the 'Shaheen Bagh Model'.
9. **Anti Hindu, Anti India, Anti Police and Anti-Government nature of protest:** It is observed that the slogans and posters at Shaheen Bagh had a deliberate provocative, anti-Hindu content. Images of the holy Swastik, Om were depicted

in a derogatory manner. Ma Kaali, the Hindu goddess and women wearing bindis were shown in burkhas. While on the one hand Islamic slogans were raised repeatedly, locals also reported 'Pakistan Zindabad' slogans being raised. All this was being done with the Constitution and the Indian National Flag in the backdrops.

10. **Jihadi mobs indulged in targeted killings, looting and vandalizing shops:** On 24 February 2020 violence spread to Bhajanpura, Shiv vihar, Gokulpuri, Brijpuri, Brahmpuri and the surrounding areas. There was wide-spread evidence of mobs of violent women and men attacking the Delhi Police, important public sites like petrol pumps, high value properties belonging to Hindus.
11. **Riot weapons were stockpiled over a period of time:** There are evidences of use of high rise buildings in the areas as sites for launching petrol bombs, Molotov cocktails; huge sized catapults capable of launching bricks have also been found. Many bullet casualties on 24 February are a result of precision shooting of the kind that can only be done by sniper style sharpshooters i.e. trained shooters.
12. **Links across the border:** ISIS type of brutal killings point towards links across the border. Intelligence Bureau (IB) official, Ankit Sharma's post mortem indicates that he was stabbed over 400 times before and after his death. Dilber Negi. A 23 years old worker in sweet shop in Shiv vihar was brutally killed. First, report his hands were amputated and thereafter he was burnt alive.
13. **Exemplary role of local Hindu and Muslim community leaders:** Delhi Police and Hindu and Muslim community leaders worked together to contain this extremely dangerous situation. While outsiders instigated violence, local community leaders from Muslim and Hindu communities have worked on ground to establish peace. We met a number of such persons.
14. **Violence against women:** Women reported that they were harassed and faced extreme danger during the riots. We met school principals in Yamuna Vihar who reported that the girl students under their care were in a very insecure position. It was impossible in the circumstances to hand over the students to caregivers. Young school girls were stranded in school campuses for a long time. The rioters took advantage of this situation and molested the young girls on their way back home. It is alleged that the underclothes of a young woman were recovered from the house of Tahir Hussain, ex-AAP Counciller in the area. The dead body of a female was allegedly recovered from the nallah at Khajuri Khas.
15. **Scheduled Caste victims:** There are a large number of victims belonging to Scheduled Caste communities. Some of the victims are extremely poor and belong to weaker economic sections of society. Throughout our field survey we saw and met victims who are daily wagers or earn very less. Most of them live in gallis with bare minimum sanitation and conveniences. The victims are mostly innocent bystanders. Most of the victims came out of their homes for fulfilling some basic family needs like milk, food, medicines etc. They were caught unawares in the violence.
16. **Identity of rioters:** Who were the rioters? While this is a question that will be

answered by security agencies investigating the riot through CCTV and other footages. However, there seem to be some common features as stated by the people we met. These features are elaborated below.

17. **The Outsiders:** In every gali, road we covered, the people said that the rioters were outsiders and not residents of their gali or mohalla. The question remains as to who these outsiders were? In North East Delhi some gallis open out into what is technically Uttar Pradesh. There is no sealed border. Apart from this, “Baharwale” or outsiders could mean someone from the next gali-moholla. For example in Khajuri Khas we were told that outsiders came from Mustafabad. In Bhajanpura we were told that outsiders came from Chandbagh. The crowds of rioters were very well prepared to conceal their identities. Many were wearing helmets and had blackened their faces.
18. **Outsiders from various Universities in Delhi:** The outside influence is most palpable when one visits the sites of anti-CAA protest that have now been removed. These point at the involvement of a revolutionary network that engineered and managed the riot situation. Specifically the role of organisations like Pinjra Tod in instigating violence has been mentioned by organisers of Shaheen Bagh in their social media posts. Locals in areas as far as Chand Bagh and Malviya Nagar have reported the presence of women students from JNU who were constantly instigating crowds in these areas over a period of weeks before 23 February 2020. We observed everywhere that the police and law enforcement agencies were on a backfoot due the large number of rioters who were also armed. The anti-CAA protestors from sidelanes came on roads, accompanied by armed Jehadi mobs who targeted the Delhi Police and civilians alike. As a result life of common citizens was endangered and they had to resort to self defense in the face of rioting mobs. Those who have incurred injuries are common people who were engaged in their everyday profession. They had to form lines of defense to safeguard life and property.
19. **Violent nature of Anti-CAA protests:** Anti-CAA protests have been violent from the start. Multiple incidents of violence have been reported at Police stations in North East district itself from December 2019, which preceded the incidents of 23-25 February 2020.

Recommendations

1. **NIA Inquiry into Delhi Riots 2020:** We strongly recommend that given the intensity of the violence, the investigation into the riots should be handed over to the NIA. All incidents in Delhi from 15 December 2019 should be investigated.
2. **Foreign funds and support for the violence in Delhi should be investigated by the NIA:** The planning and execution of the Delhi riots from Dharna to Danga indicates the involvement of foreign agencies and funds. This should be investigated by the NIA.
3. **Rehabilitation for all victims:** In light of the extreme violence suffered by the most marginal sections of society in North-East Delhi we suggest that rehabilitation work should be done expeditiously.
4. **Central Government should initiate confidence building measures:** We

suggest that the Central Government initiates confidence building measures amongst both communities utilizing the goodwill of prominent community members. There is still simmering anger and dangerous perceptions on ground that needs to be calmed.

5. **Forensic audit of high-rise buildings:** We strongly recommend that a forensic audit of all high buildings in North-East Delhi be carried out by investigating agencies.
6. **NIA Inquiry into ‘outsider network’:** We strongly recommend that Intelligence and Government agencies should investigate the ‘outsider network’ responsible for engineering riots in Delhi through an NIA Inquiry. We recommend that the role of students, teachers, artists, organisations responsible for instilling hate through dharna/protest marches, social media posts, provocative speeches etc should be investigated.
7. **Direction to University authorities not to allow their campuses to be used for hate speeches and political gathering:** We request all levels of University administration i.e. Vice Chancellors of Delhi University, Jamia Milia Islamia, JNU and all other universities to take an audit of the use of their campuses to engineer wider disturbances in the city in the past 8 weeks.
8. **Funding of Shaheen Bagh type protest:** Boarding, lodging, food, hoardings, banners, publicity material etc. must be investigated.
9. **Legal and Medical camps should be organized: Legal and Medical facilities and psychological counseling of victims including children should be arranged.**
10. **Sanctity of public spaces to be maintained by all law enforcing agencies:** Police should ensure that roads, streets, parks etc. should not be used for dharna and protest. Such gatherings should only be allowed at designated spaces.

Summary of the Report

This is the Report of a Fact Finding Team on the Delhi Riots 2020. The Group of Intellectuals and Academicians (GIA) went for ground observation to North East Delhi from 29 February 2020.

- **Fact Finding Objectives:**

1. To observe the situation on ground in North-East Delhi.
2. To understand the causes that led to the Delhi Riots 2020.
3. To meet victims of the Delhi Riots 2020.

- **Description of persons met and interviewed during the Fact-finding & sites visited**

To achieve the objectives of this Fact Finding, we spoke to the people on the streets of North East Delhi. We had meetings with people across all social and economic sections.

A description of persons whom we met/ sites visited are given below:

1. Residents of Chand Bagh
2. Residents of Prem Nagar, Karawal Nagar
3. Residents of Shiv Vihar
4. Residents of Mustafabad
5. Residents of Bhajan Pura
6. Residents of Ghonda

We visited the following sites:

1. Rajdhani Public Sr. Sec. School, Babu Nagar Tiraha, Shiv Vihar, Karawal Nagar, Delhi-94
2. DRP Secondary School, Main Brijpuri Road Tiraha, Shiv Vihar Karawal Nagar Delhi-94
3. Arun Modern Senior Secondary School, D-block, Main road Brijpuri, New Mustafabad Delhi-94
4. JCT Technical Education Centre, B 3/49 A, Yamuna Vihar Delhi-53
5. Indian Oil Petrol Pump, Bhajanpura, Delhi
6. Horizon Academy, Yamuna Vihar, Delhi

- **The local persons we met were:**

1. Mohammad Istar, Owner of a Unisex Saloon
2. Shri Ashok Kumar, Owner of Ashok Foam
3. Shri Satpal Singh, Owner of Paint Shop
4. Shri Shiv Kumar Raghav, Owner of Motorcycle Service centre
5. The family of Dinesh Kumar Khatik
6. The family of Vinod Kashyap

7. The family of Rahul Solanki
8. The Family of Rahul Singh
9. Muhammad Haider Naqvi, President of Kindergarten Education Society, Bhajanpura.
10. The Garg family
11. Nazni Parveen, Local resident
12. Pankaj Sharma, Owner of D.R.P school
13. Bhishma Sharma, Owner of Arun Modern School
14. Vinod Joshi, Owner of JCT Technical Education Centre
15. Puspendra Gaur, Owner of English Speaking centre
16. Wakeel Siraj, resident of Yamuna Vihar
17. Sushil, Owner of a computer centre
18. Farooq Ali, resident of Ghonda
19. Navneet Gupta, Owner of Horizan Academy
20. Zulfikar, resident of Maunpuri
21. Sethi, Owner of Sethi Enterprises
22. Sanyog Chauhan- resident of Bhajanpura injured
23. Abdul Rashid, Haji Baba, RWA and Minara Masjid President
24. Zakeel Ahmad, resident of Yamuna Vihar 23

The Delhi Riots 2020 were preceded by a long sequence of events. These are tabulated and documented below:

List of dates and events leading up to Delhi Riots-2020

Events leading to the Delhi riots 2020 can be divided into 4 distinct phases.

