

KEY FIGURES

POPULATION

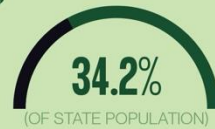
UTTAR PRADESH

38.48 MILLION MUSLIMS



ASSAM

10.68 MILLION MUSLIMS



'ENCOUNTER' SHOOTINGS BY UP POLICE



TOTAL DEATH TOLL → **266**

(SINCE 2017, AS OF 31 DECEMBER 2025, UNDER CM ADITYANATH)



MUSLIMS FORMED 32% OF THOSE KILLED, AS OF SEPTEMBER 2024, WHEN DEATH TOLL WAS 207.

56+

NUMBER OF MUSLIMS GRIEVOUSLY INJURED IN 'HALF ENCOUNTER' SHOOTINGS IN 2024.

0

FIRS REGISTERED AGAINST POLICE PERSONNEL FOR 'ENCOUNTERS' OR 'HALF ENCOUNTERS'.

'ENCOUNTER' SHOOTINGS BY ASSAM POLICE

TOTAL DEATH TOLL → **83**

(UNDER CM SARMA, AS OF JANUARY 2024)



45 (54%) IDENTIFIED AS BENGALI-SPEAKING MUSLIMS.

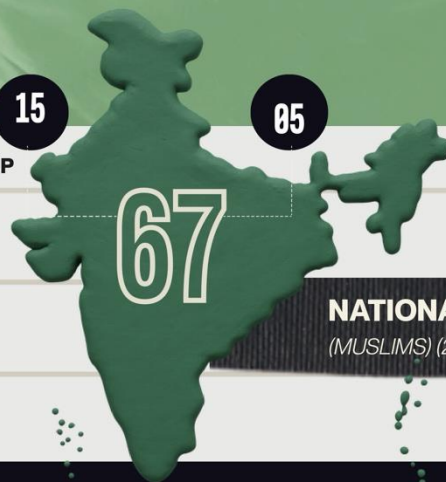
ZERO FIRS REGISTERED AGAINST POLICE PERSONNEL FOR 'ENCOUNTERS' OR 'HALF ENCOUNTERS'.

LYNCHINGS AND OTHER HATE CRIMES BY HINDU EXTREMIST NON-STATE ACTORS



DEATH TOLL UP

15



85

DEATH TOLL ASSAM

NATIONAL DEATH TOLL (MUSLIMS) (2023-2025)

POLICE CRACKDOWN AGAINST MUSLIMS IN SAMBHAL

(NOV 2024)



5 MUSLIMS KILLED BY POLICE.



ARRESTS (INCLUDING MINORS AND A LAWYER).

100+



NEARLY 100 MUSLIMS' HOUSES REMAINED LOCKED MONTHS LATER.

'I LOVE MUHAMMAD' CRACKDOWN AGAINST MUSLIMS IN UP

(SEPT-OCT 2025)



3 MUSLIMS INJURED IN 'HALF ENCOUNTERS'.



89+ ARRESTED IN BAREILLY ALONE.

4500+

DETAINED

265+

ARRESTED (NATIONWIDE)



PUNITIVE DEMOLITIONS OF AT LEAST 27 MUSLIM HOMES, AND A MARKET WITH TWO DOZEN MUSLIM-RUN SHOPS.

MASS EVICTIONS IN ASSAM:



8 BENGALI-SPEAKING MUSLIMS KILLED DUE TO USE OF LETHAL FORCE DURING EVICTION OPERATIONS. ADDITIONALLY, ONE DEATH DUE TO SEVERE COLD AND ONE DEATH DUE TO HEATSTROKE. (SINCE 2016, WHEN BJP ASSUMED POWER)

17600+

BENGALI MUSLIM FAMILIES DISPLACED DUE TO EVICTION OPERATIONS.

'PUSH-BACK' EXPULSIONS FROM ASSAM

(AS OF JANUARY 2026)



BENGALI-SPEAKING MUSLIMS EXPELLED FROM ASSAM ALONE (2000 IN LAST THREE MONTHS OF THE YEAR, ACCORDING TO THE CM)

2450+

AMONG THOSE EXPELLED: 100 ROHINGYA REFUGEES PREVIOUSLY HELD AT MATIA 'TRANSIT CAMP'.

