INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION

TRUTH OF KASGANJ: SHAM POLICE PROBE PROTECTS HINDUS, FRAMES MUSLIMS



Report Endorsed By:

Alliance for Justice and Accountability, New York •
Citizens for Justice and Peace, Mumbai • Indian American
Muslim Council, Washington D.C. • Peoples' Union for
Civil Liberties, New Delhi • South Asia Solidarity Group,
London • United Against Hate, New Delhi

AUGUST 29, 2018 NEW DELHI

POLICE FICTION

On January 26, 2018 communal violence broke out in Kasganj town of Uttar Pradesh, 220 km east of New Delhi. One man was shot amid firing, arson and vandalism.

The police said the incident occurred after a group of Muslims obstructed a group of Hindus taking out a motorcycle procession to mark India's Republic Day.

The police named 28 Muslims, including the one who allegedly fired the fatal shot. Most were arrested over two weeks.

This report finds that the police investigation into the violence has been grossly compromised in a blatant attempt to protect the Hindus and frame the Muslims.

This fraud was effected by registering two First Information Reports (FIR). A single FIR would have made it difficult to pin the blame for the homicide — of a



Moments before the violence began in Kasganj

Hindu man named Chandan Gupta — on the Muslims alone as Hindus, too, fired guns.

Splitting the homicide into a separate crime helped blame it on Muslims alone. And because they were accused of murder, it took Muslims months to get bail. Five are still in jail. But since the Hindus are accused only of the violence, all have secured bail. Some of these Hindus have even been named witnesses to Chandan Chandan's shooting.

1ST FIR: THE INCIDENT

12. First Information contents (प्रथम सूचना तथ्य):

नकल तहरीर हिन्दी वादी... HIM थाना कोतवाली कासगंज-आज दि0 26.1.2018 को समय प्रातः करीव 9.30 वर्ज मैं प्रभारी निरीक्षक रिपुदमन सिंह गणतन्त्र दिवस की परेड हेतु पुलिस लाइन सोरो में था कि जरिये कन्ट्रोल सूचना मिली कि कासगंज शहर में तिरंगा रेली के धमण के दौरान दो समुदायों में झगडा हो रहा है। इस सूचना पर मैं प्रभारी निरीक्षक कोतवाली कासगंज मय फोर्स कन्ट्रोल रूप से अतिरिक्त फोर्स भेजने हेतु मांग करते हुए कासगंज शहर में आया। विलराम गेट पर करीव 100-150 व्यक्तियों की भीड एकत्रित थी कि उसी समय SHO सोरो श्री अशोक कुमार मय फोर्स, SHO पिट्रयाली श्री जय सिंह परिहार मय फोर्स, SO सहावर श्री संतोष कुमार मय फोर्स, SO उसावुर श्री गहलवान सिंह मय फोर्स, श्री CO सिटी मय फोर्स, श्रीमान अपर पुलिस अधीक्षक मय फोर्स एवं PAC सरकारी गाडियों से आ गई कि भीड में सम्प्रदाय के लोगों को ललकार रहे थे कि उन्होंने तिरंगा रेली में ट्यवधान डाला है। उक्त व्यक्तियों को रोकने का समुचित प्रयास किया गया लेकिन मान नहीं रहे थे कि उन्होंने तिरंगा रेली में ट्यवधान डाला है। उक्त व्यक्तियों को रोकने का समुचित प्रयास किया गया लेकिन मान नहीं रहे थे कि उन्होंने तिरंगा रेली में ट्यवधान डाला है। उक्त व्यक्तियों को रोकने का समुचित प्रयास किया गया लेकिन मान नहीं रहे थे कि उन्होंने तिरंगा रेली में ट्यवधान डाला है। उक्त व्यक्तियों को रोकने का समुचित प्रयास किया गया लेकिन मान नहीं रहे थे कि उन्होंने तिरंगा रेली में ट्यवधान डाला है। तिरंगा रेली में एवं दोनों पक्षों की और से पुलिस बल पर पथराव करते हुए अपने-2 हाथों में लिए नाजायज असलाहों से हम पुलिस बालों पर जान से मारने की नीयत से फायरिंग की जिससे हम लोग वाल-वाल बचे। एक आरक्षी 627 अंकित कुमार चोटिल भी हो गया। उपदिवियों में से नसर्हीन पुत्र हिवी अहम बहू नगर कासगंज व तौफीक S/O जहीर नि. मुहल्ला पीरछल्ला कासगंज को मेरे व हमराही पुलिस बल द्वारा अच्छी तरह पहचान लिया गया उपदिवियों द्वारा नगर कासगंज में एक दूसरे पक्ष की धार्मिक भावनाओं को ठेस

SHO Singh's statement in the FIR had many discrepancies

The 1st FIR (No. 59/18) for the violence was registered by SHO Ripudaman Singh who headed the Kasganj Kotwali Police Station, in which jurisdiction the violence took place.

Singh was at a Republic Day event when a message came that "two communities" had fought over a tricolour rally. He asked for

backup and rushed to the scene of trouble. There he found that 100-150 people had massed. At the same time, several other police officers arrived with a large police force.

This FIR is riddled with falsehoods, its account varying widely from the sequence of events as borne by the statements of policemen, witnesses and the accused. Also, its biases are clear even though it does not explicitly identify Hindus or Muslims by religion.

"From the lanes between Bilram Gate and Kasganj Kotwali¹," it said, "these people [the Hindus] were challenging the other community [the Muslims] alleging that the latter had obstructed their tricolour rally. All efforts were made to pacify them [the Hindus].

"But firing and stone-pelting [by the Muslims] began from inside the by-lanes. These people [the Hindus], too, began pelting stones. We tried to stop them but both groups

The FIR does not name
Hindus or Muslims but it
is easy to decipher
who's who. Its narrative
clearly blames the
Muslims and not the
Hindus for the violence

continued to pelt stones at us and also fired at us with illegal firearms with the intention of killing us, but we miraculously survived.

"The rioters [the Muslims] indulged in violence with the intention of hurting religious sentiments of another community [the Hindus] with abuses, vandalism at places of worship, and arson.

"This destroyed law and order in Kasganj and spread fear and terror in the residents, who shut shops and businesses and hid in their homes as the rioters roamed and discharged firearms."