The First Phase: This is the period immediately after the passing of Citizenship Amendment Act on 11 December 2019 in the Parliament. In this phase we observe Jihadi, Peoples Front of India (PFI) style protests in Universities. Content of all protests are radical Islamic. Crowds of students mixed with outsiders clashed with the Police in Aligarh Muslim University, Jamia etc. Sharjeel Imam made his first speech in Jamia on December 13 2019. Later his much publicized second speech was made at AMU on 16 January 2020.

Date/Time	Event	Comment
15 December 2019	Jamia Millia Islamia violence over CAA.	A crowd of almost 10,000 protesters the core of which was students of Jamia clash violently with the Police. By February 6 the Jamia Administration asks students to stay away from protests due to influence of outsiders seen in such protests.
15 December 2020	Aligarh Muslim University violence over CAA	A crowd of around 10,000 many of who were reportedly students take out a demonstration against CAA. Clashes with the police occur.
15 December 2020	Protest Sit in at Shaheen Bagh	Anti-CAA, blocking roads.
15 December 2020	Amanatullah Khan Hate Speech at Okhla	Anti CAA, AAP MLA from Okhla

17 December 2020	Jamia Millia Islamia violence	Anti-CAA
<p>The Second Phase: After Police action and violence in Universities the second phase was the escalation of the Shaheen Bagh Type dharnas. North-East Delhi is exclusively escalated as one dharna zone. Most of the political parties supported these Dharnas. However Urban Naxal-Jihadi organizers closed these protests to any outside negotiation. Scheduled Castes were approached to join but they largely remained out of these sites.</p>		
Date	Event	Comment
19 December 2020	Protests at Seelampur	Anti-CAA protests; Entry and Exit gates of Seven Metro Stations closed.
20 December 2019	Protest sit in at Inderlok Metro Station	Anti-CAA
20 December 2019	A crowd of 40 thousand comes out on 66 ft. road at Jaffrabad at 2:30 am in response to the call given by Bhim Army for Bharat Bandh	This crowd disperses after local Ulema and Delhi Police jointly negotiate with them.
27 December 2019	Security tightened at Seelempur. Drones used for surveillance	
27 December 2019	NIA raids in Jaffrabad. Islamic State module picked up by NIA.	North East Delhi
13 January 2020	Protest sit in at Khureji	Anti CAA
13 January 2020	Protest sits in at Gandhi Park, Khirki, Near Malviya Nagar, Delhi.	Anti CAA: This built up into a protest spilling over into Malviya Nagar Market. Large crowds of almost 4000 shouting slogans poured into the Market at 11 pm at night.
15 January 2020 onwards in North East Delhi	Protest sit in at Seelampur, Kardampuri, Chand Bagh, Brijpuri, Noor-e –Ilahi, Khajuri Khas, Mustafabad, Jaffrabad.	North East Delhi, Anti CAA. This was the site from which the violence spilled over at Bhajanpura on 24 February 2020 leading to huge loss of life and property.
<p>The Third Phase: By about 15 January most of Delhi had Dharna sites following the Shaheen Bagh Model. Till 15 February 2020 these sites continued to protest .There was no Police or State action. Over this period most of these dharnas were sites of Artists performances, speeches, poems, high-decibel anti government, Anti- Hindu and radical Islamic protest formats were observed. Most Universities in Delhi continued to feed these Dharna sites.</p>		

Date/Time	Event	Comment
<p>The Fourth Phase: Emerged after the failure of the first three phases. From 15 February onwards most Dharnas entered a violent aggressive phase. Warris Pathan delivered his hate speech in Gulbarga on 20 February 2020. On 23rd February a crowd of around 4000 Anti-CAA protesters entered Malviya Nagar market. In an extremely dangerous move, Azadi slogans were raised in front of the Shiva Temple. Clashes with the Police occurred when the Anti-CAA protesters tried to block the road.</p>		
<p>Events timeline for North-East Delhi</p>		
22 February 2020 Saturday	Around 10.30 pm door to door campaigning was done in Janta Colony East and West in North- East Delhi for mobilizing people to come on the roads for a roadblock.	This is a major slum area
22 February 2020 Saturday	Jaffrabad Metro Station Anti CAA protest started by Muslim women at Gate No.4.	Jaffrabad and Seelampur Metro Station closed down
23 February 2020 Sunday	These protesters moved from the Metro Station and block the main Jaffrabad road at 1.30 am.	Banners with Scheduled Caste Activism overtones and Anti CAA, Anti- NPR, Anti-NRC.
23 February 2020 Sunday	Protesters block the road at Chand Bagh around 1:00 am.	Blocking of the Jaffrabad road cuts off a population of approximate 35 lakhs from Delhi and UP from 3 sides, 2 of which are already blocked.
23 February 2020 Sunday	300 protesters are still on the road under the Jaffrabad Metro Station at 6:00 am	
23 February 2020 Sunday	At 9:00 am locals start building up on Maujpur chowk. They want that the Jaffrabad blockage should be ended. First round of violence between two groups.	This is an eyeball to eyeball crowd: the site where they were in confrontation at Maujpur and Jaffrabad is a distance of merely 300 meters.
23 February 2020 Sunday	The crowd of locals at Maujpur Chowk is caught in between stone pelting from Jaffrabad and Kabir Nagar.	PCR call is made by locals at 3.05 pm
23 February 2020 Sunday	Kapil Mishra, BJP is at the spot at 3:00 pm and is asked to help clear the place of locals since the Police finds it difficult to protect locals from stone pelting from 2 sides.	Kapil Mishra, BJP asks the police to remove Anti-CAA protesters from the Jaffrabad Metro Station berating Police and State inaction. This is around 4.30 pm. He posts this on Twitter at 5 pm.
23 February 2020 Sunday	At 9:00 pm Police and anti-CAA protestors have a face off at Bhajanpura	

Details of the one sided Violence in North East Delhi on 24 February 2020

Date/Time	Event	Comment
24 February 2020 Monday	Total chaos on Road Number 66, Jaffrabad as the CBSE Board exams start. Police blocks entry. This road	Panic set in as locals get agitated due to the inability to reach centers of Board exams.
24 February 2020 Sunday	Around 10:00 am, Anti-CAA protesters at Chand Bagh try to re-establish themselves at the protest site. Clashes break out as Delhi Police tries negotiating with them.	Protesters called DCP Shahdra Amit Sharma to negotiate. He is brutally attacked by a crowd led by a group of women. This was provocation for Police Action which did not happen. It was expected that Police action will lead to full fledged riots.
24 February 2020 Monday	One sided attacks in the absence of Police continued in Bhajanpura. Around 12 am, protesters target Bhajanpura Market. Locals had to gather to safeguard life and property.	Locals from the Bhajanpura Market Association form a barrier and face off with the protesters. They manage to stop the Bhajanpura Market from being targeted.
24 February 2020 Monday	Delhi Police Constable Sh. Ratanlal dies due to stone pelting and bullet injury. DCP Shahadra Amit Sharma injured by stone pelters	
24 February 2020 Monday	One sided action by Jihadi mobs continued at Bhajanpura in the absence of Police. At 2:30 to 3:30 pm Petrol pump at Bhajanpura and vehicles are set on fire.	
24 February 2020 Monday	The Jihadi mob attacks and sets fire to a number of educational institutions in Bhajan Pura. Locals save themselves by jumping from roofs and escaping through back lanes.	These are institutions that on an average had 40 students inside as rioters set them on fire.
24 February 2020 Monday	Violence spreads to Khajuri Khas. At 3:00 pm looted and vandalized Satpal Singh Paint Shop at Khajuri Khas.	
24 February 2020 Monday	Dinesh Kumar Khatik was shot Dead at Shiv Vihar by the rioters as he was going for some house errands around eleven in the morning.	Victim belongs to the most marginalized Dailt community of Khatiks.
24 February 2020 Monday	DRP Convent Senior Secondary School at Shiv Vihar set on fire between 200 to 3:00 pm as per testimony of Pankaj Sharma, Manager of the School. This was done from the adjacent building which is Rajdhani School owned by Faisal Farukh.	The roof of Rajdhani School has ample evidence of it being used as a site for storage and launching of attacks on locals. Sharpshooters have allegedly shot Dainesh Kumar Khatik and others from the roof of this school.

Timeline of Rapid spread of violence in a larger perimeter in North East Delhi from 24th February evening.