DISENFRANCHISEMENT IN ASSAM

93,021

INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED D-VOTERS (BEFORE LATEST SPECIAL REVISION)



ARRESTS AND DETENTIONS



5000+

INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED AS PART OF CRACKDOWN ON CHILD MARRIAGE IN ASSAM. (FEBRUARY 2023 ONWARDS)



~300

MUSLIMS ARRESTED IN ASSAM UNDER COW PROTECTION LAW. (JUNE-JULY 2025)

NUMBER OF DOCUMENTED ANTI–MUSLIM HATE SPEECHES DELIVERED BY TOP PUBLIC OFFICIALS

81

NARENDRA MODI
(PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA)

85

AMIT SHAH
(HOME MINISTER OF INDIA)

52

HIMANTA BISWA SARMA
(CHIEF MINISTER OF ASSAM)

108

YOGI ADITYANATH
(CHIEF MINISTER OF UTTAR PRADESH)

Source: India Hate Lab annual reports

HATE
SPEECH

HIGHLIGHTS FROM UN SPECIAL PROCEDURES' COMMUNICATION ON ANTI–MUSLIM HATE SPEECH DURING 2024 GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

→ PM NARENDRA MODI MADE AT LEAST **61** CONTENTIOUS SPEECHES DEHUMANISING MUSLIMS. MODI'S REFERENCE TO MUSLIMS AS 'INFILTRATORS' POTENTIALLY AMOUNTS TO PROHIBITED HATE SPEECH.

→ BJP LEADERS MADE **287+** SUCH HATE SPEECHES.

→ HOME MINISTER AMIT SHAH, ASSAM CM HIMANTA BISWA SARMA AND UP CM YOGI ADITYANATH ALL DELIVERED SPEECHES THAT APPEARED TO INCITE VIOLENCE AND DISCRIMINATION, CELEBRATE PAST VIOLENCE, OR EXPLICITLY REFERENCE PHYSICAL THREATS AGAINST MUSLIMS.

Source: UN Special Procedures allegation letter to India, 24 September 2024

EMBLEMATIC SPEECHES: HIMANTA BISWA SARMA

"Let the Congress abuse me as much as they want. My job is to make the Miya people suffer... Whoever can give (them) any trouble in any way should give... In a rickshaw, if the fare is Rs. 5, give them Rs. 4. Only if they face troubles will they leave Assam."

27 January 2026, Tinsuki district, Assam

[on 'pushback' expulsions of Bengali Muslims] "Legally, all of them may not be foreigners. But we, the people of Assam—especially Hindus—are becoming a hopeless minority in our own land... Do not stop us. Just do not stop us from fighting from what is ours. For us this is our last battle of survival."

19 July 2025, X post

EMBLEMATIC SPEECHES: YOGI ADITYANATH

[on 'encounter' killings by police in Uttar Pradesh] "The earth should be freed of the burden of people who are burdening the system... If you play with the safety of our daughter, then a 'Yamaraj' (the Hindu god of death) will be waiting for you at the next crossroads, to cut your ticket to hell, and your path to hell is decided."

6 December 2025, New Delhi

"If anyone attempts to create mischief during the joy and enthusiasm of festivals, they will have to pay such a price for this mischief that future generations will remember what price has to be paid. Whoever tries to take the law into their own hands, whoever pelts stones during festivals, we will give them a one-way ticket to hell. Dare any mischief, and you will be beaten, just like in Bareilly."

28 September 2025, Balrampur district, Uttar Pradesh

EMBLEMATIC SPEECH: NARENDRA MODI

"When they (the opposition Congress-led government) were in power, they had said that Muslims have the first right over the country's assets. This means that they will distribute wealth to those who have more children and those who are infiltrators. Is this acceptable to you?"

