

BEYOND THE SURFACE

EXPOSING SYSTEMIC VIOLENCE &
POLICE COMPLICITY

A Fact-Finding Report on

Nuh Violence



ASSOCIATION FOR PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

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APCR

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The *Association for Protection of Civil Rights (APCR)* extends its heartfelt gratitude and deepest appreciation to all individuals who played a pivotal role in the successful completion of this Fact-Finding visit, aimed at investigating the recent acts of violence in Nuh and Gurugram on 31.07.2023. We would like to express our sincere acknowledgement to the resilient communities residing in Nuh Mewat and Gurugram who fearlessly shared their first-hand experiences of the violence and actively participated in the informative interviews that formed the bedrock of this comprehensive report. We are indebted to the unwavering dedication and efforts of the diverse group of community leaders, local journalists, lawyers, and civil rights activists who courageously put their lives on the line to promote and safeguard human rights.

The *Association for Protection of Civil Rights* also acknowledges with deep appreciation the constant support and cooperation received from the local residents, whose commitment and invaluable assistance were instrumental in the successful accomplishment of our mission, culminating in the final publication of this fact-finding report.

We remain steadfast in our commitment to working towards a more just, inclusive, and egalitarian society.

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METHODOLOGY

The report is the outcome of meticulous quantitative data collection conducted by a dedicated team of Advocates, Journalists and Social Activists who were instrumental in bringing forth this report. The fact finding team documented the accounts of affected families of individuals who were arrested by the Nuh Police and also recorded the statements of responsible citizens operating in the area including Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) and community leaders, shedding light on several human rights violations perpetrated by the state.

Secondary sources, specifically media reports, have also been included. This ensured that the findings and conclusions presented in the report were based on a robust foundation of evidence and helped in providing a comprehensive overview of the situation in Nuh and Gurugram.

Association for Protection of Civil Rights (APCR), a non-governmental organization committed to advocating for the rights of marginalized communities was established in 2006 with a primary focus on providing pro-bono legal assistance and doing public advocacy. In pursuit of our mission, we undertook this crucial Fact-Finding visit in Nuh & Gurugram, Haryana, aiming to present an accurate portrayal of the ground realities and the prevailing tension in the area, as well as the roles played by law enforcement agencies and the administration.

*"The true measure of any society can be found in
how it treats its most vulnerable members."
~ Mahatma Gandhi*

INTRODUCTION

On July 31, communal violence erupted in Nuh, the single predominantly Muslim district in the North-Indian state of Haryana. While there are different accounts about the immediate cause for the violence, both sides agree on one thing: the provocative atmosphere and hateful online build-up in Haryana in the days and months led to the violence.

Following the violence, many instances of anti-Muslim violence in response to the Nuh clashes were reported from different parts of Haryana like Sohna, Gurugram, Palwal, Bahadurgarh and Faridabad. The violence resulted in six deaths including two cops. In the industrial city of Gurugram, which houses many multinational companies, a young Muslim Cleric was stabbed to death, and a mosque was torched by an angry mob. Reports of hate assemblies calling for boycotts and attacks against Muslims were reported from different cities. As of August 7, the situation remained tense and volatile, with very little civilian movement on the streets of Nuh villages like Mewli that is said to be amongst the worst affected in the spate of arrests following the July 31 violence.

Hindu nationalists led by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) accused the Meo Muslims of Mewat violently ambushing the Braj Mandal Jalabhishek Yatra. On the other hand, the Meo-Muslims blame the Hindu nationalists led by the Bajrang Dal for initiating the violence. The Muslims allege that a video by the absconding cow vigilante leader, Mohit Yadav, who goes by the name Monu Manesar, and is said to be involved in the murder of two Muslims youths from the region, provoked the riots. In the past, Monu Manesar has been associated with several gruesome cases of anti-Muslim violence whose videos were filmed and shared by Monu and associates on their social media.

Videos of other Hindutva leaders like Bittu Bajrangi and Dinesh Bharti provoking hatred against Muslims have surfaced online. They have been involved in anti Muslim hate speech in the past. Meanwhile, videos by Mewati Muslim Youtubers have also

come under police scanner. However, one of the most viral videos of provocation being claimed to be that of a Muslim from Haryana is actually by a Pakistani Youtuber named Ahsan Mewati. In the video, he can be seen provoking violent action against the rally. A video of the VHP secretary, Surendra Jain, allegedly shot before the violence broke out has also gone viral on social media. Describing Mewat as Krishna's land, Jain said, "We need to change Mewat's character." "It is not the land of cow killers, Hindu murders, [Inter-Services Intelligence/Pakistani] agents, Rohingya and Bangladeshi infiltrators, or those involved in conversions," he added.

Local activists said that they had reached out to the administration and warned them about the simmering communal tensions in Nuh leading up to the clashes. The families of Nasir and Junaid, the duo charred to death by cow vigilantes on February 15, 2023, continue to protest and demand Monu Manesar's arrest. Weeks before the duo's death, Manesar was accused of murdering a mechanic called Waris. A video of visibly injured Waris had featured online hours before he is said to have died in an "accident." Despite being wanted for murder, Manesar continues to roam freely as the police seem to treat him with kid gloves, many locals alleged. In the absence of police action, he has become the face of cow-vigilantism in Haryana. However, in Mewat the anger against Manesar and the impunity he seems to enjoy has exponentially grown over the months. Chaudhary Aftab Ahmed, the Congress MLA from Nuh, said that the rumor about Monu Manesar being present in the rally led to this violence. He also claimed that he had informed the local police about these developments.

In the aftermath of the violence, at least 156 Muslims, have been arrested in Nuh. Advocate Tahir Husain Devla accused the administration of randomly arresting youth in what he describes as a one-sided crackdown. Another complaint by the local Muslims is the bulldozing of homes and businesses, mostly belonging to Muslims without following the due process.

As of 7th of August, the demolition drive has been halted by a judicial order by the Haryana and Punjab High court but hundreds of homes, shops¹, hotels and makeshift settlements have already been destroyed.

1. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/demolition-drive-halted-in-haryanas-violence-hit-nuh-after-hc-order/article67167495.ece>

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PRIOR TO VIOLENCE:

- **Administrative Negligence:** The administration failed to take timely and appropriate action despite being alerted about potential unrest, including hate speeches and provocative videos circulated by Monu Manesar and Bittu Bajrangi. These warnings were ignored, contributing to the escalation of violence.
- **Failure to Maintain Law and Order:** The police's inability to maintain law and order was evident, as shown by the rescue of ACJM Anjali Jain and advocates by locals during the violence. This exposed the administration's failure to ensure the safety of citizens and protect public property.
- **Pre-Meditation:** Ramzan Choudhry asserted that the violence on 31.07.2023 was premeditated and planned, with evidence communicated to the administration prior to the outbreak. The media's inflammatory content further fueled the hostile environment.

DURING THE VIOLENCE:

- **Police Complicity:** Several testimonies pointed to police complicity in the violence. Videos and accounts suggested that police actively participated in the vandalism, destruction, and intimidation during the riots, undermining the trust citizens have in law enforcement.
- **Arbitrary and partisan police action against Muslims:** The arrests made by the police were one-sided, targeting Muslim and leaving out any potential involvement by Hindus. This skewed approach to arrests further deepened the divide between communities.

POST VIOLENCE:

- **Post-Violence Oppression:** The aftermath of the violence saw oppressive measures by law enforcement, including demolishing properties belonging to the Muslim community under the pretext of lacking proper documentation. This added to the

community's suffering and further deepened economic losses.

- **Impact on Livelihoods:** The violence and subsequent actions by the administration led to significant economic losses for the community. Many businesses were destroyed, affecting livelihoods, especially among the Muslim population.
- **Refuge and Fear:** The pervasive fear among the residents, especially Muslims, led many to seek refuge in mountains and farms, reflecting a sense of insecurity and a lack of trust in the authorities.



TRAIL OF EVENTS

The Spreading Tide of Violence in Haryana

The chain of events began with a display of violence in Nuh, Haryana, on Monday, July 31st. This initial outbreak of violence by the hindutva mob was a precursor to a disturbing escalation that would soon engulf Gurugram, Badshahpur, Sohna and Palwal areas of the state on the following Tuesday.

In Gurugram's Sector 57, the Anjuman Jama Masjid was attacked by a mob numbering between 90 to 100 individuals on Tuesday morning at 12:15 am. The mob torched the mosque and attacked and murdered the naib imam, Maulana Saad, by stabbing him multiple times and cutting his throat. Khurshid Alam, a dedicated caretaker of the mosque, suffered gunshot wounds. Alam's injuries led to his admission to a private hospital.

In palwal, violence began around 6 pm on Monday (31/8/23), immediately following clashes in Nuh. Locals reported that a mob targeted the Hamidia mosque, launching an attack and setting several parked bikes ablaze. This initial act of aggression acted as a catalyst, triggering a chain reaction of violence that would grip the area in the coming days.

As the turmoil persisted, the unrest escalated on the following day. Three other mosques became targets of violence. In Sheikhpura, a mosque faced a barrage of hurled stones, while the situation turned even more dire at Minar Gate, where a mosque was set on fire. In Hodal, reports emerged of a mosque being subjected to an alleged attack involving petrol bombs, intensifying the chaos and fear within the community.

The wave of violence wasn't limited to religious institutions alone. Several scrap shops were set ablaze. In response to the escalating situation, traders had to close their shops, and authorities imposed prohibitory orders under Section 144 of the CrPC (Code of

Criminal Procedure) to maintain some semblance of order. It's noteworthy that despite the severity of the situation, no curfew was imposed at this point.

Emerging reports from Badshahpur depicted a violent scene as a mob engaged in acts of vandalism and set shops ablaze. These distressing visuals captured the incident unfolding at approximately 2 pm on Tuesday (1/8/23), marking a significant escalation of the ongoing turmoil. The main market of Badshahpur bore witness to an unsettling scene as approximately 200 individuals, arriving on motorbikes and SUVs, targeted the area. In Badshahpur, the mob's focus appeared to be primarily on biryani stalls, to target muslim business specifically. A total of 14 shops fell victim to their rampage, highlighting the extent of the destruction. Meanwhile, in Gurugram's Sector 66 vicinity, an alarming incident unfolded as a mob ignited chaos by setting ablaze 7 stores.

The unrest extended beyond Badshahpur, with Haryana's Sohna also falling prey to the violence. On August 1st, a day after disturbances had already erupted in different parts of the state, including Nuh, the Shahi Jama Masjid mosque in Sohna became a target. The attack on the mosque occurred around 2 pm, a mere few hours following a peace march led by the police and district authorities in the area. Shamim Ahmed, the caretaker of the mosque, recounted the harrowing experience as a mob of approximately 200 masked men stormed in during the afternoon. As the chaos ensued, Ahmed and around 50 others sought refuge in the inner rooms of the mosque, narrowly escaping the mob. He expressed the gravity of the situation, emphasizing, "We could have died today" had the assailants discovered their presence.

Mobile internet services were suspended by the authorities throughout the violence as well as the days following when properties were bulldozed. A mass exodus of migrant workers, driven by threats from right-wing groups, has taken root in at least six Gurugram neighborhoods as a result of the violence. This migration has only intensified with time, affecting areas such as Tigra, Wazirabad, Tigaon, Badshahpur, Sector 70A, Sector 57, Sector 56, Dundahera, Palam Vihar, Manesar, Sukanderpur, Nathurpur, Teekli, Kasan, IMT, and Ghata village.

On August 2, 2023, just a day after facing explicit threats, residents of a slum cluster in Palra village, situated within Gurugram's Sector 70A, found themselves confronted by the harsh reality of hindutva violence. The majority of families, many hailing from various parts of West Bengal, chose to flee the area, compelled by the ominous

warnings they had received by the right wing, “go back to where you came from.”. Those who remained now live in a constant state of fear, with some even resorting to spending their nights in the shelter of wooded surroundings. Amidst the prevailing turmoil, the Gurugram police continue to deny any incident in the area, leaving the affected families without recourse or protection.

