

CLINIQUE DOCTORALE
AIX GLOBAL JUSTICE

Clinique de Droit international
des droits de l'homme

www.aixglobaljustice.org

**La situation des personnes
de confession musulmane**

Inde

Mars 2025

Ce travail a été réalisé sous la coordination de membres de la Clinique doctorale de droit international des droits de l'homme et grâce au concours d'étudiants cliniciens en droit.

Ce document, présenté par *Aix Global Justice*, a pour but de promouvoir et protéger les droits de l'homme dans le monde. Il est essentiel de préciser que les informations contenues dans ce rapport sont basées sur des sources disponibles, y compris des entretiens, des documents et d'autres matériels accessibles au public. Bien que nous nous efforcions d'être précis et objectifs, *Aix Global Justice* ne garantit pas la véracité absolue ou l'exhaustivité des données présentées dans ce rapport.

Ce rapport est un outil de sensibilisation, de défense des droits de l'homme et de dialogue constructif. Il ne constitue pas un avis juridique et n'engage pas la responsabilité d'*Aix Global Justice* ou de ses représentants. Par conséquent, *Aix Global Justice* décline toute responsabilité en cas d'erreurs, d'omissions ou d'inexactitudes dans le rapport ou pour toute action entreprise sur la base de son contenu. Les membres d'*Aix Global Justice* ne seront donc pas tenus pour responsables.

Aix Global Justice ne peut être tenu responsable des dommages directs, indirects, accessoires, consécutifs ou punitifs résultant de l'utilisation, de l'interprétation ou de la confiance accordée aux informations fournies.

La dernière mise à jour date du 4 mars 2024.

Pour toute question complémentaire sur ce dossier, veuillez contacter :

Louise Mbengue Djemba et Wilfried Adou, Coordinateurs généraux de la Clinique Aix Global Justice

aixglobaljustice@gmail.com
aixglobaljusticeclinic@proton.me

Demande de recherche :

1. Quelle est la situation des personnes de confession musulmane en Inde et particulièrement dans les zones de Udgir, Kamal Nagar, Sangareddy ?
2. Quels sont les risques encourus en cas d'emprisonnement en lien avec la confession musulmane ?
3. Existe-t-il des différences de traitement des justiciables ?
4. Que font les associations de sauvegarde des vaches ? Quel est leur impact ? Leur pouvoir ?

Synthèse générale	5
1. Quelle est la situation des personnes de confession musulmane en Inde et particulièrement dans les zones de Udgir, Kamal Nagar, Sangareddy?	6
1.1. Cadre constitutionnel et contexte sociologique des musulmans d'Inde	6
1.2. Marginalisation culturelle et linguistique	6
1.3. Discriminations socio-économiques et absence de protections légales	7
1.4. Sous-représentation politique et exclusion des musulmans des institutions	8
1.5. Discrimination systémique : L'impact des politiques exécutives et législatives sur les musulmans en Inde	9
1.5.1. Hijab, violences scolaires et fermeture des madrasas : L'éducation des musulmans en Inde sous pression	10
1.5.2. L'exclusion systématique des musulmans du marché de l'emploi	11
1.5.3. La privation des musulmans de leur citoyenneté et de leur liberté	12
1.6. La répression et violation des droits des musulmans.....	14
1.6.1. Maisons détruites, vies brisées : La politique du bulldozer en Inde	14
1.6.2. La théorie du complot autour des mariages interreligieux : le mythe du 'Love Jihad' et son instrumentalisation	16
1.7. Effets concrets dans les régions étudiées : Sangareddy, Udgir et Kamal Nagar	16
1.7.1. Sangareddy (État du Telangana) : violences et discrimination économique	17
1.7.2. Udgir (État du Maharashtra) : montée des tensions communautaires	18
1.7.3. Kamal Nagar (État du Karnataka) : instrumentalisation politique de la haine anti-musulmane	18
2. Quels sont les risques encourus en cas d'emprisonnement en lien avec la confession musulmane ?	20
2.1. Surreprésentation des personnes de confession musulmane dans les prisons indiennes.....	20
2.2. Détentions injustifiées voire arbitraires	21
2.2.1. Détournements de lois pour justifier les détentions	21
2.2.2. Détentions arbitraires	23
2.3. Conditions de détention inhumaines ou dégradantes	23
2.3.1. Violences policières subies lors de la garde à vue	23
2.3.2. Différences de traitement au sein des prisons indiennes.....	24
2.3.3. Conditions constitutives des mauvais traitements.....	25
3. Existe-t-il des différences de traitement des justiciables ?	26
3.1. Une justice à deux vitesses.....	26
3.2. Des procédures judiciaires suivies de manière irrégulières à l'égard des justiciables musulmans	27
3.2.1. Les violences policières commises à l'encontre des minorités musulmanes	27
3.2.2. Des procédures négligées dans les affaires concernant des personnes musulmanes, en violation du droit à un procès équitable	28
3.3. Le manque d'indépendance des institutions judiciaires vis-à-vis de l'exécutif	29
3.3.1. Une justice illégitime rendue par les autorités, face à un système judiciaire impuissant.....	29
3.3.2. Des nominations de juges influencées par des considérations partisans	31
4. Que font les associations de sauvegarde des vaches ? Quel est leur impact ? Leur pouvoir ?	32
4.1. Un combat religieux et politique mené par les associations de sauvegarde des vaches	32
4.1.1. L'idéal d'une société construite autour de la sauvegarde des vaches	32
4.1.2. Les actions des associations de sauvegarde des vaches	33

4.1.3. L'instrumentalisation politique de la lutte des associations de sauvegarde des vaches par le Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	33
4.2. Le durcissement des législations contre l'abattage des vaches en Inde.....	34
4.2.1. Le durcissement des législations contre l'abattage des vaches dans les États gouvernés par le BJP	35
4.2.2. Le durcissement des législations contre l'abattage des vaches dans l'État du Telangana	37
4.3. La sauvegarde des vaches, comme prétexte à la persécution des communautés musulmanes	38
4.3.1. Des attaques ciblées contre des musulmans transportant des bœufs ou les consommant.....	39
4.3.2. La pratique du "vigilantisme" dans l'Etat du Tèlangana	41
4.4. La protection relative de la part des autorités indiennes	41
4.4.1. La légitimation des attaques perpétrées par les associations de sauvegarde des vaches par le parti majoritaire BJP.....	41
4.4.2. L'existence relative de poursuites contre les attaques perpétrées par les associations de sauvegarde des vaches	42
Sources consultées.....	45
1. Textes de lois.....	45
2. Organisations gouvernementales et internationales	45
3. ONG, Think Tanks	46
4. Articles scientifiques	48
5. Médias	49
6. Autres	55

Synthèse générale

Depuis l'élection de Narendra Modi en tant que Premier Ministre en 2014, et son **parti nationaliste hindou**, le **Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)**, la République de l'Inde évolue vers un autoritarisme croissant, marqué par **un nationalisme ethnique et une marginalisation des minorités**. Sur la scène internationale, Modi est critiqué pour sa **gouvernance populiste et ses politiques controversées**.

La situation des musulmans en Inde, notamment à **Udgir, Kamal Nagar et Sangareddy**, est alarmante. Malgré une Constitution laïque, cette communauté, **la deuxième plus grande communauté religieuse du pays**, subit des discriminations systémiques. Depuis son arrivée au pouvoir, le BJP alimente des **tensions communautaires par des discours islamophobes**, exacerbant leur marginalisation. **Exclus des protections constitutionnelles, sous-représentés en politique**, les musulmans font face à des **obstacles dans l'éducation** tels que l'interdiction du voile islamique, la fermeture des écoles musulmanes et **l'emploi**. Les violences ciblées par **des groupes nationalistes hindous, les démolitions punitives de maisons et les politiques comme le registre des citoyens** menacent leurs droits fondamentaux notamment leur droit à la vie, comme en témoignent les récentes attaques contre des commerces musulmans et les expulsions forcées.

Un des risques auxquels sont confrontées les personnes de confession musulmane en Inde, en raison de leur religion, concerne l'emprisonnement. Ces personnes sont tout d'abord **surreprésentées dans les lieux d'incarcération** indiens, témoignant des violations de leurs droits humains et discriminations dont elles sont victimes. De plus, avant même l'emprisonnement, des **détournements de lois** au détriment des personnes musulmanes permettent de légitimer des **détentions injustifiées voire arbitraires**. Enfin, les conditions de détention qui leur sont imposées s'apparentent parfois à des **traitements inhumains ou dégradants**.

D'autre part, **l'accès à la justice varie selon l'identité des justiciables**, révélant un **traitement différencié selon l'appartenance religieuse ou politique**. Tandis que **les violences commises contre les musulmans restent largement impunies**, ces derniers font face à une répression accrue. **La police empêche fréquemment les victimes d'enregistrer leurs plaintes**, tandis que **témoins et proches** ne bénéficient d'aucune protection, les exposant à des **pressions et des violences qui limitent leur accès à un recours effectif**. Parallèlement, **l'exécutif exerce une influence croissante sur les institutions judiciaires**, compromettant leur impartialité.

Enfin, une attention particulière doit être portée aux *Gau Rakshaks*, groupes nationalistes hindous soutenus par le BJP, qui **imposent violemment la protection des vaches en Inde**. Sous prétexte de faire respecter les lois anti-abattage, **ils ciblent principalement les minorités musulmanes**, souvent victimes d'agressions et de lynchages. **Le durcissement des lois anti-abattage dans les États dirigés par le BJP** fragilise l'économie des bouchers musulmans et alimente un climat d'intimidation. Loin d'être sanctionnées, **ces violences sont souvent tolérées, voire encouragées par les autorités, renforçant une culture d'impunité**. Derrière la défense des vaches, ce sont en réalité des dynamiques de discrimination et de polarisation qui se jouent, menaçant le tissu social indien.

1. Quelle est la situation des personnes de confession musulmane en Inde et particulièrement dans les zones de Udgir, Kamal Nagar, Sangareddy ?

L'Inde est l'un des pays les plus marqués par une grande diversité ethnique, linguistique et religieuse. Si sa Constitution consacre la laïcité, la réalité est bien différente pour sa communauté musulmane. Depuis l'élection du BJP en 2014, Narendra Modi a fait des discours islamophobes un outil politique. Entre exclusion de l'espace politique, accès restreint à l'éducation et à l'emploi, attaques ciblées et violences intercommunautaires, leur situation devient chaque jour plus préoccupante.

1.1. Cadre constitutionnel et contexte sociologique des musulmans d'Inde

L'Inde, république « souveraine, socialiste, **laïque** et démocratique », garantit le pluralisme dans sa Constitution. Avec **14,2 % de musulmans selon le recensement officiel de 2011**, elle abrite l'une des plus grandes communautés musulmanes au monde, illustrant sa diversité. Cependant, **la montée des tensions communautaires remet aujourd'hui en question son sécularisme**.

Source : Assemblée constituante indienne, *भारत का संविधान*, 1950 – [Traduction non-officielle], *La Constitution de l'Inde*.

“हम, भारत के लोग, भारत को एक संपूर्ण प्रभुत्व संपन्न, समाजवादी, पंथनिरपेक्ष, लोकतंत्रात्मक गणराज्य.”

“WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a [SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC].”

Source : Government of India, India Ministry of Home affairs, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, *Census of India*, 2011.

“[The latest official census shows that] Muslims in India are about 17.22 Crores [17.22 millions] i.e. **14.2 % of total population of India follows Islam**”.

1.2. Marginalisation culturelle et linguistique

Malgré son statut de langue officielle, **et socialement représentative de la communauté musulmane**, l'ourdou fait face à une invisibilisation croissante en Inde. Des tensions autour de son usage dans l'espace public et son exclusion par les établissements scolaires renforcent la marginalisation de millions de musulmans.

Source : Madhyamam, *Kannada & Hindu activists protest against Urdu in signboard*, 2022.

“Urdu script that appeared on the signboard of the Town municipal Corporation Office of Bhatkal town in Uttara Kannada (Karnataka) has incited a row between Kannada-Hindu activists and Muslim community members. In Bhatkal, **Kannada-hindu activists demanded the removal of Urdu from the municipal office sign board**, while Muslim members wanted to keep it. the activists who demanded removal protested on Tuesday for the removal of Urdu.”

Source : Ahmad, Rizwan, *Hate, Bigotry, and Discrimination Against Muslims: Urdu During the Hindutva Rule*, 2020.

“Two Muslim members of the Uttar Pradesh (UP) Legislative Assembly, Alam Badi and Nafees Ahmad, **took their oath of office in Urdu, which the Speaker of the Assembly invalidated and forced them to retake in Hindi, on the grounds that Urdu was not a recognized language for the conduct of official business in the Assembly.** Paradoxically, a day earlier, fourteen Hindu legislators took their oath in Sanskrit, which was considered valid. Later in the same year, **Musharraf Hussain, a newly elected corporator in the Aligarh Municipal Corporation, was charged for trying to hurt the religious feelings of Hindus because he took his oath of office in Urdu. He was also assaulted by some BJP Councilors.**”

Source : Kashmir Pen, *Discrimination Against Urdu by Delhi based Schools*, 2019.

“The prestigious private and public schools in Delhi teaching the syllabus prescribed by NCERT and CBSE have however discriminated against the Urdu language because most of these schools **allow the students to opt for Hindi, Sanskrit, French and German as the second language. The Delhi based private and public schools ignore the fact that more than 2.7 million people in the National Capital Territory are Urdu speakers** whose educational needs need to be taken care of.”

1.3. Discriminations socio-économiques et absence de protections légales

En Inde, les musulmans sont exclus des principales protections constitutionnelles et de la plupart des mesures de discrimination positive, aggravant les inégalités et les laissant en proie à la précarité.

Source : Minority Rights Group International, *Muslims in India*.

“Indian Muslims are also **not granted the same constitutional safeguards as the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes** and they are not entitled to reservations in employment and education. For instance, the exclusion of Muslims (as well as Christians) from the officially recognized scheduled castes has meant **that even the most impoverished of Indian Muslims have not been able to benefit from those affirmative action programmes** in place.”

Source : Department of Social Justice & Empowerment, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Government of India, *Welfare of Other Backward Classes*

“Backward Classes means **such backward classes of citizens other than the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes** as may be specified by the Central Government in the lists prepared by the Government of India from time to time **for purposes of making provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of backward classes of citizens which, in the opinion of that Government, are not adequately represented in the services under the Government of India and any local or other authority within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India.**”

Source : Muslim Mirror, *Telangana caste census sparks debate on Muslim OBC reservations and political implications*, 8 February 2025.

“The BJP has consistently opposed reservations for Muslims, citing the constitutional principle that reservations cannot be granted based on religion. However, the BJP’s stance reflects a contradiction. While it recognizes OBC Hindus under the caste category, it views OBC Muslims as a religious denomination, thereby denying them reservation benefits. This selective classification has been reinforced through a narrative propagated by BJP-aligned media outlets, which claim that Muslims do not belong to the caste system and thus should not be eligible for reservations. Meanwhile, Hindu OBCs continue to receive affirmative action benefits despite being part of the same caste-based social structure.”

1.4. Sous-représentation politique et exclusion des musulmans des institutions

Bien que les musulmans représentent environ 220 millions d’Indiens, leur présence en politique, déjà faible, est en déclin. La représentation parlementaire a considérablement chuté, tandis que des accusations de suppression de vote entravent l’exercice de leurs droits politiques.