21 April 2024, Banswara district, Rajasthan

EMBLEMATIC SPEECH: AMIT SHAH

"Infiltrators are the vote bank of (opposition parties) Lalu Prasad's RJD, Rahul baba's Congress and Chief Minister Hemant Soren's Jharkhand Mukti Morcha. I promise to drive out all illegal immigrants... The BJP will deal with Bangladeshi infiltrators by hanging them upside down."

20 September 2024, Sahibganj district, Jharkhand

Executive Summary

1. **Background:** The Panel of Independent International Experts (the Panel), composed of three experts who have led efforts to investigate serious human rights violations and achieve justice for victims and survivors in multiple country situations, joined together in 2021. It did so deeply alarmed by reports of serious violations against Muslim communities in India, to review available reports of abuses. In findings published in June 2022, the experts concluded that there was credible evidence suggesting that several human rights enshrined in treaty law and customary international law, including international human rights law and international criminal law, may have been violated. These violations warranted formal investigation and reparation. Cautioning that Muslims were at risk of becoming a persecuted minority within India, the Panel urged preventive and corrective measures by India and the international community. In the years since its last report, the Panel, alarmed by the continuing, and arguably worsening, trend of violence and discrimination against Muslims in India, and noting the lack of domestic and international action in response to its warnings, reconvened in 2024 to evaluate the current situation and to raise its alarm again.
2. **Seeking justice and accountability:** The Panel, in its current term, organised the gathering of credible information on recent abuses and discrimination against Muslims, assessed under applicable international law, with a view to raising international awareness and encouraging formal investigation and corrective action. This report is the product of that endeavour. The Panel's report is also meant to strengthen voices domestically – Muslims themselves and other democratic voices – demanding justice, dignity, and accountability. The Panel has focused its examination on Assam and Uttar Pradesh, given the widespread incidence of reported violence and discrimination against Muslims in the two states, to the point it seems systematic. It has also focused on the role of state leadership in the two states in shaping policies and practices affecting life, liberty, participation, and equal citizenship of Muslims, with disproportionate impact for Muslim communities and wider society across the country.
3. **Methodology and manner of working:** The Panel reviewed materials prepared by legal researchers and experts who gathered information from victims, civil society organisations, and journalists in the two states concerning alleged serious human rights violations against Muslims. It assessed the evidence under international human rights law and international criminal law. It analysed whether credible information indicated the commission of violations and, where possible, identified alleged perpetrators. It also examined whether independent and effective domestic proceedings and remedies had been pursued. The investigation covered the period July 2022 to January 2026. The Panel relied on documentation from victim groups, national and state authorities, court records, and social media. It was guided by the UN principles on fact-finding – independence, impartiality, transparency, objectivity, credibility, professionalism, and do no harm – in determining whether credible evidence established violations and what legal provisions may have been breached.
4. **Applicable law:** The Panel analysed the information gathered on the basis of applicable rules and principles of international law. In particular, it considered treaties ratified by India, including the UDHR, ICCPR, ICESCR, ICERD, CEDAW, and the CRC. It also considered relevant norms of customary international law where India has not ratified specific instruments. The analysis under international criminal law drew on definitions contained in the Rome Statute, including crimes against humanity and incitement to genocide. It also drew on the Genocide Convention and the Apartheid Convention, noting that India is not a party to the Rome Statute.
5. **Standard of proof:** On factual standards, the Panel applied the threshold generally justifying the commencement of formal investigations, namely, the existence of credible information of violations of

law. This is comparable to a preliminary examination by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court and lower than standards required for arrest, confirmation of charges, or trial. The Panel had direct access to some individuals affected by the violations, and also relied on credible sources with direct access to victims and relevant sites. It relied on reputable sources, including international human rights organisations, UN mandate-holders, independent media, and civil society actors, to evaluate credibility and determine whether reported incidents constituted violations of international law. The Panel did not seek a response from the Government of India and did not attempt to weigh defensive material. Its purpose was to assess whether the alleged violations warrant formal investigation.

6. Findings:

The Panel found credible evidence of **widespread and systematic human rights violations** against Muslims in both states.

