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THE TREATMENT OF
INDIAN MUSLIMS UNDER
THE BHARATIYA JANATA
PARTY [“BJP”]
GOVERNMENT

Overview

Hindus and Muslims have been living together in India since medieval times. However, for over a thousand years, it is a relationship that has often been plagued with conflict and strife.

Today, we will take a closer look at India's Hindu nationalist BJP government and its treatment of Indian Muslims.

Overview

- 1) India's history of Hindu Muslim relations to better understand today's climate
 - Medieval and Moghul Muslim rule in India
 - 1947 partition
 - the Kashmir dispute
- 2) The Hindu nationalist BJP government's controversial policies
 - The Citizen Amendment Act ["CAA"]
- 3) The climate of discrimination against Muslims by society and the BJP government
- 4) Internal relocation options for Indian Muslims
- 5) The Indian government's ability and willingness to control the persecutor
 - Reports of Indian police condoning and partaking in acts of violence against Muslims
- 6) Credibility concerns
 - Fraudulently obtained authentic documents as a key concern in Indian claims

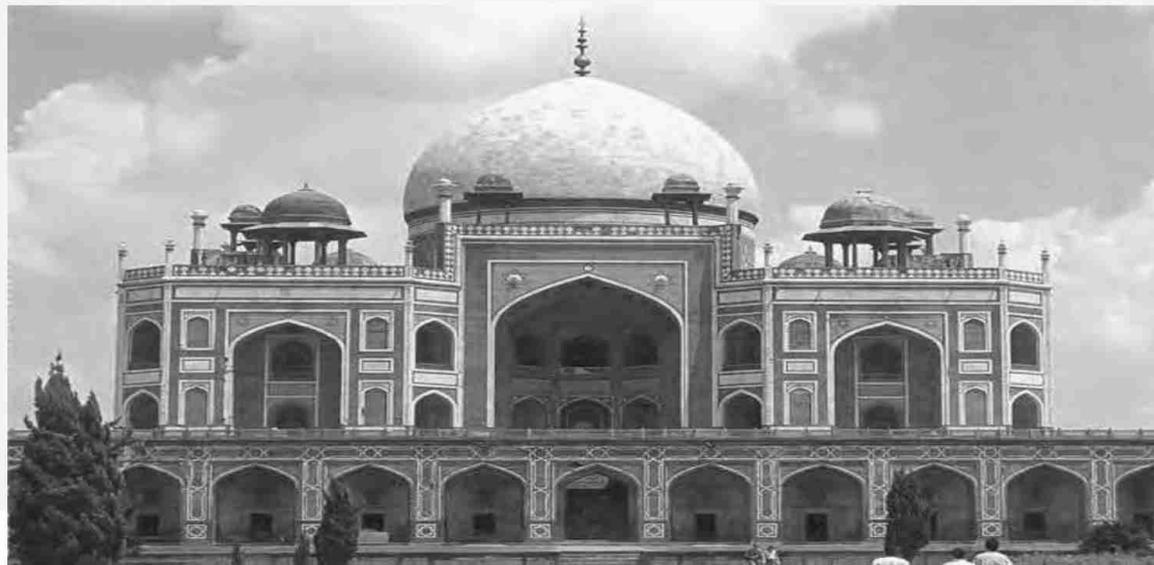
A long history of Islam in India



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Islam arrived in North India in the **7th century** and has since become a part of India's religious and cultural heritage. Trade routes connected South India to the Arab world even before the time of the Prophet Muhammad and likely continued through the advent of Islam.

Over the centuries, there has been significant integration of Hindu and Muslim cultures across India and Muslims have played a notable role in economics, politics, and in the culture of India. However, the **conflict** between **Hindus** and **Muslims** similarly has a long history in India.



Muslim Rule in India¹

711-12

Muslim rule in India begins with a gradual Muslim conquest, beginning mainly after the conquest of Sindh led by Muhammad bin Qasim

1192-1526

THE DELHI SULTANATE

ILBARI dynasty
KHALJI dynasty
TUGHLUQ dynasty
SAYYIDS
LODIS

Muslim Rule in India

1526-
1707

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

BABUR - Zahir ud-Din Muhammad Babur, descended from both Genghis Khan and Timur and comes in from Kabul

SHER SHAH SURI

ISLAM SHAH SURI

HUMAYUN - His early death means that his son Akbar must take the throne at the age of 14.

AKBAR - Jalal ud-Din Muhammad Akbar (b.1542), greatest emperor of the age. His conquests include Malwa, Gondwana, Chitor, Ranthambhor, Gujarat, Bengal

JAHANGIR

SHAH JAHAN - Mumtaz Mahal's death in childbirth inspires Shah Jahan to start work on the Taj Mahal

AURANGZEB- The reign of the last powerful Mughal emperor



Muslim rule in India led to a major shift in the cultural, linguistic and artistic makeup of the subcontinent.²

Muslim Rule in India

- ▶ Persian and Arabic vocabulary began to enter local languages.³
- ▶ gave birth to new styles of music and dance forms⁴
- ▶ developed their unique Indo-Persian architecture
- ▶ The palaces, tombs, gardens and forts built by the dynasty stand today



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Muslim Rule in India

- ▶ “The Mughal Empire consolidated Islam in South Asia and spread Muslim arts and culture as well as the faith. The heritage that has remained from the era is rich in terms of architecture, literature and cuisine.
- ▶ However, the Mughals’ record, as well as that of other Muslim rulers in India remains mixed. Some were patrons of Hindu temples and culture. Others are said to have killed Hindus (as well as other non-Muslims), forced them to convert to Islam and destroyed Hindu temples.” And some are said to have done both simultaneously. ⁵

A long history of communal tensions in India: The 1947 Partition

The 1947 partition led to an independent and free India from the British Raj, and the simultaneous birth of Pakistan. It's a fascinating moment in history, whose legacy still resonates today.