Source : Fair Planet, *Why are Muslims underrepresented in Indian Politics?*, 13 April 2024.

“Despite India being home to about 220 million Muslims, the world’s third-largest Muslim population after Indonesia and Pakistan, the number of Muslim representatives in the country’s parliament has almost halved to less than five per cent in the last few decades.”

Source : Al Jazeera, *India election results: Did ‘secular’ parties let Muslims down, too?*, 10 June 2024.

“But the incoming parliament will have one of the lowest number of Muslim MPs – 24 – since independence...

Parties belonging to the INDIA alliance gave fewer tickets to Muslim candidates this time than they did in 2019 at a time when Muslim representation in parliament was already at its lowest since independence in 1947. Non-BJP parties gave 115 tickets to Muslims in 2019, but the newly formed INDIA alliance fielded only 78 Muslims this year. The Lok Sabha [i.e. Parliament] has 543 seats.”

Source : AP News, *India’s parliament has fewer Muslims as strength of Modi’s party grows*, 15 May 2024.

“When Modi assumed power in 2014, the outgoing parliament had 30 Muslim lawmakers — and just one was a member of the BJP. Muslims now hold 24 out of 543 seats, and none belong to the BJP. [...] Not one of India’s 28 states has a Muslim as chief minister; the BJP and its allies have chief ministers in 19 states. In Uttar Pradesh, the country’s most populous state and where roughly 16% of residents are Muslim, just 7% of state lawmakers are Muslim.”

Source : Indian Express, *Shrinking Representation: Fewer Christians, Muslims, Jains in Maharashtra Govt Workforce*, 20 February 2025.

“Muslims [in Maharashtra, same state as Udgir], who make up **11.54% of the state’s population**, have seen a **significant decrease, from 3.8% to 3.3% in government roles.**”

Source : Al Jazeera, *‘Minority exclusion’: Are Indian Muslims facing voter suppression?*, 1st June 2024.

“Three hours later, when Mustagir returned to the booth to cast his vote, a police officer summoned him. **‘They seized my voter slip and Aadhar card and tore it into pieces,’** he alleged. A voter slip is issued to voters by the authorities to inform them of their nearest booth, while Aadhar refers to India’s biometric identity card, carrying of which is mandatory for a voter along with the voter identity card.

Mustagir, 30, said at least six police officers shoved him into a van as his younger brother Alam recorded a video of the detention on his mobile phone. He **claimed he was beaten and abused inside the vehicle** as the officers took him to Sambhal’s Asmauli police station.

“They said: **‘Mullah, you’ll vote for cycle?’**” he told Al Jazeera. **Mullah is a common pejorative term for Indian Muslims.** The bicycle is the election symbol of the Samajwadi Party (SP), the main opposition party in Uttar Pradesh, India’s most populous and politically crucial state that sends 80 members to the lower house of parliament, the most by any state. Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s Hindu majoritarian Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) rules the state, as well as nationally.

Yet, **similar incidents of police attacks on voters** were also reported **from at least three other villages in Sambhal**, about 187 km (116 miles) from the national capital New Delhi..”

1.5. Discrimination systémique : L’impact des politiques exécutives et législatives sur les musulmans en Inde

En Inde, les musulmans font face à de nombreuses discriminations, qu’elles soient sociales, économiques ou politiques. Des **politiques publiques restrictives**, des **violences policières** et des **discours islamophobes** contribuent à marginaliser cette communauté. **L’inégalité d’accès à l’éducation, au travail** et les violations de leurs droits fondamentaux témoignent de la fragilité de leur situation, **exacerbée par une inaction étatique** face à la violence à leur égard.

Source : Humans Rights Watch, *India: Hate Speech Fueled Modi’s Election Campaign*, 14 August 2024.

“However, **during the campaign, Modi regularly raised fears among Hindus through false claims that** their faith, their places of worship, their wealth, their land, and the safety of girls and women **in their community would be under threat from Muslims if the opposition parties came to power.**

He repeatedly **described Muslims as “infiltrators”** and claimed Muslims had “more children” than other communities, raising the specter that **Hindus—about 80 percent of the population—will become a minority** in India.

In a speech on May 14 in Koderma, Jharkhand, Modi said that ‘the idols of our gods are being destroyed’ and that **‘these infiltrators [Muslims] have threatened the security of our sisters and daughters.’**

In a May 17 speech in Barabanki, Uttar Pradesh, he made **false claims that the political opposition would harm the newly opened Ram Temple**, controversially **built atop a razed historical mosque at Ayodhya**. He said that if the opposition alliance came to power, “they will again send Ram Lalla [the Hindu deity Lord Ram] to the tent and they **will run a bulldozer over the temple.**”

On May 7, in a speech in Dhar, Madhya Pradesh, he falsely **said that the opposition Congress Party “intends to give priority to Muslims even in sports.** So, Congress will decide who will make the Indian cricket team on the basis of religion.”

Source : The Observer Post, *Muslim Student Assaulted On Train For Wearing Skullcap And Beard, Branded ‘Bangladeshi’ By Hindutva Extremists*, 7 February 2025.

“A 27-year-old Muslim student, Rezaul Islam Mondal, was brutally assaulted on a Sealdah-bound train in West Bengal, allegedly by a group of 10-12 Hindutva extremists. The attackers reportedly beat him, pulled his beard, and threatened to throw him off the train, accusing him of being a ‘Bangladeshi’.”

1.5.1. Hijab, violences scolaires et fermeture des madrasas : L’éducation des musulmans en Inde sous pression

Source : Middle East Monitor, *Activist decries discrimination Muslims face in India*, 8 January 2024.

“Mujahid also drew attention to the educational challenges faced by Muslim children in India, stressing **there is a bias against Muslim children which manifests in many ways.** He cited an incident of **discrimination against a 7-year-old Muslim child** last year at a school.

‘That child was beaten up and the teacher was calling him ‘Mohammedan’. The teacher was also asking Hindu children to beat Muslim children.’ Mujahid also pointed out the fact that, in some states in India, **Muslim girls wearing headscarves are prohibited from education.**

‘They cannot enter schools wearing headscarves. So, thousands of Muslim girls could not study for a couple of years because of that particular ban. And when they challenged the ban in a court, the court said hijab is not a part of Islam.’

According to him, the educational curriculum is being changed to erase the Muslim heritage. Mujahid referred to a new curriculum that omits information about the Muslim architect of the Taj Mahal, and **textbooks containing derogatory statements about those who consume beef.”**

Source : People’s Union for Civil Liberties, *Closing the Gates to Education: A Study on the Discrimination Against Muslim Students in Karnataka*, 2022.

“Data about school enrolment recently released show that a total of 1,010 Muslim girls dropped out from government PU colleges across Karnataka ‘because of the hijab ban and other reasons

as well.’ According to a report by the Indian Express, **the enrolment of Muslim students in PU government colleges in Udupi district has almost dropped by half since last year.**”

Source : The Siasat Daily, *Hindu youth harass hijab-clad Muslim students in Mangalore*, 2022.

“Mangalore: As Karnataka [state of Kamal Nagar] continues to be engulfed in the hijab row, **a few female Muslim students were harassed by Hindu youth**, on Thursday, **after they appeared for exams** at Government First Grade College, Mangalore, **wearing a dupatta**.

Although the principal of the college had **allowed the students to take the exams in a dupatta without pinning it like a hijab**, **a group of Hindu youth**, allegedly **belonging to right-wing organizations**, **harassed the girls.**”

Source : Voice of America News, *Muslims in India’s most populous state protest ban on madrasas*, January 18, 2024.

“Muslim educators in India are protesting a recent court ruling that would **effectively shut down thousands of religious schools known as madrasas in the nation’s most populous state**.

In its March 22 ruling, the Allahabad High Court scrapped the Uttar Pradesh Board of Madrasa Education Act 2004, saying it violated India’s constitutional secularism. It ordered that **all Islamic school students in Uttar Pradesh be shifted to ‘regular’ schools**. **The court order directly impacts around 16,500 madrasas**, which are recognized by the UP Board of Madrasa Education, **their 1.95 million students and 100,000 teachers.**”

1.5.2. L’exclusion systématique des musulmans du marché de l’emploi

Source : The Guardian, *Muslims in India face discrimination after restaurants forced to display workers’ names*, 13 October 2024.

“Muslims in India say they have been **fired from their jobs and face the closure of their businesses** after two states brought in a **“discriminatory” policy** making it **mandatory for restaurants to publicly display the names of all their employees.**”

Source : Anadolu Agency, *Job discrimination against Indian Muslims rises by 9% in 16 years: Report*, 2022.

“A higher number of Indian Muslims are jobless and face discrimination in accessing salaried jobs and income through self-employment compared to their non-Muslim fellow citizens, according to the UK’s independent charitable organizations focusing on global poverty alleviation.

In rural areas, unemployment among Muslims increased by 17% compared to non-Muslims during the first quarter of the COVID-19 pandemic, bringing the rural Muslim unemployment rate to 31.4%, Oxfam stated in its ‘India Discrimination Report 2022,’ which was released on Thursday. **Discrimination against Muslims in the labor market**, which contributed to their low employment rate, **rose to 68.3% in 2019-20.**”

Source : Aminah Mohammad-Arif, *Les musulmans en Inde : une minorité pas comme les autres*, Questions internationales, 2021.

“Mais la marginalisation des musulmans n’est pas seulement imputable à leur leadership et à d’autres facteurs internes. **La discrimination est patente dans divers secteurs comme le logement et l’emploi.** Nombre de **jeunes musulmans s’orientent**, par exemple, **vers le secteur informel par crainte que leur identité religieuse ne leur ferme les portes** de nombre d’emplois du secteur formel.

Cette **discrimination** s’inscrit parfois **visiblement dans l’espace public.** Les **pancartes ou les annonces immobilières telles que « on rent for vegetarians only » (à louer aux végétariens uniquement) sont monnaie courante en Inde.** Elles **représentent une façon à peine déguisée d’exclure les musulmans** – mais aussi les chrétiens et les basses castes – du marché immobilier dans les quartiers dominés par les hindous de haute caste – pour qui le végétarisme est une obligation religieuse.”

Source : Anadolu Agency, *Activist decries discrimination Muslims face in India*, 8 January 2024.

“Highlighting economic discrimination, Mujahid revealed that **Muslims [...] are disproportionately underrepresented in the workforce, with only 1% having government jobs.** ‘Muslims are **15% of the Indian population** and the Indian government is the largest employer of people. But **only 1% of Muslims are in government jobs.** **Brahmans**, the highest cast of Hindus, **are only 3.5% of the Indian population, but they have 61% of the government jobs.**’

Mujahid also discussed the **consequences of the ban on transporting cows for non-agricultural purposes**, asserting that it has led to the demise of the meat and leather industry, **causing unemployment for Muslims.** He cited the **closure of 50,000 butcher shops in a single state as a result of the ban.**”

1.5.3. La privation des musulmans de leur citoyenneté et de leur liberté

Source : Conseil des droits de l’homme des Nations Unies, *Inde : Résumé des communications des parties prenantes*, 7-18 novembre 2022.

« Quill Foundation a relevé que **les musulmans constituaient la minorité religieuse qui faisait l’objet des violations les plus graves** en ce qui concernait les dispositions, la discrimination, l’incarcération, la haine et le retrait des droits inhérents à la citoyenneté ».

Source : Soutik Biswas, *What happens to India’s four million ‘stateless’ people?*, BBC, 2018.

“It was agreed that anyone who entered Assam **without proper documentation after 24 March 1971 would be declared a foreigner.**

Now, the publication of the controversial National Register of Citizens (NRC) reveals, according to officials, that some four million of Assam’s residents are illegal foreigners. Separate specially-formed courts in the last few years had already **declared as foreigners some 1,000 residents - mostly Bengali-speaking Muslims - and interned them in half-a-dozen detention camps.**”

Source : Amnesty international, *Designed To Exclude: How India's Courts are allowing foreigners tribunals to render people stateless in Assam*, 2019.

“Abu Bakkar Siddiqui was **declared a foreigner by the High Court and was sent to a detention centre**. He has been in **detention for about three years now** and bail bonds and sureties from two persons have already been arranged for his release.”

Source : BBC, *India election 2019: Echoes of Trump in Modi's border politics*, 2019.

“Families are required to provide documentation to show their lineage, and **those who cannot prove their citizenship are deemed illegal**. But the **process has been fraught, with some families unable to produce documents due to poor record-keeping, illiteracy** or because they **lack the money** to file a legal claim.”

Source : AP News, *India announces steps to implement a citizenship law that excludes Muslims*, March 11, 2024.

“Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government on Monday **announced rules to implement a 2019 citizenship law that excludes Muslims**. The Citizenship Amendment Act provides a **fast track to naturalization** for Hindus, Parsis, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and Christians who fled to Hindu-majority India **from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan** before Dec. 31, 2014. **The law excludes Muslims**, who are a majority in all three nations.”

Source : BBC, *CAA : India's new citizenship law explained*, 12 March 2024.

“Opponents of the law say it is exclusionary and violates the secular principles enshrined in the constitution. They say faith cannot be made a condition of citizenship. **The constitution prohibits religious discrimination against its citizens, and guarantees all persons equality before the law and equal protection of the law.**”

Source : Council on Foreign Relations, *India's Muslims: An Increasingly Marginalized Population*, 18 March 2024.

“Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the ruling party have moved to further **limit Muslims' rights** under the controversial citizenship law, which has the power to **render millions of Muslims in India stateless**. [...] Since Modi's reelection in 2019, **the government has pushed controversial policies that critics say explicitly ignore Muslims' rights, restrict religious freedoms, and are intended to disenfranchise millions of Muslims.**”

Source : Chatam House, *Democracy in India*, 18 December 2024.

“[The] Citizenship Amendment Act passed in 2019 (...) **expressly omitted Muslims. 1.9 million Muslims had already been effectively stripped of their citizenship** in Assam after being left off India's National Register of Citizens. [The] BJP's attempt to remake India has (...) **eroded trust in India's institutions and in basic democratic foundations like the rule of law.**”

1.6. La répression et violation des droits des musulmans

Les musulmans en Inde font face à une répression systématique, marquée par des **démolitions punitives de leurs maisons** et la **stigmatisation des mariages interreligieux**, couplée à une **inaction voire une complicité des autorités et la normalisation de la violence** à leur encontre dans les discours politiques.

1.6.1. Maisons détruites, vies brisées : La politique du bulldozer en Inde

Source : Frontline. The Hindu, *Bulldozer raj rolls on*, 17 February 2025.

“Through data collected by *Frontline* in 2024, it is evident that Muslims have been the most severely affected by state-led evictions. Of the documented cases where information was available, 55 per cent involved marginalised communities —Muslims, Scheduled Tribes, Dalits, and Christians. Within this, Muslims faced the brunt, with 37 per cent of all evictions in 2024 specifically targeting their homes and localities, pointing to a deliberate pattern of erasure. Indeed, the persecution of Muslims has become so normalised that it is almost seen as justified—or not even considered wrong.”

Source : Amnesty International, *JCB must say no to bulldozer injustice in India*, 7 February 2024.

“Everyone at home was asleep that noon, from the fatigue of fasting for Ramzan. Suddenly we heard a lot of commotion outside. **We came out and saw four or five JCB machines coming towards our house. The machines directly attacked our house. We weren’t given any notice, nothing.**” said Hasina Bi, 56-year-old widow from Madhya Pradesh”

Source : Amnesty International, *“If you speak up, your house will be demolished”*: *Bulldozer injustice in India*, February 7, 2024.

