

KEY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN INDIAN-ADMINISTERED KASHMIR

December 1, 2025 – December 31, 2025

SUMMARY

In December 2025, Indian authorities continued to commit grave human rights violations in Indian-administered Kashmir (IAK). Indian authorities continued their recently escalated, ongoing, systematic campaigns of mass detention and raids, conducting hundreds of additional raids and cordon-and-search operations (CASOs) and detaining several hundred additional people, including the prominent political activists Shakeel Bakshi and Javid Mir. Indian authorities materially enhanced their ongoing, systematic denial of free expression, including through banning Virtual Private Networks (VPNs) and numerous detentions for using VPN applications. Indian authorities escalated their ongoing, systematic campaign of property expropriation through additional land seizures for railway and military infrastructure projects and for purposes of trans-national repression, specifically targeting activists Tony Ashai, Dr. G. N. Fai, Mubeen Shah and Rifat Wani for their advocacy work.

Numerous Kashmiri journalists, human rights defenders, activists, and dissenters continue to be arbitrarily detained. Emblematic cases include those of human rights defender Khurram Parvez—illegally imprisoned for over four years (1,523 days), journalist Irfan Mehraj—illegally imprisoned for almost three years (1,039 days), human rights lawyer Mian Abdul Qayoom—illegally imprisoned for nineteen months (577 days) and scholar Shafat Wani—illegally imprisoned for over nine months (288 days).

Note: Due to ongoing repression by Indian authorities, key developments in the human rights situation in IAK have gone unreported. Indian authorities have criminalized independent journalism and human rights work; all reporting from IAK is state-controlled. Indian authorities label pro-human rights and pro-self-determination activity “terrorism” and systematically legitimate violations against people in IAK through unsubstantiated, demonizing labels, including: “terrorist,” “militant,” “secessionist,” “militant,” “overground worker” (or “OGW”), “hybrid militant,” “hybrid terrorist,” “terrorist associate,” “militant associate,” “intruder,” or “infiltrator.”

VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, FREEDOM OF PRESS

On December 1, 2025, Indian authorities [filed criminal complaints](#) against Mohd. Nasar of Dheri, Raylote, and Mohd. Mukhtar of Madhoon, Dodaj, both in Rajouri district, for allegedly having a VPN application on their mobile phones. Mohd. Nasar was also arrested.

On December 2, 2025, India’s Telecoms Ministry [mandated](#) that all new smartphones come pre-installed with a government-developed surveillance app (which has access to call logs, memory, and cameras) and that users with existing phones install the government app within three months. Separately, Kashmir University [issued two orders](#) expanding the systematic denial of academic expression, one requiring staff obtain prior authorization to post or share social media posts and another requiring official oversight of any engagement with media.

On December 17, 2025, Indian authorities [raided](#) the home of Jahangir Ali, a journalist for *The Wire*, in Tsar-i-Sharief, Budgam district, and seized his phone in retaliation for reporting on nepotism and corruption.

On December 20, 2025, Counter-Intelligence Kashmir (CIK) [initiated](#) judicial reprisal proceedings against three Kashmiri activists who reside outside of territories controlled by India, Mubeen Shah, Tony Ashai and Rifat Wani, for their online speech deemed “prejudicial to the sovereignty and integrity of India.” On December 30, 2025, an Indian counter-terrorism court issued [a formal order](#) declaring those activists “absconding” and threatening them with “stringent” measures, including property expropriation.

On December 25, 2025, Indian authorities imposed [a two-month ban](#) on VPN services in Kathua district.

On December 28, 2025, Indian authorities [suppressed a planned student protest](#) in Srinagar against discriminatory educational policies through the denial of access to public space, intimidation and detentions.

On December 29, 2025, Indian authorities [arrested](#) a person in Padyarna, Kishtwar district for allegedly posting a video on social media. On the same day, Furqan Ul Haq of Tangipuna, Pulwama was [targeted for playing cricket with a Palestine flag on his helmet](#) and later detained for questioning and subjected to an investigation.

On December 30, 2025, Indian authorities [imposed VPN bans](#) across Kupwara, Kulgam and Shopian districts.

ARBITRARY DETENTIONS AND RAIDS

On December 1, 2025, India’s National Investigation Agency (NIA) conducted [multiple raids](#) across at least 10 locations, including the homes of Moulvi Irfan Ahmad Wagay, Dr. Adeel, Dr. Muzamil, and Amir Rashid in Nadigam village, Shopian district, and Koil, Chandgam, Malangpora, and Samboora villages of Pulwama district.