The dynamics of the slum cluster paint a poignant picture of vulnerability. Nearly 800-900 families inhabit these slums, their livelihoods often centered around roles as garbage collectors, domestic workers, or housekeeping staff in the neighboring residential societies. Trapped in the crossfire of intolerance and violence, their lives have been turned upside down.

Nuh Unveiled: Violence, Inaction and Unjust Arrests

- In the days leading up to the tumultuous events in the town of Nuh, signs of unrest began to emerge. Videos featuring Hindutva sanghis like Monu Manesar and Bittu Bajrangi making hate speeches circulated on social media, provoking people.
- The atmosphere grew increasingly charged, alarms were raised, and concerns were voiced to the authorities. Yet, despite these warnings, a lack of action prevailed, setting the stage for the events that would follow.

This is the backdrop against which a series of testimonies unfold, shedding light on the sequence of events and the subsequent aftermath. These accounts provide a sobering glimpse into the administrative oversight, deliberate inactivity, and disturbing compliance of the police with the rioters.

The arrests are completely one sided. Police are not registering FIRs against the other side. More than 50 FIRs have been registered in the Nuh city related to the violence and more than **156 people have been arrested from Nuh, Tauru, Firozpur Jhirka, Punhana** all of whom are Muslims.

“Can you imagine that in a communal violence not a single person from the other side has been arrested?” alleged advocate Tahir Hussain Devla who practices in District and Sessions Court, Nuh.

Tahir Hussain Devla is the defense lawyer for the majority of those arrested. “The atmosphere of fear was such that many advocates refused to defend these cases. Police picked up even three of the advocates and later released them. This is being done to intimidate the lawyer community so that nobody comes forward to fight these cases,” he said.

Among the 156 arrested till now related to violence all are Muslims and several of them are minors. “The atmosphere of fear is such that Muslim men are hiding in hills or have left Nuh. They fear of being implicated as the police are conducting random arrests from villages in Nuh,” alleged advocate Tahir Hussain Rupadiya.

PART I:

Warnings Ignored: Prelude to Violence

In the days leading up to the violent outbreak, the residents of Nuh were living in relative peace, unaware of the impending chaos, until a few days before when videos of Monu Manesar and Bittu Bajrangi started circulating widely on social media.

Adv Ramzan Choudhary and Adv Tahir Hussain Rupadiya shed light on the brewing tensions, sharing how videos and provocations had been communicated to the administration. However, no action was taken, and the atmosphere of uncertainty continued to fester. Ramzan Choudhry stated that the violence was premeditated and planned, and they had communicated all the information, including videos and provocations that went viral in the area, to the administration on 27.07.2023. However,



no action was taken, and no preparations were made. The media's hateful speech and viral videos contributed to creating a frenzied environment, especially because Monu Manesar, the alleged murderer of Nasir and Junaid, was already in controversy.

Days before the violence, the peace committee of Nuh, comprising 25-27 people from all communities, discussed the anticipated violence and how Monu Manesar participated in the rally, fueling anguish among the people of Mewat. The committee even reported to the SP and ASP Nuh, the videos of hate speeches were also shown to them but no action was taken. Adv Ramzan Chaudhary also stated that the SP assured them that nothing would happen, and that everything was under control. The police were quoted saying “aise kaise ham kisi ko ghusne denge” (“How can we let anyone (rioter) in”)

When asked about Mohit Yadav alias Monu Manesar's role in the violence, Advocate Tahir Hussain Devla bluntly characterized him as a smuggler, emphasizing that his activities primarily involve extorting monthly payments from people in the name of cow protection, facilitated by informants in his network. His cow protection persona is only for show, which allows him to manipulate the sentiments of the wider Hindu population.

Echoing the same, community leader Faiyyaz² shed light on Manesar's alleged exploitation of the cow protection narrative to cater to Sanghis. He asserted that Monu Manesar's interests lie primarily in financial gains rather than animal welfare. According to Faiyyaz, when informed about incidents involving cows or calves being taken, Monu Manesar capitalizes on the situation by demanding sums ranging from 10,000 to 20,000 rupees, sometimes even upto a 1 lakh, essentially turning it into a lucrative transaction. *“Monu mansesar na gaae bachata hai na bachdhe bachata hai, bas paise kamata hai”* (“monu manesar neither saves cows nor calves, he only earns money”), he claimed.

Monu Manesar has basically employed the guise of cow protection as a calculated tactic, which is aimed to manipulate and inflame those adhering to Hindutva ideologies, all while reaping financial benefits from this strategy and inciting violence to gain popularity.

3. <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/delhi/judge-her-3-yr-old-daughter-had-to-hide-after-nuh-mob-attack-fir-8873873/>

Part II:

Administrative Action & Inaction Amidst Turmoil: Disturbing Realities

Adv Ramzan Choudhry and Adv Tahir Hussain Rupadia's account during the violence highlighted the administration's failure to take action despite being informed about potential unrest. Hate-filled speeches and viral videos contributed to a frenzied environment, with administrative transparency lacking. On 31.07.2023 Nuh ACJM Anjali Jain's rescue further exposed the deteriorating law and order situation. When the violence started, ACJM Anjali Jain along with her 3 year old daughter was allegedly rescued by locals from the rioters³, along with two cars of advocates, who were also attacked, which clearly showed the administration's failure to maintain any law and order. Jain herself admitted that the situation of law and order had completely collapsed.

When asked whether there was any presence of Gurugram's police, Choudhry refuted the Gurugram Commissioner of Police's claim that all the police force was in Nuh, pointing out that they only arrived around 6-7 PM in the evening. It appeared that the police were not prepared and had even participated in the violence. Adv. Rupadiya claimed that he has videos of police actively participating in the vandalism by shooting bullets, destroying property, and setting up fires. They were also helping the perpetrators by telling them where to avoid CCTV cameras saying, "*Yhan cctv camera hai udhar ho jao*" ("don't go there, there's a CCTV camera").