“Almost **two years later, Muslim families and business owners** in the five states **await compensation for losing their homes, businesses and places of worship**. The Indian government’s **de-facto policy of punitively demolishing Muslim properties** for protesting discriminatory laws and practices, is an **ongoing phenomenon**.”

Source : Foreign Policy, *How the Bulldozer Became a Symbol of Modi’s India*, 7 January 2025.

“And despite setbacks experienced by the BJP in last year’s general elections, **bulldozer justice is still being enacted against Muslims**. In June, **11 houses belonging to Muslims were demolished** in Madhya Pradesh’s Mandla district **after authorities claimed that they found beef in their refrigerators**. In October, authorities in Rajasthan **demolished a house** they said was **built illegally on temple land**. The actions followed allegations against the homeowner Naseeb Chaudhary and his son of involvement in a knife attack at a Hindu temple.”

Source : The Wire, 'Police Arrested My Husband to Intimidate Us': A Family in Sambhal is Fighting to Save Their Home, 6 February 2025.

“Sambhal: After the ‘discovery’ of a ‘centuries-old’ temple in the Muslim-dominated Khaggu Sarai in Sambhal, Uttar Pradesh, the administration is allegedly pressurising the family residing next to the temple to vacate their house.

According to the family members, the district administration wants to demolish their house because it marks an obstacle for Hindu devotees who want to perform *parikrama* (circumambulation) of the temple. While the temple has lanes on three sides, its rear wall borders the house.

The frightened family immediately demolished a part of their house, but the administration insisted on razing the entire structure. Subsequently, the police arrested the family’s eldest male member Mohammad Mateen on January 16, accusing him of disturbing peace in the area. He was released on bail on January 24. Mateen, nearly 40, works as a driver.

Parveen said that her husband purchased the property in 2002 with his own earnings and has the relevant documents. Mateen even took a bank loan by mortgaging the house.

“We do not have any other property apart from this house. We are poor people. My husband is a driver. If we demolish the house, where will we go?” she says, tears welled up in her eyes.”

Source : Deep Mukherjee, The Wire, *In Rajasthan, ‘Bulldozer’ Notices to a Whole Neighbourhood After Muslim Men Held Over Sexual Assault*, 23 February 2025.

“Jaipur: After three FIRs were registered on February 16, the police in Vijay Nagar, a town in Rajasthan’s Beawar district, **arrested and detained a group of Muslim men – seven adults and three minors – for allegedly sexually assaulting and blackmailing five minor girls** from the Hindu community over a period of time. The incident led to **protests by Hindutva groups**, who **demand “bulldozer action” against the accused** and also **termed the incident as “love jihad”**. [...] Three days after the arrests [of Muslim mens for allegedly sexually assaulting and blackmailing five minor girls], the Vijay Nagar municipality began issuing notices to the families of the 10 accused. The notices issued over February 20 and 21 **asked the families to submit proof of ownership of the houses** where they resided.

If the documents are not presented, the municipality will **conduct the action of removing illegal constructions/encroachments**, and all the **expenses would be realised from the families** of the accused, said the notices.

On February 20, a notice was also issued to the administration of the Jama Masjid in Rajnagar area of the town, asking it to **provide documents pertaining to proof of ownership of the mosque** within a period of three days. ‘Otherwise, after the stipulated time period, action will be taken under the Rajasthan Municipalities Act, 2009, for which you yourself will be responsible,’ says the notice issued to the mosque written in Hindi.”

1.6.2. La théorie du complot autour des mariages interreligieux : le mythe du ‘Love Jihad’ et son instrumentalisation

Source : The Wire, *In Rajasthan, ‘Bulldozer’ Notices to a Whole Neighbourhood After Muslim Men Held Over Sexual Assault*, 23 February 2025.

Right-wing groups often use the bogey of ‘love jihad’ while **referring to interfaith romantic relationships between Muslim men and Hindu women**. The term has been invented by Hindutva groups to accuse Muslim men of entrapping Hindu women on the pretext of love.

Source : Times of India, *Judge Links Life Sentence to ‘Love Jihad’ in Controversial Ruling*, 2 October 2024.

“In a Bareilly fast track court, **a judge sentenced a Muslim man, 25, to ‘jail for entire life’ to life imprisonment, calling his case an example of “love jihad” involving deceit and forced religion conversion**. Even after the woman changed her statement in court and said **her initial deposition had come after “right wing men put pressure on my parents.”**”

Source : The Wire, *Bhopal: Interfaith couple attacked by Hindutva mob, Muslim youth arrested over ‘Love Jihad’*, 8 February 2025.

“New Delhi: An interfaith couple who **visited a court in Madhya Pradesh’s Bhopal to register their marriage** were **assaulted by members of right-wing outfits, who accused the man of “love jihad” and beat him up**. Subsequently, the **man was arrested on charges of “forcing” the woman to change her religion**. No FIR was registered against the attackers.”

Source : The Indian Express, *Madhya Pradesh again: Interfaith couple who went to register their marriage roughed up in court*, 21 February 2025.

“An **interfaith couple was allegedly assaulted inside the district court** in Madhya Pradesh’s Rewa – the **second such incident this month**.

According to the police, the Muslim man and Hindu woman had come to register their marriage. **Trouble began when the two walked into a lawyer’s chamber and the woman, who was wearing a burqa, revealed her name**, police said.

Suspecting foul play, some lawyers demanded to see the man’s Aadhaar card, and **upon discovering his religious identity, accused him of “love jihad” before allegedly assaulting him**, police said.”

1.7. Effets concrets dans les régions étudiées : Sangareddy, Uqdir et Kamal Nagar

Dans des régions d’Inde, les musulmans, bien que minoritaires, font face à des discriminations et violences ciblées. **Des attaques contre leurs commerces et lieux de culte, souvent exacerbées par des discours politiques**, renforcent leur marginalisation. Cette situation alimente **un climat d’insécurité et d’exclusion croissante**.

Source : Zolkit, *Statewise Religion Population Percentage in India 2025*, 19 February 2025.

Sangareddy:

- State: Telangana
- hinduism: 85.10%
- islam: 12.69%

Ugdir:

- State: Maharashtra
- hinduism: 79.83%
- islam: 11.54%

Kamal Nagar:

- State: Karnataka
- hinduism: 84%
- islam: 12.92%

1.7.1. Sangareddy (État du Telangana) : violences et discrimination économique

Source : The News Minute, *Ram Temple: Muslim man's shop burnt in Telangana by Mob*, 24 January 2024.

“A fruit shop owned by a Muslim man was set ablaze during a procession celebrating the consecration of the Ram temple in Ayodhya on Monday, January 21 in Sangareddy district of Telangana. According to videos shared on social media, the mob raised provocative slogans while setting the shop on fire.”

Source : The Observer Post, *Mob Rampage In Medak: ‘Deliberate Attack On Our Muslim Community,’ Say Residents*, 16 June 2024.

“On the night of June 15th, a right-wing mob attacked a madrasa in Telangana’s Medak district, resulting in injuries to at least eight people. According to a resident named Ateeq, cattle were being transported to the Minhaj-ul-uloom Madrasa for Eid when Hindu right-wing groups intercepted the vehicle near the madrasa and launched a violent attack. [...] The mob specifically targeted Muslim shops and establishments. Armed with sticks and other weapons, the mob vandalized the hospital premises and threw stones at the building, according to Mohiuddin.

After leaving the hospital, **the angry mob**, consisting of over a hundred people, **took to the streets shouting slogans like ‘Jai Shri Ram’ [‘Glory to Lord Rama’] and ‘Jai Gau Mata’ [‘Praise to the holy cow’]. They forcibly closed shops and caused damage to properties owned by Muslims. Several Muslim-owned businesses**, including Care Hospital, Iftikhar Pan Shop, Okaz Medical Shop, Khalid and Naib Kalyani Hotels, Golden Bakery, Honey Bakery, and a gym, **were targeted.”**

Source : NarendraModi.in, *तेलंगाना को कुशासन से छुटकारा दिलाने बीजेपी को ज्यादा से ज्यादा प्रतिनिधित्व दें: महबूबनगर में पीएम मोदी*, 10 mai 2024 – [Traduction non-officielle], *Donnez une représentation maximale au BJP pour débarrasser le Telangana de la mauvaise gouvernance : PM Modi à Mahbubnagar*.

“हिंदुओं को अपने ही देश में सेकेंड क्लास सिटिजन बनाना चाहती है कांग्रेस। क्या इसलिए ही ये लोग वोट जिहाद की बात कर रहे हैं?”

« Le Congrès veut faire des hindous des citoyens de seconde classe dans leur propre pays. Est-ce pour cela que ces gens parlent de vote djihad ? ».

1.7.2. Ugdar (État du Maharashtra) : montée des tensions communautaires

Source : Scroll.in, *They saw a Muslim name and attacked’: How Hindutva mobs ran amok in Mira Road*, 27 January 2024.

“Around 7 pm on Tuesday, as he was driving through the Shanti Nagar neighbourhood along with two workers, a mob stopped the tempo and assaulted the three men, all Muslim. **“The name Rashid Tempo Service on the body of the vehicle and a sticker of the moon and stars on the window pane revealed our Muslim identity,”** said Abdul Chaudhary, Tariq’s father. **Tariq, who was in the driver’s seat, was the first one to be attacked.** He told his father he was slapped by the mob. They then dragged him out. He was kicked and beaten with sticks and a belt. He had blood all over his head, back and hands. The workers accompanying Tariq, Matiullah Shah, 21, and Deen Ali Shaikh, 45, were injured on the head too. Shah told Chaudhary that before the mob hit them, it demanded that they chant **“Jai Shri Ram”** [‘Glory to Lord Rama’].

Source : Human Rights Watch, *“India: Violence Marks Ram Temple Inauguration”*, 31 January 2024.

“Muslim witnesses said that in the evening before the temple inauguration, **brawls broke out when Hindu mobs chanted slogans while brandishing sticks and swords in front of a mosque.** When a militant Hindu mob returned to the same area on January 23, **pelting stones and attacking shops, the police did little to control them.** ‘The police are defending only one side,’ Azeemuddin Sayed, a local social worker, told Human Rights Watch. **‘They should protect everyone. Or will they only protect based on religion?’**.”

1.7.3. Kamal Nagar (État du Karnataka) : instrumentalisation politique de la haine anti-musulmane

Source : Scroll.in, *BJP Karnataka’s online video sparks outrage for ‘demonising Muslims*, May 5, 2024

“A social media post by the Bharatiya Janata Party’s Karnataka unit on Saturday **triggered outrage online**, with critics attacking it for **‘demonising Muslims’**.”

The animated video captioned ‘**Beware.. Beware.. Beware..!**’ in Kannada, featured **caricatures of Congress leader Rahul Gandhi and Karnataka Chief Minister Siddaramaiah placing an egg with “Muslims” written on it in a nest alongside three eggs marked as “SC [Scheduled Castes], ST [Scheduled Tribes] and OBC [Other Backward Classes]”**.

2. Quels sont les risques encourus en cas d'emprisonnement en lien avec la confession musulmane ?

2.1. Surreprésentation des personnes de confession musulmane dans les prisons indiennes

Les personnes de confession musulmane sont **surreprésentées dans les prisons indiennes**. Les chiffres recensés dans divers rapports permettent même de mettre en lumière une part **disproportionnée** des personnes musulmanes au sein des détenus, en comparaison avec la part de celles-ci dans la population indienne totale. Ce phénomène se retrouve aussi dans le nombre de **personnes emprisonnées en cours de jugement**.

Source : Comité des droits de l'Homme des Nations Unies, *Observations finales concernant le quatrième rapport périodique de l'Inde*, 2 septembre 2024.

“Le Comité est préoccupé par le fait que plus de **75 % des personnes en prison étaient en cours de jugement** en 2022 et que **les musulmans**, les dalits, les Adivasi et les personnes vivant dans la pauvreté **représentent une part disproportionnée des détenus**.”

Source : Article 14, *Why The Percentage of Muslim Prisoners in India's Jails Is Disproportionate to Their Population in India*, 2022.

“In 2020, of a total 488,511 prisoners, 19.1% (93,774) were Muslims. **The population share of Muslims in India is pegged at 14.2%** (204 million). (...) The data showed that **19.5% of all undertrials** and **17.4% of all convicts** in Indian jails **were Muslims**.”

Source : The Hindu, *The state of Indian prisons*, 2021.

In 2015, “**Muslims, Dalits and Adivasis accounted for 55%** of the under-trial population even though **they made up only 50%** of the convict population and **38% of the total Indian population**.”

Source : Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, *Then things you should know about Indian prisons*, 2019.

“**In the last five years**, highest increase in the stage of any religion among the categories of prisoners was the **increase of Muslims in detenue prison** population by **12.1 percentage points**. [...]

The highest share of undertrial prisoners to total prison population of a particular religion was of **Muslims at 70.8%**.”

Source : Conseil des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies, *Inde : Résumé des communications des parties prenantes*, 1^{er}-12 mai 2017.

“Amnesty International reported that **two-thirds of India's prison population are pre-trial detainees**, with Dalits, Adivasis and **Muslims** being **disproportionately represented**.”

2.2. Détentions injustifiées voire arbitraires

De nombreuses personnes musulmanes sont **arrêtées et détenues pendant de longues périodes sans inculpation ni procès équitable**. De plus, les **cadres législatifs**, notamment la loi sur la prévention des activités illicites, rendent la **libération sous caution quasiment impossible**, maintenant ainsi des individus en détention prolongée **sans possibilité de recours**. Ces **détournements de lois** et ces manquements aux impératifs de procès équitables rendent parfois ces **détentions arbitraires**.

2.2.1. **Détournements de lois pour justifier les détentions**

Source : Parliament of India, *The National Security Act*, 1980.

[Extrait du National Security Act (NSA), afin d'illustrer comment les **motifs de détention énumérés dans la NSA sont ambigus et ouverts à l'interprétation** par l'autorité détentrice, pouvant ainsi être utilisé à l'encontre des personnes musulmanes]

“Circumstances in which persons may be detained for periods longer than three months without obtaining the opinion of Advisory Boards: [...] where such person had been detained with a view to preventing him, in any disturbed area:

- (i) from interfering with the efforts of Government in **coping with the terrorist and disruptive activities**; and
- (ii) from acting in **any manner prejudicial to**
 - (a) **the defence of India**; or
 - (b) **the security of India**; or
 - (c) **the security of the State**; or
 - (d) **the maintenance of public order**; or
 - (e) **the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community**.”

Source : Comité des droits de l'Homme des Nations Unies, *Joint NGO Alternative Report on the Situation of Civil and Political Rights in India*, 31 May 2024.

“**Detention orders** under the [National Security Act] often are **misused** to silence critics of the government or **oppress religious minorities**. Law enforcement officials **detain Muslims accused of cow slaughter** or **religious conversion under the NSA**, despite the existence of statutes (also critiqued for being discriminatory) specifically for dealing with such incidents because these statutes do not **restrict the detainee's rights to the extent that the NSA does**”.

Source : Human Rights Watch, *India: Government Policies, Actions Target Minorities*, 2021.

“States **use laws against cow slaughter to prosecute Muslim cattle traders** even as BJP-affiliated groups attack Muslims and Dalits on rumors that they killed or traded cows for beef.”