On December 7, 2025, the State Investigation Agency (SIA) [raided](#) the homes of the imprisoned Tufail Niyaz Bhat of Batamaloo, Srinagar district and Zameer Ahangar of Wakoora, Ganderbal district.

On December 8, 2025, Indian authorities [arrested](#) prominent political activist Shakeel Bakhshi, former head of the (defunct) Islamic Students League, for leading a demonstration protesting the killing of the resistance fighter Hilal Beg in 1996. They [also arrested](#) prominent political activist Javid Ahmad Mir, the former head of the (banned) pro-self-determination Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, in the same case.

On December 9, 2025, the NIA [arrested](#) Dr. Bilal Naseer Malla of Baramulla district in New Delhi and labelled him a “terrorist associate.” The same day, the NIA conducted multiple raids across South Kashmir.

On December 11, 2025, Indian authorities [raided](#) multiple locations allegedly affiliated with the (banned) pro-self-determination Tehreek-e-Hurriyat in Sopore, Baramulla district, including the homes of Zaffar Islam, Lateef Ahmad Kaloo and Mohammad Ashraf Malik.

On December 12, 2025, Indian authorities [arrested](#) Sabir Ahmad Mir of Kupwara district in Arunachal Pradesh, and on December 13 [arrested](#) Hilal Ahmad Mir of Kupwara district in Arunachal Pradesh (they previously arrested another Kashmiri, Nazir Ahmad Malik, in Arunachal Pradesh on November 22, 2025) for “espionage.” On the same day, Indian authorities [arrested](#) Aqib Ahmad Bhat of Brein, Nishat, Srinagar.

On December 13, 2025, Indian authorities conducted raids across Kashmir and [arrested](#) over 200 individuals, and labelled them “Over Ground Workers.” Indian authorities also [arrested](#) Hilal Ahmad Hajam and Javid Ahmad Hajam of Brenwar, Budgam district and Owais Mubarak of Shopian district during a CASO in Bemina, Srinagar for allegedly possessing posters of a banned organization.

On December 16, 2025, CIK [conducted raids](#) across Kashmir (including in Pulwama, Budgam, Kulgarn, Srinagar, Baramulla, Anantnag, and Kupwara districts) and [detained](#) at least 12 people.

On December 17, 2025, Indian forces [arrested](#) Shehnaz Akhtar of Gimma, Kotli district, Pakistan-administered Kashmir (PAK) near the Line of Control and labelled her an “infiltrator.”

On December 18, 2025, the NIA [arrested](#) Yasir Ahmad Dar of Shopian district in New Delhi and labelled him a “terrorist associate.” On the same day, an Indian counter-terrorism court [convicted](#) Zamir Sadiq Lone of Tiken, Batpora, Pulwama district (arrested on November 1, 2021) of “terrorism” charges.

On December 20, 2025, Indian authorities [arrested](#) Ahsan Ahmad Wagay of Yarikha, Kulgarn district and Rahil Ahmad Bhat of Lasio Bonpora, Kulgarn district for allegedly possessing eagle posters.

On December 22, 2025, Indian authorities [arrested](#) Javid Ahmad Hajam of Gulab Bagh, Tral, Pulwama district and labelled him a “terrorist associate.”

On December 23, 2025, Indian authorities [arrested](#) Ajaz Ahmad Bhat and Bashir Ahmad Ganai of Kupwara district in Arunachal Pradesh for “espionage.”

On December 27, 2025, Indian authorities [booked](#) Owais Ahmad Lone of Sedow, Mashooq Ahmad Shah of Shahlatoo and Subzar Ahmad Gani of Check Choland (all Shopian district) under the PSA and labelled them “OGWs.”

On December 27, 2025, Indian authorities [detained](#) student activist Mir Mujeeb and other students who protested discrimination in university admissions and also imposed [house arrest](#) on several Indian-client politicians for condemning their detention. Indian authorities also [arrested](#) Shaukat Ali and Sajjad, both residents of Poonch district in Uttar Pradesh for “suspicion.”

Indian authorities [continued](#) to detain MLA Mehraj Malik of Doda under the Public Safety Act (PSA) for accusing BJP officials of wrongdoing, publicly treating him like a dangerous criminal.

TAKING AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY; ECONOMIC DISEMPOWERMENT

On December 11, 2025, Indian authorities [expropriated](#) the real property of Zahid Hussain of Mangota, Marmat, Doda district.