The FIR said Singh and other policemen "recognised" four Muslims from among the rioters. It invoked the following sections of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) against these four Muslims as well as against an "unknown" 100-150 people who it said had rioted:

Table 1

IPC	PERTAINS TO	PUNISHMENT
147	Punishment for rioting	Imprisonment of up to 2 years
148	Rioting, armed with deadly weapon	Imprisonment of up to 3 years
149	Every member of unlawful assembly equally guilty of offence	-
295	Injuring or defiling place of worship	Imprisonment of up to 2 years
307	Attempt to murder	Imprisonment of 10 years to life
323	Punishment for voluntarily causing hurt	Imprisonment of up to 1 year
336	Act endangering life or personal safety of others	Imprisonment of up to 3 months
427	Mischief causing damage worth at least Rs. 50	Imprisonment of up to 2 years
436	Mischief by fire or explosives with intent to destroy house, etc.	Imprisonment of up to 10 years
504	Intentional insult with intent to provoke breach of the peace	Imprisonment of up to 2 years

The FIR also invoked Section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1934 that prescribes punishment for violence aiming to stop a person from carrying out their business.

¹ See police map of the area on page 5

ABDUL HAMEED CHOWK

The most understated — rather, ignored — part of the three-month investigation is the fact that the area's Muslims had gathered that morning to celebrate the Republic Day with a flag-hoisting 400 metres from Bilram Gate crossing, at the Abdul Hameed Chowk², which is named after the Indian Army martyr who gave his life fighting in Kashmir in 1948.

Muslims say the conflict began when the Hindus gate-crashed that programme, which the Muslims have held annually for years, with their motorcycles and began forcibly removing the chairs placed in the alley to pass through.

Indeed, on April 1, an "independent" witness named Shafeeq Ahmed told the police a Hindu man named Anukalp Chauhan led the motorcycle rally when it arrived at Abdul

Hameed Chowk and started the fight.

As this report details, the police virtually gave Chauhan a clean chit instead of making him a prime accused.

On April 16 another independent witness, Razzan, also said the conflict began after the Hindus disrupted the Muslims' flaghoisting programme.

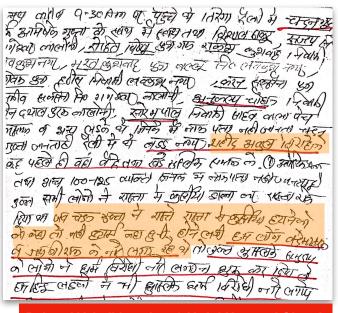


Muslims preparing R-Day event at Abdul Hameed Chowk

If these claims are dubious because the witnesses are Muslims, then statements from Saurabh Pal and Siddharth Valmiki, two Hindus from the motorcycle rally, could be looked at for corroboration.

On April 18, Pal and Valmiki told the police that when they found the Muslims had placed chairs on the road at Abdul Hameed Chowk, Chandan asked them to remove the chairs. As the Muslims refused to do so, "we started chanting "Vande Matram" and "Jai Shri Ram"".

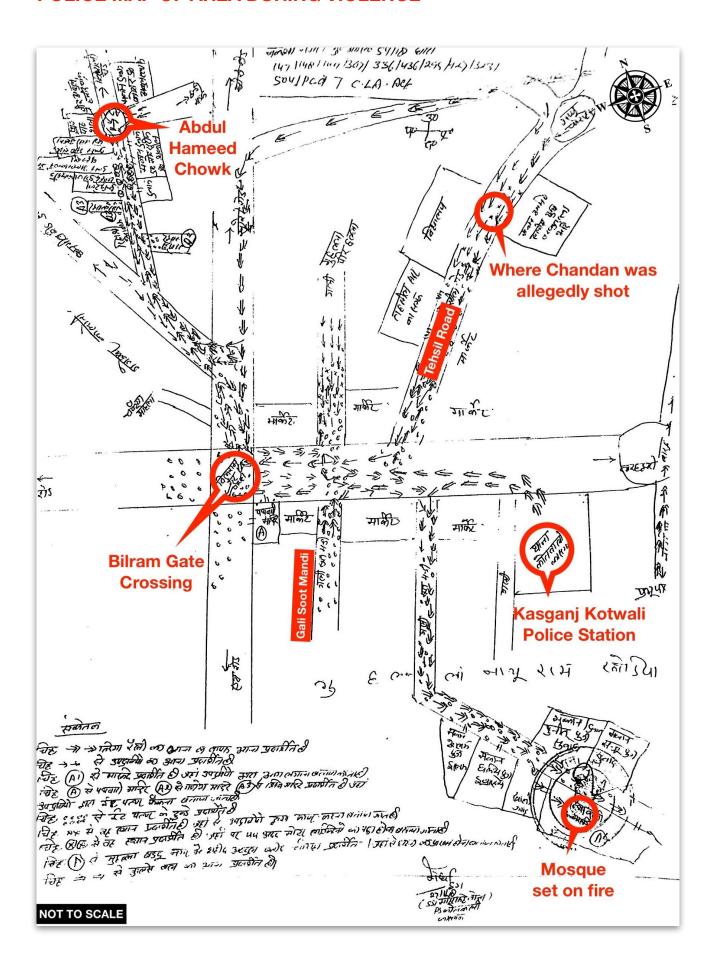
The CCTV footage of the Abdul Hameed Chowk incident has been available to the police. And yet, they have refused to include this footage as evidence in either of the two charge-sheets in the case.



Pal and Valmiki spoke of Abdul Hameed Chowk

² See page 6, para 3; see also police map of the area on page 5

POLICE MAP OF AREA DURING VIOLENCE

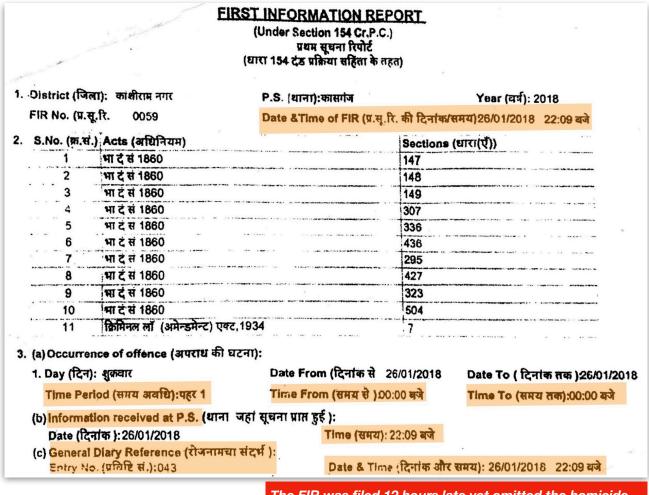


1ST FIR: 10 GAPING HOLES

Wrong Timing: SHO Singh claimed he first heard of the violence at 9.30 a.m. But CCTV footage shows the first altercation between the two groups occurred 25 minutes later.