- This 5 minute video clip includes original footage from this historic moment in time. It depicts the moment when India gained independence from the British Raj, and simultaneously erupted into a civil war cast along religious Hindu/Muslim lines.
- Creating the largest mass migration in human history of approximately 10 million people, cast strictly along religious lines, dividing Muslims to the north in Pakistan, and Hindus in India⁶

[CLICK HERE TO VIEW VIDEO TIME CODES: START TO 5:15:](#)

[XX https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kmUqPqmtmoM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kmUqPqmtmoM)

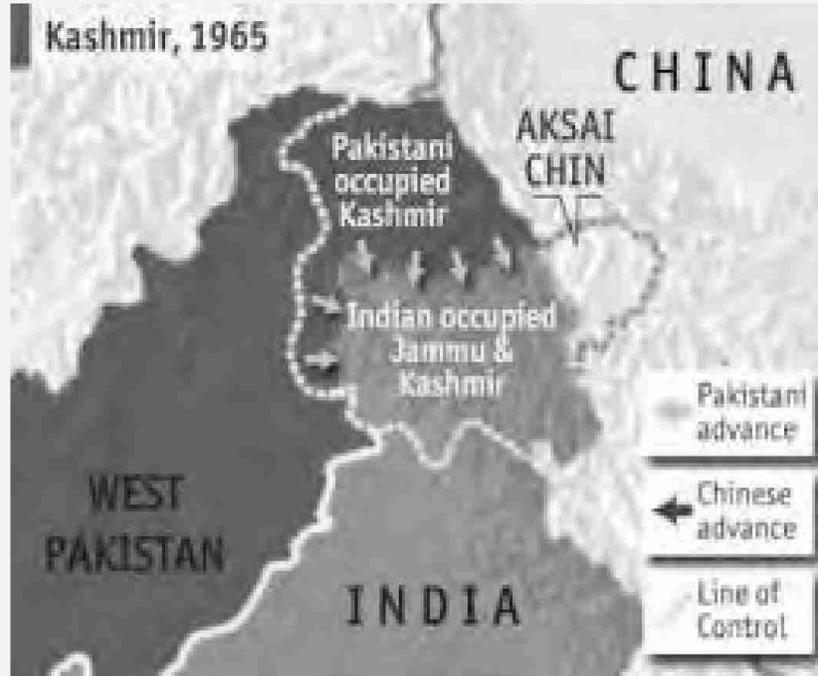
A long history of communal tensions in India: The 1947 Partition

- This Al Jazeera documentary goes into a bit more depth about the 1947 partition in India.
- Please note this contains many graphic and violent images of Hindu/Muslim clashes.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zbHMCWbwOKM>

VIEWING TIME CODES: 1:43 TO 5:50

Kashmir: Why India and Pakistan fight over it



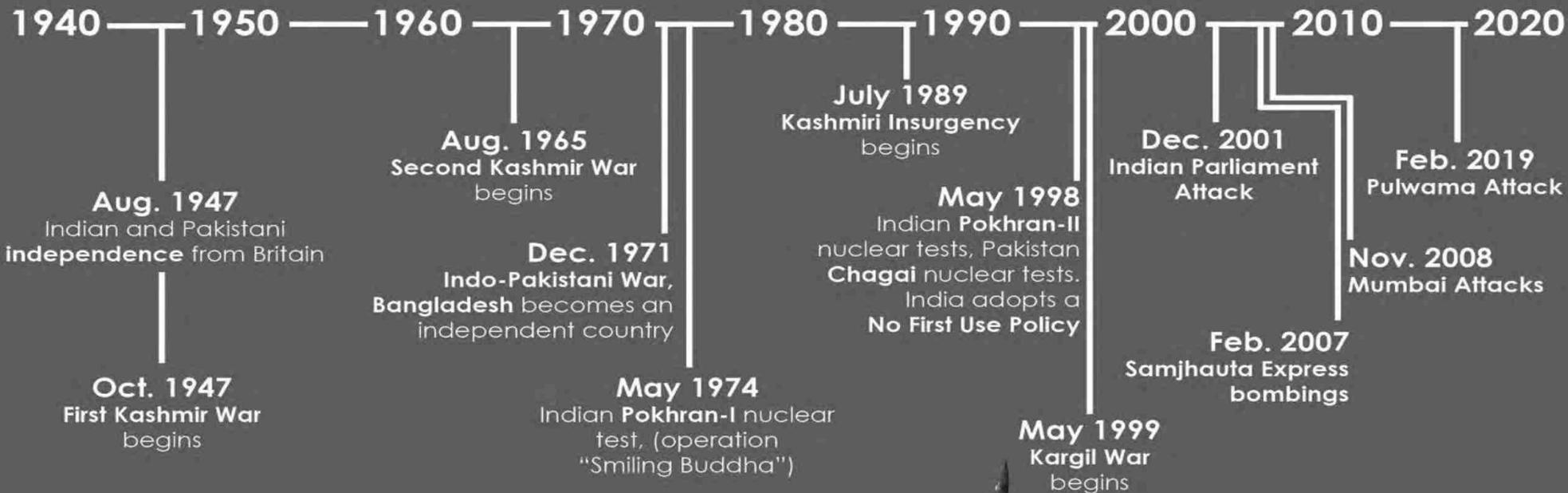
Kashmir: Why India and Pakistan fight over it

Even before India and Pakistan officially won their independence from Britain in August 1947, the area of Kashmir was hotly contested.

