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Introduction

This brief provides critical updates regarding the human rights situation in Indian-administered Kashmir (**IAK**) in order to facilitate States' review of India during the fourth cycle of its Universal Periodic Review in a manner consistent with the purpose of the UPR – to improve the human rights situation in the subject state and globally. The human rights situation in IAK has not improved since the third cycle of India's UPR. It has deteriorated in many respects. India's longstanding failure to improve the human rights situation in IAK has resulted in widespread, grave human rights violations and atrocity crimes in IAK, contributed to the deteriorating human rights situation in India and exacerbated grave risks to international peace and security.

This brief consists of four parts. The **first** part enumerates key recommendations from the previous cycle of India's UPR that have not been implemented in IAK. The **second** part explains why it is critical for States to candidly address the human rights situation in IAK during the fourth cycle of India's UPR. The **third** part summarizes certain human rights violations in IAK that have escalated since the third cycle of India's UPR. The **fourth** part offers recommendations for States seeking to utilize the fourth cycle of India's UPR to improve the human rights situation in IAK.

I. Key recommendations not implemented

The UPR process has not resulted in an improvement in the human rights situation in IAK. India has not implemented key recommendations with special relevance to the human rights situation in IAK from previous cycles. In India's previous UPR, the High Commissioner for Human Rights sought "concrete results" in the fourth cycle, including in respect of the following:¹

1. Respond positively to pending visit requests by special procedures of the Human Rights Council;
2. Grant access to OHCHR and other stakeholders to Jammu and Kashmir with a view to monitoring the human rights situation;
3. Repeal or amend thoroughly the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act to bring it into compliance with international human rights norms and standards;
4. Undertake public human rights sensitization campaign and programmes to combat discrimination against all vulnerable populations;
5. Enact the Prevention of Torture Bill, while ensuring it complies with international human rights norms and standards;
6. Ensure that law enforcement officials abide by [sic] all times, including in disturbed areas, international human rights norms and standards, including those governing the use of force;
7. Ensure that law enforcement officials are fully trained on international human rights norms and standards, including in relation to the use of force, and their standing orders revised accordingly;
8. Hold accountable all officials responsible for human rights violations;
9. Improve access to justice and the functioning of the justice system, including by addressing effectively delays in judicial proceedings with a view to ensuring timely justice, and ensuring that the registration of complaints about alleged human rights violations or abuses by law enforcement officials is done properly and systematically;

10. Continue efforts to guarantee freedom of religion and to combat discrimination on the basis of religion, hate speech, and incitement to religious violence, including by implementing existing laws and abolishing anti-conversion laws;
11. Facilitate and protect civil society space by fully guaranteeing the rights to freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of peaceful assembly, and freedom of association, including by decriminalizing and repealing the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act or reviewing it to bring it in compliance with international human rights norms and standards;
12. Ensure that civil society actors can undertake their legitimate activities without fear of reprisals, investigate independently and thoroughly all acts of intimidation and violence against human rights defenders, including journalists, bring the perpetrators to justice, and provide adequate reparation to the victims;
13. Ensure that the rights of minorities and indigenous peoples are fully protected, in particular in the context of the exploitation of natural resources by national and multinational corporations, as well as of counter-insurgency operations; and
14. Ensure effective protection to all minorities against communal violence, investigate independently and thoroughly all acts of violence, bring the perpetrators to justice, and provide adequate reparation to the victims.

None of these recommendations has been implemented in IAK. See also [Annex A](#) for a partial list of States' key recommendations from previous UPR cycles with special relevance to the human rights situation in IAK that India has not implemented.

II. Critical need for candid State engagement during the fourth cycle of India's UPR

Since the third cycle of India's UPR, Indian authorities have systematically eliminated Kashmiris' remaining means of defending their human rights. Indian authorities have specifically targeted Kashmiri human rights defenders² and other dissenters³ – including journalists,⁴ scholars⁵ and political activists⁶ – for repression. Amnesty International recently described this as “a system of laws, policies and practices that systematically annihilate critical voices and violate the rights to freedom of expression and opinion of journalists and human rights defenders.”⁷