Location Mismatch: Singh wrote the violence began at Bilram Gate crossing. Other policemen and witnesses said it began at Abdul Hameed Chowk³ 400 metres away.

Cause Omitted: The FIR failed to record that the violence began after the Hindus disrupted a flag-hoisting ceremony by the Muslims at the Abdul Hameed Chowk.



The FIR was filed 12 hours late yet omitted the homicide

Incorrect Distance: The FIR noted that the distance of the crime scene is ".5 km" from the Kasganj Kotwali police station. But Bilram Gate crossing is only 300 meters from there.

Bogus Claim: The FIR said information of the violence reached the police station at 10.09 p.m. But SHO Singh and his police force themselves witnessed the morning's violence.

Unexplained Delay: The FIR did not explain why it was registered 12 hours after the violence. A column titled "Reason for delay in reporting by the complainant/informant" was left blank. The columns "time from" and "time to" are both recorded as 00:004.

³ See police map of the area on page 5

⁴ See FIR on this page

<u>Death Unrecorded</u>: The FIR was registered nearly 12 hours after the fatal shooting but omitted mentioning it. It did not explain why it was omitting any mention of the homicide.

No Complainant: The violence occurred in daylight in an area chock-a-block with homes and shops. Yet Singh found no complainant and named himself as the complainant.

<u>Investigative Failure</u>: Singh wrote the conflict had begun as he reached. Yet he made no effort in the 12 hours he took to register the FIR to find what happened before he arrived.

Identifying Rioters: It is unclear how Singh identified the Muslims shooting "from inside the bylanes". And why he identified no Hindus even though he was standing with them at that time.

HINDUTVA CONNECTION

The FIR said information of the violence first reached the police station at 10.09 p.m. on January 26, and was written in the General Diary⁵ as entry no. 43.

But a previous entry in the General Diary, no. 29, showed that the first information of the



Hindus brought saffron flags with them

violence had reached the police station at 11.53 a.m. This entry no. 29 said that the

कार्याम वर में प्रमान प्राप्त कार्य के कार्य का

A Hindutva group was named but not investigated

Hindus in the rally belonged to the "Hindu Vishwa Vahini". This perhaps referred to the Hindu Yuva Vahini, UP Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath's Hindutva outfit.

Many of these Hindus are indeed connected with Adityanath's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The Facebook pages of some are rabidly Islamophobic and Hindutva supremacist.

Sub-Inspector Mohar Singh Tomar, who the FIR named the investigating officer in the case, reproduced entry no. 29 in the

Case Diary⁶ that he began writing that night. Yet, in the months that followed, he never investigated the organisational and political backgrounds of these men from the rally.

⁵ The General Diary is the daily logbook of every police station in which all information of crimes is mandatorily entered

⁶ The Case Diary, the exclusive daily logbook of a particular investigation, is not to be confused with the General Diary

BIASED INVESTIGATION

Minutes after naming four Muslims in the FIR, the SHO gave a statement to Tomar. In it he named 24 more Muslims saying "it has come to my knowledge" they, too, were involved.

The SHO did not reveal the source of this "knowledge" gained so quickly after the FIR.

Tomar's three-month investigation, too, did not bother to find the source behind the names of these 24 Muslims. Most of these Muslims were later accused of killing Chandan Gupta, the 19-year-old man who died in the shootout.

For the next two weeks, Tomar concerned himself only with investigating and arresting the accused Muslims and not the Hindus.

Tomar pursued only
Muslims arresting 19 of
them in two weeks,
without investigating the
accused Hindus, leave
alone arresting them

ARRESTING THE MUSLIMS

The four Muslims named in the FIR were arrested on January 27. They "confessed" their guilt and named four more Muslims. In a coincidence, the names they gave were the first four of the 24 names SHO Singh had given Tomar. They, too, were arrested the next day

at the Kasganj Railway Station while "trying to flee". They, too, "confessed" their guilt.





Three of the Muslims who were arrested

On January 29, one more Muslim from SHO Singh's list was arrested. He named three more from that list. A "tip-off" from an unnamed informant helped nab the three the next day — near the railway station.

On January 31 Chandan's alleged shooter, Salim, who was on SHO Singh's list of 24, was arrested. He "confessed" his guilt and named 27 Muslims — the four from the FIR plus the 23 others besides him on SHO Singh's. By February 8, two weeks after the violence, 19 Muslims had been arrested.

PROTECTING THE HINDUS

Tomar did not investigate the Hindus for the violence to establish their identities, leave alone arrest them, though many policemen and witnesses said the Hindus, too.

indulged in firing, arson and vandalism, attacking Muslim shops, homes and mosques.

In fact, on January 27, the day after the violence, Haji Aleem, the *imam* of one such mosque, had given Tomar a detailed description of the attack by arsonists.

On January 26, Aleem had been chatting with a neighbour when 25-30 "slogan-shouting youths armed with bottled petrol" set the mosque on fire. Aleem's neighbour corroborated

his claim. But Tomar never investigated it.



The arson at the mosque was not probed

Two Hindus who shut their shops in the rioting told Tomar they did not recognise the vandals. This suggests they were outsiders and not local Muslims. Yet, Tomar did not investigate these attackers.

On January 29, Balbeer Singh, a constable, named three Hindus from the rally: Anukalp Chauhan, Vishal Thakur and Saurabh Pal. Another constable, Ajay Pal, identified Chauhan as the rally's organiser.

Both constables also provided a list of 24 Muslim rioters — the same in SHO Singh's list — as also the four named in the FIR. Neither constable revealed how and from where he had got those 24 names.

On February 7, two brothers of Chandan's alleged shooter, Salim, were arrested⁷. They, too, named Chauhan, Thakur and Pal as among the motorcycle riders.

On February 9 - 14 days after the violence and 11 days after Constables Singh and Pal named the three Hindu men - Tomar wrote in the Case Diary that he visited their homes but found that they had been absconding since January 26.