On December 23, 2025, Indian authorities [expropriated](#) the real property of US-based political activist Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai in Wadwan, Chattabugh, Budgam district.

People in Pulwama, Shopian and Anantnag districts are [protesting](#) the planned expropriation of their prime agricultural land for new railway lines and a new Border Security Force base. On December 26, 2025, a group led by Dr. Raja Muzaffar Bhat visited impacted areas and described the grave [economic and environmental](#)

impacts of the planned expropriation. Official Indian data demonstrate that Kashmir has already lost nearly 34,000 hectares of farmland between 1996 and 2023, resulting in, among other things, severe food insecurity.

POLITICAL DISEMPOWERMENT, VIOLATION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS, AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

On December 17, 2025, Indian forces imported tanks, heavy artillery and other equipment into Kashmir via train, validating the militaristic purposes of purported “development” projects.

COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

India continues to deny the return of nearly 800 previously deported people for alleged PAK or Pakistani origins or backgrounds, continuing to split families with no prospect of reunification.

On December 19, 2025, Indian forces imposed a CASO in Thanamandi and Manjkote, Rajouri district.

On December 23, 2025, Indian forces imposed a CASO in Juthana and Soffain, Kathua district.

On December 26, 2025, Indian forces imposed a CASO in Dangerpora, Anantnag district.

On December 30, 2025, Indian forces escalated surveillance, checkpoints and searches across IAK.

ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS

On December 19, 2025, unchecked illegal mining caused a landslide in Khanpora, Baramulla district.

On December 24, 2025, hikers documented large-scale illegal deforestation in Tangmarg, Baramulla district.

Indian authorities continue to destroy ecology, water systems and livelihoods in IAK, as well as ecologically, economically and culturally vital natural features and prime agricultural land for purported “economic development” projects, while failed governance, unchecked extractive activities and climate change have decimated essential, and culturally critical, freshwater resources.

TARGETING OF KASHMIRIS; DISCRIMINATION

On December 3, 2025, Hindu supremacist mobs in Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh Punjab attacked Kashmiris.

On December 5, 2025, a Hindu supremacist mob in Punjab assaulted Mohammad Yaseen of Kulgam district.

On December 25, 2025, a Hindu supremacist mob in Uttarakhand assaulted and looted Bilal Ahmad.

On December 27, 2025, a Hindu supremacist mob in Himachal Pradesh assaulted Jehangir Ahmad.

The systematic surveillance, harassment, targeting and eviction of Kashmiris continued across India, with hundreds of cases reported. Indian intelligence launched a security audit and intrusive surveillance of Kashmiri doctors who trained outside of IAK or India.

DENIAL OF ACCESS TO JUSTICE, LEGALIZED IMPUNITY

According to official Indian data, [42% \(1,206 people\) of those arrested under India's Unlawful Activities \(Prevention\) Act in 2023](#) were from IAK (the total IAK population represents approximately 1% of the population subject to Indian law). Despite denial of due process, systematic torture and extraction of confessions, institutionalized discrimination and unfair trials, only 0.8% of those arrested were convicted.

Indian forces continue to [train, arm and finance](#) militias in IAK with a long history of committing grave violations.

PUBLIC STATEMENTS, COMMUNICATIONS, AND REPORTS

On December 1, 2025, Aakar Patel [published](#) "Human Rights And India: Will Its New UN Role Aid Those Held Without Trial?" noting that the case of Khurram Parvez demonstrates that India criminalizes (rather than promotes) human rights.

On December 2, 2025, Insha Ashraf, Saima Farhad and Arif Shafi [published](#) "Incarceration and COVID-19 in Kashmir: the insecurities of families left behind."

On December 8, 2025, International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) Congress adopted three resolutions relating to IAK: one that commits to a [decolonial approach](#) for the defense of human rights including in IAK, one that expresses [solidarity with human rights defenders at risk](#) including Khurram Parvez and Irfan Mehraj, one that, among other things [acknowledges the people's right to self-determination and demands an end to repression and the implementation of international law](#) in all of Jammu & Kashmir.

On December 9, 2025, University of Birmingham Law School blog [analyzed](#) "The India-Israel Axis: Allies in Control," comparing Palestine and Kashmir.

On December 22, 2025, Iftikhar Gilani published a book review of Saud Sultan's ["Jammu and Kashmir: Battle Over Memory"](#) which revisits and challenges dominant historical narratives regarding Partition-era Jammu and Kashmir.

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