- **In Assam**, violations included **arbitrary deprivation of life** through police ‘encounter’ killings, excessive use of force during eviction operations, custodial deaths, and failure to protect against foreseeable mob violence; **arbitrary arrest and detention**, including prolonged or indefinite detention linked to discriminatory citizenship determination processes; **torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment**; **arbitrary deprivation of nationality** exposing individuals to statelessness and removal; **summary cross-border expulsions** carried out without adequate procedural safeguards, in circumstances raising serious concerns of refoulement; unjustified and disproportionate **restrictions on freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly**, including the criminalisation of dissent; unlawful interference with **religious freedom**; sustained and discriminatory **disenfranchisement**; large-scale **forced evictions**; and severe impairment of **economic, social and cultural rights and minority rights**, including restrictions on access to housing, livelihoods, welfare, education, cultural participation, and protection of religious and cultural institutions.
- **In Uttar Pradesh**, violations included **arbitrary deprivation of life** through police ‘encounter’ killings, unlawful use of lethal force against protesters, custodial deaths, and failure to prevent targeted killings by non-state actors; **arbitrary arrest and detention**, including prolonged pre-trial detention arising from discriminatory enforcement of criminal, anti-conversion, cow-protection and national security laws; **torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment**, including excessive force, custodial violence, coercive interrogation practices, and punitive ‘half-encounter’ shootings; systemic violations of **fair trial and due process guarantees**, including denial of prompt judicial scrutiny, discriminatory prosecution, and punitive demolitions operating as summary punishment; unjustified and disproportionate **restrictions on freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly**, including blanket prohibitory orders, internet shutdowns, criminalisation of protest, and intimidation of journalists and civil society actors; unlawful interference with **religious freedom**, including coercive enforcement of the anti-conversion law, restrictions on religious practice, and interference with Muslim religious institutions; sustained and discriminatory interference with **political participation and voting rights**; and severe impairment of **economic, social and cultural rights and minority rights**, including large-scale demolitions of homes and businesses, livelihood destruction, discriminatory targeting of Muslim-majority localities, and cultural marginalisation affecting language, education, and heritage.

In both states, the Panel found credible evidence of **sustained and systemic discrimination** against Muslims, who have been denied equal protection and equal enjoyment of rights, contrary to international human rights law.

The Panel also found reasonable basis to believe that **international crimes** may have been committed against Muslims in both states.

In Assam:

- Multiple statements by the Chief Minister portraying Bengali-speaking Muslims as ‘infiltrators’ and existential threats and invoking violent confrontation were made in circumstances that appear to be preparing the ground for **ethnic cleansing**. In light of the *erga omnes* obligation to **prevent genocide**, such rhetoric warrants urgent measures to hold the Chief Minister accountable and stop such violence-inciting speech in the future.
- The large-scale expulsions of Bengali-speaking Muslims from Assam may amount to **deportation or forcible transfer as a crime against humanity**, involving displacement without grounds permitted under international law, committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- The cumulative and institutionalised pattern of **hate speech** targeting Bengali-speaking Muslims in Assam may amount to **persecution as a crime against humanity**, insofar as it reflects the intentional and severe deprivation of fundamental rights by reason of group identity as part of a widespread or systematic attack. Similarly, the large-scale pattern of **forced evictions and home demolitions** targeting Bengali-speaking Muslims in Assam may also amount to **persecution as a crime against humanity**.
- The systematic stripping of citizenship, legality and residence from Bengali-speaking Muslims in Assam may amount to **apartheid as a crime against humanity**, involving inhumane acts committed within an institutionalised regime of systematic oppression and domination over a racialised group.