On February 9 Chandan's brother, Vivek, told Tomar he, too, had been in the rally. Vivek confirmed that Chauhan, Thakur and Pal were in the rally. Writing in the Case Diary that

day Tomar acknowledged evidence against the three: "A video of Chauhan, Thakur and Pal spreading religious frenzy is viral. On seeing the video [they] are found to be in it."

On February 12, Tomar asked the court for non-bailable warrants (NBW) against them and to declare them absconders under Section 82 of the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC). Such orders never came. Tomar did not persevere. The police later arrested two more Muslims, taking the total number of Muslim arrestees to By January 29, the names of Chauhan, Thakur and Pal had emerged. Tomar did not arrest or question them. He later said the three had absconded

21. No Hindu were arrested until the end of March — two months after the violence.

⁷ Allahabad High Court gave bail to Salim's two brothers on July 23, 2018. But the government refused to release them. On August 6, 2018, the government slapped National Security Act (NSA) against them. They continue to be in prison

ARRESTING THE HINDUS

On March 28 the police arrested seven Hindus. Only one had been previously named: Vishal Thakur. Thakur told the police that after Chandan was shot on January 26 he and the other Hindus took revenge by indulging in vandalism, arson, stone-pelting and firing.

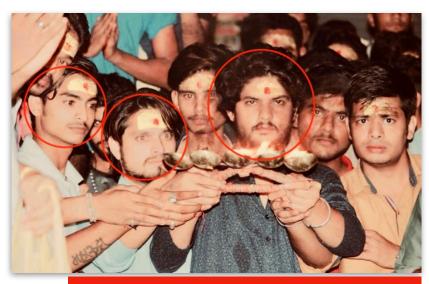
Thakur named several Hindu co-rioters including Chauhan and Pal. The police made no effort to arrest them. Thakur also named three Muslims. They were arrested within hours.

Chauhan surrendered on April 9. Wasting no time, he sought bail the very next day. Chief Judicial Magistrate Netrapal Singh readily obliged him.

As Chauhan exited the court on bail, Pal and one more Hindu came in to surrender.

That's about all the Hindus that would ever be arrested.

Not that Tomar's investigation did not have more Hindu names to investigate.



[LtoR] Vishal Thakur, Saurabh Pal, Anukalp Chauhan

On February 8, Shakira Begum, the mother of Salim, Chandan's alleged shooter, wrote to SHO Singh alleging that, after Chandan's funeral on January 27, several Hindus had

The police refused to acknowledge complaints from Muslims. A Muslim resident then asked a court to order an FIR basis his complaint that named 44 Hindus. But the police did not question or arrest them

attacked her home and robbed it of valuables such as gold ornaments and cash. She named 25 attackers, including Thakur and Chauhan.

She sent copies of her letter to Adityanath; UP governor Ram Naik, a former BJP leader; and the Director-General of Police, among others.

She fetched no response. The police did not call her or the two eyewitnesses to the attack she named in her letter to record statements.

On March 13, Shami Akhtar, a Muslim resident of the area, moved the CJM's court seeking an FIR against against 44 Hindus for the violence.

These 44 names included the names of Chandan and Vivek Gupta, as also of Chauhan and Thakur. At least 21 of these 44 names were also among the 25 who Shakira Begum had named in her letter of February 8.

The CJM ordered the police to include his complaint in their FIR and investigate it. But the police did neither, which should be viewed as contempt of court.

THE CURIOUS CASE OF ANUKALP CHAUHAN

On February 9 Tomar claimed Chauhan, Thakur and Pal were absconding since January 26. But on January 27 Chauhan had openly led the pall-bearers carrying Chandan's body.

The previous night, the night of the violence, Chauhan published on YouTube⁸ a rambling monologue lasting 6 minutes and 43 seconds. In it he openly called for violence against the city's Muslims and threatened that "from now on only Hindus will live in Kasganj".

In the video, Chauhan also laid to rest doubts about his role in the motorcycle rally: "People are saying that this was an ABVP rally. It was not. This was my rally."

Violence re-erupted after Chandan's funeral and lasted four days. Tomar did not bother to probe Chauhan's involvement in that violence.

Shockingly, another policeman interviewed Chauhan at his home on February 1 as a witness to Chandan's death. It is hard to believe Tomar did not know of this interview and Chauhan's availability.

Twice Tomar asked the CJM to issue NBWs against Chauhan, Thakur and Pal and proclaim them absconders. The CJM did not issue them even as he gave several such orders against Muslims.



Chauhan led pall-bearers at the Jan 27 funeral

Tomar fell silent on Chauhan, Thakur and Pal for one-and-a-half months. Their names

Two months later a new "eyewitness" turned up to say that Chauhan did not indulge in violence but ran away before it started

returned to the Case Diary on March 29 after Thakur's arrest. Thakur and the six Hindus arrested with him all named Chauhan and Pal.

It was then that Tomar began an about-turn to show that Chauhan did not indulge in violence.

Three days after Thakur's arrest, Tomar spoke to a Muslim "eyewitness" and asked him if he saw Chauhan indulge in "firing, arson or stonepelting" that day. The witness replied: "I did not

see Anukalp Chauhan [indulge in] firing, arson or stone-pelting. I saw him run away."

Tomar did not reveal why this eyewitness had not shown up for two months, or why he asked the witness specifically about Chauhan. Strange also that the witness noticed the actions of one among hundreds, and then remembered it, too, over two months later.

^{8 (}Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hSVoUXFoHQw)

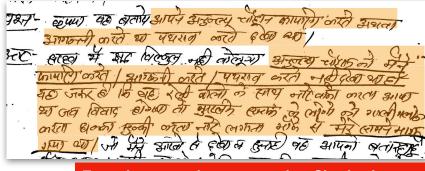
⁹ Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad is the student wing of the BJP

Nonetheless, this "eyewitness" account weighed with Tomar and he now began omitting Chauhan's name from the list of the accused and absconders. He also excluded Chauhan's name when he next moved the court for NBWs and absconder declarations.

Clearly, Chauhan's luck was turning. When a Muslim accused arrested on April 9 named 11 Hindus as rioters but not Chauhan, it was the cue for him to surrender in court that day. As mentioned earlier, Chauhan secured bail the next day.

CJM Netrapal Singh's bail order claimed that a police report and the Case Diary both said Chauhan did not indulge in arson (IPC-436) or attempt murder (IPC-307).