The broad-based silencing of Kashmiri has resulted in minimal, decreasing reporting of human rights violations in IAK, no credible investigations of such violations, and minimal, declining understanding of the context and significance of such violations. In a pre-genocidal climate,⁸ experts believe Kashmiris—a defenseless, marginalized, minority—face material risk of mass atrocities⁹ while they are cut off from the world. India has long denied the international community, including international media, international human rights groups, and the UN Human Rights Council's special procedures, access to IAK.¹⁰

Since the third cycle of India's UPR, India has also escalated myriad other violations in IAK, including violations of political rights,¹¹ economic rights¹², cultural rights,¹³ the right to free expression,¹⁴ the right to access the internet,¹⁵ the right to access education¹⁶ and the right to adequate healthcare¹⁷ as well as widespread arbitrary detention,¹⁸ torture¹⁹ and collective punishment, including through property destruction.²⁰ Indian authorities have escalated their abuse of counter-terror laws²¹ and the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act²² to suppress civil society and dissent in IAK. Many of these violations constitute atrocity crimes—namely, war crimes and crimes against humanity.²³

Indian forces have for decades committed widespread, grave human rights violations in IAK,²⁴ including atrocity crimes,²⁵ which India has sanctioned through legalized impunity.²⁶ Those violations include extrajudicial killing,²⁷ torture,²⁸ willfully causing great suffering or serious injury,²⁹ unlawful confinement³⁰ and enforced disappearances.³¹ Indian authorities continue to commit all of these grave violations in IAK. India has long denied Kashmiris access to justice.³² As noted by the OHCHR and leading international human rights groups, impunity for human rights violations and lack of access to justice are key human rights challenges in IAK.³³

International accountability has also failed Kashmiris. India rejects³⁴ international accountability efforts and attacks³⁵ and demonizes those who attempt to seek accountability for violations in IAK, including the OHCHR. India generally fails to respond to the Human Rights Council's special procedures' communications regarding violations in IAK or undermines such efforts by responding confidentially.³⁶ Recently, India forced Amnesty International to cease operations in India in retaliation for reporting on violations committed by Indian authorities in IAK.³⁷

India's recent escalation of human rights violations in IAK is consequential to the dominance of Hindu supremacists in India. For Hindu supremacists, the disintegration and disempowerment of IAK, including through the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A of India's constitution, is a decades-old policy goal which they delivered in August 2019.³⁸ These changes, illegalities predicated on earlier illegalities condemned by the UN Security Council,³⁹ have facilitated demographic change in IAK⁴⁰ and the disempowerment of Kashmiris in their homeland⁴¹ while rendering meaningless fundamental rights, including the right to self-determination.⁴²

Indian authorities have developed policies and practices of authoritarianism in IAK without redress or accountability. Some of those practices and policies have been deployed against civil society and the rights of minorities and marginalized groups in India.⁴³ Indian security officials have acknowledged that its government is at war with civil society.⁴⁴ India's disproportionate, discriminatory assault on Kashmiris' rights⁴⁵ has facilitated and fueled its assault on civil society and the rights of minorities and marginalized groups in India.⁴⁶

The international community has long recognized that IAK is critical to international peace and security – both as a flashpoint for broader armed conflict⁴⁷ and as a trigger for nuclear war.⁴⁸ IAK is also critical to the global threat of electoral autocracy/democratic authoritarianism,⁴⁹ militant ethnonationalism⁵⁰ and climate change-fueled conflict over dwindling critical resources exacerbated by militarization and impunity for human rights violations.⁵¹

III. Human rights violations in IAK escalated since India's third UPR cycle

Indian authorities have increasingly targeted Kashmiri human rights defenders and other dissenters (including journalists, scholars, lawyers and political activists) for repression, including through legal restrictions on their work, raids of their homes and places of employment, arbitrary arrest and detention under counter-terror laws and physical abuse. A police unit called the "Ecosystem of Narrative Terrorism" is dedicated to profiling, investigating and policing Kashmiri journalists and scholars⁵² who Indian officials and media refer to as "white collar jihadis" or "white collar terrorists."⁵³ Indian authorities have enhanced their technological surveillance tools, including CCTV and facial recognition systems⁵⁴ as well as through the use of spyware like NSO Group's Pegasus.⁵⁵ They have intensified their social media surveillance of Kashmiris, including through dedicated police

resources and vigilante groups.⁵⁶ Kashmiris have described the effect of the measures as a “lockdown on thoughts” and a “panoptic society.”⁵⁷