"Jo dangio ne kiya wohi police kar rahi hai" ("police is doing the same as the rioters"), advocate Ramzan claimed. Not only messages and intimidation from responsible individuals and the peace committee were ignored, the police actively ensured that the



3. <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/delhi/judge-her-3-yr-old-daughter-had-to-hide-after-nuh-mob-attack-fir-8873873/>

most violence was done by helping the perpetrators who were participating with weapons of all kinds; swords, battens, automatic guns, and pistols. The war cry of "Jai Shree Ram" was used to instigate violence. He stated that the chant of "Jai Shree Ram" is no longer a mere religious expression; instead, it has transformed into a tool to induce fear, conveying the ominous implication that danger is imminent, "that you are about to be murdered".

Adv Tahir Hussain Devla's perspective offers a broad view of the events during the violence, shedding light on the oppressive methods employed by law enforcement. His testimony unveils a disturbing reality where innocent Muslims are subjected to torture, during and after violence. The advocate claims that the violence was planned. "It has been planned for years. These rallies have been taking place since 2021. This was no fight between the two communities. This was because of outsiders... Their religious yatra has been happening here for the last 4 years, why did nothing happen then? Most of those who were part of this yatra were around 14-16 year olds."

Part III:

Revealing Post-Violence Injustice: Police Actions Exposed

The aftermath of the violence has brought forth new challenges and hardships for the community, especially Muslims. Rather than offering support, the administration has embarked on a path of revenge against the Muslim community. This revenge is manifested through the demolition of their shops and houses, coupled with arbitrary detentions and torture.



The continuing struggles faced by the residents are epitomized by the comprehensive testimony of Adv Tahir Hussain Devla. The police's actions in demolishing properties, targeting Muslims, and perpetuating a cycle of fear and oppression showcase a stark reality where innocents are punished even after the violence subsided. Advocate revealed that a staggering 95% of people sought refuge in the nearby mountains, desperately attempting to evade the specter of arbitrary arrests. Some individuals had even fled to Rajasthan in search of safety.

Advocate Hussain highlighted the horrifying methods of torture that are being employed by the police. He recounted stories of men who endured unimaginable torment, even 3rd-degree torture, such as waterboarding, bearing heavy weights for prolonged periods, and their legs being torn apart. What is particularly troubling is the elusive nature of the police's torture techniques, making the torture difficult to trace.

The prevailing atmosphere is one of pervasive fear, leaving people afraid to venture out. Advocate Hussain brought attention to the troubling case of three brothers of an advocate who had been picked up by the police while walking on the road. He questioned the fairness of such arrests, suggesting that if even individuals with connections were being targeted, the treatment of the poor must be so much worse.

Adv Ramzan stated that the police are acting even worse than the rioters, demolishing shops and homes of innocent people without any compassion or reason. Men are being subjected to torture, even in public, enduring derogatory language and vicious physical assaults, including targeting their private parts. There are also reports of women from village Nagina who have faced harassment and mistreatment. It is alleged that when the police came to pick up the men they assaulted the women present in the house. Adv Hussain also informed that the Police have picked up a number of men from Mewli village nearby.

Arbitrary charges of murder and attempted murder, sections 302 and 307, under the Indian Penal Code (IPC) are being slapped on individuals, and a staggering 113 people had been arrested (by 5/8/23), all of them Muslims. Advocate Hussain highlighted that minors being tried as adults, deprived of any opportunity to present their case or proof of age. He emphasized the stark contrast in treatment, where Hindus arrested are given charpais (cots) to sleep on, and Muslims endure torture throughout the night.

The Advocate also shed light on a surprising aspect of the situation: no arrests had been made from the side of the rioters or vandals yet.

The curfew has caused significant financial loss, especially to daily wage labourers who run small businesses to make their daily ends meet. The curfew's relaxation for shops from 12 pm to 3 pm is also proving ineffective, as Hindu shopkeepers are refusing to open their shops, inflicting financial losses on the Muslim community, pointing out a prevailing sentiment of teaching Muslims a lesson, underlined by the phrase "inka ilaaj hone do." ("let them be taught a lesson")

There is an absence of bus and auto services. The atmosphere is laden with terror, surpassing the impact of any previous lockdown.



Targeted Demolitions of Properties in Nuh

The distressing turn of events is made worse as the police began demolishing shops and houses, specifically targeting properties owned by Muslims. Their justification rested on the claim that these properties lacked proper documentation, an assertion that Advocate Hussain vehemently contested. Deceptive backdated notices left residents with no chance to defend their rights, leading to the ruthless destruction of their homes and businesses within mere hours. The notices are written in backdate and then stuck to the gates of properties and the properties are being demolished in an hour or so afterwards.

The Nuh District Administration has been demolishing houses and shops belonging to Muslims who they claim are "illegal immigrants & Rohingyas encroaching on govt land." What's peculiar is that the authorities apparently realized that these are "encroachments" only after the Nuh violence & started demolitions even while a curfew is in place. On the other hand, news reports have categorically said that the Muslims whose homes were demolished were workers from West Bengal. Officials of the Forest Department removed "encroachments" from about 5 acres of land behind the Nalhar Shiv temple.



Why were these demolitions carried out during a curfew, and why did the government only label them as "illegal encroachments" after the recent violence, are questions that must be raised. Furthermore, the process by which SDM Nuh determined individuals as 'illegal immigrants' needs clarification.

Additionally, the lack of action against alleged VHP members involved in the riots demands urgent attention. This raises inquiries about potential connections to Chief Minister M. L. Khattar's BJP party and any role played in planning or orchestrating the violence.

On the day of our fact-finding team's visit to Nuh, the demolitions were still in progress under the watch of police personnel. Dispossessed individuals were left without a chance to retrieve their belongings. Notably, entire medical shops were razed in front of the Shaheed Hasan Medical College, leaving locals without a source for essential medications. Pathology labs and tuition centers suffered the same fate. We saw people sifting through the remnants of destruction, salvaging whatever they could from the wreckage.