But the Case Diary had made no such observation. That the police station gave such a report to the CJM, if it did, too is not reflected anywhere in the Case Diary.



Tomar began an about-turn to clear Chauhan's name

Chauhan's father was the head clerk in the court of the CJM who gave him bail in just a few minutes

Entirely on his own, CJM Singh dropped a third charge, of rioting armed with a deadly weapon (IPC-148), against Chauhan. It is worth mentioning that Chauhan's father is the head clerk — peshkar — in the CJM's court.

For good measure, Tomar persevered with his one-track questioning about Chauhan. On April 16, two new witnesses, one a Hindu,

emerged to tell Tomar they saw both Chauhan and Pal run away before the violence.

Wrote Tomar in his Case Diary: "The charges of IPC-436 [arson] and IPC-307 [attempt to murder] against Chauhan and Pal are not substantiated."

Two days later, two newly arrested accused, one of them a Hindu, told Tomar that they saw Chauhan and

उभय पक्ष के विद्धान अधिवक्ता के तर्कों के सुनने के उपरांत तथा थाने से प्राप्त आख्या एवं केस डायरी के आधार पर <u>प्रार्थी / अभियु</u>क्त <mark>अनुकल्प चौहान के विरूद्ध धारा—436 एवं 307 भा0द0संग के अभियोग होना नहीं पाये गये है।</mark> अतः मामले के तथ्य व परिस्थितियों पर मामले के गुण—दोष पर जाये बिना अभियुक्त को जमानत पर रिहा किये जाने का आधार पर्याप्त है।

CJM cited non-existent Case Diary entry to give bail

Pal leave the spot of trouble before the violence had spread.

Finally, on April 23, Tomar wrote in the Case Diary he had found that Chauhan and Pal were not involved in rioting with armed weapon, arson, and attempted murder. Therefore, he wrote, he was withdrawing IPC Sections 148, 307 and 436 against these men.

That brought up the last of Tomar's investigation. Three days later, on April 26, Tomar submitted to the court his Final Report/charge-sheet in the case.

2ND FIR: THE INCIDENT

The 2nd FIR (no. 60/18) for Chandan's death was registered on his father, Sushil Gupta's complaint. He told the police that Muslims with firearms were "lying in wait in a planned way" as the Republic-Day rally of Chandan, Vivek and the others reached Tehsil Road.

Sushil Gupta told the police as the Hindus held the tricolour and chanted "Bharat Mata Ki Jai" and "Vande Matram", the Muslims snatched the tricolour from their hands, threw it on the ground, and shouted "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Hindustan Murdabad".

The Muslims aimed guns and told the Hindus to say "Pakistan Zindabad", Gupta told the police.

When Chandan objected, the Muslims pelted stones and started firing. Salim shot Chandan, Gupta said.

Vivek and the others took Chandan to the police station first and then to the hospital where he was declared "brought dead". 2. First Information contents (प्रथम सूचना तथ्य):

नकल तहरीर हिन्दी वादी... सेवा मे थानाध्यक्ष महोदय थाना कोतवाली कासगंज महोदय, निवेदन है कि दि0 26.1.18 समय प्रातः करीव 10.30 बजे राष्ट्रीय पर्व गणतंज्ञ दिवस के अवसर पर तिरंगा यात्रा मे सहभागिता करते हुए मेरा पुत्र आप्रेषक गुप्ता उर्फ चंदन अपने भाई विवेक गुप्ता व अन्य साथियों के साथ हुखों में तिरंगा लेकर भारत माता की ख्य व वन्देमालस के उद्योष करते हुए तहसील रोड़ होंगर कैसे ही राजकीय बालिका इण्टर कालेज गेट के सामने पहुँचे होती सम्म हैंग्यतों से लैंस वोजना बद्ध तथि हैं होती सम्म हैंग्यतों से लैंस वोजना बद्ध तथि हैं होती सम्म हैंग्यतों से लैंस वोजना बद्ध तथि हैं होती सम्म हैंग्यतों से लेंस वोजना बद्ध तथि हैं होती सम्म हैंग्यतों से लेंस वाजना बद्ध तथि हैं होती सम्म हैंग्यतों से लेंस वाजना बद्ध तथि हैं होती सम्म हैंग्यतों स्वीतिक स्वात के सामने पहुँचे होती सम्म हैंग्यतों स्वीतिक स्वात के सामने पहुँचे होती सम्म हैंग्यतों स्वीतिक स्वात हैंग्यतों स्वीतिक हैंग्यतों स्वीतिक हैंग्यतों स्वीतिक हैंग्य व स्वतिक हैंग्यतों साम हैंग्यतां साम होंग्यतां हैंग्यतां हैं

Sushil Gupta's complaint varies with the 1st FIR

2ND FIR: 10 GAPING HOLES

Origin Missing: The 1st FIR said the violence began at Bilram Gate crossing. Many Hindus later told the police they ran to Tehsil Road, 300 metres away¹⁰, to escape the shooting. But Sushil Gupta's complaint suggests the rally had been undisturbed until Tehsil Road.

Implausible Sequence: It is hard to believe that anyone escaping bullets would raise flags and chant slogans seconds later. Strange also that while other Muslims were discharging



Chandan riding his bike minutes before he was shot

firearms just metres away, those on Tehsil Road waited to first have an altercation, raise slogans and snatch the tricolour, before taking aim.

Delayed FIR: Why was the FIR not registered when Chandan was brought to the police station? Why did Sushil Gupta wait 11 hours to file the FIR? How could Chandan's autopsy be conducted without an FIR?

¹⁰ See police map of the area on page 5

Wrong Timing: The 2nd FIR said news of Chandan's death reached the police station at 12.17 a.m. on January 27. But a General Diary entry at 1.15 p.m. on January 26 showed a ward boy had already brought to the police station a hospital memo reporting his death.

<u>Unexplained Need</u>: As information of Chandan's death had been received in the day, the 1st FIR should have covered it. No explanation was given why the 2nd FIR was needed.

Odd Complainant: Sushil Gupta was not part of the motorcycle rally. Vivek said he was. Why did Vivek not file the complaint?

Named Accused: Sushil Gupta named 20 Muslims in the 2nd FIR. Vivek and others gave him those names. Why did Vivek and the others not give these names to the police when they took Chandan to the police station?

Inappropriate I.O.: SHO Singh made himself the Investigating Officer in the 2nd FIR. As he is the complainant in the 1st FIR and a witness in that case, he thus became the complainant, the investigator and the witness — all in the same case.