Date/Time	Event	Comment
24 February 2020 Monday	Violence spreads to Brijpuri. 27 years old Rahul Solanki was shot dead around 5:30 pm by rioters	Stepped out to buy milk
24 February 2020 Monday	Another Victim 23 years old Rahul Singh was shot dead in Brijpuri Bhajanpura	
24 February 2020 Monday	7:00 pm to 7:30 pm Tyre Market of Gokul Puri was set on fire by rioters	
24 February 2020 Monday	Around 10:30 pm in Bhajanpura a Muslim mob chanting Allah hu akbar charged on Vinod Kashyap and his son Monu. Shri Vinod was stoned after which rioters lynched him to death.	Vinod Kumar Kashyap was a prominent member of the Scheduled Caste community in Bhajanpura.
25 February 2020 Tuesday	Ankit Sharma under trainee IB officer abducted from his gali and killed by the rioters. Body was thrown in an open drain.	AAP Councillor Tahir Hussain charged in this case.
25 February 2020 Tuesday	Locals in Bhajanpura sustain injuries in trying to protect life and property. Sanyog Chauhan was shot in back near his home at Thana Road Bhajanpura. He survived the bullet injury with bullet still lodged inside his back.	Locals still have to act in self-defence .
25 February 2020 Tuesday	Fahan International School Bhajanpura, vandalized.	The Councilor of the area Shri Pramod Gupta along with senior Muslim community members try to contain the violence in the area.
25 February 2020 Tuesday	Violence spreads to Ghonda. Muslim Youth shot, one dies. Many Muslim families report random shooting. Of the 4 casualties in this area, one is unidentified and three Muslims lost their lives on 25 February 2020.	Constant efforts are made by community members to contain the violence.
25 February 2020 Tuesday	Jaffrabad Road blockage lifted by protesters. Locals ask 'outsiders' in the area to go back.	
26 February 2020 Wednesday	Seelampur protest site re-occupied by a group of Muslim women	

The Fact finding Report on Delhi Riots-2020

We are reporting events on ground in North East Delhi which we visited on 29 February 2020 with heavy hearts. It is heart wrenching to see streets and roads blackened and burnt and evidences of extreme violence all around.

- **The areas in North East Delhi we visited are:**

1. Khajuri Khas
2. Bhajanpura
3. Chand Bagh
4. Karawal Nagar
5. Mustafabad
6. Shiv Vihar
7. Brijpuri

- **The local persons we met were:**

1. Mohammad Istar, Owner of a Unisex Saloon
2. Shri Ashok Kumar, Owner of Ashok Foam
3. Shri Satpal Singh, Owner of Paint Shop
4. Shri Shiv Kumar Raghav, Owner of Motorcycle Service centre
5. The family of Dinesh Kumar Khatik
6. The family of Vinod Kashyap
7. The family of Rahul Solanki
8. The Family of Rahul Singh
9. Muhammad Haider Naqvi, President of Kindergarten Education Society, Bhajanpura.
10. The Garg family
11. Nazni Parveen, Local resident
12. Pankaj Sharma, Owner of D.R.P school
13. Bhishma Sharma, Owner of Arun Modern School
14. Vinod Joshi, Owner of JCT Technical Education Centre
15. Puspendra Gaur, Owner of English Speaking centre
16. Wakeel Siraj, resident of Yamuna Vihar
17. Sushil, Owner of a computer centre
18. Farooq Ali, resident of Ghonda
19. Navneet Gupta, Owner of Horizan Academy
20. Zulfikar, resident of Maunpuri
21. Sethi, Owner of Sethi Enterprises
22. Sanyog Chauhan- resident of Bhajanpura injured
23. Abdul Rashid, Haji Baba, RWA and Minara Masjid President
24. Zakeel Ahmad, resident of Yamuna Vihar

- Damaged schools and Educational Institutions that we saw were:
 1. DRP Public School, Babu Nagar, Shiv Vihar Tiraha
 2. Arun Modern Senior Secondary School, Brijpuri
 3. JMT Technical Institute, Bhajan Pura
 4. Horizon Institute, Bhajan Pura
 5. Fahan International School, Bhajanpura
 6. We also visited Rajdhani Public School, Babu Nagar, Shiv Vihar Tiraha

Ground report from major sites of the visit

CHAND BAGH

Our first stop was at Chand Bagh which derives its name from the Chand Baba Mazaar situated on the road. A site revered in the area by Hindus and Muslims alike is a dargah. There are signs of damage in this site of composite faith. A few meters down, the Durga Fakiri Mandir lies stoned and vandalized and closed for worship.



Chand Baba Mazaar

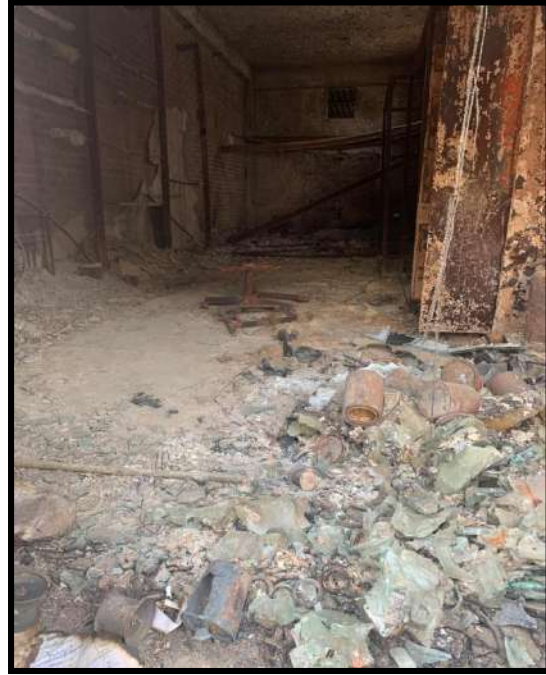
From here we walked down the 4 Km stretch that shows evidence of the destruction caused by the riots. We walked down a few meters down from the Chand Baba dargah and passed shops that have been completely burnt down and vandalized.



Shops-vandalized and burnt

We met Sh. Ashok Kumar, proprietor of Ashok Foam situated in E-5 Khajuri Khas. His shop has been completely burnt down and the loss of property he says is in the range of Rs.15-20 lakhs. In the same place we met Sh. Satpal Singh whose shop is named Classic Paint and Sanitary Store. He estimates his loss at Rs.80 lakhs. With a daughter to be married soon, Satpal Singh is a

broken man. We also met Sh.Dilip Bhandari the owner of a service center located at E-5 Khajuri Khas. This has also been completely burnt down. The pain and loss of Sh. Dilip ji can be clearly seen from the burnt sites. Few goons, who were holding rods and a can full of petrol, entered his shop. They first looted the cash from the shop and then threatened them to vacate the shop as they were aiming to set it on afire.



Ashok Foam, Khajuri Khas



The 'Can' used to carry petrol



Burnt shop of Bhandari Services

A few meters from here stands the house of Tahir Hussian, AAP councilor from this area. It is an under construction building spread over 1000 sq. yards. The media and Delhi Police have taken cognizance of his involvement in the death and destruction that happened in this area. Right next door to this is the completely burnt house of former area councilor from BJP, Mehek Singh.



House of Tahir Hussian, Khajuri Khas



Burnt house of area councilor, Mehek Singh

We went to the house of Ankit Sharma, trainee Intelligence Bureau official who was allegedly dragged into the house of Tahir Hussian and brutally executed in the ISIS style killing. His post mortem report clearly indicated sustained and severe torture of the kind faced by our security forces on the Indo-Pak international border. We saw the drain 'nallah' from where his body along with those of three other boys has been fished out.

Ankit Sharma's family is in Muzzafarpur for his last rites and could not be met. However the picture of the man that emerges from his locality is that of a diligent, law abiding citizen. A helpful local he lost his life in response to shrieks of distress that he went to look into. Ankit Sharma was a student of Hansraj College, Delhi University from 2010 to 2013. He had worked hard to crack his entry into the Intelligence Bureau. His family was looking forward to getting him married.

We walked down the entire 4 km stretch witnessing burnt shops and establishments. Vaishno Bhojanalaya was totally burnt where as other nearby shops were opened. Siddiqui Medical Shop was open, as were other medical shops in the area.



Vaishno Bhojanalaya, Shiv Vihar



Shops nearby Vaishno Bhojanalaya

What caused the violence in North-East Delhi? We spoke to local residents on the streets.

The events of 23 February 2020 were an immediate trigger for a situation that has been simmering for almost a period of 8 weeks in the area and across Delhi. On the night of Sunday, 23 February 2020 around 500 Anti CAA protesters, mainly Muslim women assembled at the Jaffrabad Metro station at 1.30 am and blocked the road. The entry and exit gates of Jaffrabad metro station were closed for morning commuters. The women, carrying tricolour and raising slogans of 'azadi', said they would not move from the site till the Centre revoked the CAA. They also raised 'Jai Bhim' slogans. Subsequently Road No. 66 which connects Seelampur with Maujpur and Yamuna Vihar was blocked. Traffic was also blocked due to the sudden protest at the site.

This led to a fear psychosis among the locals of the area. *'Madam hum doosra Shaheen bagh apne area me nahin chahte the'. Kapil Mishra toh wahan baad me aa gaya. Hum logon ne soch liya thha ki nahin hone denge.'*

Tension was simmering in the area as a result of which locals started gathering on the roads. Hindus mobilized primarily due to anxieties generated by the takeover of Jaffrabad metro station by the Muslim women 23 February, 2020. Locals were very agitated by the resultant blocking of roads on 3 sides, the GT road, the Wazirabad road and at Chand Bagh.

1. Site of road blockage by Anti-CAA protesters at 1.30 am on 23 February 2020.
2. Maujpur where local crowds mobilized on 23 February 2020.
3. Site of Bhajanpura blockage and violence on 24 February 2020.