- Kashmir was free to accede to either India or Pakistan.
- The maharaja (local ruler), chose to join India, in return for its help against an invasion of tribesmen from Pakistan.
- In July 1949, India and Pakistan signed an agreement to establish a ceasefire line as recommended by the UN and the region became divided.
- India and Pakistan waged two wars over Kashmir and multiple insurgencies

Today, Delhi and Islamabad both claim Kashmir in full, but control only parts of it - territories recognized internationally as "Indian-administered Kashmir" and "Pakistan-administered Kashmir".⁷

INDIA-PAKISTAN HISTORY OF CONFLICT



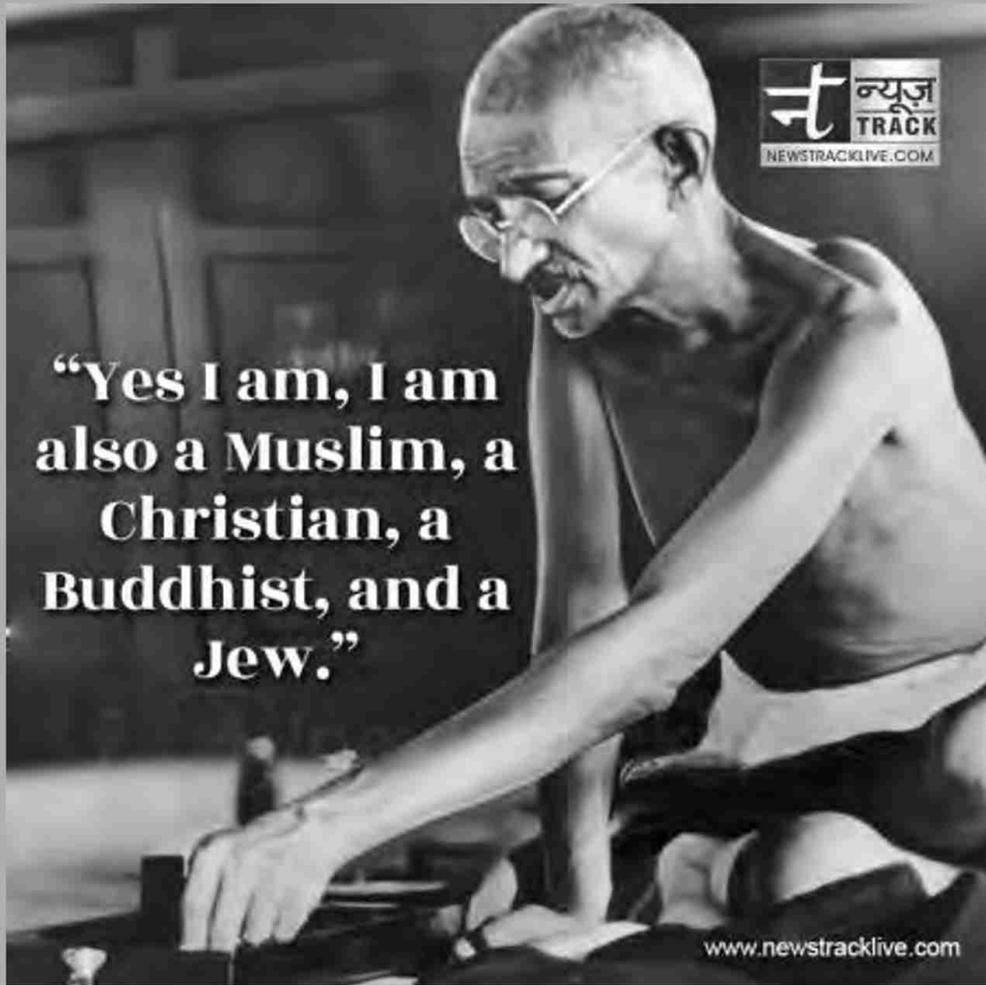
The BJP revoked Kashmir's privileged status on 8/5/2020

- Article 370 of the constitution granted Kashmir significant autonomy, including its own constitution, a separate flag, and independence over all matters except foreign affairs, defense and communications.
- On 5 August, the BJP government revoked that seven-decade-long privileged status
- Telephone networks and the internet were cut off in the region in the days before the presidential order was announced. Public gatherings were banned, and tens of thousands of troops were sent in. Tourists were told to leave Kashmir under warnings of a terror threat.⁸

Kashmir is over 60% Muslim, India's only Muslim majority state

- Critics of the BJP fear the move to revoke Kashmir's independent status is designed to change the state's demographic make-up, by giving people from the rest of the country the right to acquire property and settle there permanently.
- One observer told the BBC: “They just want to occupy our land and want to make this Muslim-majority state like any other state and reduce us to a minority and disempower us totally.”⁹

Militant Hindu nationalism has reared its head in India before



Nathuram Godse, who assassinated Gandhi, on January 30, 1948, was a member of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, or R.S.S., a violent right-wing organization that promotes Hindu supremacy.