<u>Unverified Wounded</u>: Sushil Gupta said other Hindus, too, were wounded in the shootout. But the only other person shot

FIRST INFORMATION REPORT (Under Section 154 Cr.P.C.) प्रथम सूचना रिपोर्ट (धारा ५६४ दंड प्रक्रिया सहिता के तहत) District (जिला): कांशीराम नगर P.S. (थाना):कासर्गन FIR No. (W.H.R Date &Time of FIR (प्र.सू.रि. की दिनांक/समय)27/01/2018 2. S.No. (क.सं.) Acts (अधिनियम) Sections (धारा(एँ) 147 सा दे से 1860 भा दे से 1860 148 भा दं सं 1860 149 सा दे सं 1860 336 भा दे से 1860 307 सा द सं 1860 302 भा दं सं 1860 भा दे से 1860 भा दे से 1860 124-A - 11 राष्ट्रीय ध्वज अधिनियम 1950 3 3. (a) Occurrence of offence प्रराध की घटना। 1. Day (दिन): शुक्रवार Date To (दिनांक तक)26/01/2018 Time From (समय से):10:30 बजे Time To (समय तक):10:30 बजे Time Period (समय अवधि):पहर 4 (b) Information received at P.S. (याना जहां सूचना प्राप्त हुई): Date (दिनांक):27/01/2018 (c) General Diary Reference (रोजनामचा संदर्भ): Entry No. (प्रविद्यि सं.):002 Date & Time (दिनांक और समय): 27/01/2018 00:17 बजे 4. Type of information (सूचना का प्रकार):लिखित 5. Place of Occurrence (घटनास्थल): 1. (a) Direction and distance from P.S.(याना से दूरी और दिशा):उत्तर, .3 किमी Beat No. (बीट सं.): (b) Address (पता): राजकीय बालिका इन्टर, कालेज के गेट के सामने, तहसील रोड (c) In case, outside the limit of this Police Station, then (यदि याना सीमा के बाहर है तो): Name of P.S.(याना का नाम): District(State) (जिला (राज्य)): व्यायिक (a) Name (नाम): श्री सुशील गृता (b) Father's/Husband's Name(पिता / पति का नाम) : 3 011 (c) Date/Year of Birth (जन्म तिथि / वर्ष): 1973 (d) Nationality (राष्ट्रीयता): भारत

The assertions of the 2nd FIR ran contrary to the 1st

that day was a Muslim and he gave a different location for where it had happened.

Carrying Chandan: Vivek and the other Hindus brought a wounded Chandan to the police

The 2nd FIR falsely claimed the first news of Chandan's death reached the police station after midnight. In fact, the General Diary records a hospital memo received at 1.15 p.m. that day

station. But many Hindus later told the police that after they were attacked at the Bilram Gate Crossing they had tried to reach the police station but could not as the Muslims were firing at them on that road. How did then the Hindus carrying Chandan dodge the bullets on their way back to the police station?

The 2nd FIR and its subsequent investigation open up the proverbial can of worms.

And whereas by themselves the two FIRs and their investigations struggle to pass the credibility test, taken together the entire narrative, impossible to defend, collapses.

CONTRADICTORY NARRATIVES

The primary narrative of the police — that the violence began at Bilram Gate crossing¹¹ — was contradicted by policemen from the start. Several police witnesses said the violence, including firing, had already begun before the two groups arrived at Bilram Gate crossing.



Men with firearms and the tricolour - who are they?

The 1st FIR suggested the Hindus at Bilram Gate crossing blamed the Muslims, who were "inside the by-lanes", for disrupting the tricolour rally.

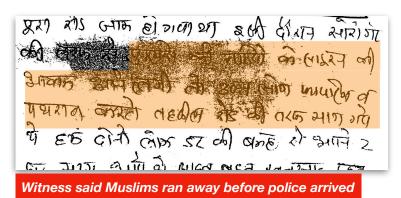
It suggested that even as the police pacified the Hindus the Muslims started firing and pelting stones from inside the by-lanes.

Yet other policemen asserted that both Hindus and Muslims were at Bilram Gate crossing from before the violence, and

that they tried to pacify both. No policeman spoke of the Hindus running to Tehsil Road and Salim shooting Chandan there.

In his statement of January 29¹² Constable Balbeer Singh made both claims. He first said the firing and stone-pelting began after the two groups quarrelled at Bilram Gate crossing.

Later he said the firing and stone-pelting had begun before the Hindus ran to Bilram Gate crossing and the Muslims came chasing after them with their guns blazing away. Several contradictory versions of what really happened have emerged in the statements of the police and the witnesses



In both claims Constable Singh suggested both the Hindus and the Muslims had discharged firearms. He does not say who fired first.

An "independent" witness named Lakhan Pratap said when he reached Bilram Gate crossing at 9.45 a.m. to watch the Republic Day festivities he found that the violence was already in full swing.

Muslims were indulging in "heavy stone-pelting" and setting vehicles afire, Pratap said. "When they heard sirens of the police cars they ran off to Tehsil Road, still firing."

¹¹ See police map of the area on page 5

¹² See page 9, para 3

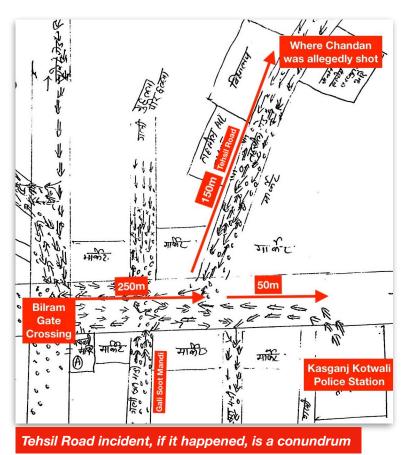
But if the Muslims ran off to Tehsil Road before the police arrived, how could the police still find them at Bilram Gate crossing? Also, if the still-firing Muslims ran into Tehsil Road, why did the escaping Hindu go there at all?

Another "independent" witness, Arpit Gupta, who was with Pratap that morning, said that some Muslims ran into "Khedia Mohalla"¹³ on the opposite side of Tehsil Road behind the police station and hid in a mosque there.

If true, why did the police not flush them out? Arpit also said those Muslims torched the mosque to blame the Hindus. He admitted he did not witness it and that it was hearsay.