Source : Human Rights Watch, *India: Vigilante ‘Cow Protection’ Groups Attack Minorities*, 2019.

“The authorities have even used the National Security Act – a repressive law that permits **detention without charge for up to a year** – against those suspected of illegally slaughtering cows.”

Source : Parliament of India, *The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act*, 1967.

[Extrait de l’Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), afin d’illustrer comment les **condamnations sont vaguement définies**, pouvant être utilisées contre les personnes musulmanes]

“Punishment for unlawful activities. (1) Whoever

(a) **takes part in or commits**, or

(b) **advocates, abets, advises or incites the commission of, any unlawful activity**, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a **term which may extend to seven years** and shall also be liable to fine”.

Source : Freedom House, *Annual report on political rights and civil liberties in 2023*, 29 February 2024.

“A number of security laws allow **detention without charge or based on vaguely defined offenses**. The Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) has been used extensively in recent years to **hold individuals for long periods without trial or specific evidence of guilt**. Only **2.2 percent of cases filed under the UAPA led to a conviction** between 2016 and 2019.”

Source : Conseil des droits de l’homme des Nations Unies, *Inde : Résumé des communications des parties prenantes*, 7-18 novembre 2022.

“Les auteurs de la communication conjointe n°32 ont fait observer que **l’application de la loi sur la prévention des activités illicites rendait la libération sous caution quasi impossible** et que des personnes restaient par conséquent **incarcérées pendant de longues périodes sans pouvoir former de recours**”.

2.2.2. Détentions arbitraires

Source : Amnesty International, *The state of the world's human rights*, 17 April 2024.

“Eight human rights activists continued to be **detained without trial** in Maharashtra state [...]. **At least seven Muslim students**, councillors and human rights activists continued to be **detained without trial** since 2020.”

Source : The Indian American Muslim Council, *Annual Report on Human Rights and Religious Freedom in India*, 29 January 2025.

“The Indian government continued to **imprison** political opponents, activists, and prisoners of conscience in 2024, **in some cases years after their initial arrest**. [...] Imam has been imprisoned since January 2020 due to his involvement in the 2019 protests against the anti-Muslim Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), **despite the court finding no evidence** of incitement to violence in his speeches criticizing the CAA.”

Source : Freedom House, *Annual report on political rights and civil liberties in 2023*, 29 February 2024.

“The justice system is severely backlogged and understaffed, leading to **lengthy pretrial detention for suspects**, many of whom remain in jail longer than the duration of any sentence they might receive if convicted.”

Source : Project 39A, *Death Penalty India Report*, 2016.

“**Religious minorities** comprised a **disproportionate share of the prisoners sentenced to death** in Gujarat, Kerala and Karnataka. In Gujarat, **out of the 19 prisoners sentenced to death** 15 were **Muslims (79%)**, while 60% of the prisoners sentenced to death in Kerala were religious minorities (five Muslims and four Christians amongst 15 prisoners sentenced to death).”

2.3. Conditions de détention inhumaines ou dégradantes

Les conditions de détention auxquelles sont soumises les personnes de confession musulmane en Inde peuvent être constitutives de **traitements inhumains ou dégradants**. Cela se retrouve **dès la garde à vue** par le biais de **systèmes discriminants figurant dans les manuels de fonctionnement de certaines prisons**, et va jusqu'à des cas de **torture** et de **violations des droits fondamentaux**.

2.3.1. Violences policières subies lors de la garde à vue

Source : The Indian American Muslim Council, *Daily Roundup*, 27 November 2024.

“In BJP-ruled Uttar Pradesh's Jaunpur, **a Muslim man**, Nisaruddin, **died in police custody after being shot by officers** who claimed he was a cattle smuggler. However, his family has disputed

the allegation, claiming that the police detained Nisaruddin while he was having tea in the market and shot him in the leg. They also reported **signs of assault, including injuries to his chest and bleeding from his nose and ears.**”

Source : BBC, *Nupur Sharma protests: The police brutality video that shocked India*, 2022.

“A video showing **Indian police beating a group of Muslims in custody** has been viewed by millions after it was shared by an elected member of the ruling BJP party who praised their brutal actions as a ‘gift’ to the men.”

Source : Pulitzer Center, *Women Struggle While Men Die in Custody in India’s Uttar Pradesh*, 14 June 2023.

“seven families [...] **lost their family members to custodial deaths** in Uttar Pradesh. Of these, five deaths were recorded between 2020 and 2022. [...] In 2021, there was outrage in the country when **a 22-year-old Muslim boy died in police custody.**”

Source : The Guardian, *India’s police stations are human rights threat, says chief justice*, 10 August 2021.

“In an extraordinary rebuke over police brutality, India’s chief justice has said **the most dangerous places** in the country **for threats to human rights are police stations.**»

2.3.2. Différences de traitement au sein des prisons indiennes

Source : The Wire, *Supreme Court Issues Notice on PIL Filed By The Wire Reporter on Caste-Based Prison Rules*, 3 January 2024.

“**Prison manuals** in 11 states continue to contain **discriminatory rules requiring segregation of prisoners by caste and religion**; and division of labour based on caste.”

Source : The Wire, *From Segregation to Labour, Manu’s Caste Law Governs the Indian Prison System*, 2020.

“It is not as if state prison departments have not struck down inhumane and unconstitutional practices from the books. Goa did, so did Delhi, Maharashtra and Odisha [but in] Maharashtra (...), unwritten caste practice is rampant.”

Source : Bristol University Press, *Poverty and Prejudice, Religion, Caste and Marginality: Reflections on the Indian Criminal Justice and Prison System*, 19 September 2023.

“Besides facing painfully long periods of incarceration with minimal legal support, prisoners from marginalized or minority communities are also subject to **harsher forms of exploitation and discrimination in jail.**”

2.3.3. Conditions constitutives des mauvais traitements

Source : The Indian American Muslim Council, *Daily Roundup*, 2 December 2024.

“Despite his critical health needs, including Parkinson’s disease, diabetes, and a history of cancer, Abubacker has faced ongoing **neglect in terms of medical treatment**. Earlier this year, a court had denied him bail and **refused to place him under house arrest despite these health issues.**»

Source : The World Organization Against Torture, *India: Daud Seikh’s death in police custody highlights police torture*, 31 May 2024.

“While detained, he was allegedly **subjected to torture and verbal abuse**. [...] At the hospital, the family inquired about Daud’s death and was informed by the attending doctor that the marks on his neck rather point to an unnatural death than suicide.”

Source : Bristol University Press, *Poverty and Prejudice, Religion, Caste and Marginality: Reflections on the Indian Criminal Justice and Prison System*, 19 September 2023.

“Indian prisons are infamous for **inhumane living conditions**, very **high rates of overcrowding** and terrible access to health, education, employment and recreational facilities.”

Source : Refugees International, “*A Lifetime in Detention: Rohingya Refugees in India*”, 16 December 2024.

“From May to November 2024, The Azadi Project and Refugees International spoke to **Rohingya refugee detainees in India**, their families, and lawyers, including a visit to a detention center. The visits and interviews revealed **gross violations of constitutional and human rights**; and a failure by India to adhere to its commitments to international human rights treaties. **Men and women are segregated, and spouses are not allowed time together**. Older **children are forcefully separated from their parents** in a violation of India’s model detention code that states “families should not be separated.” This is just one of many gaps in following the model detention code in detention centers across India. Further, most **Rohingya refugees are detained even after they have served their sentences**. **Children** living in these detention centers have **no access to formal schooling or playgrounds**, and **older people** with age-related mobility issues **are left at the mercy of fellow detainees for food and toilet access**. Some of those still detained **were infants at the time of their detention** and have **never had the chance to experience life outside the detention centers.**”

3. Existe-t-il des différences de traitement des justiciables ?

En Inde, **l'accès à la justice varie selon l'identité des justiciables**. Les lois adoptées depuis l'arrivée du BJP au pouvoir ont accentué les inégalités ethniques, et créé un système judiciaire critiqué pour sa dépendance vis-à-vis de l'agenda politique du gouvernement. Tandis que **les violences contre musulmans et groupes marginalisés restent impunies**, ceux-ci subissent une **répression accrue, des arrestations arbitraires et des procès inéquitables**.

3.1. Une justice à deux vitesses

Depuis certaines années, les **minorités religieuses, notamment musulmanes** et chrétiennes, **sont marginalisées par des discriminations légales**. **Les violences contre les musulmans s'accroissent**, s'accompagnant d'une impunité préoccupante pour leurs auteurs, qui bénéficient d'une **tolérance des forces de l'ordre et des autorités politiques**. Ceux-ci sont rarement inquiétés, alimentant un climat **d'insécurité**.

Source : Comité des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies, *Joint NGO Alternative Report on the Situation of Civil and Political Rights in India*, 31 May 2024.

“Police have been rewarded by the government for targeting minorities or political opponents. Other enforcement and investigative agencies (...) have also routinely been reported being used to target political opponents, minorities, and human rights defenders.”

Source : Pulitzer Center, *Women Struggle While Men Die in Custody in India's Uttar Pradesh*, 14 June 2023.

“Analysis pieces show Muslims remain vulnerable to being targeted by the police and judiciary, and that the law is misused to target minorities.”

Source : Human Rights Watch, *India: Government policies, actions target minorities*, 19 February 2021.

“Prejudices embedded in the government of the ruling Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) have infiltrated independent institutions, such as the police and the courts, empowering nationalist groups to threaten, harass, and attack religious minorities with impunity. [...] Days after a Hindu extremist mob killed a Muslim man, Shahedin Qureshi, in [BJP]-ruled Uttar Pradesh's Moradabad over allegations of cow slaughter, police arrested his friend, who was with him at the time of the brutal assault, under charges of cow slaughter. However, no arrests have been made in the murder case.”

Source : The Indian American Muslim Council, *Annual Report on Human Rights and Religious Freedom in India*, 29 January 2025.

“Law enforcement officials and elected officials regularly joined forces with Hindu militants in attacks on minorities in 2024. Police seized the personal property of Muslims based on

accusations made by cow vigilantes, shut down peaceful events over complaints made by Hindu militant groups, and **arrested the victims of Hindu mob violence instead of the perpetrators.**”

Source : The Wire, *‘Police Didn’t Stop the Mob’: Shopkeepers, Injured Recount Hindutva Violence at Mumbai’s Mira Road*, 25 January 2024.

“**The crowd had then moved to other shop establishments belonging to Muslims** in the neighbouring lane. Even as the attack continued, the local police from the Naya Nagar police station **were seen standing on the street, just 20 metres away.** ‘But they didn’t stop the mob. It was almost as if the police were there for the mob’s safety,’ he claimed.”

Source : People’s Union for Civil Liberties, *Closing the Gates to Education: A Study on the Discrimination Against Muslim Students in Karnataka*, 2022.

“In their conversations with the PUCL-K team, **Muslim women students** have recounted **several stories of how they were forced to remove their hijabs outside the college gates, examination halls and even in the classrooms.** They added that **the police were** not only **unresponsive**, but **actively supported the college administrations** in forcing the students to remove their hijabs. There are reports of the **police being present even when Muslim women were intimidated, photographed without consent and made to feel vulnerable** within their own colleges.”

3.2. Des procédures judiciaires suivies de manière irrégulières à l’égard des justiciables musulmans

Les **violences policières** commises dans la rue **restent sans conséquence pour leurs auteurs**, renforçant un climat d’injustice. Les forces de police ne suivent pas les procédures réglementaires, **empêchant les victimes musulmanes d’enregistrer leurs plaintes** et recourant à la **corruption**. Ciblant de même l’entourage des victimes **lors des procédures judiciaires**, les témoins et proches font parfois face à **des pressions, menaces ou violences**.

3.2.1. Les violences policières commises à l’encontre des minorités musulmanes

Source : The Indian American Muslim Council, *Daily Roundup : Police beat Islamic scholar unconscious, mock his religious beliefs*, 3 February 2025.

“An **Islamic scholar was beaten to the point of unconsciousness by police officials** during a routine bike check in Bihar’s Madhubani. He was also mocked for his religious beliefs and threatened by officers.

The victim reported that when he woke up, **he found himself in a police car and was assaulted again with excessive force.** Firoz said while he was being beaten, the police mockingly said ‘You pray to Allah, so call Him, only He can save you today’.”

Source : Human Rights Watch, *India: Government policies, actions target minorities*, 2021.

“An independent investigation by the Delhi Minorities Commission found that the violence was ‘planned and targeted’ and that **some policemen actively participated in the attacks on Muslims**. [...] A year later [...] the authorities have yet to investigate other **allegations of police complicity in the violence**.”

Source : Human Rights Watch, *Violent Cow Protection in India, Vigilante groups attack minorities*, 2019.

“In almost all of the cases documented, **the police initially stalled investigations, ignored procedures, or were even complicit in the killings and cover-ups**.”

3.2.2. Des procédures négligées dans les affaires concernant des personnes musulmanes, en violation du droit à un procès équitable

Source : Conseil des droits de l’homme des Nations Unies, *Résumé des communications des parties prenantes*, 7-18 novembre 2022.

“Soit la police s’était rendue complice des meurtres et de leur dissimulation, soit **elle avait freiné les enquêtes et fait fi des procédures**. Elle déposait régulièrement des plaintes contre les victimes et leur famille et les témoins”.

Source : Human Rights Watch, *India: Government policies, actions target minorities*, 2021.

“Activists say that **the police have focused more on investigating allegations against Muslims and arresting them**. Muslim victims of abuses and witnesses said that **the police initially turned them away, refusing to file their complaints**, and that even when police filed the cases based on their accounts, **they omitted names of BJP leaders or police officials allegedly complicit** in the attacks.”

Source : Freedom House, *Annual report on political rights and civil liberties in 2023*, 29 February 2024.

“**Due process rights are not consistently upheld**. Citizens face substantial obstacles in the pursuit of justice, including **demands for bribes and difficulty getting the police to file a First Information Report**, which is necessary to trigger an investigation of an alleged crime. Corruption within the police force remains a problem.”

Source : Human Rights Watch, “India: Government policies, actions target minorities”, 19 février 2021.

“**In several cases in which Muslims were arrested**, Human Rights Watch found that **the police did not follow criminal code requirements**, such as **producing an arrest warrant, informing the person’s family of the arrest, and providing them a copy of the First Information Report**”

(FIR), the official police case, or ensuring that those arrested have **access to legal counsel**, including during interrogation.”

Source : Comité des droits de l’homme des Nations Unies, *Joint NGO Alternative Report on the Situation of Civil and Political Rights in India*, 31 May 2024.

“In recent years, the [National Human Rights Commission of India] has been accused of allowing several egregious human rights violations, through **delays, flawed investigations, and biased findings.**”

Source : Human Rights Watch, “India: Government Policies, Actions Target Minorities”, 2021.

“In several cases in which Muslims were arrested, Human Rights Watch found that **the police did not follow criminal code requirements, such as producing an arrest warrant, informing the person’s family of the arrest, and providing them a copy of the First Information Report (FIR), the official police case, or ensuring that those arrested have access to legal counsel, including during interrogation.** In some cases, Muslim **families** who had succeeded in identifying BJP leaders and police officials **when they filed complaints said they faced increasing pressure to withdraw the complaints.**»

Source : Human Rights Watch, *India: Vigilante ‘Cow Protection’ Groups Attack Minorities*, 2019.