Skirmishes took place between these two groups of people on the streets on 23rd February 2020. Stone pelting happened which the Police said was brought under control with tear gas. However this was deceptive. Locals said that Police was concentrating on the Jaffrabad protest while tensions were simmering in a larger area. By night on 23 February large groups of Hindus and Muslims had mobilized on the roads. Stoning and skirmishes were going on in the area. According to Locals they had to mobilize because of



the blockage of roads. On 24 February 2020 this situation spun out of control. Events in Bhajanpura on 24 February i.e., The burning of the Bhajanpura Petrol Pump, grievous injuries to ACP Anuj Sharma, DCP Amit Sharma, the death of constable Ratan Lal and the open riots on the Main highway in Bhajanpura added to the escalation of violence. On 24 February 2020 similar violence had taken place in all the localities we visited. These are detailed below. The rioting continued through 25 February 2020.

Vinod Kumar: a Scheduled Caste man was lynched by a mob shouting ‘Allah-hu-Akbar’

Vinod Kumar Kashyap was lynched in Brahmpuri street no.1 by a mob. His son Monu has survived.

Family members fondly remember Vinod Kumar Kashyap as a popular community figure in Brahmpuri area of North East Delhi. He was a DJ by profession. He survived the hard way. He started by dabbling in electrical work and slowly built himself up, building a house and stabilizing his family. Every year he travelled as a Kanwariya. Possessed of a strong built and imposing personality, he was lovingly called Bholu Baba, Shiv Baba by his family and friends.

On the night of 24 February 2020, around 10.30 pm Vinod Kashyap and his son Monu stepped out of the house to buy medicines for Vinod’s grandson. The medicine shop named Kalyan Medical store is barely a few meters away from their house. Though the area had been tense, there was no inkling of the lynching that was to follow.



Vinod Kashyap lying
Dead on the roads of Brahmpuri



Injured son of Vinod Kashyap with 40 stitches

A stone came and hit Monu Kashyap and the bike on which the father and son were riding slipped. Out of nowhere a crowd of 200 people with stones and shouting ‘Allah-hu-Akbar’ surrounded Vinod Kashyap and Monu. The two were attacked repeatedly till Monu pretended to be dead and lost consciousness. Social media videos show a dead Vinod being dragged on the streets. Bhole Baba was lynched.

As he recounts this incident, Monu’s bloodshot eyes filled with tears. He has sustained at least 40 stitches on his head. Social media images show him bleeding from his head trying to shake and slap his dead father into consciousness.

We were left with questions raging in our minds. Why should a person who stepped out to buy medicines be lynched to death. We spoke at great length to locals in the area.

We went around the area and saw the road where he was lynched to death. We were told that Vinod Kashyap made the mistake of crossing the *border* that exists between Hindu and Muslim areas on Wazirabad road. As soon as someone from the other side came within grabbing distance he was caught, surrounded and lynched to death.

Dinesh Kumar Khatik, a Scheduled Caste man shot by a trained shooter

We went to meet the family of Dinesh Kumar Khatik, Resident of House No. 326, Gali Number 5, Prem Nagar, Karawal Nagar. Aged 35 year, he lived with in a joint family in a small house in the area.

He was a Scheduled Caste. On 24 February 2020 he stepped out of his house to buy some food for his children, two sons aged 6 and 1½ years. On finding shops around closed the house, he went a little further to Shiv Nagar Puliya.



Family of Dinesh Khatik



Dinesh Khatik



Mother of Dinesh Khatik

According to residents and family he was shot from the roof of Rajdhani Public School at Shiv Vihar Puliya. The shot was from at least a distance of 100 meters. He was hit by a bullet on his forehead. His family says that this can only be the work of a sniper or sharpshooter. We spoke to his brother Suresh Kumar Khatik who gave a gory account of the incident. He spoke of 3 to 4 persons who were similarly shot and have died.

Dinesh Kumar Khatik owned a small inverter shop in Durgapuri. *‘Madamji hame toh roz kuan khodna hai, aur roz paani peena hai.’* Life is a daily grind for this family. As we sat in his house, Dinesh’s father sat around aimlessly shocked and maddened with grief.

We met his wife Smt Kusumlata who broke down innumerable times. An uneducated woman with a child feeding at her breast, she has no hopes for the future. The small irregular income that her husband brought in has stopped. Her elder son studies in LKG in a small neighbourhood school. She has an eye problem and cannot see properly. For her, the future is a dark alley.

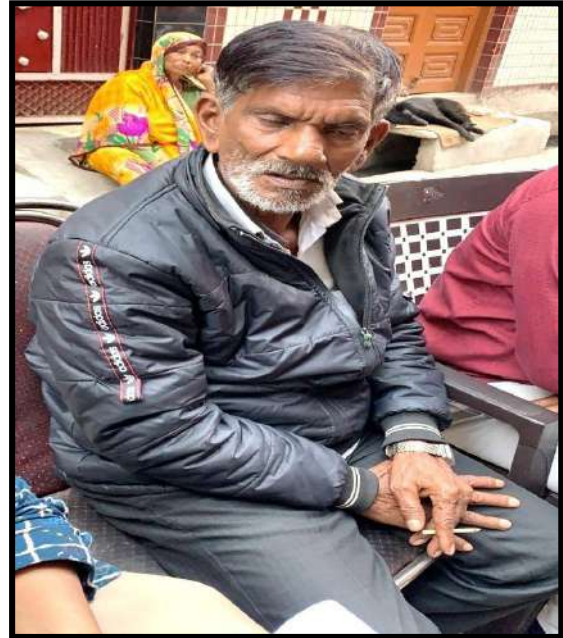
Suresh Kumar Khatik spoke of the larger than life fear that still exists in the locality. Men are still out on night vigils and are alert for any smallest disturbance in the area.

Marroof Ali shot dead just 50 meters away from his house...

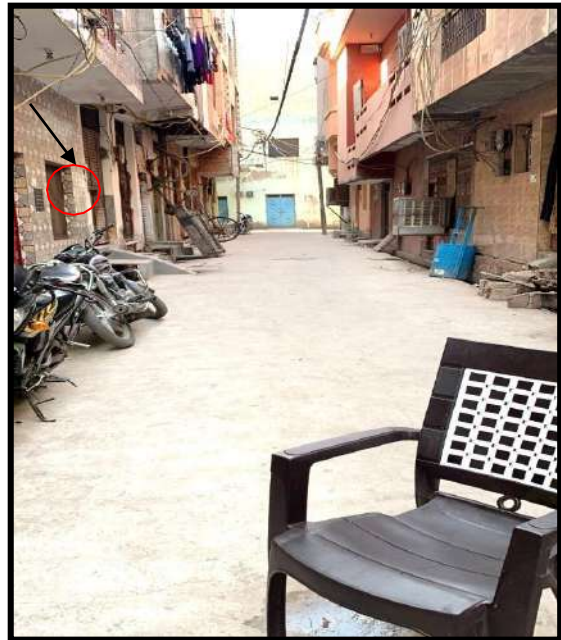
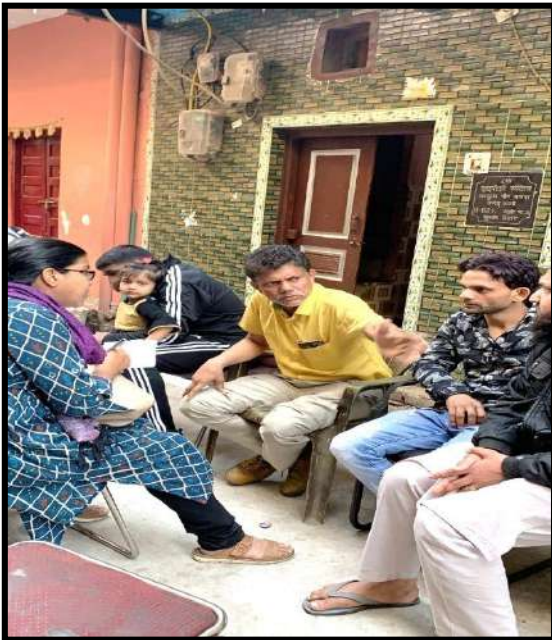
On the night of 25th February, 2020 Ghonda was tensed due to news of unrest in Bhajapura and surrounding areas. Men were awake at night for a vigil. Marroof Ali aged 34 stepped out barely 50 meters from his house towards T-point along with five friends. All 5 sustained bullet injuries. Marroof Ali, a daily wagger doing electrical repairs for his livelihood was shot below his right eye and died.

Marroof Ali leaves behind full family, mother, father, brothers and two children Zeenat age 10 and

Farhan age 6. Marroof's father says 'We have lived here for 47 years. We have never seen such conditions in this area'. A short dark stoic man with a soft voice, he sees no future for Marroof's family. No body from the government has visited them.



Marroof's children and father



Point where Marroof was shot dead

Zulfikar, son of Siraj shot on the mouth...

Caught in the wrong place at the wrong time

Zulfikar stays in Maunpuri and is a daily wager. On 25th February 2020, he was returning from Jama Masjid, Ghonda after namaz when he was shot on his mouth. The bullet is still embedded in his mouth and would be operated shortly. He refused to be photographed.

Rahul Solanki shot dead on the neck...

Went out to buy milk

We went to the house of Rahul Solanki in Shiv Vihar. His brother and other male members of the family were sitting outside their small house in Babu nagar which we reached after negotiating several small gallis. Overflowing open drains and slush on the roads is evidence of the fact that these are underprivileged colonies.