One reason, Godse said he assassinated Gandhi is:

“... that Gandhi helped create Pakistan. Godse said, "When top leaders of Congress, with the consent of Gandhi, divided and tore the country ... my mind was filled with direful anger...for the present government owing to their policy which was unfairly favourable towards the Muslims. But at the same time I could clearly see that the policy was entirely due to the presence of Gandhi.”

Militant Hindu nationalism has reared its head in India before

The Babri Masjid, a sixteenth-century mosque located in the Hindu holy city of Ayodhya, India, was demolished during a violent R.S.S. rally in 1992.

- The 16th-Century mosque that was demolished by Hindu mobs in 1992, sparking riots that killed nearly 2,000 people.
- Many believe a Hindu temple was first constructed here, that was later demolished by Muslim Mogul rulers. Then, the Babri Masjid was constructed over the ruins of that same Hindu temple.
- Muslims say they offered prayers at the mosque until December 1949 when some Hindus placed an idol of Ram in the mosque and began to worship the idols.
- Over the decades since, the two religious groups went to court many times over who should control the site.¹⁴

Salman Khurshid, India's former foreign minister and the author of the book, "Invisible Citizens," on the systematic oppression of Muslims in the country, laid out **several setbacks for Muslims in Indian history**:

- **"First, in 1857, the failure of the war of independence,"** he said, citing the brutal British repression of a popular uprising, in which Muslim and Hindu soldiers rose up together against the colonialists.
- **Second, 1947 partition**, when British India divided into two independent states, predominantly Hindu India and predominantly Muslim Pakistan, and more than a million people died in sectarian violence.
- **Third**, Khurshid cited the **destruction of Babri Mosque**.
- **Fourth, "the next big setback is the rise of this BJP government."** Under Modi, incidents of communal violence rose twenty-eight per cent between 2014 and 2017.¹¹

PM Modi's BJP government: Who is the BJP?

'The BJP [ruling Bharatiya Janata Party subscribes to the ideology of Hindutva ("Hinduness"), which seeks to make India a Hindu state based on Hinduism and Hindu values. ¹²

What is Hindutva?

► Hindutva is a concept of 'Indian cultural, national, and religious identity' ...[A] true 'Indian' is one who partakes of this 'Hindu-ness'¹³



What is Hindutva?

Hindu in this context can mean:

- Hinduism as a standalone religion; or
- religions that have their principal places of worship in India (including Buddhists, Sikhs, and Jains) but excluding, among others, Muslims and Christians.

“[A]cknowledgement of India as one’s ‘motherland’ was insufficient. India must also be your ‘holy land.’ By invoking holiness...followers of Abrahamic faiths (most significantly Muslims), however, were entirely excluded from the Indian nation.”¹²

“Not all people who support the BJP are motivated to do so by Hindu nationalist ideology.”

Many support the BJP for its:

- neoliberal economic platform
- social conservatism
- various policy positions unrelated to nationalist ideology
- opposition to the Congress Party which for the first several decades following India's independence was the sole dominant party in India

For the first time in India, religion is now a basis for granting citizenship

The Modi administration passed the **Citizen Amendment Act** on 12/12/2019. Under this legislation:

- any Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, or Christian migrant from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, or Pakistan who arrived in India on or prior to December 31, 2014, will **not** be treated as an “illegal migrant,” allowing them to apply for and gain Indian citizenship.¹⁶
- However, **this does not apply for similarly-situated migrants who are Muslims, Jews, atheists, or members of other faiths.**¹⁷
- The law specifically **fast-tracks asylum claims of non-Muslim** immigrants from the neighboring Muslim-majority countries

The amended citizenship law **has led to fears that millions of Indian Muslims, including many families who have lived in the country for generations, could be stripped of their citizenship rights and disenfranchised.**¹⁸

PROTESTS AGAINST THE CAA





Throughout the country, Indians of all faiths have protested peacefully against the law, singing songs, reciting poetry, and reading aloud from the constitution, which commits to secularism and equality.¹⁹

The CAA's implications: What people are saying

“India’s new law may leave millions of Muslims without citizenship.” *The Washington Post*²⁰

“[The law] places the burden to prove Indian citizenship on the citizen, which could mean that every citizen becomes a doubtful citizen. The impact on marginalised groups such as Muslims will be particularly detrimental,” *Al Jazeera*²¹

“By smoothing the path for all non-Muslim immigrants from adjoining countries to attain citizenship, the law paves the way for practitioners of Islam to be unfairly disadvantaged when seeking to immigrate to India.” *The Intercept*

“India’s Citizenship Law, in tandem with national registry, could make BJP’s discriminatory targeting of Muslims easier.” *The Intercept*²²

The National Population Register

The National Population Register is a list of all people residing in India, irrespective of their nationality.

- Indian officials will distill those considered “doubtful” citizens, to create a final list of those verified. This will be the National Register of Citizens [“NRC”].
- Those not verified, if non-Muslim, can get citizenship under the amended citizenship law²³

The NRC in Assam

When the finalized NRC for Assam was released in August 2019, **1.9 million names of Assam residents, largely Bengali Muslims, were excluded** from the list.²⁴

- The northeastern state of Assam, is the only state to have completed such a verification process.
- **The authorities accuse the nearly early two million people**, most of them ethnic Bengalis, from entering India illegally from neighboring Bangladesh.
- **The citizenship law amendments will allow Hindus and other non-Muslims who were unable to prove their citizenship status in Assam** – and thus were left out of the National Register of Citizens – **to maintain their Indian citizenship**. It will not, however, protect Muslims left off the registry.²⁵
- After a surge in migration to Assam during the 1947 partition, the 1951 National Register of Citizens was used to document these settlers.