“In a number of cases, **police have filed complaints against victims’ family members and associates** under laws banning cow slaughter, leaving **witnesses and families afraid to pursue justice.** In some cases, **witnesses turned hostile because of intimidation** both by the authorities and the accused. [...] India does not have a national witness and victim protection law. In criminal cases, especially when the perpetrators are powerful or have powerful connections, **witnesses and families are vulnerable to threats from the accused as well as the police.**”

3.3. Le manque d’indépendance des institutions judiciaires vis-à-vis de l’exécutif

Depuis 2019, le gouvernement Modi a fait adopter des **lois considérées inconstitutionnelles**, comme le *Citizenship Amendment Act* et le projet de Code civil uniforme, qui instaurent **des critères discriminatoires à l’égard des minorités, menaçant les principes de laïcité et d’égalité.** En outre, des **juges favorables au pouvoir sont nommés, leurs décisions partiales** contribuant à renforcer l’impunité des violences commises contre les communautés musulmanes. Face à ces abus, **les institutions judiciaires peinent à garantir l’État de droit.**

3.3.1. Une justice illégitime rendue par les autorités, face à un système judiciaire impuissant

Source : Al Jazeera, *India police flogging Muslims ‘serious rights violation’*, 2022.

“A video of the incident that took place on Tuesday in Udhela village of Gujarat’s Kheda district [...] showed **several Muslim men tied to a pole and beaten with a stick by policemen** in civilian clothing, **as a crowd that included women and children cheered.**”

Source : NDTV, *'Go Enjoy Custody': Supreme Court raps Gujarat Cops for public flogging*, 23 January 2024.

“The Supreme Court on Tuesday admonished the Gujarat Police over its officials publicly flogging five people belonging to the Muslim community at a village in Kheda district in 2022, asking angrily from where did they draw the authority to tie people to poles and beat them up.”

Source : BBC, *Nuh violence: Is bulldozer punishment trampling justice in India?*, 8 August 2023.

“in what has become a pattern in many states governed by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), bulldozers descended on shell-shocked residents of Nuh and tore down hundreds of structures, alleging they were built illegally. **The action only stopped after four days, on Monday, when the state’s high court on its own accord issued a notice to the government.**

‘Apparently, **without any demolition orders and notices, the law and order problem is being used as a ruse to bring down buildings without following the procedure established by law,**’ the court said. It also asked if **the state** was conducting ‘an exercise of ethnic cleansing’ by **targeting buildings mostly owned by Muslims.”**

Source : CBS News, *India’s top court slams states over ‘bulldozer justice’, razing of illegal homes that allegedly targets Muslims*, 14 novembre 2024.

“India’s Supreme Court ruled Wednesday that **authorities demolishing illegally-constructed homes and other properties belonging to suspected criminals is unconstitutional** and must cease. The practice is allegedly used widely by several state governments to **punish suspects outside the court justice process**, and is commonly known as ‘bulldozer justice.’ [...] Critics have accused the BJP state administrations of using bulldozer justice **primarily to target Muslims.”**

Source : Middle East Monitor, *India: top court quashes release of men in Muslim woman’s gang-rape*, 8 January 2024.

“India’s top court on Monday quashed the **release of 11 Hindu men who had been jailed for life for gang-raping a pregnant Muslim woman and murdering her relatives during Hindu-Muslim riots** in Gujarat state in 2002, a lawyer in the case has said. The Supreme Court directed the men to surrender to prison authorities within two weeks, the lawyer added. (...) The men, convicted in 2008, were freed by the Gujarat government in August 2022 after the prison they were being held in recommended their release considering the time served and their good behaviour.”

3.3.2. Des nominations de juges influencées par des considérations partisans

Source : Centre for Human Rights, University of the Free State, *Report of the panel of independent international experts to examine information about alleged violations of international law committed against muslims in India since July 2019*, 2022.

“the Panel found sufficient grounds to conclude that **the ideological and religious prejudices of the current government appear to be permeating all independent institutions**, resulting in the **lack of effective and adequate accountability initiatives.**”

Source : Comité des droits de l’homme des Nations Unies, *Joint NGO Alternative Report on the Situation of Civil and Political Rights in India*, 31 May 2024.

“Weaknesses within the judicial structure have raised **questions about: (i) the institutional independence of the judiciary, and (ii) the independence and impartiality of individual judges** when dealing with sensitive cases with implications for minorities and human rights defenders.”

Source : The Indian American Muslim Council, *Annual Report, 2024*, 29 January 2025.

“**The Indian judiciary was repeatedly compromised** in 2024. Lower courts and state High Courts routinely passed **rulings in favor of Hindu perpetrators** while **unfairly punishing minorities for similar crimes or on false charges**, and **acquitted alleged Hindu perpetrators despite circumstantial evidence** to the contrary while **imprisoning minorities under false cases**. (...) The courts also **acquitted Hindu perpetrators of violence committed against Muslims.**”

Source : Comité des droits de l’homme des Nations Unies, *Joint NGO Alternative Report on the Situation of Civil and Political Rights in India*, 31 May 2024.

“Legal scholars have reported a sharp increase, in recent years, in the **appointment** to the SCI, and thus to the collegium, of **‘theocratic’ judges who look at Hindu religious texts too, beyond the Constitution**, as Sources of law, while deciding cases. [...]

The practice of senior judges attaining political positions after retirement raises further **questions about the independence and impartiality of individual judges**. Studies have found that judges who author judgements in favour of the government are more likely to receive prestigious post-retirement government jobs.”

Source : Centre for Human Rights, University of the Free State, *Report of the panel of independent international experts to examine information about alleged violations of international law committed against muslims in India since July 2019*, 2022.

“The **response** of the National Human Rights Commission [of India] too has been **inadequate**, and in some instances, worryingly **partisan and aligned with the BJP government.**”

4. Que font les associations de sauvegarde des vaches ? Quel est leur impact ? Leur pouvoir ?

4.1. Un combat religieux et politique mené par les associations de sauvegarde des vaches

En Inde, la vache est un symbole religieux et politique majeur. Des groupes comme les **Gau Rakshaks**, souvent soutenus par le BJP, mènent des actions violentes pour sa protection, exacerbant les tensions communautaires. Cette instrumentalisation politique conduit à des violences envers les minorités, notamment musulmanes.

4.1.1. L'idéal d'une société construite autour de la sauvegarde des vaches

Source : Michael Bruckert, *Anthropozoologica, Protéger et abattre les bovins au pays de la « vache sacrée » : usages symboliques, politiques et économiques des vaches et des buffles dans l'Inde contemporaine*, 2018.

« Le refus largement répandu de manger de la viande de bœuf (de quelque bovin, au sens large, que celle-ci provienne) dans le monde indien tient principalement à deux éléments : la valorisation du végétarisme par les castes supérieures certes, mais surtout le statut particulier accordé aux bovins (cette fois-ci au sens strict). En effet, ces derniers bénéficient depuis plusieurs millénaires de ce que l'on peut nommer une forme de « sacralisation », à savoir un processus par lequel ils sont élevés à un haut degré de considération et, partant, deviennent pour certains “inviolables”, protégés par des interdits ».

Source : Emmanuel Derville, *Le Journal du dimanche, Inde : comment le Premier ministre Modi instrumentalise la vache sacrée*, 2021.

« Pour que les candidats révisent, l'agence [nationale de la vache] a mis en ligne une dizaine de documents dont un de 54 pages qui martèle la supériorité du bovin indien sur son cousin européen : “Le lait des bêtes de race jersiaise [...] contient un poison chimique Source de diabète, de cancer et de maladies cardiaques.” Celui des vaches indiennes contient “3 à 10 milligrammes d'or sous forme ionique.” On y apprend que leur abattage provoque des tremblements de terre, que la bouse est une Source d'énergie qui remplace le feu de bois et l'électricité. Un autre assure que l'urine de vache, riche de “752 composants d'une immense valeur médicinale”, guérit ou prévient toutes sortes de maladies. [...] Et le corpus de révision du concours insiste sur les attributs divins de la vache qui seraient le pilier d'une société idéale : “Rien n'est plus puissant que la protection de la vache et le pouvoir du bœuf pour résoudre les plaies du monde comme la pollution, le crime, la pauvreté, le chômage, la guerre, la famine, la maladie, les inondations. [...] Une société construite autour de la protection de la vache n'a pas ce genre de problèmes” ».

Source : Marine Cestes, Ca m'intéresse, *Pourquoi la vache est-elle un animal sacré en Inde ?* 14 avril 2024

« **La protection de la vache en Inde, au-delà du caractère sacré de cet animal, tient aussi au respect des principes et lois qui régissent l'hindouisme.** Les croyants reconnaissent la présence du divin dans tous les êtres vivants. Ainsi, ceux-ci possèdent une âme. **Le fait de tuer une vache est alors considéré comme un péché, car il interfère avec le cycle de la vie et de la mort.** Pour rappel, le bovin demeure une représentation de la mère universelle, de la Source originelle de toute vie ».

4.1.2. Les actions des associations de sauvegarde des vaches

Source : Mathieu Ferry, Sciences Po, *En Inde, des attaques contre les minorités au nom de la vache sacrée*, 2019.

« Les **Gau Rakshaks** sont répartis en différentes milices, soit au sein d'organisations violentes existant depuis plusieurs années, comme le *Bajrang Dal* (1984), la *Hindu Yuva Vahini* (2002), ou d'organisations plus récentes dont la vocation est plus particulièrement la protection des vaches, comme le ***Gau Raksha Dal***, créé en 2012, et liées au Sangh Parivar. Composées d'hommes jeunes de moyennes et de hautes castes hindoues, **les violences commises sont souvent qualifiées de lynchages dans la mesure où ces organisations privées entendent faire respecter elles-mêmes les lois d'interdiction d'abattage et de transport illégal des vaches.** Ces attaques correspondent donc à du vigilantisme, puisque le but proclamé est de rendre justice, et les crimes supposés justifient les attaques ».

Source : Hindutva Watch, *Gau Raksha Dal seizes truck, harasses driver, alleging cow smuggling*, 27 November 2024.

“Location : Jaipur, Rajasthan [...] **Members of Gau Raksha Dal seized 4 trucks transporting cattle on allegations of smuggling cows and physically harassed the drivers.**”

4.1.3. L'instrumentalisation politique de la lutte des associations de sauvegarde des vaches par le Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

Source : Fatshimétrie - Le blog du citoyen, *Les milices de protection des vaches en Inde: tensions et enjeux électoraux*, 31 mai 2024.

« Les incidents d'agression, voire de meurtre, perpétrés par ces milices soulèvent de vives critiques et interrogations sur la montée de l'extrémisme et du nationalisme en Inde. Les vidéos montrant ces actes de violence circulent sur les réseaux sociaux et suscitent l'indignation. **Certains candidats politiques, notamment du BJP, parti nationaliste au pouvoir, n'hésitent pas à soutenir ouvertement ces milices, louant leurs actions et renforçant ainsi les clivages au sein de la société indienne** ».

Source : Emmanuel Derville, Le Journal du dimanche, *Inde : comment le Premier ministre Modi instrumentalise la vache sacrée*, 2021.

« **Les associations de défense de la vache** diffusent ces idées depuis des décennies, mais elles le faisaient seules jusqu'à présent. Aujourd'hui, elles **sont soutenues par les pouvoirs publics**", pointe Charu Gupta, historienne à l'université de Delhi. Voilà qui est **très révélateur du projet politique de la droite hindoue** ».

Source : Sushmita Pathak, National Geographic, *Ils sont cinq millions, ils détruisent tout... mais ils sont sacrés*, 6 avril 2023.

« **Vallabh Kathiria, homme politique du parti Bharatiya Janata Party, actuellement au pouvoir en Inde**, et ancien président d'une agence gouvernementale chargée de promouvoir et de protéger les bovins, a déclaré à *National Geographic* qu'il envisageait un avenir dans lequel **“les personnes qui croiseraient un bovin errant dans la rue se sentiraient comme si elles avaient trouvé une mine d'or”**. Selon lui, **la clef est de changer la perception des gens à l'égard du bétail errant, ne le voyant plus comme un fardeau mais une opportunité** ».

Source : Munsif News 24x7, *MLA Raja Singh asks police to not stop cow vigilantes*, 30 May 2024.

“**BJP MLA Raja Singh** today challenged police to stop him from stopping the transportation of cows for their slaughter for the upcoming Bakrid festival. [...] **‘Hindu activists, who were preventing the movement and killing of the cows, should be provided security without disturbing the law and order situation**, [and] I will go directly into the field to stop cow slaughter,’ he said”.

Source : Juliette Gache, Les Observateurs, *En Inde, les milices de protection des vaches au coeur des législatives*, 31 avril 2024.

« Notre expert de l'Indian Hate Lab a vu le capital politique de ces milices grandir d'année en année. Dans notre vidéo, il explique notamment : **“La ‘protection des vaches’ est devenue un tremplin permettant aux leaders nationalistes hindous de gravir les échelons en politique. Pendant ces élections, des sujets comme l'abattage à domicile et la consommation de viande de bœuf sont fréquemment évoqués par les principaux dirigeants du BJP, ce qui encourage directement les ‘protecteurs’ des vaches”** ».

4.2. Le durcissement des législations contre l'abattage des vaches en Inde

Le durcissement des lois contre l'abattage des vaches en Inde est notable dans les États dirigés par le BJP, comme le Gujarat, l'Haryana et l'Uttar Pradesh. Ces législations strictes interdisent l'abattage des vaches et imposent de lourdes sanctions, incluant amendes et peines de prison. D'autres États, comme **le Telangana**, ont également **renforcé leurs réglementations, interdisant l'abattage de vaches et de veaux, avec des sanctions pénales**.

4.2.1. Le durcissement des législations contre l'abattage des vaches dans les États gouvernés par le BJP

Source : Mathieu Ferry, La Vie des idées, *Le terrorisme de la vache*, 2017.

« **Certains États contrôlés par le Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)**, tels que le Gujarat, l'Haryana et l'Uttar Pradesh (dans le Nord de l'Inde) **ont renforcé leurs législations contre l'abattage de vaches au cours des dernières années**. Dans le Gujarat, **l'abattage peut maintenant conduire à la prison à vie**. Dans l'Haryana, les **peines d'emprisonnement s'échelonnent de trois à dix ans**, avec une amende pouvant aller jusqu'à 1 lakh (100 000 roupies, soit plus de 1300 euros), tout en **interdisant la commercialisation de bœuf**. Dans l'Uttar Pradesh, le nouveau ministre en chef Yogi Adityanath, à peine élu au printemps 2017, a fait fermer tous les abattoirs illégaux dans l'État et a mis en place un service d'ambulance dédiée aux vaches accidentées sur la route. Au Maharashtra, dirigé par le Shiv Sena, un parti nationaliste marathi, une loi rentrée en vigueur la même année **renforce également les peines pour l'abattage de vaches, et étend l'interdiction de l'abattage aux taureaux**. Régulièrement, **des personnalités politiques du BJP et de ses affiliés prennent position pour des peines allant jusqu'à la peine de mort** ».

Source : Human Rights Watch, *Inde : Attaques contre des minorités sous prétexte de "protection de vaches"*, 2019.

« Mais ces dernières années, **plusieurs États dirigés par le BJP ont adopté des lois et des politiques encore plus strictes** qui nuisent de manière disproportionnée aux communautés minoritaires. En février 2019, le gouvernement a annoncé **la création d'une commission nationale pour la protection des vaches** ».

Source : Siddarth Petare, The Maps Daily, *Cattle Slaughter Law in India*, 3rd May 2023.