Outside his house we met Rahul's brother Rohit Solanki and several other male family members. Inside the house his mother lay almost senseless with his sister and other women. She calls out to her dead son, moans and screams for him. She calls out to God, to take her away too.

Rahul Solanki was popular in his area for being a community driven youngster. All of 26 years he was a trained Engineer who was pursuing MBA from a private institute in Ghaziabad. He used his skills and social network to get the roads in his locality built and repaired.



Mother and brother of victim Rahul Solanki

On 24 February he had ventured out briefly with his friends to buy milk for the family. Rahul Solanki had barely exited the lane of his locality when he and his friends were confronted with a mob. He was shot, his friends escaped.

Rahul was shot in the neck below his right shoulder said his father Hari Singh Solanki. Such is the fear in the locality that Rahul Solanki had to be cremated under the protection of Paramilitary forces.

Nobody in the area knows who comprised the mob that shot Rahul Solanki. Residents of the area say that they have lived as a composite community for decades. We spoke to Nazni, who own a small provisions shop right outside Rahul Solanki's house. Shaheen Bagh has a larger than life attraction for muslim women. She and a group of women around her spoke of the struggles of the women of Shaheen Bagh. On being asked what was it about CAA that called for ShaheenBhagh protests they were unsure about the Act itself. *'Aapko pata hoga madam, Sarkar ko pata hoga vo aisa kyun kar rahee hai'*.



Nazni, neighbour of Rahul Solanki

Clearly even in a composite community that lives together, there is a divide over CAA, Shaheen Bagh. Along with this, fear stalks the small, dirty lanes of Shiv Vihar. This is a divide that has been assiduously created over a period of few months. Communities that have been living together are now counting their dead.

Rahul Singh, the son of a jawan not spared...

We went to the house of Rahul Singh in Brijpuri. A 23 year old boy who had just finished writing his SSC exams, Rahul Singh was awaiting results and hoped to be selected. We met his elder brother who sat in in a small 5” by 8” room. His mother lay upstairs in a small room sedated and senseless. His father sat empty eyed alongside.

Abhishek Singh told us that his brother Rahul must have walked barely a few meters outside his house from the lanes into the main Brijpuri road before he was shot dead in the stomach. Who shot him? Locals told us that the bullet came from the showroom of one Aziz Qureshi.



Spot where Rahul Singh was shot dead



Rahul Singh's brother

Rahul Singh was a young man looking forward to life. He stepped out in response to calls of '*aaa gaye, aaa gaye*'. Residents told us that such fear was palpable in the region for the past 3 days.

Rahul Singh's father is a retired RPF jawan. His mother is a housewife. The family runs a small store dealing in Puja material. His brother sits in a corner dazed, unable to come to terms with the loss of his 'bachha'. His voice trails off midway and he swoons in pain. Life will never be the same again for the family of Rahul Singh.

At Shiv Vihar... a tale of two schools

DRP Convent Public School in Shiv vihar was totally burnt and destroyed on 24th February, 2020. We spoke to the owner of the school Ms. Meena Sharma and she narrated to us a heart breaking story of destruction and damage. In her school locals from around the area were the main beneficiaries of education. The mob burnt down this temple of education.

Immediately next to this school is Rajdhani Public School which is the highest building in the area and has been extensively covered by the media as the site from which projectiles, stones and petrol bombs were launched on people below. It is from here that many deaths occurred due to sniper and sharp shooter bullets.

Nearby building like the Hanuman Mandir and the parking below were targeted by flaming projectiles from the roof of Rajdhani Public School. The school belongs to the managing society named Fazal Education Society.



Burnt DRP School, Shiv Vihar



Rajdhani School rooftop used by rioters to target the area



Destruction that happened near Rajdhani School



Temple Targeted from Rajdhani School

Bhajanpura as witnessed by the team...

We spent some time at the main highway at Bhajanpura which was the epicenter of mob violence on 24 February 2020. This is the place where a Petrol pump was looted and burnt. This is also the place where Educational institutions were targeted by the rioting mob.

The Educational institutions that were targeted included:

1. JMT Technical Institute that provides Skill and Job oriented courses to students. We met Sh.Vinod Joshi, the owner of the institute. He told us that on 24 February when his Institute was attacked and burnt there were around 40 students inside. These students had to be rescued from the back gate after breaking the gate.
2. Horizon Institute: It offers medical and engineering entrance training to students. We spoke to the head of the Institute Mr. Navneet Gupta, who informed us that at the time of the mob attack around 70 students were present inside the campus. These students were rescued from the back lanes after great difficulty.



Burnt house and car near Petrol pump

The Garg family...

They threw their children from the rooftop to escape their burning house

At Bhajanpura we met Garg family who are residents of Bhajanpura. We spoke to Mrs. Preeti Garg, a feisty mother of Sanyam and Vihan. Mrs. Preeti recalls the horror of 24 February 2020. She was cooking lunch, her mother-in law was sitting in the house, one son was taking bath and one was sleeping when a mob approached their house and set it on fire. As the house started filling up with toxic fumes she rushed to the roof with her children. The back lanes of her house were full of fleeing colony residents. She prayed to them for help. Residents below asked her to drop the children as they waited below to catch them. She flung her sons Sanyam and Vihan, one by one as the crowd below caught the boys. Much after securing the children, Preeti and her mother in law escaped. They climbed down with the help of a temporary ladder arranged by the neighbors. As she spoke to us her voice trembled, her eyes fill up and she cried incessantly. The children are being treated in Madhukar Rainbow Children's Hospital, Malviya Nagar for Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. They are unable to sleep, wake up constantly at night and are scared that '*wo phir se aa jayenge.*'



Preeti Garg and her children

He has a bullet embedded in his back...

We met Mr. Sanyog Chauhan, who narrates the incidents of 24 February 2020. He recounts how Bhajanpura flared up.

A bullet grazed his chin; hit the iron bar behind him and bounced backed to hit him in the shoulder back where it still lies embedded. He has been advised to let it remain as operating to remove the bullet would be a high risk operation.



Sanyog Chauhan, Resident of Bhajanpura

What happened at Bhajanpura: rioting from Chand Bagh...

We met residents of Bhajanpura who recount the events of 24 February 2020. Locals report that tensions in Bhajanpura started on 23 February 2020 when dharna, Anti CAA protest site at Chanderpuri, Chandbagh was vacated by the police. The protesters regrouped on 24 February 2020 at Wazirabad road and started to reoccupy the protest site. The small contingent of Police asked them not to regroup and that they should move away. This is when the mob gathered, and attacked the Police who were clearly outnumbered and suffered grievous injuries. Constable Ratan Lal was hit with stones and shot, ACP Anuj Sharma was injured and so was DCP Amit Sharma. As all three of them were taken across the road to Mohan Hospital the mob surged, crossed the road and attacked the Petrol Pump.



Road across burnt Bhajanpura petrol pump



Burnt Petrol pump of Bhajanpura

The petrol pump was looted and burnt. A liquor shop was then attacked and looted and burnt. Locals told us that the liquor was used to make inflammable bottle bombs. It was here that the Educational institutions that we mentioned above were attacked and burnt by the mob.

Locals of the area cooperated with the injured policemen taking them for first aid to Mohan Hospital. They reported that within a few minutes of this, rioters followed them into the hospital attacking the staff and damaging the building.

According to the locals, tension had been palpable in the locality since the morning. After the Police had been attacked, there was total chaos on the roads. Locals networked and had to form teams to rescue trapped residents and children.

Locals also played a role in saving the Bhajanpura market from being burnt down and looted by rioters. They rapidly downed shutters and did not allow the mob to proceed inside the market. They faced stones and bullets. Locals showed us injuries sustained due to stone pelting and firing of bullets. They however continued to defend life and property.

School burnt..... 22000 books burnt: Arun Modern Sr. Sec. School...

Arun Modern Senior Secondary School is a large school in the area. Located on the main road it is a school that had 150 computers, 2 projectors and a library containing 22000 books for children. Located in an area of 2,200 sq. yards, it was a sprawling temple of Education. It had 8 smart classrooms. Students from the locality were studying in this school. The management supported many students from weaker socio economic status families with freeships and bursaries.

Today the school lies totally burnt and destroyed. As we visited it, even after three days smoke arose from the pile of books that were burnt. The owner of the school and its employees look on stoically as the future of several children lies burnt.





Vandalised and Burnt Arun Modern School

Another school targeted: Fahan International School...

Fahan International School, which is situated B3 Yamuna Vihar was also attacked on 25 February, 2020. The school is full of many facilities that include classrooms which are well equipped with modern, attractive, comfortable and functional furniture. Educational toys, Motivational Charts and Pictures from around the world, Games and Outdoor Play Equipment are also provided.

Like other schools, this institution was also targeted by some 150 to 200 mobs on the 25th February 2020 at around 1.30pm- 2.00pm. This whole incident was clearly seen in CCTV cameras shortly after which the cameras were destroyed along with DVR machine.

Mr. Muhammad Haider Naqvi, who is the vice president of Yamuna Vihar Kindergarten Education Society, unfolds the horror he witnessed in the school. He approached Mr. Pramod Gupta, Councilor of B3 Yamuna Vihar area from BJP to seek some help. Mr. Pramod not only assured him but also protected the school.