A group of retired bureaucrats and officials in January 2020 publicly warned that the the process was **arbitrary and discriminatory**, particularly targeting Bengali Muslims, leading to concerns that similar abuse and bias will be replicated when it is **extended to the rest of the country.** ²⁶

“The Citizenship Amendment Act, when combined with ... the National Population Register and National Register of Citizens, **places millions of Muslims and other minorities at risk of statelessness, disenfranchisement or prolonged detention,**” according to three United Nations Special Rapporteurs. ²⁷

Note: Following the COVID-19 outbreak, Indian authorities said the citizenship verification plans had been indefinitely postponed.²⁸

Discrimination against Muslims under PM Modi is on the rise²⁹

Anti Muslim rhetoric

- The BJP government describes non-Muslims from Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan as “refugees” trying to escape persecution from Muslim majority countries.
- On the contrary, Muslims seeking entry, such as Rohingyas, are referred to as “infiltrators.”

*Defending the bill in parliament, India's Home Minister Amit Shah said, “There is a fundamental difference between a refugee and an **infiltrator**. This bill is for refugees.”*

Love jihad

- **'Marriages between Hindus and Muslims** have long attracted censure in conservative Indian families, but the **attachment of a deeper, sinister motive to them is a recent phenomenon.**
- 'Radical Hindu fringe groups have started describing some interfaith marriages as **"love jihad"** – a term they use to accuse Muslim men of participating in a "conspiracy to turn Hindu women from their religion by seducing them".³⁰
- Repeated police investigations **have failed to find evidence** of any organised plan of conversion. Reporters have repeatedly exposed claims of "love jihad" as at best fevered fantasies and at worst, deliberate election-time inventions.³¹

Other controversial BJP government policies



- ▶ Since October 2018, Indian authorities have deported over a dozen Rohingya Muslims to Myanmar

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

- India is a vast country with a population of around 1.3 billion³²
- Hindus constitute 79.8 percent of the population, Muslims 14.2 percent. ³³

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims³⁴



14.2% roughly translates to a Muslim population of 184 million (US population is about 320 million people).

Islam is the 2nd largest religion in India

India is home to the largest Muslim population outside of Muslim-majority countries

India's Muslim population is about the world's third largest and is home to the world's largest Muslim-minority population

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

- According to the same government estimates, there are large, minority Muslim populations in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Telangana, Karnataka, and Kerala”³⁵

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

As per RAI0 Research Unit*

- The majority (75%) of incidents against religious minorities were reported in only eight of India's states including Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi, Gujarat, and Uttarakhand . Those states are in northern and western India.^{35b}
- Most of the incidents occurred in Hindu majority areas^{35b}
- Uttar Pradesh had the highest incidents^{35b}
- “In southern and eastern parts of India, where Hindu nationalist groups have had less of a presence, Muslims are generally in a relatively secure position.”^{35c}

This may be changing, however, as the Hindu right wing rapidly makes inroads into those parts of India as well.^{35c}

However, this is not to say that there are no security issues for Muslims or no communal tensions whatsoever, in other parts of India. It is not difficult to find accounts of violence between Hindus and Muslims in the southern and eastern states.

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

As per RAI0 Research Unit, citing Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT)^{35d}

- **Communal violence has ebbed and flowed since independence**, but remains an issue disproportionately affecting the Muslim community.
- **Many Muslims live day-to-day with low levels of societal discrimination and violence.** Communal violence has occurred in India for many decades.
- India ranked among the **top five countries with the highest levels of social hostilities.**
- Some claim there is a **permissive environment** for Hindu nationalist groups incidents
- In 2019 the **UN High Commissioner for Human Rights warned India** over 'divisive policies' and **harassment of minorities**
- Hindu nationalist politics has **creating higher levels of fear** in the **Muslim community.**
- The risk of discrimination and violence is higher for **Muslims who are involved in cow slaughter.** However, these incidents, while widely reported, **have not affected the day-to-day lives of most Muslims.**

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

As per RAIO Research Unit, citing the U.K. Home Office ^{35e} :

“Sporadic outbreaks of large-scale communal violence against religious minorities has occurred over the years (Delhi in 1984).

Smaller-scale Hindu nationalist abuses against religious minorities tend to occur most frequently in the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Odisha, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan.

Several hundred cases of communal violence were recorded in 2016 and 2017. However, with a population of around 200 million religious minority members, the low number of incidents relative to the size of the population” is a factor to consider.

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

Internal displacement -vs- external flight from India:

“While there are reports of Muslims leaving certain locations, particularly in northern India, because of communal tensions, no independent evidence was encountered that current religious strife is causing Muslims to leave the country as a whole, despite dire predictions from some quarters, notably Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan.”^{35f}

- RAIO Research Unit -

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

In this regard, it may be useful to consider the single most severe episode of violence against Indian Muslims in the last 20 years, the violence that took place in Gujarat in 2002: ^{35g}

- Calling Gujarat violence an "organized campaign to eradicate Muslims" with the "State doing little to stop this"
- As a result of the Gujarat riots 132,532 persons were uprooted from their place of living. The highest number of displaced families were from Sabarkantha district, followed by Ahmedabad 960, Godhra 853, Mehsana 325, Dahod 134, Vadodara 98, Gandhinagar 40, Anand 25 and Kheda 13.
- the Gujarat government refused to acknowledge the plight of the IDPs.
- Instead the then Gujarat chief secretary went on record to say that the IDPs were "not returned to their home because they had better employment opportunities"
- Houses were totally destroyed, shops burnt and ransacked in the rioting

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

- Sporadic outbreaks of large-scale communal violence against religious minorities has occurred over the years – Christians (Odisha in 2007–2008), Muslims (Uttar Pradesh in 2013, and Gujarat in 2002) and Sikhs (Delhi in 1984).
- Smaller-scale Hindu nationalist abuses against religious minorities tend to occur most frequently in the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Odisha, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan.
- Several hundred cases of communal violence were recorded in 2016 and 2017.