Indian authorities have escalated their repression targeting Kashmiri thought, assembly and dissent.⁵⁸ They have suppressed civil disobedience through curfews, arbitrary detentions and arrests under counter-terror laws and lethal force.⁵⁹ Indian authorities have censored and suppressed online dissent by Kashmiris through intimidation, harassment, arbitrary detention and arrest under counter-terror laws, ordering Kashmiri users’ posts taken down and freezing or blocking Kashmiri users’ social media accounts.⁶⁰ Indian authorities have authorized denying Kashmiris passport issuance and renewal, government services and employment on the basis of an adverse police report for acts including civil disobedience and dissent.⁶¹

For doing journalism, Indian authorities have restricted Kashmiri journalists’ activities, intimidated, harassed, attacked, assaulted and maimed journalists, and arbitrarily detained and charged journalists under counter-terror and anti-sedition laws.⁶² They have repeatedly raided the homes and offices of Kashmiri journalists⁶³ and repeatedly summoned a large number of Kashmiri journalists for police interrogation.⁶⁴ They have denied Kashmiri journalists the right to travel in what experts have described as “systematic harassment.”⁶⁵ Indian authorities have censored independent journalists and brought previously independent media under state control through the implementation and enforcement of the Media Policy-2020, which experts have called Orwellian.⁶⁶ They have forcibly taken over the Kashmir Press Club, the largest elected trade body representing journalists in IAK.⁶⁷

Indian authorities have similarly intimidated, harassed, denied the right to travel to and arbitrarily detained and arrested under counter-terror laws Kashmiri human rights activists.⁶⁸ They have repeatedly raided the homes and offices of leading Kashmiri human rights activists in connection with investigations for criminal conspiracy, sedition, and supporting terror.⁶⁹ They have prevented the Jammu and Kashmir High Court Bar Association, the primary professional organization providing legal aid to victims of human rights violations, from operating.⁷⁰ They have pressured Kashmiri families to withdraw human rights complaints against authorities.⁷¹ In a particularly impactful case, Indian authorities arbitrarily detained Khurram Parvez, a prominent Kashmiri human rights activist,⁷² on November 22, 2021.⁷³ Indian authorities have charged him with conspiring to wage war against India and supporting terrorism. Parvez remains in maximum security prison in Delhi, India.

Indian authorities have forcibly closed institutions of higher education in IAK and subjected Kashmiri scholars to coercion, abuse, and intimidation.⁷⁴ They have prohibited academic institutions receiving Indian government funds from holding international events discussing IAK without prior government approval⁷⁵ and have required Kashmiri academics to disclose details of their personal assets while prohibiting them from traveling abroad without prior government approval.⁷⁶ They have announced investigations of academics for the “pernicious influence of secessionism”⁷⁷ and purged academics with dissenting views from their posts.⁷⁸

Indian authorities have escalated their collective punishment of Kashmiris, including through frequently suspended internet, mobile and other communications services,⁷⁹ the appropriation and destruction of personal property, including homes,⁸⁰ and punishing people for the alleged beliefs or dissent of their relatives or associates, including terminating employment, harassment and denying or canceling travel documents.⁸¹

Indian authorities have escalated their attacks on Muslim religion and belief in IAK, including by banning the most prominent Muslim social welfare organization,⁸² arbitrarily detaining and charging Muslim religious

leaders under counter-terror laws,⁸³ forcing the closure of major Muslim religious institutions,⁸⁴ prohibiting Muslim congregational religious practice,⁸⁵ targeting Muslims for observing religious congregational rituals⁸⁶ and denying Muslim victims of state violence the performance of religious rites and their loved ones the return of victims' bodies.⁸⁷

The present high risk of mass atrocities against Kashmiris is underscored by the Indian authorities' propagandistic appeals to hatred against Kashmiri Muslims.⁸⁸ This includes the Indian state-supported, popular anti-Kashmiri Muslim propaganda film released in March 2022 called *The Kashmir Files* which claims to tell the untold, true story of the "genocide" of Hindus in IAK but is in fact propaganda.⁸⁹ The film has prompted public calls in India for the targeting of, and mass killing of, Kashmiris Muslims.⁹⁰