An eyewitness said the Muslims ran off on hearing police sirens before the police arrived. Yet, the police said they found the Muslims at the trouble spot

WHAT HAPPENED ON TEHSIL ROAD?



The Hindus said they tried to run to the police station 300 metres away when the violence began at Bilram Gate crossing, but as the Muslims were firing from all sides they took to the Tehsil Road 50 metres before the police station.

The 2nd FIR does not mention any violence at Bilram Gate crossing. Instead, it suggests that the rally was normal as the Hindus with the tricolour raised slogans until after they had reached Tehsil Road.

Those who say the violence did occur at Bilram Gate crossing are agreed that the alleged violence on Tehsil Road came afterwards.

But Constable Singh said¹⁴ he found the two sides quarrelling about "Tehsil Road..." at Bilram Gate Crossing. This would be impossible if the violence on Tehsil

Road happened after the violence had occurred at Bilram Gate crossing.

The Hindus also said as they ran from Bilram Gate crossing, the Muslims fired at them from "Gali Soot Mandi" on the right, which forced them on to Tehsil Road on the left.

 $^{^{\}rm 13}$ See police map of the area on page 5

¹⁴ See page 9, para 3

¹⁵ See map on this page

But "Gali Soot Mandi" is a predominantly Hindu area. On the other hand, the Tehsil Road, where the rally's Hindus claim to have run towards, is largely a Muslim neighbourhood.



Police said Salim shot Chandan

Why did the Hindus knowingly run to a Muslim area?

Vet another contradiction relates to the alleged

Who were the Muslims firing from the Hindu area?

Yet another contradiction relates to the alleged actions of the accused Muslims. Most of these accused are common in the two charge-sheets.

This would mean the Muslims attacked the Hindus at Bilram Gate crossing; the Hindus then fled to Tehsil Road to escape these Muslims; but these Muslims somehow managed to overtake the Hindus and reach Tehsil Road ahead of them to attack them again¹⁶.

Indeed, the police repeatedly said that after attacking the Hindus at Bilram Road crossing the Muslims ran to Salim's house on Tehsil Road, outside which they again attacked the Hindus and Salim shot Chandan.

No videos or pictures of the alleged incident on Tehsil

Road are available.

The police said they were unable to find the casing of the bullet that killed Chandan.

It is surprising that though the 150-metre stretch of Tehsil Road from the main road to Salim's house is ever bustling, the police could not find a single independent eyewitness.

The police named four independent witnesses, including a Muslim, in the charge-sheet but none of them is an eyewitness. Each said he did not witness the incident but "heard" of it.

If the Hindus ran away from the Muslims shooting at them, how did the Hindus find the same Muslims down the road ahead of them, shooting at them again?

VIVEK GUPTA'S CONTRADICTIONS

Sushil Gupta told the police that Vivek and the other Hindus in the motorcycle rally were carrying the tricolour and chanting patriotic slogans as they had entered Tehsil Road.

But in his statement of January 30, Vivek did not say that at all. In fact, he said the Hindus were under fire "from all sides" as they ran to Tehsil Road to escape from the area.

The 2nd FIR said the Muslims snatched the tricolour from the Hindus, threw it to the ground and told the Hindus to chant "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Hindustan Murdabad". And when the Hindus refused to do so they started firing and Salim shot Chandan¹⁷.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ See page 13, para 2-4

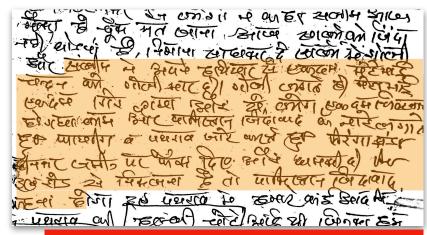
But Vivek said soon as the Hindus reached Tehsil Road the Muslims abused them and Salim shot Chandan. It was only afterwards that the Muslims shouted "Hindustan Murdabad" and "Pakistan Zindabad", and snatched the tricolour from the Hindus.

Sushil also told the police he named 20 Muslims in the 2nd FIR based on Vivek's say-so, since he was not present when Chandan was shot. But on January 30 Vivek named 29

Muslims — nine more than those Sushil had named — for the Tehsil Road violence.

Said Vivek: "I know them very well and they know me, too. They are regulars in the market. I work as a Medical Representative which is how I know them especially well."

On March 19, nearly two months later, Vivek named a 30th Muslim. He did not explain why he hadn't earlier.



Which came first? The slogans or the bullet for Chandan?

It is perplexing that though he knew the Muslim attackers of Tehsil Road as well as he claims he does, Vivek gave his father only 20 names on the night of the violence. The police, too, never asked Vivek why he held back 10 names.

Chandan's father said the Muslims first chanted slogans and then shot Chandan. Chandan's brother said the Muslims first shot Chandan and then chanted slogans No less strange is that though the chargesheet in Chandan's death has listed Vivek at no. 2 among 36 witnesses — the first being their father, Sushil, who was not even present at the spot — the charge-sheet in the 1st FIR does not at all name him as a witness.

This when the 1st FIR's investigative officer, Tomar, had interviewed Vivek on February 9.

In fact, Vivek gave Tomar a graphic description of the violence that he claimed occurred before the Hindus arrived at Bilram Gate crossing and then while they were at Bilram Gate crossing.

Whereas Sushil had said others besides Chandan too were shot, Vivek contradicted his father by telling the police that some Hindus had fetched "small injuries". Equally inexplicable is why the investigative officers in neither case saw Vivek as a suspect even though several policemen and independent witness told them that they saw the Hindus in the motorcycle rally, too, indulge in the violence and use firearms.

The law says everyone in a group that commits a crime is equally culpable for it regardless of individual actions. That is why 24 Muslims are charged under Section 302 of the IPC for Chandan's murder though it was Salim who allegedly pulled the trigger.

Interestingly, none of the amateur videos of the motorcycle rally shows Vivek in it.

THIRD VERSION

Whereas Sushil and Vivek had contradicted each other on the sequence of events on Tehsil Road, Anukalp Chauhan gave a third version in his statement to the police.

As noted above, while Sushil said the Muslims snatched the tricolour, ordered the Hindus to raise anti-India slogans, and then Salim shot Chandan, Vivek said the Muslims first

fired at them when Salim shot Chandan, then snatched the tricolour and raised slogans.