“Cattle slaughter is a sensitive and controversial issue in India, and it is banned in many states of the country. **The Indian Constitution allows for the slaughter of cows that are not considered useful for milk production or agricultural purposes, but many Hindu nationalists consider cow slaughter to be a sacrilege and have pushed for a complete ban on it. The legality of cattle slaughter varies by state in India.** In some states, such as Kerala, cow slaughter is legal and is a part of the local food culture. However, in other states, such as Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Gujarat, there are strict laws against cow slaughter, and those caught violating these laws can face heavy fines and imprisonment”.

Source : Valentine Dravigny, HAL, *Contexte de l'élevage bovin en Inde et zoonoses associées*, 29 janvier 2024.

« Il n'y a **pas de lois au niveau national interdisant clairement l'abattage des bovins en Inde**. L'article 48 de la Constitution de l'Inde constitue une ligne directrice pour les états fédérés sur la façon d'organiser l'agriculture et indique clairement la volonté de protéger les bovins, et les vaches en particulier.

Source : Assemblée constituante indienne, *भारत का संविधान*, 1949, – *La Constitution de l'Inde*.

Source traduction : Valentine Dravigny, HAL, *Contexte de l'élevage bovin en Inde et zoonoses associées*, 29 janvier 2024.

« राज्य, कृषि और पशुपालन को आधुनिक और वैज्ञानिक प्रणालियों से संगठित करने का प्रयास करेगा और विशिष्टता गायों और बछड़ों तथा अन्य दुधारू और वाहक पशुओं की नस्लों के परिक्षण और सुधार के लिए और उनके वध प्रतिषेध करने के लिये कदम उठाएगा। »

« L'État s'efforcera d'organiser l'agriculture et l'élevage selon des méthodes modernes et scientifiques et prendra en particulier des mesures pour préserver et améliorer les races, et **interdire l'abattage des vaches et des veaux et des autres bovins laitiers et de trait** ».

Source : Valentine Dravigny, HAL, *Contexte de l'élevage bovin en Inde et zoonoses associées*, 29 janvier 2024.

La loi est bien plus stricte dans les états du nord-ouest. Par ailleurs, **depuis l'arrivée au pouvoir du BJP, la législation a été durcie dans les [É]tats qu'il contrôle [et] peut se doubler souvent de l'interdiction de la vente, de l'achat et du transport de la viande de bœuf** ».

Source : DC Correspondant, Deccan Chronicle, *Man accused of cow slaughter injured in police encounter*, 14 November 2024.

“A man accused of cow slaughter was injured in a police encounter in Mawana area of Meerut when he attempted to flee, an official said on Thursday. The incident occurred on Wednesday. Police were recovering equipment used for slaughtering cows from Amir when he tried to snatch the pistol of a sub-inspector in a bid to escape, Rajesh Kumar Kamboj, Station House Officer of Mawana police station said.”

Source : The Siasat Daily, *Will order to shoot cow smugglers : Karnataka Minister*, 4 février 2025.

“Amid cow theft cases in Uttara Kannada district, **District in-charge Minister Mankal S Vaidya has warned that those indulging in such activities would be shot at in the open.** [...] Arrests have been made (in some cases) – if such things continue – it may be wrong if I say this. **I will ensure that they (accused) are shot on the road or at the circle.** Work, earn and eat. There are enough jobs available in our district. We won't support such people at any cost,” he added. [...] “...If we support such activities, how do FIRs and arrests happen? We are not sitting quiet, department (police) is taking action to control it, the government is there. I'm here, all action is being taken. **Neither the government, nor the Chief Minister or Home Minister will support anyone on this issue. We will work to protect those rearing cows, there is no need to fear,**” he said”.

4.2.2. Le durcissement des législations contre l'abattage des vaches dans l'État du Telangana

Source : Michigan University, Animal Legal and Historical Center, *The Telangana Animals and Birds Sacrifices Prohibition Act, 1950*, 2022.

“The Act, specific to the South Indian state of Telangana, **prohibits animal and bird sacrifice at places of public religious worship or in congregations associated with religious worship in a public street**. Persons sacrificing animals can be imprisoned under this law. The law also prohibits persons from officiating at such animal sacrifices. Such persons can be fined. **Animal sacrifice or officiating at an animal sacrifice is a cognizable offence—the accused can be arrested without a warrant**”.

Source : Mahabubabad District, Gouvernement of Telangana, *The Telangana Prohibition of Cow Slaughter and Animal Preservation Act, 1977*.

“5. Notwithstanding anything in any other law for the time being in force or any custom or usage to the contrary, **no person shall slaughter or cause to be slaughtered, or offer or cause to be offered for slaughter or otherwise intentionally, kill or offer or cause to be offered for killing, any cow or calf, whether male or female, of a she-buffaloe**. [...]

6. (1) Notwithstanding anything in any other law for the time being in force or any custom or usage to the contrary, no person shall slaughter or cause to be slaughtered or offer or cause to be offered for slaughter **any animal other than a calf, whether male or female, of a she-buffaloe, unless he has obtained in respect of such animal a certificate in writing from the competent authority appointed for the area that the animal is fit for slaughter**. [...]

10. Whoever contravenes any of the provisions of this Act, shall on conviction, **be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both**.”

Source : Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides, *Inde : La sacralisation de la vache : conséquences politiques et sociétales : La législation et les règlements concernant l'abattage des bovins ; Montée du fanatisme hindou et les conséquences des restrictions légales sur l'économie et la société*, 2017.

« **Dans l'Etat de Telangana**, issu en 2014 d'une scission avec l'Andhra Pradesh, et dont la capitale est l'ancienne principauté musulmane de Hyderabad, ainsi que dans l'Etat d'Andhra Pradesh, **l'abattage de la vache et du veau est interdit. Les bœufs peuvent être abattus après obtention d'un certificat 'apte pour l'abattage' délivré si l'animal n'est plus apte pour l'élevage ou l'agriculture**. La violation de cette loi est passible de six mois d'emprisonnement et/ou d'une amende de 1 000 roupies [14 €] ».

Source : The Times of India, *Cow protection top priority : Telangana MLA*, 2020.

“Hyderabad : BJP MLA T Raja Singh raised the cow protection issue again, saying he would not hesitate to quit the party. He said cow protection is his top priority and more important than the interests of the party. **Addressing a dharna camp on cow protection, he demanded that cow be declared as a national animal, and said he is ready to fight on the issue.**”

Source : Human Rights Watch, *India: Government policies, actions target minorities*, 19 February 2021.

“New legal provisions make cow slaughter a cognizable, non-bailable offense, putting the burden of proof on the accused in **violation of the right to be presumed innocent.**”

Source : ABN, *అక్రమంగా తరలిస్తున్న పశువులు పట్టివేత*, 14 novembre 2024 - [Traduction non-officielle], *Animaux transportés illégalement saisis*.

« పశువులను అక్రమంగా తరలిస్తున్న వాహనాన్ని పట్టుకుని సీజ్ చేసినట్లు ఘట్ కేసర్ సీఐ పరశురాం తెలిపారు. వివరాల్లోకి వెళ్తే [...] వాణా సమయంలో వెలుతురు, గాలి, నీరు లేక నాలుగు ఆవులు, ఒక ఎద్దు మృత్యువాతపడ్డాయి. విషయం తెలుసుకున్న గౌరక్షదల్, బజరంగదళ్ అక్కడికి ఆవులను కబేళాలకు తరలిస్తున్న నిందితులను శిక్షించాలని కోరారు. ఆవులను జియాగుడలోని కామధేను గోశాలకు తరలించారు. ఈ మేరకు కేసు నమోదు చేసుకొని దర్యాప్తు చేస్తున్నట్లు సీఐ తెలిపారు ».

« Le CI [Circle Inspector, grade de police] de Ghatkesar, Parashuram, a informé que **le véhicule transportant des animaux illégalement avait été saisi.** [...] Après avoir pris connaissance de l'incident, **les membres de Gauraksha Dal et Bajrang Dal ont demandé que les responsables du transport des animaux soient punis.** Les vaches ont été transférées à la ferme de vaches Kamadhenu à Jiyaguda. Une plainte a été enregistrée et l'enquête est en cours, selon le CI ».

4.3. La sauvegarde des vaches, comme prétexte à la persécution des communautés musulmanes

Le « **vigilantisme de la vache** » en Inde **persécute les musulmans**, porté par le nationalisme hindou et le BJP. **Sous prétexte de protéger les bovins sacrés, des milices attaquent ceux accusés de consommer ou transporter du bœuf.** Ces violences, du lynchage au meurtre, restent impunies grâce à la complicité des autorités. Au-delà des États du BJP, **le phénomène s'étend, notamment au Telangana, aggravant la polarisation communautaire.**

4.3.1. Des attaques ciblées contre des musulmans transportant des bœufs ou les consommant

Source : Sciences et avenir, *Les maisons de retraites pour vaches sacrées débordées en Inde*, 2015.

« Mohammed Ali Qureshi, président de l'association des vendeurs de bovins de la région de Bombay, estime lui qu'un millier de boucheries ont dû fermer et que les ventes ont reculé de 75% en trois mois. **Il affirme que la nouvelle loi s'en prend injustement aux musulmans** : “la communauté des bouchers est musulmane à 99%. Ils sont bouchers depuis des générations et ne savent faire qu'une chose, tailler la viande. Ils n'ont aucune autre qualification et ne savent pas quoi faire d'autre. L'Etat n'a prévu aucun plan de reconversion” ».

Source : Human Rights Watch, *Inde : Attaques contre des minorités sous prétexte de “protection de vaches”*, 2019.

« Entre mai 2015 et décembre 2018, au moins 44 personnes - dont **36 musulmans - ont été tuées lors de telles attaques** [...] **Les attaques**, souvent perpétrées par des groupes revendiquant des liens avec des milices informelles proches du BJP, **visent principalement les communautés musulmanes**, ainsi que les Dalits (autrefois appelés « intouchables ») ou les Adivasis (peuples autochtones) ».

Source : Amnesty International, *India : Government should promptly adopt and act on the recommendations made at UN Rights Review*, 2022.

“Indian states have used laws against cow slaughter **to prosecute Muslim cattle traders even as BJP-affiliated groups attack Muslims and Dalits on rumors that they killed or traded cows for beef**”.

Source : Munsif News 24x7, *Right-wing group members slaughter cow to frame Muslims, spur hostility*, 15 April 2023.

“**Uttar Pradesh Police arrested four members of a right-wing Hindu group** on Wednesday on the charges of cow slaughtering near the city of Agra **in order to frame some Muslims in the case. They apparently tried to spur hostility toward Muslims** [...] However, police investigation revealed that the four Muslims were not involved with the case. **Police found out that Sanjay Jat, an AIHM spokesperson, had hatched the conspiracy to slaughter the cow.** The police, On April 8, announced that the four Muslims were innocent. Police further declared that the Hindu activists were the culprits and would be arrested”.

Source : Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2024 - India*, 29 February 2024.

“While Hindus make up about 80 percent of the population, the Indian state is formally secular, and freedom of religion is constitutionally guaranteed. However, **a number of Hindu nationalist organizations and some media outlets promote anti-Muslim views, a practice that the Modi government has been accused of encouraging. Attacks against Muslims and others in**

connection with the alleged slaughter or mistreatment of cows, which are held to be sacred by Hindus, continued in 2023”.

Source : USDOS - US Department of State, *2023 Country Report on Human Rights Practices : India*, 23 April 2024.

“There were **credible reports of militant groups killing Muslims and Dalits for transporting or slaughtering cattle**. [...] **On February 16, Haryana police found the bodies of two men** in a burned-out car in Bhiwani District, whom they subsequently identified as Mohammad Junaid and Mohammad Nasir, two **Muslim men** from Rajasthan’s Bharatpur District. According to media reports and the men’s relatives, Junaid and Nasir were **accused of cow smuggling while visiting a relative in Haryana and their car was allegedly stopped by members of a cow vigilante group**. Members of the vigilante group allegedly beat the two men and attempted to take them to two different police stations but were turned away. According to the police report, **members of the vigilante group then drove the men nearly 100 miles away and set fire to their car while the two men were still inside**. As of August, 10 individuals had been arrested for their involvement in the incident”.

Source : Radio France International, *Inde : consternation après le lynchage d’un adolescent soupçonné d’avoir mangé du boeuf*, 3 septembre 2024.

« Sylvia Karpagam, nutritionniste engagée contre les violences liées à l’alimentation, revient pour RFI sur ces lynchages qui se comptent par centaines ces dernières années : « **Ce sont le plus souvent des musulmans qui sont traqués lors de ces assassinats horribles. Rien ne peut justifier de lyncher publiquement ainsi. Des raisons ridicules, parfois de simples soupçons sont utilisés pour légitimer ces violences. La société indienne doit évoluer et arrêter de désigner les meurtriers comme des protecteurs des vaches.** » Quelques jours plus tôt, **un travailleur pauvre musulman avait été battu à mort dans l’Haryana à partir des mêmes rumeurs**. Le dirigeant de cet État, du parti nationaliste hindou du Premier ministre Narendra Modi, avait alors affirmé que la colère des villageois était compréhensible ».

Source : Vittoria Elliott, Wired, *‘Cow Vigilantes’ in India Are Attacking Muslims and Posting It on Instagram*, 19 November 2024.

“On August 27, Sabir Malik, a migrant worker in the Indian state of Haryana, was lured from his home and beaten to death by a mob of at least 10 Hindu men. **They suspected that Malik, a Muslim, had eaten beef**. Lab tests run by local police would later find that he hadn’t. But it didn’t matter: **The attack was led by ‘cow vigilantes,’** the name for Hindu nationalist militias and mobs that take it upon themselves to violently enforce Hindu supremacy on India’s minority communities, particularly Muslims”.

4.3.2. La pratique du “vigilantisme” dans l’Etat du T langana

Source : The News Minute, *Cow protection vigilantes thrive under BRS rule in Telangana*, 28 June 2023.

“There has been a **slew of incidents over the years where Hindutva vigilantes have harassed and attacked Muslim cattle transporters, often with the assistance of the police**. This in a state where an avowedly secular Bharat Rashtra Samithi (BRS) is in power with informal support from the All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIM). Interestingly, attacks by cow vigilantes have gone up by all accounts ever since the BRS and its informal ally, the AIMIM, came to call the shots in the newly formed state in 2014. This year, things have come to such a pass that **a Muslim vigilante had to threaten a counterattack for the police to finally protect hapless traders from the cow protectors**”.

4.4. La protection relative de la part des autorit s indiennes

En Inde, **les violences li es   la protection des vaches sont tol r es par le BJP et ses alli es**. Des figures influentes l gitiment ces milices, qui ciblent les musulmans sur de simples rumeurs. Malgr  une injonction de la Cour supr me en 2018, **la police tarde   agir et collabore parfois**. Certaines organisations sont m me int gr es   des instances officielles, renfor ant leur l gitimit . **L’impunit  domine, aggravant la peur des minorit s et la polarisation sociale**.

4.4.1. La l gitimation des attaques perp tr es par les associations de sauvegarde des vaches par le parti majoritaire BJP

Source : Anurag Dey, Catch News, *RSS chief Mohan Bhagwat’s message to Gau Rakshaks : ‘Don’t worry about SC & govt’*, 2017.