Mr. Muhammad Haider Naqvi, President of Kindergarten Education Society

Experiencing the terror: locals struggle to protect themselves

We met Mohammad Istar, who runs a unisex saloon in C3 Yamuna Vihar area. He disclosed that on 24th February 2020 he closed his shop after news of riots in the evening. On 25 February 2020, an unknown crowd came and started pelting stones aiming his shop. When the sound of stone pelting was noticed he immediately contacted Mr. Pramod Gupta, the Councilor and other neighbours who came forward to help and protect his shop. These goons targeted each and every shop which came in their way. Mr. Istar has appealed from the people to stay united and maintain peace.



Mohammad Istar, owner of a Unisex Saloon

We also met few people who have played a very important role and have set an example in the society. Janab Abdul Rashid, Haji Babu, RWA vice president and Minara Masjid president, came forward and extended help to save people and their property from the violence. He also told us that rioters came from outside i.e. Chandbagh and started creating destruction.



Shri Pramod Gupta, Councilor Ghonda and Shri. Abdul Rashid

We met many representatives and members of the Muslim community. We sensed a palpable regret and fear over the incidents that have happened recently in North East Delhi. There is a sense of fear which is reflected in their refusal to come on camera. Many of them expressed helplessness at the way in which ‘outside forces’ have exploited their community resulting in large scale fatalities and lifelong trauma. Some of the Muslims we met told us how they received messages from the Bhim Army to congregate at Jaffrabad and Bhajanpura to block roads. Messages like these were circulated in Mustafabad and Jaffrabad also. Many said that tensions in the area intensified after Anti CAA protestors blocked 3 arterial roads in GT Road on the Jaffrabad and Chandbagh side. Muslim residents of the area told us that Kapil Mishra came in after these 3 roads were blocked.



The sight of a riot

We saw evidences of a slew of home-made bombs and launchers such as huge catapults capable of launching full bricks to distances ranging 300 meters. Can the fact that these designs and principles have found their way to localities in the National capital be pure coincidence? All these were designed, engineered and manufactured over a long period of time. Nor have they been done without planning, strategy and training.

We saw evidences of pyro- bombardment at all the sites we visited. Such coordinated preparation indicates a very deep and insidious preparation. It hints to a National emergency, today or tomorrow. Willfully choosing to ignore accumulated evidence will only help bring about another exigency.



Catapults used in Riots

To the level to which civil society has been weaponised as also to the degree, to which it can be is a matter of concern. It needs urgent attention to avoid further conflagration.

The sight and sounds of protest

At Bhajanpura

Locals told us that though on the road side and largely peaceful, the protest site across the road was a daily inconvenience. Loud slogans on loudspeakers at odd hours starting in the evening and continuing well into the night caused daily disruption in the lives of residents.

Slogans with a distinctly Islamic tone were the norm interspersed with calls for Azadi. Speeches

were made against CAA, NRC, NPR, the Government and the Police and were relayed at loud decibels running into odd hours at night. Kashmir figured prominently in speeches relayed from protest sites.



Brijpuri, North East Delhi

Most protests and dharna sites in the area were continuously relaying these speeches from the morning onwards. Towards the evening these protests turned frenzied. Most locals said that the occupation of Metros and roads occurred during high density timings to cause maximum inconvenience and disruption. At night many Azadi marches were normal in the area. These would start from key points in the Mohalla or the gali and go on till another such point. These were usually held after 10 pm. Such marches heightened tensions and fear among the locals.

While locals say that right to protest is a democratic right it definitely does not include the right to disrupt lives of other citizens.

The policing of riots

We spoke to a number of Police Officials and men in uniform who were policing Delhi during the riots. A section of the national and international media has squarely blamed the Police for not ‘taking action’ during the riots. Unfortunately organizations like the Delhi Minorities Commission have blamed the Police for ‘allowing’ the riots to happen (as reported in the media). We talked to a number of Police officials who stated that:

1. Riots were reported from 11 Police Station areas in North-East Delhi.
2. The police was on ground in 88 sites in the district where riots were spreading. However it was outnumbered and ill-equipped. Pictures of a Policeman facing an armed rioter identified as Shahrukh with a baton speaks about the desperate state of the Delhi Police. This is the picture of the Delhi violence that the locals also carry in their minds.

3. The rioting mobs had access to a variety of locally made weapons and assembled flammable bombs like petrol bombs and Molotov cocktails. The Delhi Police was facing extremely violent mobs that were firing and stoning.
4. Senior Police officials made attempts to talk and engage with rioters to withdraw. All this was in the face of severe danger to their personal lives. Police indulged in negotiating with violent armed mobs.
5. Such negotiations led to loss of life and severe injuries to police officers and personnel. We were told the DCP Shahadra Amit Sharma was called in to negotiate by the women protesters in Chand Bagh. He went for negotiations and was brutally attacked and barely escaped with severe injuries.
6. The Police were working with many prominent members of the Muslim community to contain a volatile situation that was developing in the area since December 2019.
7. Leaders of the area like Maulana Shamim, Maulana Dawood and Haji Afzal were roped in to manage the riot like situation in that had emerged in Jaffrabad between 17th to 20th December 2019.
8. On 20th December 2020 a mob of 40,000 suddenly congregated on road number 66 in Jaffrabad at 2 am.
9. These Ulema and leaders of the Muslim community stood with the police to courageously announce from masjids and appeal for the crowd to disperse. They calmed down this crowd.
10. Constant pressure from outsider elements from JNU and Pinjra Tod led to the breakdown of this relationship by 27 December 2020. These outsiders branded Maulana Shamim as '*Qaum Ka Gaddar*'. He was subsequently assaulted in Jaffrabad.
11. All these efforts of the Delhi Police to engage with mobs failed and they were unprepared for the violent outburst in North-East Delhi on 23 February 2020.
12. Why and how did the Intelligence network in Delhi fail to detect the massive movement of stones, people, locally devised armaments is something that locals are repeatedly asking. What led to conditions in which local residents of North East Delhi had to resort to self defense of life and property in the face of violent Jihadi mobs is a question that must be examined.

The Democratic right to protest

Since December 2019 we have heard that the protests against the CAA, NRC, NPR were democratic and organic. We have been told that peaceful high-decibel protests on publicly funded University campuses and public roads are Democratic protest. This is a narrative that has been carried by the Urban-Naxals-Jihadis and their left-liberal fronts in the national and international media, civil society, political parties and the bureaucracy. The Right to Freedom of expression of every protester ranging from the intensely Islamic, Hijab clad protesters from Jamia Milia Islamia to Sharjeel Imam from JNU is a topic of discussion and debate in all left, left-liberal, liberal and Jihadi forums. However we are compelled to ask, ***What are democratic protests?***

Democratic protests are imbued with the spirit of debate and discussion. In a democratic protest the organization leading it can be clearly identified. Such protests are conducted within the rule of law. They respect the right of persons who are not engaging in debate. Democratic protests cannot deliberately target and provoke a particular community that is largely peaceful and respects diversity. They cannot cause inconvenience to those who are not engaging in their

debate. Protests in the democratic tradition cannot be based on a web of half-truths and blatant misinformation.

We found that the anti-CAA protests in all four phases discussed earlier were neither democratic nor organic. We found that these protests have no single identifiable face or organization. Thus everyone in the protests is an independent voice. Shaheen Bagh protesters are at pains to deny any association with Sharjeel Imam who is a major face in anti-CAA protests since its inception. The anti-CAA protests have the stamp of PFI-AISA who specialize in violent, one-sided irrational, disruptive and undemocratic movements that are based on fear-mongering. Such organizations lead faceless nameless movements. There is no or two or even a group of leaders who represent the anti-CAA protests and who can be talked to in a democratic framework. Such protests also seem to have links with International Islamist organizations. The high visibility protests also indicate the presence of huge foreign funds. The impeccable planning indicates the hands of foreign agencies.

Organic protests have organic formats and idioms. The Brijpuri road right outside Arun Modern Senior Secondary School tells a story. On the entire stretch walls are painted with slogans. The term ‘OUTSIDER’ that we constantly heard in our entire fact finding acquires a new dimension on these so called walls of protest.

The slogans on the walls, the entire sights of the protest resemble a revolutionary Political Science format. The language seems imposed and totally out of context. The idiom seems picked from some revolutionary manual from some university classroom. CAA, NPR, NRC, Kashmir, Azadi all seem to have been foisted by themes of gender and patriarchy and the resultant cocktail seems to have been foisted on the walls of Brijpuri and all other sites that we visited. The emerging image of anxiety and psychosis defies any logic.

The debate cannot even engage critically with issues like CAA, NRC and NPR. We were compelled to study whether there is a pattern in these protests that are being witnessed in Delhi since at least 15th December 2019.





Wall Graffiti At Dharna Site in Mustafabad Clearly Showing that the Protest is imposed by the Left

Shaheen Bagh, Universities, student standoffs and the dynamics of propaganda

As seemingly pitched battles were periodically fought at Shaheen Bagh, between students of Jamia, JNU, Delhi University and some others on the streets of Delhi this winter, time seems ripe to understand the dynamics and pattern of these street standoffs. Can they be brushed aside as election time gimmicks, or is there a larger format for these incidents? Are they sporadic or can these be termed as a Students movement of the JP vintage? What is the role being played by teachers and student bodies in these clashes? What is the Government seemingly doing? Will these street games stop after the Delhi elections?