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Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

Hate-related violence in last three years

TOP 10

State/UT	2015	2016	2017
Uttar Pradesh	155	162	195
Karnataka	105	101	100
Maharashtra	105	68	46
MP	92	57	60
Bihar	71	65	85
Rajasthan	65	63	91
West Bengal	27	32	58
Jharkhand	28	24	49
Telangana	11	8	19
Assam	3	12	16

BOTTOM 5

Punjab	0	1	1
Manipur	0	7	0
Odisha	0	4	4
Himachal	1	2	1
Chhattisgarh	2	2	0

MOST PEACEFUL

Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Goa reported zero communal incidents in the last three years.

<https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2018/mar/14/uttar-pradesh-tops-the-list-of-communal-violence-hit-states-in-2017-government-1787030.html>

Internal relocation abilities for Indian Muslims

Who are the main Hindu nationalist groups and where are they based?

- BJP, Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal, VHP and RSS are the main Hindu nationalist groups
- With the exception of Shiv Sena, all of the groups mentioned are most active in the parts of India where Hindu nationalism is most prevalent, e.g. Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi, Gujarat, and Uttarakhand.
- Generally, they are less prevalent in the south and east of the country, although this is not true without exception, Kerala having a large and active RSS presence for example ^{36b}
- Shiv Sena is a bit different from the other Hindu Nationalist organizations (and, unlike the other organizations mentioned, it is not usually considered to be part of the family of Hindu Nationalist organizations referred to as the sangh parivar). Shiv Sena is primarily based in Mumbai and Maharashtra^{36c}

Factors to consider for internal relocation

Internal migration possibilities may be limited by:

- language barriers
- a lack of documentation
- lack of familial or community networks
- Lack of employment opportunities
- discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, caste or gender³⁸

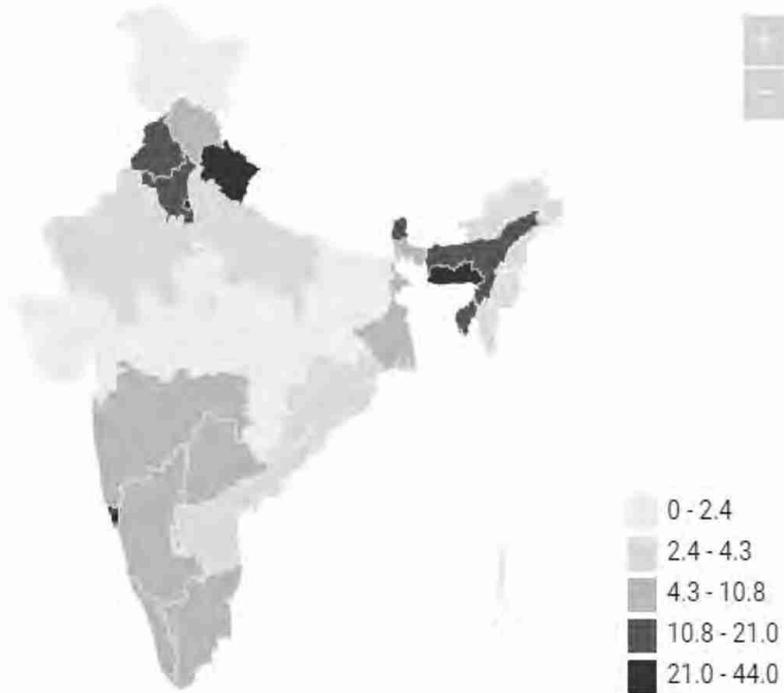
A Resource on Language

- ▶ The Indian government's census has data on speakers of every scheduled Indian language by state, both in terms of native speakers and overall speakers: https://censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/C-16_25062018_NEW.pdf
- ▶ English is not in the chart but is a widely spoken language in India. It's considered an official language. <https://theindianblog.in/top-10-states-india/top-10-english-speaking-states-in-india/>; <https://www.livemint.com/>

A Resource on Language

Speaking English seems more closely linked with income and religion than geography

% who say they can speak English



Source: Lok Foundation/ Oxford University/ CMIE survey • Get the data • Created with Datawrapper

Advertisement

- Hindi is the most widely spoken language in India
- English speakers are richer, more educated and more likely to be upper caste
- English speakers are very much India's elite ^{38b}

Internal relocation: Big cities and rural villages

“India will be in danger of disintegrating into parallel societies with economic realities of elites in economic centers like Mumbai or Bangalore looking exceedingly different from those of the impoverished masses in underdeveloped states like Uttar Pradesh or Bihar”³⁹



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The Skyline of Mumbai and a Village in Rural Bihar