Up until now, Nuh Administration has demolished over 750 buildings including houses, shops and illegal structures since the drive began last week, reported Hindustan Times. Officials allege that demolished structures were built on government land and were used by the suspects during the recent communal clashes which up until now has not been proven to have any basis.

As of 7th of August, the demolition drive has been halted by a judicial order by the Haryana and Punjab High court, stating that, “the law and order problem is being used as a ruse to bring down buildings without following the procedure established by law. The issue also arises whether the buildings belonging to a particular community are being brought down under the guise of law and order problem and an exercise of ethnic cleansing is being conducted by the State.”

The High Court also berated the home minister’s statement who likened bulldozers to a form of "treatment" or “ilaaj” during the government's investigation into communal violence. The bench quoted Lord Acton's timeless insight: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

Wrongfully Accused: Testimonies of Families Affected by Police Actions

In the wake of the violence, the accounts of these individuals weave a compelling narrative that spans the trajectory of events before, during, and after the unrest. Their testimonies collectively unveil a harrowing tale of administrative failure, brutality, and injustice. In the aftermath of the violence, the stories of several individuals further reveal the impact of arbitrary arrests on innocent lives.



Meoli is one such village in Nuh whose residents complain of a brutal police crackdown. The village is 8 kilometers away from Nuh town where the violence took place. Villagers claim that the police came on 1 August early morning at around 5 am with 20 vehicles and without any warrants, picked up random men from the village. The relatives of all of the arrested men have no idea what are the charges against the men picked up from their homes. They are not even going to meet them at the police station as elders of the village suggested that it's better they wait or they might also be picked up by the police.

9 men from one family were picked up at 5 am on 1 August. Chaudhary Shfaat, a 77 year old man, and a landlord, alleged that the police are making random arrests from his village. *“Those who are culprits must be arrested. But people from this village didn't even know about the procession in Nuh. They had no relation with it,”* he said and also blamed Monu Manesar's viral video for this situation. Shfaat held a stack of papers in his hand, each bearing the identification of his family members who had been taken by the police. Among those detained were approximately 12 to 15 individuals, including Sohrab, who has a disability and has since been released. Four to five of those taken into custody were minors under the age of 18. A disparity emerged as Shafat highlighted that only Muslims were targeted for arrest. The arrested individuals are not being allowed to see their families. Due to fear, the families of victims didn't report their grievances.

In the Muslim dominated Meoli village, Maniram is one of the few Hindus in the village who works as a tailor. Maniram was also not aware of the VHP procession being taken out. *“I found out about it the next day. There is brotherhood and communal harmony in our village,”* he said.



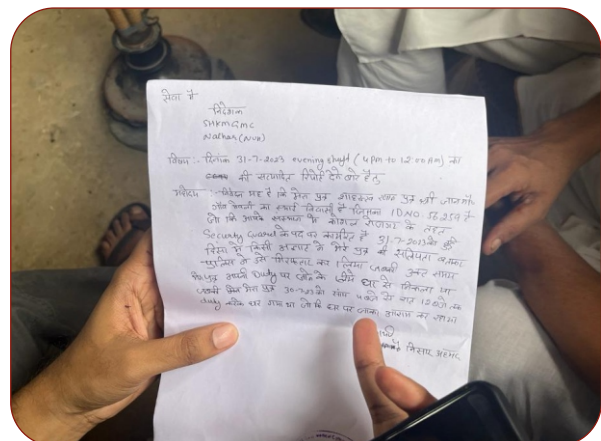
Tayyab Hussain whose sons Azad and Salim sell milk for a living said that on the day of the violence his sons went to sell milk and then returned after work. Now both arrested, Tayyab said that the police didn't even let Salim wear clothes before they took him away. Like all the other families, Hussain was not even informed by the police why his sons were arrested.

One of the arrested men Aahit went to give his LLB exam at Lords University, Alwar, on the day of violence, claimed his grandfather Chaudhary Shfaat and showed us his date sheet and two bus tickets, one of going to Alwar from Nuh on 31 July at 8:21 am and the other of returning back to Nuh from Alwar on 31 July at 11:46 am.

Basheer Ahmad, 51, broke down talking about his son Mohammad Talha who is now arrested by the police. "He works as an electrician. On 31 July (the day of violence) he went to Mission hospital for some repair work. He was arrested at around 3 pm while he was returning from work," said Ahmad.

'Sohail' name changed 15, is a minor who was picked up after he was returning from work on the day of violence of 31 July. "He supplies cold drinks to shops and was returning home after 2:30 pm when he was arrested by the police," his uncle Nukmuddin, a landlord, said.

Shehzad and Shahrukh Khan, two of the men arrested early morning at 5 am on 1 August, worked as security guards at SHKM Medical college, Nalhar. Shehzad's sister in law and Shahrukh's cousin Arfina claimed that Shahrukh and Shehzad were at work on the day of violence. "Shahrukh did night duty and Shehzad went to work at 7 am in the morning and returned at 5 pm on the day of violence. They had no business with the violence."



Shahrukh's father, Jaan Mohammad, wrote a letter to the director of SHKM Medical college, Nalhar, informing him that his son was picked up by the police after being named in the violence by an unknown despite the fact that on the day of violence, he had left for his duty as security guard at the college.

Jaan Mohammad, a grief-stricken father, shared the harrowing experience of his son Shahrukh, a 30-year-old guard who was taken into custody on 1.08.2023. The Nuh Police Station invoked various sections of the Indian Penal Code, as well as provisions of the Arms Act, against Shahrukh. His father displayed his son's security guard badge with a heavy heart. Jaan Mohammad vehemently asserted that his son played no part in the turmoil that unfolded. Tragically, another family member, Shahzad, his brother's son, also fell victim to an unjust arrest. Mohammad Ahmad, the father of Shehzad, recounted the wrongful apprehension of his 27-year-old son, who worked as a security guard. Shehzad was accused of involvement in the violence that erupted on 31.07.2022.

Junaid, aged 25 years, son of Usman, went to his brother-in-law's house to attend the funeral of his brother-in-law's son in the evening. When he returned, he was picked up the next morning by the Nuh police for allegedly taking part in the violence.