IV. Suggested recommendations

We urge you to recommend the following to India during its fourth cycle of the UPR:

1. Immediately grant unfettered access to IAK to the OHCHR, the special procedures of the Human Rights Council, international human rights groups and international journalists;
2. Guarantee the rights to freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of thought and conscience and a free press and information to all, especially ethnic and religious minorities and marginalized groups, including Kashmiris;
3. Repeal or amend all laws and policies that in letter or application violate international human rights norms and standards, including the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, the Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act, the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act;
4. Hold accountable all officials responsible for human rights violations in line with international human rights norms and standards;
5. Provide reparation to victims of human rights violations in line with international human rights norms and standards;
6. Provide access to justice to all victims of human rights violations in IAK without fear of reprisals or intimidation in line with international human rights norms and standards;
7. Guarantee freedom of religion and combat discrimination on the basis of religion, hate speech, and incitement to religious violence, especially targeting Muslims in IAK and India;
8. Ensure that civil society actors and human rights defenders can freely operate without fear of intimidation or reprisals, in IAK and India;
9. Ensure that the rights of minorities and indigenous peoples, including Kashmiris, are fully protected, in particular in the context of the exploitation of natural resources by national and multinational corporations, purported counter-terror operations and purported counter-insurgency operations; and
10. Immediately and unconditionally release all political prisoners, prisoners of conscience and detainees, including all Kashmiri journalists, scholars, human rights activists, political activists and religious leaders.

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Annex A

Key recommendations from previous UPR cycles with special relevance to the human rights situation in IAK and not implemented by India include:⁹¹

1. Ensure that any measure limiting freedom of expression, assembly and association on the Internet is based on clearly defined criteria in accordance with international law including international human rights law (Sweden, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3);
2. Take visible policy and other measures to ensure the freedom of religion and belief and address the alarming trend of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance including mob violence committed, incited and advocated by right-wing parties and affiliated extremist organizations against minorities, particularly Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Dalits (Canada, Cycle 3; Iraq, Cycle 3; Italy, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Kazakhstan, Cycle 3; Pakistan, Cycle 3);
3. Swiftly prosecute acts of violence against religious minorities (Austria, Cycle 2; Holy See, Cycle 3);
4. Further promote equal access to justice for all, including by reducing backlog and delays in the administration of cases in court, providing more legal aids to the poor and marginalized, as well as increasing the use of alternative measures to pre-trial detention (Thailand, Cycle 2);
5. Solve remaining cases of human rights violations and create an independent committee to receive claims against the police that were referred to by the Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Defenders (Iraq, Cycle 2);
6. Repeal the Armed Forces Special Powers Act or adopt the negotiated amendments to it that would address the accountability of security personnel, the regulation concerning detentions as well as victims; right to appeal in accordance to international standards (France, Cycle 2; Pakistan, Cycle 3; Slovakia, Cycle 2; Switzerland, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3);
7. Ratify, in the shortest time, the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance and adopt related internal legislation (Argentina, Cycle 2; Austria, Cycle 2; Burkina Faso, Cycle 3; Chile, Cycle 2; Cote d'Ivoire, Cycle 3; France, Cycle 2; Greece, Cycle 3; Iraq, Cycle 2; Japan, Cycle 3; Kazakhstan, Cycle 3; Nigeria, Cycle 1; Philippines, Cycle 3; Portugal, Cycle 2; Sierra Leone, Cycle 3; Spain, Cycle 2; Ukraine, Cycle 3; Uruguay, Cycle 2);
8. Ratify, in the shortest time, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and adopt related internal legislation (Australia, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Austria, Cycle 2; Botswana, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Bulgaria, Cycle 3; Burkina Faso, Cycle 3; Brazil, Cycle 2; Chile, Cycle 3; Costa Rica, Cycle 2; Cote d'Ivoire, Cycle 3; Czechia, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Denmark, Cycle 3; Estonia, Cycle 3; France, Cycle 1 and Cycle 2; Germany, Cycle 3; Greece, Cycle 3; Guatemala, Cycle 3; Indonesia, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Iraq, Cycle 2; Ireland, Cycle 3; Israel, Cycle 3; Italy, Cycle 1, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Lebanon, Cycle 3; Japan, Cycle 3; Kazakhstan, Cycle 3; Republic of Korea, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Madagascar, Cycle 2; Maldives, Cycle 2; Mexico, Cycle 1; Montenegro, Cycle 3; Mozambique, Cycle 3; Nigeria, Cycle 1; Norway, Cycle 3; Philippines, Cycle 3; Portugal, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Russian Federation, Cycle 3; Senegal, Cycle 3; Sierra Leone, Cycle 3; South Africa, Cycle 3; Spain, Cycle 2; Sweden, Cycle 1, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Switzerland, Cycle 1 and Cycle 2; Timor-Leste, Cycle 2; Turkey, Cycle 3; Ukraine, Cycle 3; United Kingdom, Cycle 1 and Cycle 2; United States, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Uruguay Cycle 2);
9. Ratify the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, including its Agreement on Privileges and Immunities (Austria, Cycle 2; Estonia, Cycle 3; Guatemala, Cycle 3; Latvia, Cycle 3; Slovakia, Cycle 2; Spain, Cycle 2; Uruguay, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3);