In Uttar Pradesh:

- The widespread and systematic practice of so-called ‘half-encounter’ maimings by Uttar Pradesh Police may amount to **torture as a crime against humanity**, involving the intentional infliction of severe physical pain or suffering upon persons in custody or under the control of state agents as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- The widespread and institutionalised pattern of anti-Muslim **hate speech in Uttar Pradesh** may amount to **persecution as a crime against humanity**, insofar as it reflects the intentional and severe deprivation of fundamental rights on religious grounds as part of a widespread or systematic attack against Muslims. Similarly, the official targeting of **Muslims protesting discrimination**, and separately, the discriminatory enforcement measures directed at **Muslims engaged in meat-related trades**, may also amount to **persecution as a crime against humanity**. Both these phenomena involve the intentional and severe deprivation of fundamental rights by reason of religious identity, as part of a widespread or systematic attack against Muslims.
- The widespread and systematic pattern of abusive and punitive policing targeting Muslims in Uttar Pradesh may amount to **other inhumane acts as crimes against humanity**, involving acts of a similar character to other crimes against humanity that intentionally cause great suffering or serious injury, committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.

In both states, the **Chief Ministers**, who themselves lead the rhetoric against Muslims in their jurisdictions, also hold the portfolio of Home Minister, exercising ultimate authority over the police and executive machinery. They therefore **bear responsibility for the direction and supervision of**

the violations described above. Their public endorsement of coercive measures, and repeated characterisation of Muslims as security and demographic threats, also appear to have operated as a permissive signal for mobilisation and **violence by non-state actors.**

In both states, the remedial framework appears to be largely ineffective for Muslims, particularly in relation to serious violations, and individuals affected have no realistic prospect of securing justice through existing **domestic mechanisms.**

7. Recommendations:

7.1. To the Human Rights Council

- Mandate an independent fact-finding body to investigate violations against Muslims in India, and an international mechanism to preserve evidence for future accountability proceedings.
- Fulfil obligations under UNGA resolution 60/251 by advancing UN resolutions condemning the abuses and named perpetrators, including specifically: (i) mandating the High Commissioner to conduct a comprehensive human rights assessment of India for the Council's consideration; and (ii) establishing a Special Rapporteur on India to monitor, report publicly, and document violations against religious minorities, reporting annually to the HRC and UNGA.

7.2. To the High Commissioner, Special Advisers on Prevention of Genocide and R2P, and Special Procedures Mandate Holders

- Actively monitor violations against Muslims and other religious minorities; publicly express concern; and conduct in-country visits.
- Conduct a comprehensive assessment of the human rights situation in India and report findings to the HRC, as well as publicly.
- Establish an evidentiary repository to receive and preserve information from civil society-led fact-finding and documentation processes, for future accountability proceedings.

7.3. To the Government of India

- Immediately cease, prevent, punish, and remedy ongoing violations against Muslims committed by government agents.
- Fulfil ICCPR, Genocide Convention, and Responsibility to Protect (R2P) obligations; implement HRC resolution 58/29 and the Rabat Plan of Action on incitement to hatred.
- Conduct independent investigations and, where merited, prosecutions; and provide adequate reparation, including interim measures.
- Implement measures to promote equal access to socio-economic rights for Muslims.

7.4. To the Supreme Court of India

- Ensure the expedient resolution of constitutional challenges to laws impacting Muslims as a religious minority.
- Guarantee fair trial rights, including for Muslim HRDs, student leaders, and those in extended pre-trial detention.
- Provide effective remedies to victims.

7.5. To the governments of other States

- Monitor the human rights situation in India and publicly call out violations.
- Fulfil their international law obligations, including under the Genocide Convention, to address incitement and risks of mass atrocities.
- Use diplomatic and economic leverage to urge India to protect Muslim minorities.
- Exercise extraterritorial jurisdiction and impose targeted sanctions against perpetrators where warranted.

7.6. To social media companies

- Implement Rabat Plan and UN Guiding Principles responsibilities; enforce zero-tolerance hate speech policies.
- Be transparent on content takedowns; and establish effective content moderation and oversight mechanisms.
- Conduct human rights audits of the impact of operations on minorities.

7.7. To Indian and international civil society

- Document and report violations; and equip frontline activists to demand rights and justice without fear of reprisal.
- Undertake coordinated advocacy and public awareness-raising, domestically and internationally.
- Establish peoples' tribunals, memorialisation projects, and truth archives as accountability and reparative initiatives.