Similar detainment and arrests have also taken place in the vicinity of Meoli, in villages like Khedi and Murad Bas, which are similarly desolate.



Women's Accounts of Police Brutality

The accounts of women from the Mewli village bear witness to the realities faced by the community, whose husbands and brothers were picked up by the police from their house while sleeping.

Farida's testimony shows the impact of arbitrary arrests on innocent lives, with her husband Aazad and brother-in-law Salim taken away without cause. "My husband Aazad and my brother-in-law Salim were both taken from our home at 5 o'clock in the morning while they were sleeping. They did not even let my husband button his clothes...Our livelihood depends on selling milk, our entire business has been ruined, and we are poor people. We have lost 2.5 quintals of milk till now."

Rizwana's account paints a grim picture of the police's actions, with young boys picked up on fake accusations. "Everyone in our family is in service; some work in the health department, while others are in the electricity department. We led peaceful lives, never involved in any criminal activities. The police accused my brothers of bike theft based on a fake video, but we had no such involvement. They barged into our home at 5 am, a day after the riots, and took away whoever they found sleeping in the house. All of my brothers were at home during the riots but the police falsely accused them and took them away." Rizwana broke down during her testimony while recounting these events.



People also alleged that the police came in 15-20 police vehicles and 4 buses raided the houses and hurled abuses, threatened with weapons and used physical force against the women and elderly.

Women complained of misbehavior and abuse by the police when they came to pick the men up. Shabnam whose husband Anish (35) was arrested early morning alleged that police pushed her aside while arresting Anish and said, "Hatt Beh** k* I***". She claimed that Anish was at home all day on the day of violence.

One woman, Shahzad's sister-in-law, Arfina, recounted, "My brother-in-law Shahzad works as a guard in Nalhar village. He goes on duty at 7 am daily, but the police picked him up while he was sleeping at home that day. They threatened us and even threw an iron plate (tasla) at us, which hit my mother-in-law. ("Hame dhamkaya aur meri sasur ko tashla phenk ke mara police ne"). They intimidated us by saying, "Dur Hoja warna Goli mar denge." ("Get away from here, or we'll shoot.") "When we asked what's the matter and why are they arresting our men, the police shut us up, hurling abuses." added Arfina.

An elderly woman shared the harrowing experience of the police crackdown on Mewli village. She addressed the police as "brothers" and pleaded, "Where are you taking my son? He's done nothing wrong. He has four children. What will they eat and how will they earn?" She continued, "The police grabbed my hand and threw me against the wall." ("Mera hath pakad ke easa pheki me diwar me ja giri".)

Gurugram: Trail of Vandalism

The Anjuman Jama Masjid in Gurugram Sector 57 stands as a crucial religious landmark, situated on government-allocated land within the planned urban development area. It holds a unique distinction as the solitary mosque serving a substantial portion of the city's posh area. Despite claims of a lack of Muslims in the region, the mosque stands as a place of worship for many, including migrant laborers from Tigra village. The mosque's legal dispute, spanning from 2004 to 2023, culminated in a Supreme Court ruling in favor of the masjid committee, solidifying its status.

The legal journey of the mosque's construction has been marked by obstacles, with a 12-year status-quo order imposed by the Supreme Court halting its progress. Despite facing these challenges, the mosque held prayers catered to the needs of a diverse community. During the fervent protests against Namaaz by right-wing groups in various parts of Gurugram in 2021, the Anjuman Jama Masjid remained a relatively undisturbed site for prayers due to its settled legal position. However, opposition from these Hindutva groups persisted, and the violence that erupted in Gurugram was an extension of clashes from the neighboring Nuh district in Haryana.

A targeted attack unfolded at Anjuman Jama Masjid in Gurugram's Sector 57 on. A mob consisting of 90-100 individuals besieged the mosque at 12:15 am, brandishing lathis, sticks, and weapons. Masked assailants chanted "Jai Shree Ram" as they encircled the mosque. During the attack, Maulana Saad, the naib imam, was assaulted, stabbed 13 times with swords, etc. and his throat was slit before he was killed. The mosque's caretaker, Khurshid Alam, was badly beaten and shot in the knee and is currently hospitalized in a private hospital in Gurugram.



This incident stands as a stark symbol of the surging animosity towards the Muslim community, fueled by a reprehensible sentiment of hindutva that a mosque had no place in a posh area predominantly dominated by Hindus.

On the same day, an additional mob wreaked havoc by igniting a destructive fire that engulfed multiple shops and shanties, deliberately targeting the Muslim community's properties in various parts of Gurugram. These brazen and targeted attacks unequivocally expose the festering hatred and intolerance that threaten to tear apart the fabric of coexistence.

Our fact finding team has a conversation with the Commissioner of Police in Gurugram, on 2/08/23, who informed us that 55 individuals have been arrested. She also mentioned that appropriate actions will be taken against those who are posting on social media.

Regarding the attack on the Anjuman Jama Masjid in Gurugram and the unfortunate demise of Maulana Saad, the Police Commissioner responded that they did not anticipate that the situation would escalate from Nuh to Gurugram. She explained that the events unfolded spontaneously, and approximately 60% of their police force was engaged in Nuh, which was the reason they were not able to anticipate and prevent the situation from reaching this point. However, her statement contradicts the facts, as we are aware that the Gurugram police only arrived in Nuh around 6 pm in the evening.

Testimony of Khurshid Alam's brother:

Our fact-finding team talked to Naseem, the brother of Khurshid, who provided a detailed account of the harrowing incident. He began by describing his brother's condition, stating, "My brother is 42 years old and is currently in the ICU. He is unable to speak, and his head has sustained significant injuries. My brother's leg was also broken by the attackers. He sustained a gunshot wound to his other leg, and both his hands were fractured." Naseem went on to provide a chilling description of the attack, saying, "At around midnight, a group of assailants, numbering between 90 to 100, gathered outside the mosque. They surrounded the mosque from all sides, armed with lathis, sticks, swords, and pistols. Many of them had covered their faces with masks, and they began chanting 'Jai Shree Ram' as they closed in on the mosque."