10. Take all necessary measures to protect the rights of persons belonging to religious minorities, and repeal laws which restrict religious conversion (Germany, Cycle 2; Holy See, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; Kenya, Cycle 3; Ireland, Cycle 3; Netherlands, Cycle 2 and Cycle 3; United States, Cycle 2);
11. End impunity for security forces accused of committing human rights violations (France, Cycle 2; Spain, Cycle 2; United States, Cycle 2)
12. Encourage enhanced cooperation with human rights bodies and all relevant stakeholders in the pursuit of a society oriented towards the attainment of internationally recognized human rights goals (Ghana, Cycle 2)
13. Extend standing invitation to special procedures (Latvia, Cycle 1; Switzerland, Cycle 1);
14. Respond positively to visit requests by the special procedures of the Human Rights Council (Belgium, Cycle 2; Latvia, Cycle 3);
15. Extend an invitation to the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment for an official visit to the country (Hungary, Cycle 2; Germany, Cycle 3; Switzerland, Cycle 1 and Cycle 2);
16. Provide unhindered access to the United Nations and other international organizations, and accede to the call of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to allow an OHCHR fact-finding mission to Indian-Occupied Kashmir to investigate and report on the human rights situation there (Pakistan, Cycle 3)
17. Repeal the Public Safety Act and take credible actions to end the prevailing culture of impunity in Indian-Occupied Kashmir (Pakistan, Cycle 3)
18. Implement effective judiciary proceedings making possible the bringing to justice security forces personnel who have committed human rights violations (France, Cycle 2);
19. Amend the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act to ensure the right to freedom of association, which includes the ability of civil society organizations to access foreign funding, and protect human rights defenders effectively against harassment and intimidation (Czechia, Cycle 3; Germany, Cycle 3; Republic of Korea, Cycle 3; Norway, Cycle 3; United States, Cycle 3);
20. Strengthen the independent functioning of the judiciary in order to reduce delays in judicial proceedings, enhance transparency of the processes and guarantee the right to speedy trial (Estonia, Cycle 3; Ethiopia, Cycle 3)
21. Take the necessary steps to ensure that all operations of intelligence agencies are monitored by an independent oversight mechanism (Lichtenstein, Cycle 3)
22. Enact a law on the protection of human rights defenders, with emphasis on those defenders facing greater risks, including those working on minority rights and the rights of scheduled castes and tribes (Czechia, Cycle 2; Lithuania, Cycle 3);
23. Guarantee freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly for all individuals and promote meaningful dialogue that embraces and allows freely organized advocacy of diverging views by civil society (Canada, Cycle 3; Pakistan, Cycle 3);
24. Ensure a safe working environment for journalists and take proactive measures to address the issue of impunity, such as swift and independent investigations (Austria, Cycle 2; Lithuania, Cycle 3);
25. Take appropriate measures to avoid the excessive use of force by security officers (Greece, Cycle 3; Peru, Cycle 3; Sierra Leone, Cycle 3);
26. Improve prison conditions in order to ensure the rights and dignity of all those deprived of their liberty (Zambia, Cycle 3);
27. Continue facilitating equal access to justice for all and provide legal aid, in particular to vulnerable groups, minority groups and marginalized people (Angola, Cycle 3; Ethiopia, Cycle 3);