“**Mohan Bhagwat**, the Sarsanghchalak of the **Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh**, virtually **gave a free hand to Gau Rakshaks, absolving them from any blame of being involved in violence**. Delivering his annual Vijayadashmi address, Bhagwat said **cow-protectors should not worry about statements by the government or the Supreme Court which has called for curbing rise in cow vigilantism**”.

Source : Munsif News 24x7, *MLA Raja Singh asks police to not stop cow vigilantes*, 30 May 2024.

“**Raja Singh [BJP MLA]** challenged the police to stop him if they can. ‘**Muslims are threatening to shoot the Hindu activists with bullets if they stop the cow slaughter. Let’s see whose bullet will land on whom,**’ he said”.

Source : Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2024 - India*, 29 February 2024.

“The **BJP** has faced criticism **for failing to mount an adequate response to cow-related violence**”.

Source : Juliette Gache, Les Observateurs, *En Inde, les milices de protection des vaches au coeur des législatives*, 31 avril 2024.

« Des hommes se filment en train d’agresser, et parfois de tuer, les transporteurs de bétail, majoritairement musulmans. Ils les accusent de faire du trafic de cet animal sacré dans la religion hindouiste. **Et des candidats du parti nationaliste au pouvoir, le BJP, n’hésitent pas à vanter leurs actions** ».

Source : Radio France International, *Inde : consternation après le lynchage d’un adolescent soupçonné d’avoir mangé du boeuf*, 3 septembre 2024.

« Quelques jours plus tôt, un travailleur pauvre musulman avait été battu à mort dans l’Haryana à partir des mêmes rumeurs. **Le dirigeant de cet État, du parti nationaliste hindou du Premier ministre Narendra Modi, avait alors affirmé que la colère des villageois était compréhensible** ».

4.4.2. L’existence relative de poursuites contre les attaques perpétrées par les associations de sauvegarde des vaches

Source : Sciences et avenir, *Les maisons de retraites pour vaches sacrées débordées en Inde*, 2015.

« L’impunité avec laquelle s’opère le vigilantisme de la vache ne relève pas seulement d’une inefficacité de l’Etat de droit, qui ne parviendrait pas à conserver le “monopole de la violence légitime”. Le vigilantisme de la vache correspond surtout à une situation de “décharge” de la violence d’Etat vers des acteurs privés, pour faire respecter des normes juridiques et morales (sans le coût gestionnaire étatique). Ainsi, **les forces de police fonctionnent tacitement, voire officiellement, en collaboration avec les milices. Le Gau Raksha Dal assiste depuis 2016 les forces de police en Haryana**, Etat gouverné par le BJP, et le président régional de cette organisation siège au conseil de la Gau Seva Ayog (Commission du Service de la Vache), une commission publique en charge de la protection des vaches. En **Uttar Pradesh, lorsque Yogi Adityanath a été nommé Ministre en chef par le BJP en mars 2017, il a fait fermer les abattoirs et boucheries par la police**. Or cette dernière a été aidée par les militants de sa propre organisation, la *Hindu Yuva Vahini* ».

Source : Human Rights Watch, *Inde : Attaques contre des minorités sous prétexte de “protection de vaches”*, 2019.

« En juillet 2018, la **Cour suprême de l’Inde** a émis une série de directives **ordonnant la prise de mesures “préventives, réparatrices et punitives” face au problème du “lynchage”**. La Cour a **ordonné aux gouvernements des États de désigner un haut responsable de la police dans chaque district afin d’empêcher des actes de violence populaire, de veiller à ce que la police agisse rapidement contre les agresseurs et de protéger les victimes et les témoins** ».

Source : Human Rights Watch, *Inde : Attaques contre des minorités sous prétexte de “protection de vaches”*, 2019.

« **La police a souvent tardé à mener les enquêtes requises pour l’ouverture de poursuites judiciaires**, et dans plusieurs cas des membres du BJP ont publiquement justifié les attaques ».

Source : Munsif News 24x7, *Breaking News : Hyderabad Police Warns Activists against taking law into hands*, 2022.

“**Hyderabad Police Commissioner C.V. Anand on Wednesday asked animal activists and Hindu organisations not to chase vehicles carrying cattle for sacrifice on Bakrid.** During a meeting with them, he appealed to them not to indulge in tailgating cattle carrying vehicles and restrain from intervening at the check posts. **‘No one will be allowed to take law into their hands. Any scuffles between the groups can affect communal harmony,’** the Commissioner of Police said”.

Source : Munsif News 24x7, *Right-wing group members slaughter cow to frame Muslims, spur hostility*, 15 April 2023.

“**Uttar Pradesh Police arrested four members of a right-wing Hindu group** on Wednesday on the charges of cow slaughtering near the city of Agra **in order to frame some Muslims in the case. They apparently tried to spur hostility toward Muslims [...]** However, police investigation revealed that the four Muslims were not involved with the case. **Police found out that Sanjay Jat, an AIHM spokesperson, had hatched the conspiracy to slaughter the cow.** The police, On April 8, announced that the four Muslims were innocent. Police further declared that the Hindu activists were the culprits and would be arrested”.

Source : USDOS - US Department of State, *2023 Country Report on Human Rights Practices : India*, 23 April 2024.

“According to media reports and the men’s relatives, Junaid and Nasir were accused of cow smuggling while visiting a relative in Haryana and their car was allegedly stopped by members of a cow vigilante group. **Members of the vigilante group allegedly beat the two men and attempted to take them to two different police stations but were turned away.** According to the police report, members of the vigilante group then drove the men nearly 100 miles away and set fire to their car while the two men were still inside. **As of August, 10 individuals had been arrested for their involvement in the incident”.**

Source : The News Minute, *Cow protection vigilantes thrive under BRS rule in Telangana*, 28 June 2023.

“Despite the tense situation, the AIMIM, headed by Hyderabad MP Asaduddin Owaisi, has barely made a statement. In 2021 however, **Owaisi had written a letter to the then Director General of Police (DGP) M Mahender Reddy asking him to curb the ‘alarming situation’ of cow vigilantism in the state before Bakrid.** The AIMIM’s lukewarm response to the issue,

perhaps owing to its delicate ties with the ruling BRS, has clearly vacated a political position that Amjed Ullah Khan's MBT is trying to occupy".

Source : Chandigarh, The Hindu, *Haryana mob lynching : Meat sample from migrant worker's house not beef, says police*, 26 October 2024.

“On August 27, suspecting that Malik had eaten beef, the accused had allegedly called him to a shop under the pretense of selling empty plastic bottles and then beat him. When some people tried to intervene, they allegedly took him to another place and thrashed him again, according to police. **A case under relevant provisions of the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS) has been registered against the accused, police said**".

Source : The Tribune, *Palwal man killed in vigilante attack, police launch hunt for accused*, 28 January 2025

“Following Yusuf's death, his family brought his body back to the village and staged a protest, blocking traffic and demanding immediate action against the culprits. The police persuaded them to cremate the body after assuring them of strict action. ‘It is claimed that both victims had no enmity with anyone and were beaten purely on suspicion of smuggling cattle by individuals who identified themselves as cow vigilantes,’ Sources said. **A police spokesperson said, ‘We have registered a case and launched a manhunt to apprehend the accused.’ The investigation is ongoing and authorities are working to bring the culprits to justice**".

Sources consultées

Toutes les sources ont été consultées en février 2025.

1. Textes de lois

- **Assemblée constituante indienne**, *भारत का संविधान*, 1949.
<https://cdnbbsr.s3waas.gov.in/s380537a945c7aaa788ccfcdf1b99b5d8f/uploads/2024/07/20240716890312078.pdf>
- **Parliament of India**, *The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act*, 1967.
<https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/A1967-37.pdf>
- **Parliament of India**, *The National Security Act*, 1980.
https://xn--i1b5bzbybhfo5c8b4bxh.xn--11b7cb3a6a.xn--h2brj9c/sites/default/files/ISdivII_NSAAct1980_20122018.pdf

2. Organisations gouvernementales et internationales

- **Comité des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies**, *Joint NGO Alternative Report on the Situation of Civil and Political Rights in India*, 31 May 2024.
<https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2110882.html>
- **Comité des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies**, *Observations finales concernant le quatrième rapport périodique de l'Inde*, 2 septembre 2024.
<https://www.ohchr.org/fr/documents/concluding-observations/ccprcindco4-concluding-observations-fourth-periodic-report-india>
- **Conseil des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies**, *Inde : Résumé des communications des parties prenantes*, 7-18 novembre 2022.
<https://docs.un.org/fr/A/HRC/WG.6/41/IND/3>
- **Conseil des droits de l'Homme des Nations Unies**, *Inde : Résumé des communications des parties prenantes*, 1^{er}-12 mai 2017.
<https://www.refworld.org/reference/countryrep/unhrc/2017/en/116696>
- **Mahabubabad District, Government of Telangana**, *The Telangana Prohibition of Cow Slaughter and Animal Preservation Act*, 1977.
<https://cdn.s3waas.gov.in/s3a3f390d88e4c41f2747bfa2f1b5f87db/uploads/2020/07/2020070784.pdf>
- **Narendra Modi**. In, *तेलंगाणा को कुशासन से छुटकारा दिलाने बीजेपी को ज्यादा से ज्यादा प्रतिनिधित्व दें: महबूबनगर में पीएम मोदी*, May 10 2024.

<https://www.narendramodi.in/hi/text-of-prime-minister-narendra-modis-speech-at-public-meeting-in-mahabubnagar-telangana--582281>

- **Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides**, *Inde : La sacralisation de la vache : conséquences politiques et sociétales : La législation et les règlements concernant l'abattage des bovins ; Montée du fanatisme hindou et les conséquences des restrictions légales sur l'économie et la société*, 2017.
https://www.ofpra.gouv.fr/libraries/pdf.js/web/viewer.html?file=/sites/default/files/ofpra_flora/1705_ind_la_sacralisation_de_la_vache.pdf
- **USDOS - US Department of State**, 2023 Country Report on Human Rights Practices : India, 23 April 2024.
<https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/india/>
- **US Commission on International Religious Freedom**, Country update: India, October 2024.
<https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/2024-10/2024%20India%20Country%20Update.pdf>

3. **ONG, Think Tanks**

- **Project 39A**, *Death Penalty India Report*, 2016.
<https://www.project39a.com/dpir>
- **Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative**, *Then things you should know about Indian prisons*, 2019.
<https://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/download/1599195839CHRI%20Analysis%20of%20PSI%202019.pdf>
- **Human Rights Watch**, *India: Vigilante 'Cow Protection' Groups Attack Minorities*, 2019.
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/02/19/india-vigilante-cow-protection-groups-attack-minorities>
- **Amnesty international**, *Designed to exclude: How India's courts are allowing foreigners tribunals to render people stateless in Assam*, 2019.
https://www.amnesty.be/IMG/pdf/rapport_inde.pdf
- **Human Rights Watch**, *India: Government Policies, Actions Target Minorities*, 2021.
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/02/19/india-government-policies-actions-target-minorities>
- **Article 14**, *Why The Percentage of Muslim Prisoners in India's Jails Is Disproportionate to Their Population in India*, 2022.
<https://article-14.com/post/why-the-percentage-of-muslim-prisoners-in-india-s-jails-is-disproportionate-to-their-population-in-india--6230001268058>

- **Amnesty International**, *India : Government should promptly adopt and act on the recommendations made at UN Rights Review*, 2022.
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/11/india-government-should-promptly-adopt-and-act-on-the-recommendations-made-at-un-rights-review/>
- **Human Rights Watch**, *India: Surge in Summary Punishments of Muslims*, 7 octobre 2022.
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/10/07/india-surge-summary-punishments-muslims>
- **Pulitzer Center**, *Women Struggle While Men Die in Custody in India's Uttar Pradesh*, 14 juin 2023
<https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/women-struggle-while-men-die-custody-indias-uttar-pradesh>
- **People's Union for Civil Liberties**, *Closing the Gates to Education: A Study on the Discrimination Against Muslim Students in Karnataka*, 2022.
https://pucl.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/PUCL-K_Closing-the-Gates-to-Education_Feb42023.pdf
- **Human Rights Watch**, *India: Violence Marks Ram Temple Inauguration*, January 31 2024.
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/01/31/india-violence-marks-ram-temple-inauguration>
- **Amnesty International**, *JCB must say no to bulldozer injustice in India*, 7 February 2024
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/petition/jcb-must-say-no-to-bulldozer-injustice-in-india/>
- **Human Rights Watch**, *India: Laws misused to crack down on peaceful dissent*, 8 février 2024.
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/02/08/india-laws-misused-crack-down-peaceful-dissent>
- **Amnesty International**, *"If you speak up, your house will be demolished": Bulldozer injustice in India*, February 7, 2024.
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/7613/2024/en/>
- **Freedom House**, *Freedom in the World 2024 - India*, 29 février 2024.
https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2024-02/FIW_2024_DigitalBooklet.pdf
- **Council on Foreign Relations**, *India's Muslims: An Increasingly Marginalized Population*, 18 mars 2024. <https://www.cfr.org/background/india-muslims-marginalized-population-bjp-modi#chapter-title-0-7>
- **Amnesty International**, *The state of the world's human rights*, avril 2024.
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol10/7200/2024/en/>

- **Humans Rights Watch**, *India: Hate Speech Fueled Modi's Election Campaign*, August 14 2024. <https://www.thenewsminute.com/tehrangana/muslim-mans-shop-set-on-fire-provocative-slogans-raised-by-mob-in-tehrangana>
- **The Indian American Muslim Council**, *Daily Roundup*, 27 novembre 2024. <https://iamc.com/muslim-man-dies-in-custody-amid-police-claims-of-cow-smuggling-family-alleges-brutality/>
- **Refugees International**, *A Lifetime in Detention: Rohingya Refugees in India*, December 16, 2024. <https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports-briefs/a-lifetime-in-detention-rohingya-refugees-in-india/>
- **Chatam House**, *Democracy in India*, 18 December 2024. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/04/democracy-india>
- **The Indian American Muslim Council**, *Daily Roundup*, 3 janvier 2025. <https://iamc.com/cow-vigilantes-associated-with-the-bjp-assault-muslim-cattle-trader-in-tehrangana/>
- **The Indian American Muslim Council**, *Daily Roundup*, 29 January 2025. <https://iamc.com/muslim-man-beaten-to-death-over-cow-smuggling-suspicion-in-haryana/>
- **The World Organization Against Torture**, *India: Daud Seikh's death in police custody highlights police torture*, 31 May 2024. <https://www.omct.org/en/reSources/statements/india-daud-seikhs-death-in-police-custody-highlights-police-torture>
- **Minority Rights Group International**, Muslims. <https://minorityrights.org/communities/muslims-2/>

4. Articles scientifiques

- **M. Bruckert**, *Protéger et abattre les bovins au pays de la « vache sacrée » : usages symboliques, politiques et économiques des vaches et des buffles dans l'Inde contemporaine*, 2018. <http://sciencepress.mnhn.fr/en/periodiques/anthropozoologica/53/18>
- **M. Ferry**, *En Inde, des attaques contre les minorités au nom de la vache sacrée*, 2019. <https://www.sciencespo.fr/ceri/fr/oir/en-inde-des-attaques-contre-les-minorites-au-nom-de-la-vache-sacree>
- **A. Mohammed-Arif**, *Les musulmans en Inde: une minorité pas comme les autres*, 2021. <https://shs.cairn.info/magazine-questions-internationales-2021-2-page-84?lang=fr>

- **A. Rizwan**, *Hate, bigotry, and discrimination against muslims: Urdu during the Hindutva Rule*, 2020.
[10.4324/9780429325878-10](https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429325878-10)
- **Centre for Human Rights, University of the Free State**, *Report of the panel of independent international experts to examine information about alleged violations of international law committed against muslims in India since July 2019*, 2022.
<https://piieindia.org/read-the-full-report/>
- **D. Kalita**, *Poverty and Prejudice*, “Religion, Caste and Marginality: Reflections on the Indian Criminal Justice and Prison System”, 2023.
<https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/display/book/9781529229066/ch036.xml>
- **V. Dravigny**, *Contexte de l'élevage bovin en Inde et zoonoses associées*, 29 janvier 2024.
<https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-04423762v1>

5. Médias

- **Sciences et avenir**, *Les maisons de retraites pour vaches sacrées débordées en Inde*, 2015.
https://www.sciencesetavenir.fr/animaux/les-maisons-de-retraites-pour-vaches-sacrees-debordees-en-inde_16749
- **Catch News**, *RSS chief Mohan Bhagwat's message to Gau Rakshaks : 'Don't worry about SC & govt'*, 2017.
<https://www.catchnews.com/politics-news/rss-chief-mohan-bhagwat-s-message-to-gau-rakshaks-don-t-worry-about-sc-govt-83778.html>
- **La Vie des idées**, *Le terrorisme de la vache*, 2017.
<https://laviedesidees.fr/Le-terrorisme-de-la-vache>
- **BBC**, *What happens to India's four million 'stateless' people?*, 30 juillet 2018.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-45002670>
- **Kashmir Pen**, *Discrimination Against Urdu by Delhi based Schools*, 4 avril 2019.
<https://www.kashmirpen.in/discrimination-against-urdu-by-delhi-based-schools/>
- **BBC**, *India election 2019: Echoes of Trump in Modi's border politics*, 21 mai 2019.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-48334689>
- **The Times of India**, *Cow protection top priority : Telangana MLA*, 2020.
<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/hyderabad/cow-protection-top-priority-raja-singh/articleshow/79846317.cms>
- **The Wire**, *From Segregation to Labour, Manu's Caste Law Governs the Indian Prison System*, 2020.