He continued by shedding light on the aftermath of the attack, saying, "The police have taken 55 individuals into custody in connection with the incident."

Naseem highlighted the dire consequences his family is now facing due to the attack, sharing, "My brother has four daughters and two sons. He worked as a daily wage laborer, and he was the sole earner of his family. Now we are struggling to make ends meet, as he was the primary source of income."

Recounting the timeline of events, Naseem explained, "We received a phone call at 3 o'clock in the morning, informing us that my brother had been shot and urging us to come to the hospital. While my brother is still recovering and regaining consciousness, we have been unable to communicate with the other two individuals who were also targeted. It is possible that they are too frightened to speak about the ordeal."

The initial incident of violence began in Nuh before spreading to Gurugram and other areas. The violence first erupted in Haryana's Nuh on Monday, July 31st. Disturbingly, this wave of unrest extended its reach to Gurugram, Badshahpur and Palwal regions of the state on the subsequent Tuesday.

In Palwal, violence began around 6 pm on Monday, immediately following clashes in Nuh. Locals reported that a mob targeted the Hamidia mosque, launching an attack and setting several parked bikes ablaze. This initial act of aggression acted as a catalyst, triggering a chain reaction of violence that would grip the area in the coming days.

As the turmoil persisted, the unrest escalated on the following day. Three other mosques became targets of violence. In Sheikhpura, a mosque faced a barrage of hurled stones, while the situation turned even more dire at Minar Gate, where a mosque was set on fire. In Hodal, reports emerged of a mosque being subjected to an alleged attack involving petrol bombs, intensifying the chaos and fear within the community.

The wave of violence wasn't limited to religious institutions alone. Several scrap shops were set ablaze. In response to the escalating situation, traders had to close their shops, and authorities imposed prohibitory orders under Section 144 of the CrPC (Code of Criminal Procedure) to maintain some semblance of order. It's noteworthy that despite the severity of the situation, no curfew was imposed at this point.

Emerging reports from Badshahpur depicted a violent scene as a mob engaged in acts of vandalism and set shops ablaze. These distressing visuals captured the incident unfolding at approximately 2 pm on Tuesday, marking a significant escalation of the ongoing turmoil.

Judicial & Administrative Response in the Wake of Unrest

Zakir Khan, a local leader from the BJP and ex MLA, shared, "I was at the Imambara when I got to know about it around 2:00. I left the area immediately. The curfew is in place on all sides now, and the atmosphere is tense. There are rumors circulating widely among both Hindus and Muslims. As per my information, the administration has arrested some individuals and then released others. Whether the arrests were fair or unfair will become clear after an investigation. We've suggested that the police should arrest individuals only after verifying their identity."

Regarding questions about Monu Manesar and Bittu Bajrangi, he mentioned that the administration has been transparent. They've made their stance clear to all of us – the Chief Minister, the Home Minister, the Deputy Commissioner of Police – they've all expressed their opinions. Now, what else is there to say?

He also claimed that administrative failure occurred because the Peace Committee meeting held on July 27th had assured that nothing like this would happen. Hence, he believes this is not the failure of administration but of the peace committee.

Our fact finding team also talked to the local congress MLA, Chaudhary Aftab Ahmed. He mentioned that previously, people didn't come forward, but since August 4th, people have started coming forward to file complaints. They have started submitting complaint applications, but they still haven't been converted into FIRs yet. Their intention is to approach the court under Section 156(3). Regarding questions about Monu Manesar, he stated that the Haryana government does not want that he is arrested.



When asked about whether he was aware of the bulldozer drive, he said that they talked to the DCP and SP in efforts to stop it, but the latter did not give him any constructive reply.

The MLA further claimed that the administration is doing these optics of bulldozer politics now to hide their government's failure. "The police are working one-sidedly and spreading fear. The administration is responsible, either they are too foolish or they are letting this happen". He said that when Bittu Bajrang's and Monu Manesar's videos were released, they informed the police firsthand who assured them that nothing would happen.

Senior IPS Ajit Balaji was appointed as the deputy, and Aftab Ahmed spoke to him, but nothing came of it. Their party members are in communication with everyone. They told everyone that they should see the time when they are demolishing, under the pretext of illegal structures.

In response to the violence that unfolded in Nuh, Gurugram, and the surrounding areas, the Supreme Court has initiated actions, issuing notices to government of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, and Delhi. In the wake of these events, the apex court took a stance against hate speech and violence in the Delhi-NCR region. The bench, consisting of Justices Sanjiv Khanna and SV Bhatti, directed the Centre to ensure the implementation of preventive measures, which include deploying additional police or paramilitary forces and installing CCTV cameras in sensitive areas. This directive comes after a plea was submitted to the Supreme Court, shedding light on the announcement of 23 protest marches by right-wing groups, Vishva Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal, subsequent to the clashes that occurred on Monday.

The Supreme Court emphasized its stance unequivocally, stating, "There should be no hate speech, no violence; if required, deploy additional forces, install CCTV cameras, and preserve all recorded evidence." Surprisingly, the Supreme Court did not stop the rallies from taking place in the first place.

Haryana Chief Minister Manohar Lal Khattar stood by the concept of "bulldozer justice", saying the government had zero tolerance for encroachments and illegal constructions.

Haryana Home Minister Anil Vij reinforced the commitment to address the Nuh violence comprehensively, even hinting at the possibility of utilizing bulldozers to address the issue. He underlined that statements from witnesses were being documented and CCTV footage was being diligently reviewed.

Recently, it was revealed that Haryana Deputy CM Dushyant Chautala received information about the violence in the morning itself, and alerted ADG CID & SP Nuh. So the question arises that when the government already had inputs about the violence in the morning, why was it still allowed to happen?