Internal relocation: Muslim Women

Villages	Big cities
Women in villages may not have the opportunities to migrate elsewhere ⁴⁰	The single working woman in Indian cities is less and less constrained by prejudices of the past. Women have started their own businesses in various sectors such as aviation or waste management, or who are employed in the IT or banking sectors ⁴²
single women often financially dependent on somebody's goodwill - in-laws, parents, brothers and sisters-in-law ⁴¹	In Indian cities, there is an increasing number of single, working women who can support themselves with the salary they earn ⁴³
social stigma among villagers attached to single women's participation in economic activities outside of the home	single women in urban areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• are more likely to be employed• Enjoy greater freedom• Have more work opportunities• more likely to be educated and• more likely to speak English ⁴⁴

CATEGORIES OF MUSLIM CLAIMANTS WHO ARE AT GREATER RISK OF HARM THAN OTHERS

As per RAIO Research Unit:

One group of Muslims in India who do appear to have been at greater risk of violence in recent years is those involved in slaughtering cows. (See [Reuters](#), June 28, 2017). As DFAT noted in the report quoted above, “The risk of societal discrimination and violence is higher for Muslims who are involved in cow slaughter; however, these incidents, while widely reported, have not affected the day-to-day lives of most Muslims.”

GOVERNMENT AS THE PERSECUTOR AND/OR THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO CONTROL THE PERSECUTOR

According to the 2019 International Religious Freedom Report [“IRFA”]:

- Issues of religiously inspired mob violence, lynching, and communal violence were sometimes denied or ignored by lawmakers.
- [T]he government sometimes failed to act to prevent or stop mob attacks on religious minorities.
- Mob attacks by violent Hindu groups against minority communities, including Muslims, continued throughout the year amid rumors that victims had traded or killed cows for beef.
- Authorities often failed to prosecute perpetrators of such “cow vigilantism,” which included killings, mob violence, and intimidation. According to some NGOs, authorities often protected perpetrators from prosecution and filed charges against victims.”

GOVT AS THE PERSECUTOR

AND/OR THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO CONTROL THE PERSECUTOR

- Concerning cases of cow-related violence “in "most" of the cases analyzed by the organization, police authorities "delayed filing First Information Reports (FIRs) ... or failed to follow other procedures.”⁴⁵
- during the Delhi riots in February 2020, Delhi police forces ... did not intervene in the riots and participated in the violence
- A video filmed during the events shows police officers beating a group of Muslim men and making them sing the national anthem as they laid in the street.
- Other sources indicate that police did not respond to calls for help from citizens in Muslims neighborhood during the events.⁴⁶

GOVT AS THE PERSECUTOR AND/OR THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO CONTROL THE PERSECUTOR

- One shopkeeper alleged that police gave stones to him and other Hindus to throw at Muslims over the road.
- Another set of videos that showed a group of policemen brutally beating a Muslim man, Faizan. The man died a few days later. His brother Naeem said Faizan succumbed to the injuries he suffered at the hands of the police.⁴⁷
- The U.S. denied a visa to Prime Minister Modi to enter the United States in 2005 on religious-freedom grounds, stemming from allegations that he tacitly supported Hindu extremists during Hindu-Muslim riots in his home state in 2002.⁴⁸
 - Gujarat was Modi's 'home state' and he was the Chief Minister of Gujarat at the time of the 2002 violence

GOVT AS THE PERSECUTOR AND/OR THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO CONTROL THE PERSECUTOR

As per RAI0 Research Unit:

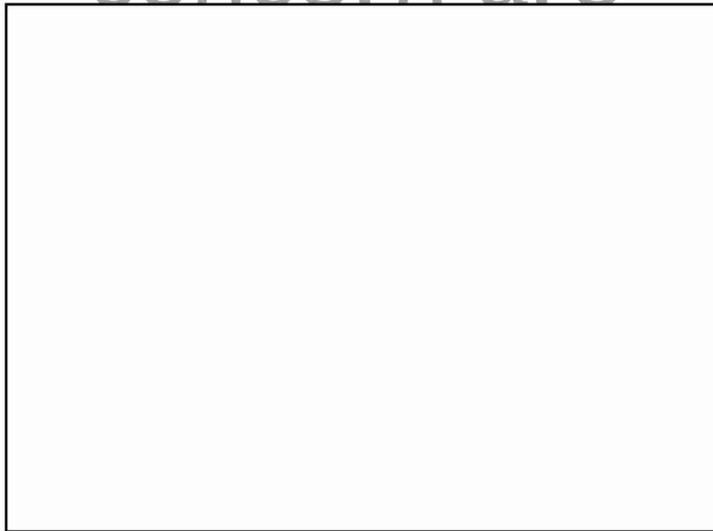
- religion is one of many factors that can affect the quality of police investigations
- “Police effectiveness and conduct [in India] varies from state to state, undermined by inadequate training and equipment, limited resources, political influence and corruption. Police investigation is seriously hampered by some police officers refusing to register victim’s complaints, poor quality of investigations, insufficient training and legal knowledge, inadequate and outdated forensic and cyber infrastructure, and a lack of public trust. Their investigation may also be affected by bias in relation to class, caste, ethnicity and religion of the victim or offender or in relation to down-playing crimes in certain areas of the country.”^{48b}
- Muslims and other minorities were underrepresented in the police forces in almost all large and medium-sized states in India.^{48c}

GOVT AS THE PERSECUTOR AND/OR THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO CONTROL THE PERSECUTOR

As per RAIO Research Unit:

- Uttar Pradesh was identified as having the worst justice delivery system among large states, and Maharashtra as the best. Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Punjab and Haryana follow Maharashtra in the latter category.^{48c}
- A police survey regarding the treatment of Muslims and minorities found that “one in two police personnel feels that Muslims are likely to be ‘naturally prone’ towards committing crimes.”^{48d}

CREDIBILITY:
Major
concern are



(b)(7)(E)

Conclusion

Hindus and Muslims have a long history on the subcontinent.