<https://cms.thewire.in/politics/rights/india-prisons-caste-labour-segregation>

- **Le Journal du dimanche**, *Inde : comment le Premier ministre Modi instrumentalise la vache sacrée*, 2021.
<https://www.lejdd.fr/International/inde-comment-le-president-modi-instrumentalise-la-vache-sacree-4026795>
- **The Hindu**, *The state of Indian prisons*, 2021.
<https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/the-state-of-indian-prisons/article62109586.ece>
- **The Guardian**, *India's police stations are human rights threat, says chief justice*, 2021.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/aug/10/india-police-stations-human-rights-threat-chief-justice>
- **Munsif News 24x7**, *Breaking News : Hyderabad Police Warns Activists against taking law into hands*, 2022.
<https://munsifdaily.com/breaking-news-hyderabad-police-warns-activists-against-taking-law-into-hands/>
- **The Siasat Daily**, *Hindu youth harass hijab-clad Muslim students in Mangalore*, 2022.
<https://www.siasat.com/hindu-youth-harass-hijab-clad-muslim-students-in-mangalore-2285352/>
- **Anadolu Agency**, *Job discrimination against Indian Muslims rises by 9% in 16 years: Report*, 2022.
<https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/job-discrimination-against-indian-muslims-rises-by-9-in-16-years-report/2686269>
- **Madhyamam**, *Kannada & Hindu activists protest against Urdu in signboard*, 2022.
<https://madhyamamonline.com/kannada-hindu-activists-protest-urdu-on-signboard>
- **National Geographic**, *Ils sont cinq millions, ils détruisent tout... mais ils sont sacrés*, 6 April 2023.
<https://www.nationalgeographic.fr/animaux/ils-sont-cinq-millions-ils-detruisent-tout-mais-ils-sont-sacres>
- **Munsif News 24x7**, *Right-wing group members slaughter cow to frame Muslims, spur hostility*, 15 April 2023.
<https://munsifdaily.com/right-wing-group-members-slaughter-cow-to-frame-muslims-spur-hostility/>
- **The Maps Daily**, *Cattle Slaughter Law in India*, 3rd May 2023.
<https://www.instagram.com/themapsdaily/p/CrxNtEEoU7a/?hl=fr>

- **The News Minute**, *Cow protection vigilantes thrive under BRS rule in Telangana*, 28 June 2023.
<https://www.thenewsminute.com/telangana/cow-protection-vigilantes-thrive-under-brs-rule-telangana-179083>
- **BBC**, *Nuh violence: Is bulldozer punishment trampling justice in India?*, 8 August 2023.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-66391485>
- **The Wire**, *Supreme Court Issues Notice on PIL Filed By The Wire Reporter on Caste-Based Prison Rules*, 3 January 2024.
<https://thewire.in/caste/supreme-court-issues-notice-on-prison-caste-discrimination-pil-filed-by-sukanya-shantha>
- **Middle East Monitor**, *Activist decries discrimination Muslims face in India*, 8 January 2024.
<https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20240108-activist-decries-discrimination-muslims-face-in-india/>
- **Middle East Monitor**, *India: top court quashes release of men in Muslim woman's gang-rape*, January 8, 2024.
<https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20240108-india-top-court-quashes-release-of-men-in-muslim-womans-gang-rape/>
- **Voice of America News**, *Muslims in India's most populous state protest ban on madrasas*, 18 January 2024.
<https://www.voanews.com/a/muslims-in-india-s-most-populous-state-protest-ban-on-madrasas/7554759.html>
- **NDTV**, *Go Enjoy Custody": Supreme Court Raps Gujarat Cops For Public Flogging*, 23 January 2024.
<https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/supreme-court-raps-gujarat-cops-for-public-flogging-you-have-authority-to-tie-people-to-pole-beat-them-4917088>
- **The News Minute**, *Ram Temple: Muslim man's shop burnt in Telangana by Mob*, 24 January 2024.
<https://www.thenewsminute.com/telangana/muslim-mans-shop-set-on-fire-provocative-slogans-raised-by-mob-in-telangana>
- **The Wire**, *'Police Didn't Stop the Mob': Shopkeepers, Injured Recount Hindutva Violence at Mumbai's Mira Road*, 25 January 2024
<https://thewire.in/communalism/police-didnt-stop-the-mob-shopkeepers-injured-recount-hindutva-violence-at-mumbais-mira-road>
- **Scroll.in**, *'They saw a Muslim name and attacked': How Hindutva mobs ran amok in Mira Road*, 27 January 2024.

<https://scroll.in/article/1062772/they-saw-a-muslim-name-and-attacked-how-hindutva-mobs-ran-amok-on-mira-road>

- **AP News**, *India announces steps to implement a citizenship law that excludes Muslims*, 11 March 2024.
<https://apnews.com/article/india-citizenship-law-modi-muslims-fca6fc85c494238f4e93e66785e8b81f>
- **BBC**, *CAA : India's new citizenship law explained*, 12 March 2024.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-50670393>
- **Fair Planet**, *Why are Muslims underrepresented in Indian politics?*, 13 April 2024.
<https://www.fairplanet.org/editors-pick/why-are-muslims-underrepresented-in-indian-politics/>
- **Ça m'intéresse**, *Pourquoi la vache est-elle un animal sacré en Inde ?*, 14 avril 2024.
<https://www.caminteresse.fr/culture/pourquoi-la-vache-est-elle-un-animal-sacre-en-inde-11194019/>
- **Les Observateurs**, *En Inde, les milices de protection des vaches au coeur des législatives*, 31 avril 2024.
<https://observers.france24.com/fr/%C3%A9missions/les-observateurs/20240531-inde-les-milices-de-protection-des-vaches-au-coeur-des-l%C3%A9gislatives>
- **Scroll.in**, *BJP Karnataka's online video sparks outrage for 'demonising Muslims'*, 5 May 2024.
<https://scroll.in/latest/1067454/outrage-online-as-bjp-karnataka-posts-video-demonising-muslims>
- **AP News**, *India's parliament has fewer Muslims as strength of Modi's party grows*, 15 May 2024.
<https://apnews.com/article/india-general-elections-muslims-modi-c01281195f71a4c8b4bd53146695a0e>
- **Munsif News 24x7**, *MLA Raja Singh asks police to not stop cow vigilantes*, 30 May 2024.
<https://munsifdaily.com/mla-raja-singh-asks-police-to-not-stop-cow-vigilantes/>
- **Fatshimétrie - Le blog du citoyen**, *Les milices de protection des vaches en Inde: tensions et enjeux électoraux*, 31 mai 2024.
<https://fatshimetrie.org/blog/2024/05/31/les-milices-de-protection-des-vaches-en-inde-tensions-et-enjeux-electoraux/>
- **Al Jazeera**, *'Minority exclusion': Are Indian Muslims facing voter suppression?*, 1st June 2024.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2024/6/1/india-election-fairness-concerns-amid-muslim-vote-suppression-allegations>

- **Al Jazeera**, *India election results: Did 'secular' parties let Muslims down, too?*, 10 June 2024.
<https://www.fairplanet.org/editors-pick/why-are-muslims-underrepresented-in-indian-politics/>
- **The Observer Post**, *Mob Rampage In Medak: 'Deliberate Attack On Our Muslim Community,' Say Residents*, 16 June 2024.
<https://theobserverpost.com/telangana-mob-vandalizes-muslim-owned-businesses-in-medak-jai-shri-ram-chants-heard-ahead-of-bakrid/>
- **Radio France International**, *Inde : consternation après le lynchage d'un adolescent soupçonné d'avoir mangé du boeuf*, 3 septembre 2024.
<https://www.rfi.fr/fr/asie-pacifique/20240903-inde-consternation-apr%C3%A8s-le-lynchage-d-un-adolescent-soup%C3%A7onn%C3%A9-d-avoir-mang%C3%A9-du-b%C5%93uf>
- **Times of India**, *Judge Links Life Sentence to 'Love Jihad' in Controversial Ruling*, 2nd October 2024.
http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/113860176.cms?utm_Source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst
- **The Guardian**, *Muslims in India face discrimination after restaurants forced to display workers' names*, 13 October 2024.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/oct/13/muslims-in-india-face-discrimination-after-restaurants-forced-to-display-workers-names>
- **The Hindu**, *Haryana mob lynching : Meat sample from migrant worker's house not beef, says police*, 26 octobre 2024.
<https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/haryana/haryana-mob-lynching-meat-sample-from-migrant-workers-house-not-beef-says-police/article68799181.ece>
- **ABN**, *ఆక్రమంగా తరలిస్తున్న పశువులు పట్టివేత*, 14 novembre 2024 – [Traduction non-officielle], *Animaux transportés illégalement saisis*.
<https://www.andhrajyothy.com/2024/telangana/rangareddy/arrest-of-illegally-moving-cattle-1334841.html>
- **CBS News**, *India's top court slams states over 'bulldozer justice,' razing of illegal homes that allegedly targets Muslims*, 14 November 2024.
<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/india-bulldozer-justice-razing-illegal-homes-alleged-bias-muslims/>
- **Deccan Chronicle**, *Man accused of cow slaughter injured in police encounter*, 14 November 2024.

<https://www.deccanherald.com/india/uttar-pradesh/man-accused-of-cow-slaughter-injured-in-police-encounter-in-uttar-pradesh-3276057>

- **Wired**, *'Cow Vigilantes' in India Are Attacking Muslims and Posting It on Instagram*, 19 November 2024.
<https://www.wired.com/story/cow-vigilantes-india-instagram/>
- **Hindutva Watch**, *Gau Raksha Dal seizes truck, harasses driver, alleging cow smuggling*, 27 November 2024.
<https://www.hindutvawatch.org/gau-raksha-dal-seizes-truck-harasses-driver-alleging-cow-smuggling/>
- **The Tribune**, *Palwal man killed in vigilante attack, police launch hunt for accused*, 28 January 2025.
<https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/haryana/palwal-man-killed-in-vigilante-attack-police-launch-hunt-for-accused/>
- **BBC**, *Nupur Sharma protests: The police brutality video that shocked India*, 17 June 2024.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-61822271>
- **Foreign Policy**, *How the Bulldozer Became a Symbol of Modi's India*, 7 January 2025.
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2025/01/07/bulldozer-symbol-modi-india/>
- **The Siasat Daily**, *Will order to shoot cow smugglers : Karnataka Minister*, 4th February 2025.
<https://www.siasat.com/will-order-to-shoot-cow-smugglers-karnataka-minister-3175433/>
- **The Observer Post**, *Muslim Student Assaulted On Train For Wearing Skullcap And Beard, Branded 'Bangladeshi' By Hindutva Extremists*, 7 February 2025.
<https://theobserverpost.com/muslim-student-assaulted-on-train-for-wearing-skullcap-and-keeping-beard-branded-bangladeshi-by-hindutva-extremists/>
- **Muslim Mirror**, *Telangana caste census sparks debate on Muslim OBC reservations and political implications*, 8 February 2025.
<https://muslimmirror.com/telangana-caste-census-sparks-debate-on-muslim-obc-reservations-and-political-implications/>
- **The Wire**, *'Police Arrested My Husband to Intimidate Us': A Family in Sambhal is Fighting to Save Their Home*, 6 February 2025.
<https://thewire.in/rights/police-arrested-my-husband-to-intimidate-us-a-family-in-sambhal-is-fighting-to-save-their-home>
- **The Wire**, *Bhopal: Interfaith couple attacked by Hindutva mob, Muslim youth arrested over 'Love Jihad'*, 8 February 2025.

<https://thewire.in/communalism/bhopal-interfaith-couple-attacked-by-hindutva-mob-muslim-youth-arrested-over-love-jihad>

- **Frontline. The Hindu**, *Bulldozer raj rolls on*, 17 February 2025.
<https://frontline.thehindu.com/politics/bulldozer-demolitions-muslim-homes-india-hindutva-communal-violence-supreme-court-bjp-politics/article69222253.ece>
- **Indian Express**, *Shrinking Representation: Fewer Christians, Muslims, Jains in Maharashtra Govt Workforce*, 20 February 2025.
<https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/minority-representation-in-maharashtra-government-jobs-shrinks-over-the-decade-9845823/>
- **Indian Express**, *Madhya Pradesh again: Interfaith couple who went to register their marriage roughed up in court*, 21 February 2025.
<https://indianexpress.com/article/india/madhya-pradesh-interfaith-couple-register-marriage-court-9849237/>
- **The Wire**, *In Rajasthan, 'Bulldozer' Notices to a Whole Neighbourhood After Muslim Men Held Over Sexual Assault*, 23 February 2025.
<https://thewire.in/communalism/in-rajasthan-bulldozer-notices-to-a-whole-neighbourhood-after-muslim-men-held-over-sexual-assault>

6. **Autres**

- **Animal Legal and Historical Center**, *The Telangana Animals and Birds Sacrifices Prohibition Act, 1950*, 2022.
<https://www.animallaw.info/statute/animal-sacrifice-telangana-animals-and-birds-sacrifices-prohibition-act-1950>
- **Government of India, India Ministry of Home affairs, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner**, *Census of India*, 2011.
https://www.census2011.co.in/religion.php#google_vignette
- **Zolkit**, *Statewise Religion Population Percentage in India 2025*, 19 February 2025.
<https://vakilsearch.com/blog/how-many-religions-are-in-india/>