28. Immediately stop its atrocities and violations of human rights against the Kashmiri people, and allow them to exercise their right to self-determination through a free and fair plebiscite in accordance with the United Nations Security Council resolution (Pakistan, Cycle 3);
29. Immediately ban the use of pellet guns and hold accountable perpetrators who have used lethal force against unarmed civilians in Indian-Occupied Kashmir (Pakistan, Cycle 3)
30. Bring all legislation concerning communication surveillance in line with international human rights standards and especially recommend that all communication surveillance requires a test of necessity and proportionality (Lichtenstein, Cycle 3)
31. Lift legal restrictions or hurdles to the work of civil society individuals or organizations and ensure that they can undertake their legitimate activities without fear of reprisals (Switzerland, Cycle 3);
32. Establish and implement regulations to ensure that the business sector complies with international and national human rights, labour, environment and other standards (Uganda, Cycle 3)
33. Ensure that laws are fully and consistently enforced to provide adequate protections for members of religious minorities, scheduled castes, tribes and other vulnerable populations (Guatemala, Cycle 3; Ireland, Cycle 2; Thailand, Cycle 2; United States, Cycle 3)
34. In the spirit of its Constitution, which guarantees equal rights to all minorities, further invest in dedicated human rights training of police officials to register and investigate cases of discrimination and violence and to hold them accountable when they fail to do so (Egypt, Cycle 3; Finland, Cycle 3; Iraq, Cycle 3)
35. Adopt the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders and the necessary measures to its recognition and protection, guaranteeing that the human rights violations are timely, effectively and independently investigated (Spain, Cycle 2; Norway, Cycle 2)
36. Request all necessary technical assistance enabling the Government to meet its international commitments (Cote d'Ivoire, Cycle 3)

¹ See Letter from High Commissioner for Human Rights to Minister of External Affairs India (Oct. 23, 2017), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/lib-docs/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session27/IN/IndiaHCLetter.pdf> (last accessed October 15, 2022).

² See, e.g., "India: Counter-terror raids on civil society groups signal escalating crackdown on dissent," Amnesty International (Oct. 29, 2020), <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2020/10/india-counter-terror-raids-on-civil-society-groups-signal-escalating-crackdown-on-dissent/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).

³ See, e.g., Aakash Hassan, "'My Phone Haunts Me': Kashmiris Interrogated and Tortured by Cyber Police for Tweeting," Intercept (Dec. 6, 2020), <https://theintercept.com/2020/12/06/kashmir-social-media-police/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).

⁴ See, e.g., Sonali Dhawan, "Kashmir media at a 'breaking point' amid rising number of journalist detentions," Committee to Protect Journalists (May 12, 2022) <https://cpj.org/2022/05/kashmir-media-at-a-breaking-point-amid-rising-number-of-journalist-detentions/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).

⁵ See, e.g., Free to Think 2020, Scholars at Risk (Nov. 18, 2020), pp. 48-57, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/resources/free-to-think-2020/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).

⁶ See, e.g., Zac Crellin, "Kashmir separatist leader dies in custody," DW (Oct. 11, 2022) <https://www.dw.com/en/kashmir-separatist-leader-alfahmad-shah-dies-in-custody/a-63403699> (last accessed Oct. 27, 2022).

⁷ "We Are Being Punished by the Law": Three Years of Abrogation of Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir, Amnesty International (Sept. 2, 2022), <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/5959/2022/en/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022), p. 5.

⁸ "Kashmir Is on the Brink of Genocide, Warns American Scholar," Genocide Watch (Feb. 5, 2021), <https://www.genocidewatch.com/single-post/kashmir-is-on-the-brink-of-genocide-warns-american-scholar> (last accessed Aug. 11, 2022); see also "Jammu and Kashmir in Context": Written Submission of John Sifton to the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, United States Congress, Human Rights Watch (Nov. 14, 2019), https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/supporting_resources/191114_john_sifton_lantos_kashmir.pdf.