The rules of the game: Saul Alinsky's theory applied in Delhi riots

The street movements that are being seen in Delhi and the country in the aftermath of the announcement of the Citizenship Amendment Act have a common pattern. The format is a direct pick from the work of Saul Alinsky, an American Community organizer who lived in the seventies. The core of his work is intensely Leftist though he (and others including protégée, Hillary Clinton) identify himself as a radical working within a Democracy.

Alinsky's key methods are simple to understand. Alinsky says that if one has mass support, one should, flaunt it; if one does not one should make a lot of noise, if one cannot make a big noise, make a big offend. One can see this on the streets of Delhi. Alinsky says that *Ridicule is man's most potent weapon*. Combine this with the rule to *Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, and polarize it and one can clearly understand attacks on a range of persons from Kunal Kamra's pursuit of Arnab Goswami to the ever omnipresent street posters targeting the Prime Minister, the*

Home Minister etc. The rule to Keep the pressure on is being faithfully followed and can be seen in Shaheen Bagh. However the most interesting is the rule that, the major premise for tactics is the development of operations that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition. Such pressure is necessary, Saul Alinsky argued, in order to get reaction from the opposition. He argued that ‘the action is in the reaction’.

Effects on Universities and Colleges: the Urban Naxal model

However it is not just Alinsky’s rules that are being used in the current wave of street agitations. What makes the situation agonizing for citizens of Delhi is that Alinsky is being used in combination with the ***Strategy & Tactics of the Indian Revolution*** issued by Central Committee of the **CPI (Maoist)**. The document clearly outlines the Strategy that would be used in Urban Centres by Naxals.

Also called the **Dantewada model**, the document lays out the importance of using grievances of communities to engineer the revolution. Chapter 6 of the document clearly says that the main task of the revolution is seizure of power by armed force and ‘the settlement of the issue by War, called ‘Peoples War’. The same chapter also asks to learn from the Russian experience where it was important to ‘inflict a decisive blow on the Urban centre’ and to ‘crush the State machinery’. This can be seen happening in the Delhi riots 2020.

Chapter 10 of the same document says that ‘base areas’ need to be cultivated. These have been cultivated in JNU, Jamia Milia Islamia and in some institutions in Delhi University. The essence of action that the document outlines is guerilla warfare. ‘Fast armed action and retreat. This has been seen in JNU and in the Delhi Riots 2020. Rioters with covered faces wrecked maximum damage.

Thus work in urban areas is a part of the Maoist strategy that has been extensively detailed and documented by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The urban movement is one of the main sources, which provides cadres and leadership having various types of capabilities essential for the people’s war and for the establishment of liberated areas... Moreover, the responsibility for the provision of supplies, technology - expertise, information and other such things, to the people’s war, too lies on the shoulders of the urban revolutionary movement itself. Hence Party has to pay special attention to allocate leadership cadres accordingly to work in urban movement.

All this has not remained just words. The last few months kept India occupied with shocking revelations on the campuses of renowned Education Institutes like FTII, HCU, IIT Chennai, JNU, Osmania University, Jadhavpur University and Delhi University. JNU reverberated with slogans that championed the breaking of the Indian nation. All this happened under the cover of Constitutional values and democratic right to protest. In North East Delhi we saw how a range of locally made arms were used by the rioters. This points to expertise in Guerilla Warfare.

We have also to pay special attention to our work among women, students, youth, teachers and middle class intellectuals ... Youth and cultural organizations also play a good role in the activities of the city movement...it is our task to further deepen our activities within the student community. Considering the present situation we should develop suitable organizational forms to imbue them with revolutionary politics, and organise and mobilize the vast majority of them politically. They can be mobilised politically on both domestic and international issues.

It is very important to penetrate into the military, para-military forces, police, and higher levels of the administrative machinery of the state. It is necessary to obtain information regarding the enemy, to build support for the revolution within these organs, and even to incite revolt when the time is ripe...However for certain crucial things there is need for support from the urban areas. Depending on its strength, the urban organisation should make all efforts to provide such support. Supplies or contacts for supplies of certain types of materials such as arms and ammunition, spare parts, medical supplies, etc. are only available in the urban areas. Technical help in the form of repairs and maintenance of fighting, communication and other equipment of the

/PLGA, development of new technologies for the people's war, and sending comrades with technical, electrical, electronic and other skills to settle in the countryside is another task of the urban organization. Propaganda and publications to fulfill the needs of the rural movement is also one of the important tasks in the urban centres.

The above excerpts from the Strategy and Tactics document of the CPI(Maoist) clearly shows the spine chilling outlook for students, teachers and security forces in the country.

As a result most campuses that have the presence of Left parties are rife with extreme stress. In December, JNU exploded into a bloodbath between student groups before settling into the expected pattern of Universities for student registration and academic activity. Posters targeting a teacher from a premier Delhi University College were doing rounds in JNU in a Dantewada style kangaroo court declaring him an enemy of the movement. Some colleges in Delhi University are refusing to allow their campuses to be used for Leftist propaganda. Some premier institutions in DU where the teaching and student community are card holding members of Left parties are allowing their institutions to be used along party lines.

Organizations that are engineering violence

The Shaheen Bagh demonstration site is a test case to understand the network that is hijacking protests by the Muslim community which may have grievances with Government policies. Organisations like Pinjra Tod have been blamed by Shaheen Bagh organizers for constantly trying interfering in their movement and trying to engineer violence on a mass scale. There is a large network of such organizations that have been trying to use policy contestation for engineering widespread communal disturbances.



Social Media Posts by Organisers of Shaheen Bagh naming Pinjra Tod for Engineering Violence



Disruption on College Campuses in Delhi University

Art as a tool of protest

Delhi has seen the sudden upscaling Protest Art. All over the city protest sites are dominated by Classical artists and poets etc who are performing to these audiences. The content of their Art is amplified, hysterical and extremely inflammatory. The amount of resources and technical expertise that have been devoted to these amplified hysterical messages seems enormous. One example is the techno-inflammatory assault of the poem ‘Sab Yaad Rakha Jayega’ by Amir Aziz. The content of the entire piece, the facial expressions of the performer, the music, the lights, the intensity are enough to freeze and shock a normal human being. The constant relay of this message to an agitated minority with policy grievances against the government has laid the base for the Delhi riots 2020. Such messages have been constantly relayed in different forms and mediums through different persons ranging from gazal performances by Shubha Mudgal to performances by Prateek Kuhad, statements by Swara Bhaskar etc.

We request these artists to reconsider the impact that their art has had on alienating a section of the minorities and bringing the city to the edge and the subsequent eruption into violence. While such performances may be personally rewarding for them in terms of visual traction, we strongly state that ***Communal Violence is No Art. The lives and blood of marginal communities are not subjects for art, poetry and photography. Subsequent calls for peace hold no legitimacy if you have been responsible in contributing to communal riots.***

The demography of riots in North-East Delhi

We have noticed with anguish the attempts by national and international media organizations as well as responsible organizations like the Delhi Commission for Minorities make statements (as reported in the media) on the selected targeting of Muslim population in riot hit areas and on the alleged inefficiency of the Police.

In our Fact Finding we found that most of the riot hit areas where Muslim casualties have happened are Muslim dominated areas. Karawal Nagar assembly constituency is a Hindu dominated area but also has the highest number of Hindu casualties. Shiv Vihar is contiguous with East Karawal Nagar which is a part of Mustafabad. Apart from this, in areas like Bhajanpura there has been major loss of property for high value business establishments owned by Hindus. Additionally some of the affected families from both communities are so poor that they could not even afford the last rites of their dead.

Area	Total Population	Hindus	Muslim
Jaffrabad	54,601	27.60%	70.63%
Mustafabad	127167	21.62%	78.05%
Karawal Nagar	2,24,281	88.88%	10.44%

Data taken from <https://www.census2011.co.in>

As per census data of 2001 it has the highest growth rate amongst all districts of Delhi. It has the lowest literacy rate in Delhi. It has nine villages so there is a constituent rural population. Finally, this district also has the lowest rates of male and female work participation. As per the data of census 2011 it ranks first in population density amongst all Delhi districts at 35166 persons per square Km.

Some points from ground observation are:

1. There are a number of **Salafi Madarsas** that have come up in the area. For instance locals say that in the Masjid Bab ul uloom, there have been **Shariah courts** on a regular basis.
2. **Illegal Animal Slaughter:** One of the main law and order issues identified through ground interviews was the presence of illegal poultry markets and illegal slaughter in many areas. For instance in Mustafabad as per ground reports there were 315 slaughter houses operating illegally in the area. Complaints have been given by residents to the MCD. No action has been taken.
3. The presence of **Kabad Markets:** The economy of the area operates on the basis of illegal Kabad markets. This is also the hub of stolen goods like mobiles and cars. This is the area in which cars stolen cars are disassembled and sold.
4. **Crime Prone Area-** This is a crime prone area in which regular snatchings occur. The Mandoli Jail is a hub of drugs and Crime. The North East district has nearly 1500 declared bad characters. The Seelampur –Jaffrabad belt is line of crime. In areas like Kabir Nagar and Sundar Nagri Police raids are frequent.
5. Influx of Outsiders- Throughout our fact finding locals, both Hindu and Muslim reported that population profile in the region has changed due to the influx of persons from UP. Such persons are radicalized, have no deep links and permanent interests in the area and formed the bulk of dharna protesters at Anti-CAA protest sites.