- Religious tensions simmered in the medieval times,
- permeated through to the 1947 partition,
- laying the groundwork for the Hindu/ Muslim conflicts to continue today

Under Modi's BJP government:

- the anti Muslim rhetoric, discrimination and violence has been on the rise.
- reports of police condoning and partaking in acts of violence against Muslims
- The CAA for the first time, factors religion as a basis for granting citizenship
- Under the CAA if the applicant is:
 - not Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, or Christian
 - A migrant from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, or Pakistan
 - Who arrived illegally
 - prior to December 31, 2014

They will not be afforded the protections available under the CAA

Conclusion

Factors to consider for internal relocation for Indian Muslims

- India is home to a Muslim population of about 184 million
- Islam is the 2nd largest religion in India
- The majority (75%) of incidents against religious minorities were reported in the northern and western Indian states.³
- With a population of roughly 184 million Muslims and an average number of communal incidents of around 550/cases per year... the likelihood of a risk is a key factor to consider
- Hindu nationalists are a small sub-set of the population
- Internal migration possibilities may be limited by language, employment opportunities, gender, et al.

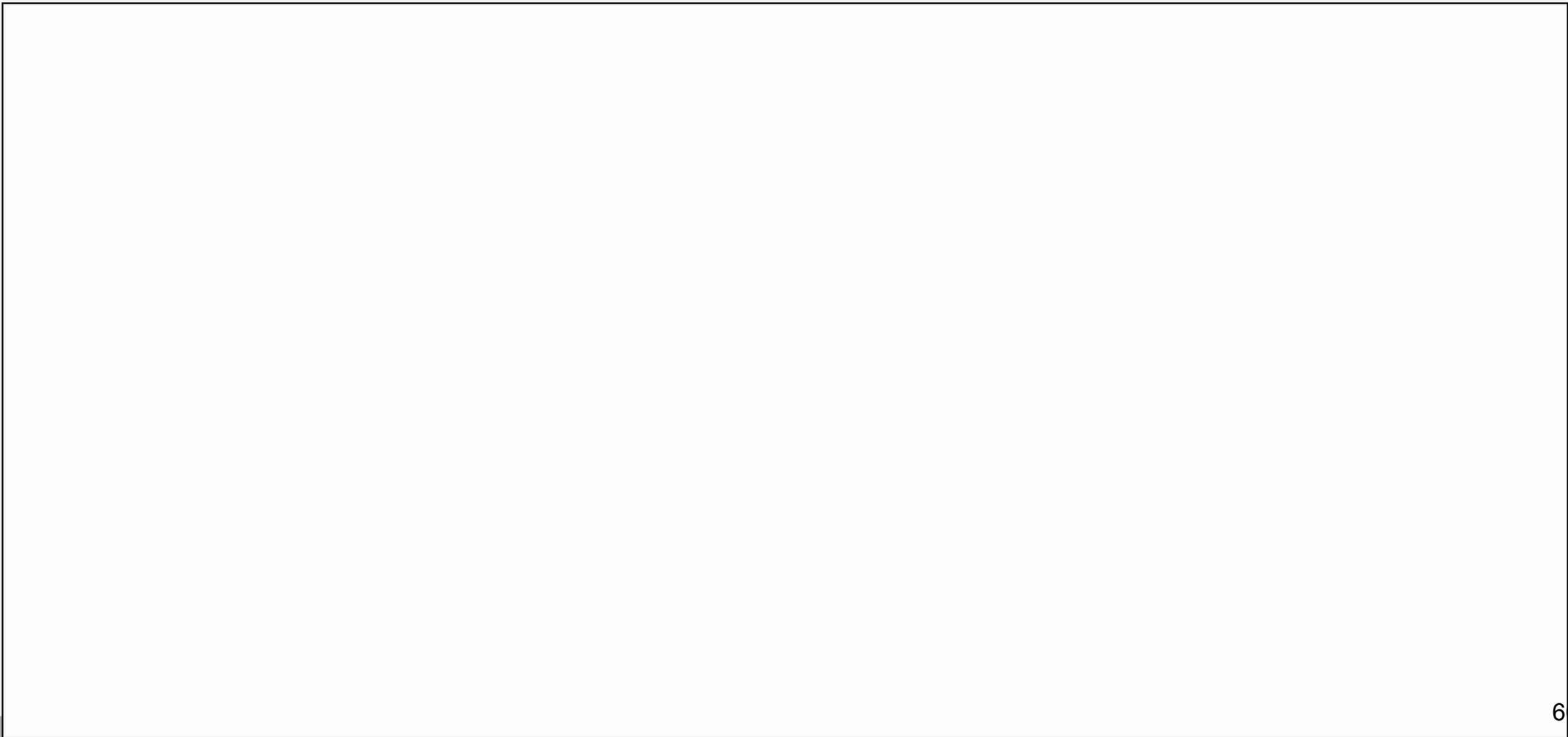
Probe for Credibility

(b)(7)(E)

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