But in his statement of February 1 Chauhan said the Muslims first fired at the Hindus, then raised anti-India and pro-Pakistan slogans ordering the Hindus to do so, too, and only after the Hindus refused to comply did Salim shoot Chandan.

Speaking to the police the same day, Saurabh Pal repeated Chauhan's version verbatim. Chauhan and Pal are witnesses no. 3 and 4 in the 2nd FIR's charge-sheet for Chandan's death.

Incredibly, they are also both named as accused in the 1st FIR's charge-sheet for the violence.

Two days later, on February 3, two other Hindus from the motorcycle rally — Prateek Malu and Vivek Maheshwari — gave their statements that also endorsed Chauhan's version. A week later, a third Hindu, Shubh Goyal, also from the motorcycle rally, echoed it, too.

Malu, Maheshwari and Goyal are witnesses 5, 6 and 7 in the 2nd charge-sheet. None is named as accused in the 1st charge-sheet.



Pal after arrest, in a Facebook pic

Five Hindus from the motorcycle rally took
Chandan to the police station after he was shot.
Not one has explained why they did not file an FIR right then and there

All five men — Chauhan, Pal, Malu, Maheshwari and Goyal — said they took Chandan to the police station after the Salim allegedly shot him on Tehsil Road. None explained why they did not instead go to a hospital, or file an FIR when at the police station and name the Muslim attackers.

All five told the police that one man organised the motorcycle rally: Anukalp Chauhan.

The police had enough grounds by way of witness statements obtained during the three

months of investigations in the two FIRs to arrest all these five men early on. However, the police kept delaying that action, and never arrested Malu, Maheshwari and Goyal.

ALIBIS IGNORED

At least three of those accused of Tehsil Road violence seem to have solid alibis.

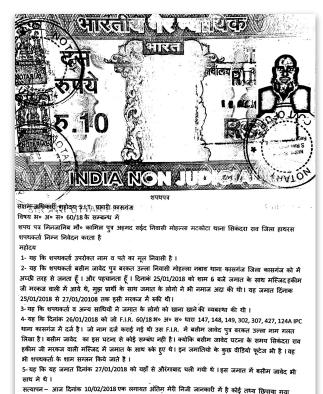
Waseem, the brother of Chandan's alleged shooter Salim, was in fact at Hathras City, 60km west of Kasganj, on January 26.

He had left Kasganj the previous night as part of a Muslim religious group on a tour of piety. The group stayed in Hathras for two nights.

As many as 10 witnesses have given police statements to this effect under oath on notarised stamp papers. They have said there is a video from that sojourn at Hathras that proves that Waseem was indeed there.

Yet, the police have refused to take their statements on record, or call for the video, leave alone name them as witnesses.

Another accused, Zahid alias Jagga, was away in Lucknow, the state capital 330km to the east of Kasgani, on January 26.



Witnesses vouch for Waseem's alibi

From Km302 To Km220 KNR, KNJ

Ticket No : 3607 Booth & Operator: L10 tc33

Date & Time : 26/01/2018 10:46:20 AM

Vehicle No. : 2222Type of Vehicle : CAR

Type of Journey : Single Journey Fee : Rs.170.00

Only for overloaded vehicle
Permissible wt. of Vehicle: 7500 KG
Actual wt. of Vehicle: 2240 KG
Overloaded Vehicle Fees: Rs.0.00
Collected Fee: Rs.170.00

QJAA-ARA2-6J46-2026-9BLV-VAAY



Speed Limit 100KMPH for LMV Speed Limit 80KMPH for HMV Toll Free No: 1800-123-3127, 1800-123-3128

Lucknow toll booth receipt for Jagga

Jagga, too, had travelled from Kasganj the previous day to Lucknow with a Hindu friend to secure the release of the friend's car that Lucknow Police had impounded earlier.

नहीं है। ईश्वर मेरी मदद करे।

The CCTV footage from a police station in Lucknow where the two men had gone to get their car back shows that Jagga had visited there at about 8.30 a.m. on January 26.

In February a Muslim member of the National Minorities Commission, Syed Ghayorul Hasan Rizvi, wrote to Chief Minister Adityanath to request for a reexamination of charges against Jagga. He is yet to hear back from Adityanath.

A third accused, Asim Qureshi, was in Aligarh, about 70km west of Kasganj, around the time violence raged in Kasganj. CCTV footage from Aligarh, too, establishes his presence there.

Six months later, Waseem and Jagga continue to be in jail. After the Allahabad High Court bailed

him on August 6, Waseem was booked under National Security Act on August 6.

WHAT MUSLIMS SAY HAPPENED

Since the police and the Hindu versions are extensively covered in the FIRs and the charge-sheets, it is worthwhile to provide some space here to the version of the area's Muslims, which has been rather underrepresented in the official narrative.

What the Muslims say is straightforward.

They say that as part of their long-standing annual tradition, the Muslims had this year, too, called for a flag-hoisting ceremony at Abdul Hameed Chowk for the Republic Day.

The Hindus of the motorcycle rally, led by Chandan and Chauhan, arrived at Abdul Hameed Chowk and demanded right of way.

The Muslims say when they objected the Hindus pelted stones and fired from handguns.

The Muslims say they did not fire shots. Chandan, they say, died of a bullet from one of the Hindus' guns or, possibly, when the police fired at the crowd at Bilram Gate crossing.

The Muslims point out that despite the repeated claims that the Muslims fired at the

Hindus at Bilram Gate crossing as well as at Tehsil Road, there is not a single piece of photographic or video evidence available to back such claims.

The Muslims say the alleged incident at Tehsil Road never took place.

DEMAND FOR ACTION

The People's Collective releasing this report demands that the Uttar Pradesh government:

- Terminate the current tainted prosecution of the two charge-sheets;
- Move the Allahabad High Court seeking a fresh police investigation directly reporting to and monitored by the hon'ble court;
- Constitute a high-level official inquiry into the administrative and police failure to prevent the January 26 violence and its escalation once the police reached the spot;
- Constitute a high-level official inquiry into the sabotage of the investigations and establish responsibility for framing innocent Muslims;
- Withdraw the fraudulent criminal charges against the Muslims and release them; and
- Arrest the Hindus from the motorcycle rally and investigate their role in the violence

The Muslims say the Hindus disrupted their flag-hoisting event, pelted stones, and fired shots that likely killed Chandan. They say the Tehsil Road incident did not happen