HARYANA POLICE CITIZEN SERVICES (हरियाणा पुलिस नागरिक सेवा)
FIRST INFORMATION REPORT
 (Under Section 154 Cr.P.C.)
 प्रथम सूचना रिपोर्ट
 (धारा 154 दंड प्रक्रिया संहिता के तहत)

1. District (ज़िला): NUH P.S. (थाना): CITY NUH Year (वर्ष): 2023
 FIR No. (प.सू.रि. सं.): 0260 Date (दिनांक): 01/08/2023
 22:14

2. S.No. (क्र.सं.) Acts (अधिनियम) Sections (धारा(एँ))

1	IPC 1860	148
2	IPC 1860	149
3	IPC 1860	332
4	IPC 1860	353
5	IPC 1860	186
6	IPC 1860	307
7	IPC 1860	435
8	ARMS ACT, 1959	25

3. (a) Occurrence of offence (अपराध की घटना):
 1 Day (दिन): Monday Date from (दिनांक से): 31/07/2023 Date To (दिनांक तक): 31/07/2023
 Time Period (समय अवधि): Pahar 5 Time From (समय से): 13:45 hrs Time To (समय तक): 13:45 hrs

(b) Information received at P.S. (थाना जहाँ सूचना प्राप्त हुई): Date (दिनांक): 01/08/2023 Time (समय): 22:14 hrs

(c) General Diary Reference (रोजनामचा संदर्भ): Entry No. (प्रविष्टि सं.): 040 Date (दिनांक): 01/08/2023 Time (समय): 22:14 hrs

System IP (आइपी): 10.88.233.142 02/08/2023 14:04:33 1/10

HARYANA POLICE CITIZEN SERVICES (हरियाणा पुलिस नागरिक सेवा)
FIRST INFORMATION REPORT
 (Under Section 154 Cr.P.C.)
 प्रथम सूचना रिपोर्ट
 (धारा 154 दंड प्रक्रिया संहिता के तहत)

1. District (ज़िला): NUH P.S. (थाना): CITY NUH Year (वर्ष): 2023
 FIR No. (प.सू.रि. सं.): 0254 Date (दिनांक): 01/08/2023
 04:00

2. S.No. (क्र.सं.) Acts (अधिनियम) Sections (धारा(एँ))

1	IPC 1860	148
2	IPC 1860	149
3	IPC 1860	332
4	IPC 1860	353
5	IPC 1860	186
6	IPC 1860	307
7	IPC 1860	435
8	ARMS ACT, 1959	25

3. (a) Occurrence of offence (अपराध की घटना):
 1 Day (दिन): Monday Date from (दिनांक से): 31/07/2023 Date To (दिनांक तक): 31/07/2023
 Time Period (समय अवधि): Pahar 5 Time From (समय से): 13:30 hrs Time To (समय तक): 15:00 hrs

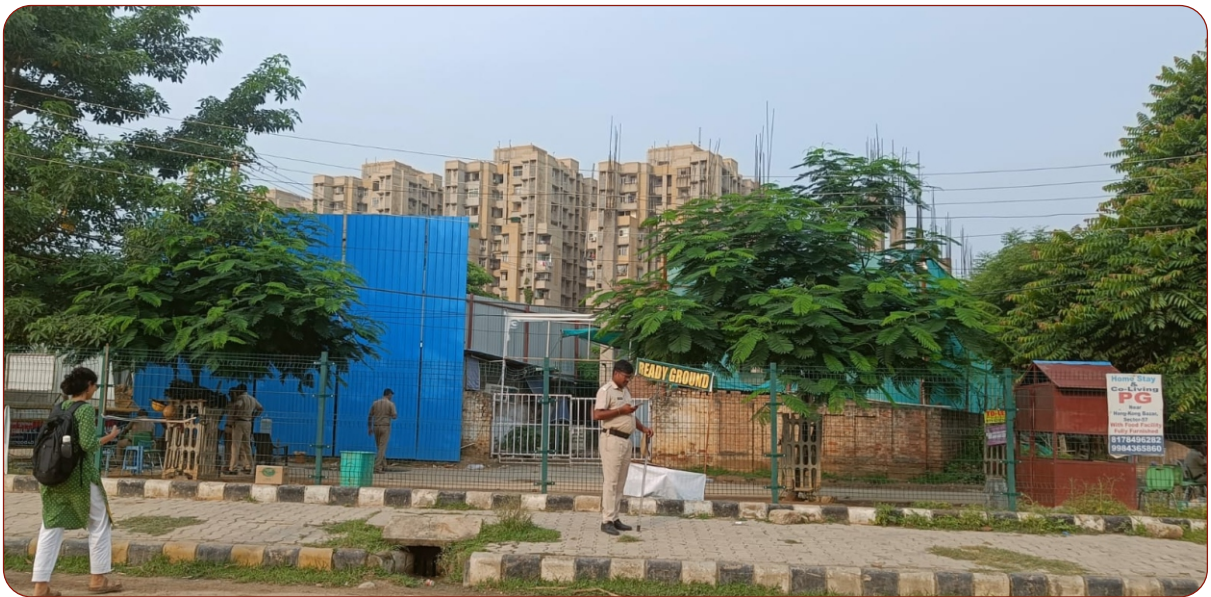
(b) Information received at P.S. (थाना जहाँ सूचना प्राप्त हुई): Date (दिनांक): 01/08/2023 Time (समय): 04:00 hrs

(c) General Diary Reference (रोजनामचा संदर्भ): Entry No. (प्रविष्टि सं.): 014 Date (दिनांक): 01/08/2023 Time (समय): 13:49 hrs

FACT FINDING TEAM

1. **Nadeem Khan**, National Secretary, APCR
2. **Laeq Ahmed Khan Aqil**, Social Activist
3. **Zahid Ahmed**, Advocate, Haryana, APCR
4. **Saif ul Islam**, Advocate, APCR
5. **Faareha Shahid**, Advocate & Research Associate, APCR
6. **Shazia Sameen**, Advocate & Research Associate, APCR
7. **M Huzaifa**, Student Activist, AMU
8. **Alishan Jafri**, Journalist
9. **Sabah Gurmat**, Journalist
10. **Kaushik Raj**, Journalist
11. **Zubair**, Journalist, PTC News Mewat







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New Delhi-110025**

☎ 011 - 41052797 ✉ /apcrindia@gmail.com 🌐 /apcrindia.in

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