Findings and Recommendations

The Fact Finding Team came back from North-East Delhi after intense field study of the situation. The findings are as follows:

1. **Riots in North East Delhi were a planned conspiracy:** The Delhi riots 2020 were pre-planned. There are evidences of a 'Left-Jihadi model of revolution' that has been executed in Delhi and is sought to be replicated at other places.

2. **There is evidence of a Urban Naxal- Jihadi network that planned and executed the riots:** The Delhi riots are not genocide or a pogrom targeted at any community. They are a tragic outcome of a planned and systematic radicalization of the minorities by a Far left-Urban Naxal network operating in Universities in Delhi. Both communities have suffered greatly as a consequence. The presence of Jihadi organizations like Popular Front of India (PFI) at dharna sites has been observed.
3. **Radicalization of Muslims over a long period led to the riots:** Around 15 December 2020 and two weeks after that, protest sites were established in all major areas with concentration of Muslim population.
4. **Riots originated in Anti CAA Protest sites:** Women sitting on dharna since 15 December, 2019 came on roads, blocked metros and thereafter mobs pelting stones led to riots. (This also happened in areas as far as Malviya Nagar.) After blocking roads the protesters got into confrontation with the Police. The situation turned violent and communal in such areas. Rioting continued in the area from 24 February till 26 February 2020.
5. **Women used as a shield in all protest sites:** In all dharna sites women were kept at the forefront and men operated from behind this shield.
6. **Anxiety and fear among the locals:** Most protest sites relayed a constant stream of high decibel sloganeering continuously for the past 8 weeks leading to anxiety and fear amongst the local population.
7. **Protest marches on streets, roads, markets etc. at odd times leading to chaos:** Most of the protest sites are in public spaces; under Metro stations, in public parks. Anti-CAA protesters moved into key market areas, roads, metro stations at night or early mornings repeatedly, leading to chaos in the local population.
8. **The Shaheen Bagh Model:** The content of most of these protests was a mixture of Left-wing Jihadi and anti-CAA, NRC, NPR activism. Slogans had a content of anti-Amit Shah, anti-Modi, anti-Fascist rhetoric. Most of these sites still have 'revolution' slogans painted on the walls. Azadi, anti-government rhetoric, dangers of Fascism slogans are raised on public address systems and painted at protest sites. Songs from the Italian folk tradition like Bella-Ciao are sung daily. This is the 'Shaheen Bagh Model'.
9. **Anti Hindu, Anti India, Anti Police and Anti-Government nature of protest:** It is observed that the slogans and posters at Shaheen Bagh had a deliberate provocative, anti-Hindu content. Images of the holy Swastik, Om were depicted in a derogatory manner. Ma Kaali, the Hindu goddess and women wearing bindis were shown in burkhas. While on the one hand Islamic slogans were raised repeatedly, locals also reported 'Pakistan Zindabad' slogans being raised. All this was being done with the Constitution and the Indian National Flag in the backdrops.
10. **Jihadi mobs indulged in targeted killings, looting and vandalizing shops:** On 24 February 2020 violence spread to Bhajanpura, Shiv vihar, Gokulpuri, Brijpuri, Brahmipuri and the surrounding areas. There was wide-spread evidence of mobs of violent women and men attacking the Delhi Police, important public sites like petrol pumps, high value properties belonging to Hindus.

11. **Riot weapons were stockpiled over a period of time:** There are evidences of use of high rise buildings in the areas as sites for launching petrol bombs, Molotov cocktails; huge sized catapults capable of launching bricks have also been found. Many bullet casualties on 24 February are a result of precision shooting of the kind that can only be done by sniper style sharpshooters i.e. trained shooters
12. **Links across the border:** ISIS type of brutal killings point towards links across the border. Intelligence Bureau (IB) official, Ankit Sharma's post mortem indicates that he was stabbed over 400 times before and after his death. Dilber Negi. A 23 years old worker in sweet shop in Shiv vihar was brutally killed. First, report his hands were amputated and thereafter he was burnt alive.
13. **Exemplary role of local Hindu and Muslim community leaders:** Delhi Police and Hindu and Muslim community leaders worked together to contain this extremely dangerous situation. While outsiders instigated violence, local community leaders from Muslim and Hindu communities have worked on ground to establish peace. We met a number of such persons.
14. **Violence against women:** Women reported that they were harassed and faced extreme danger during the riots. We met school principals in Yamuna Vihar who reported that the girl students under their care were in a very insecure position. It was impossible in the circumstances to hand over the students to care givers. Young school girls were stranded in school campuses for a long time. The rioters took advantage of this situation and molested the young girls on their way back home. It is alleged that the underclothes of a young woman were recovered from the house of Tahir Hussian, AAP Counciller in the area. The dead body of a female was allegedly recovered from the nallah at Khajuri Khas.
15. **Scheduled Caste victims:** There are a large number of victims belonging to Scheduled Caste communities. Some of the victims are extremely poor and belong to weaker economic sections of society. Throughout our field survey we saw and met victims who are daily wagers or earn very less. Most of them live in gallis with bare minimum sanitation and conveniences. The victims are mostly innocent bystanders. Most of the victims came out of their homes for fulfilling some basic family needs like milk, food, medicines etc. They were caught unawares in the violence.
16. **Identity of rioters:** Who were the rioters? While this is a question that will be answered by security agencies investigating the riot through CCTV and other footages. However, there seem to be some common features as stated by the people we met.
17. **The Outsiders:** In every gali, road we covered, the people said that the rioters were outsiders and not residents of their galli or mohalla. The question remains as to who these outsiders were? In North East Delhi some gallis open out into what is technically Uttar Pradesh. There is no sealed border. Apart from this, "Baharwale" or outsiders could mean someone from the next galli-moholla. For example in Khajuri Khas we were told that outsiders came from Mustafabad. In Bhajanpura we were told that outsiders came from Chandbagh. The crowds of rioters were very well prepared to conceal their identities. Many were wearing helmets and had blackened their faces.

18. **Outsiders from various Universities in Delhi:** The outside influence is most palpable when one visits the sites of Anti-CAA protest that have now been removed. These point at the involvement of a revolutionary network that engineered and managed the riot situation. Specifically the role of organisations like Pinjra Tod in instigating violence has been mentioned by organisers of Shaheen Bagh in their social media posts. Locals in areas as far as Chand Bagh and Malviya Nagar have reported the presence of women students from JNU who were constantly instigating crowds in these areas over a period of weeks before 23 February 2020. We observed everywhere that the police and law enforcement agencies were on a back foot due the large number of rioters who were also armed. The Anti CAA protestors from sidelanes came on roads, accompanied by armed Jehadi mobs who targeted the Delhi Police and civilians alike. As a result life of common citizens was endangered and they had to resort to self defense in the face of rioting mobs. Those who have incurred injuries are common people who were engaged in their everyday profession. They had to form lines of defense to safeguard life and property.
19. **Violent nature of Anti-CAA protests:** Anti-CAA protests have been violent from the start. Multiple incidents of violence have been reported at Police stations in North East district itself from December 2019, which preceded the incidents of 23-25 February 2020.

Recommendations

1. **NIA Inquiry into Delhi riots 2020:** We strongly recommend that given the intensity of the violence, the investigation into the riots should be handed over to the NIA. All incidents in Delhi from 15 December 2019 should be investigated.
2. **Foreign funds and support for the violence in Delhi should be investigated by the NIA:** The planning and execution of the Delhi riots from Dharna to Danga indicates the involvement of foreign agencies and funds. This should be investigated by the NIA.
3. **Rehabilitation for all victims:** In light of the extreme violence suffered by the most marginal sections of society in North-East Delhi we suggest that rehabilitation work should be done expeditiously.
4. **Central Government should initiate confidence building measures:** We suggest that the Central Government initiates confidence building measures amongst both communities utilizing the goodwill of prominent community members. There is still simmering anger and dangerous perceptions on ground that needs to be calmed.
5. **Forensic audit of high-rise buildings:** We strongly recommend that a forensic audit of all high buildings in North-East Delhi be carried out by investigating agencies.
6. **NIA Inquiry into ‘outsider network’:** We strongly recommend that Intelligence and Government agencies should investigate the ‘outsider network’ responsible for engineering riots in Delhi through an NIA Inquiry. We recommend that the role of students, teachers, artists, organisations responsible for instilling hate through dharna/protest marches, social media posts, provocative speeches etc should be investigated.
7. **Direction to University authorities not to allow their campuses to be used for hate speeches and political gathering:** We request all levels of University administration i.e. Vice Chancellors of Delhi University, Jamia Milia Islamia, JNU and all other universities to take an audit of the use of their campuses to engineer wider disturbances in the city in the past 8 weeks.

8. **Funding of Shaheen Bagh type protest:** Boarding, lodging, food, hoardings, banners, publicity material etc. must be investigated.
9. **Legal and Medical camps should be organized:** Legal and Medical facilities and psychological counseling of victims including children should be arranged.
10. **Sanctity of public spaces to be maintained by all law enforcing agencies:** Police should ensure that roads, streets, parks etc should not be used for dharna protest. Such gatherings should only be allowed at designated spaces

Epilogue

This Fact finding was undertaken by Group of Intellectuals and Academicians (GIA). Founded in 2015, GIA is a group of professional women and entrepreneurs, media persons and academicians committed to social-justice and nation-building.

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WALL OF HATE

IN MUSTAFABAD