⁹ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Announcements and Recent Analysis: Rising Mass Atrocity Risks in India (Mar. 30, 2022) <https://www.ushmm.org/genocide-prevention/blog/rising-mass-atrocity-risks-in-india> (last accessed Aug. 11, 2022).

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- ¹⁰ See, e.g., OHCHR, Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Kashmir: Developments in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir from June 2016 to April 2018, and General Human Rights Concerns in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan (June 14, 2018), <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/IN/DevelopmentsInKashmirJune2016ToApril2018.pdf> (hereafter, the “OHCHR Report”), ¶¶ 117-18 (at p. 33); OHCHR, Update of the Situation of Human Rights in Indian-Administered Kashmir and Pakistan-Administered Kashmir from May 2018 to April 2019 (July 8, 2019), https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/IN/KashmirUpdateReport_8July2019.pdf (hereafter, the “OHCHR Updated Report”), ¶¶ 117-19 (p. 26).
- ¹¹ See, e.g., Muzamil Jaleel, “Clean Slate: New “Elected” District Councils Will End Politics in Kashmir,” Inverse Journal (Oct. 25, 2020), <https://www.inversejournal.com/2020/10/25/clean-slate-new-elected-district-councils-will-end-politics-in-kashmir-by-muzamil-jaleel/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).
- ¹² See, e.g., Ejaz Ayoub, “J&K’s Unfolding Economic Black Hole,” Kashmir Observer (Oct. 1, 2021), <https://kashmirobsvr.net/2021/10/01/jks-unfolding-economic-black-hole/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).
- ¹³ See, e.g., Naseer Ganai, “How J&K Government’s Renaming Exercise Is Rewriting History,” Outlook India (June 27, 2022), <https://www.outlookindia.com/national/how-jk-government-renaming-exercise-is-rewriting-history-news-204642> (last accessed Oct. 23, 2022).
- ¹⁴ See, e.g., “We Are Being Punished by the Law”: Three Years of Abrogation of Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir, Amnesty International (Sept. 2, 2022), <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/5959/2022/en/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022), pp.10-19.
- ¹⁵ See, e.g., Kashmir’s Internet Siege, Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (Aug, 2020), <https://jkccs.info/report-kashmir-internet-siege/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).
- ¹⁶ See, e.g., 120 Days: 5th August to 5th December, Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (Dec. 9, 2019), https://apdpkashmir.com/ebmedia/sitename_eb/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/APDP-Report-9.12.19.pdf, pp. 42-52.
- ¹⁷ See, e.g., 120 Days: 5th August to 5th December, Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (Dec. 9, 2019), https://apdpkashmir.com/ebmedia/sitename_eb/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/APDP-Report-9.12.19.pdf, pp. 30-39.
- ¹⁸ See, e.g., “We Are Being Punished by the Law”: Three Years of Abrogation of Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir, Amnesty International (Sept. 2, 2022), <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/5959/2022/en/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).
- ¹⁹ See, e.g., Torture: Indian State’s Instrument of Control in Indian-Administered Jammu and Kashmir (2019), Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society, <https://jkccs.info/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/TORTURE-Indian-State%E2%80%99s-Instrument-of-Control-in-Indian-administered-Jammu-and-Kashmir.pdf> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).
- ²⁰ See, e.g., Bi-annual HR Review, Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society and Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (July 1, 2020), <https://jkccs.info/bi-annual-hr-review-229-killings-107-casos-55-internet-shutdowns-48-properties-destroyed/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).
- ²¹ See, e.g., “We Are Being Punished by the Law”: Three Years of Abrogation of Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir, Amnesty International (Sept. 2, 2022), pp.14-16, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/5959/2022/en/> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).
- ²² See, e.g., “Srinagar: NIA Raids Multiple Locations, Including Greater Kashmir Office,” The Wire (Oct. 28, 2020), <https://thewire.in/rights/kashmir-nia-raids-several-locations> (last accessed Oct. 24, 2022).
- ²³ Sonja Biserko, Marzuki Darusman and Stephen Rapp, *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* (June 6, 2022), <https://www.ufs.ac.za/docs/librariesprovider21/default-document-library/piie-report-final.pdf>, pp. ix-x, 54-55.
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