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Release Immediately



Tek Nath Rizal

Mr Tek Nath Rizal, 45, is the Founder Chairman of Peoples Forum for Human Rights, Bhutan (PFHRB). He was abducted from Nepal on November 15, 1989. INSEC strongly demands with the government of Bhutan to release him immediately.

EDITORIAL

DEMOCRACY & HUMAN RIGHTS

The year 1991 has already been passed. Till this year a number of positive and negative concepts have been observed in the name of human rights. Similarly, a number of people's movement have been launched and many of them have become so far successful. In the mean time a new policy/concept, i.e. Democracy with a flavour of Open Market Policy, Privatisation and Liberalisation is being emerged. Frankly speaking, the powerful nations are trying to use or interlink the concept of human rights with their new notion of Democracy.

After the fall of socialist governments in Europe, the word "democracy" has been widely propagated as the only means of fully materialising the concept of human rights. However, for a long period of time, human rights has been violated in democratic countries despite having democratic form of governments. For example we can take the case of India, which is widely propagated as one of the world's democratic countries. Taking the advantage of the word "democracy", India is imposing so many black laws on its own people, especially in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and Nagaland and is shooting a number of people daily in the name of controlling so-called terrorism. Furthermore, a larger number of people are suffering and suffocating under extreme poverty and starvation. Similarly, Bangladesh is suppressing the voice of Chittagong Hill Tracts people, the indigenous people, in the name of protecting democracy. Despite the new set up of democratic government all the black laws imposed on CHT people during Ershad military regime are still existing. If we critically examine the human rights situation in South Asia, Nepal is not an exception of

human rights violation though having democratic set up. Moreover, we might be really shocked to read and find the record/report of human rights violation in USA published by Amnesty International; the USA has been acting as the spokesman of human rights and democracy. By observing the record of human rights violation, we are compelled to say that the rulers of those countries are using human rights as a tool to sustain the existing system and fulfil their vested-interests.

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BHUTAN

Disappearances !

In the course of democratic movement, which started before two years, for human rights and democracy, PFHRB claims that more than 5000 people have been arrested and their fate and whereabouts are unknown even today. Similarly, a number of people have been killed and abducted from neighbouring countries and the women have been victims of gang rape by policy, army and government-hired hooligans.

The degree of suppression by Bhutan government has suddenly increased after the return of Bhutan King Jigme participating in the SAARC summit held in Sri Lanka recently. It is a matter of surprise that no member countries of SAARC raised a question regarding human rights violation in Bhutan. India did not utter even a single word and so did Nepal. In the Summit the King of Bhutan went to extent to labelling the Bhutanese dissidents as "terrorists". It seems that SAARC has nothing to do with people as a whole.

Regarding Nepal's view on Bhutan, it has double standard policy. Once the Prime Minister of Nepal had said, "We morally support the democratic movement of Bhutan". However, during his visit to India later, he said, "The Bhutan issue is totally internal matter". But it is to be noted that the issue of human rights has no national boundary.

In the meantime, INSEC has come to know that a number of people have been missing since the launching of movement. In this regard, INSEC has requested the King of Bhutan to disclose whereabouts of those missing persons. Brief account provided by PFHRB, of the missing people is given below:

Name: Sal B. Gurung

Age, Sex: 30, M

Address: Yaba, Block Samchi,

Situation: Arrested

Last seen: November 1990

Reported by : Mother



Name: Dilliram Gurung

Age, Sex: 40, M

Address: Phipsoo, H. No. PS-06

Block-Singhu, Thram No. 193

Sarbhanga,

Situation: Arrested

Last seen: April 11, 1991

Reported by : Mrs Hasta Maya



Name: Sol B. Subba

Age, Sex: 24, M

Address: Betholi, H. No. BH-10

Block-Daijam, Thram

No. 44 IV, Samdrupjongkhar

Citizenship No: 18-5-12-0043289

Reported by: Dhan Maya (Mother)

Situation: Arrested

Last seen: October 20, 1990



Name: Purna Chhetri

Age, Sex: M, 18

Address: Kharbandi, H. No. C2-53

Reported by: Sam K. Chhetri

(Brother-in-law)

Situation: Arrested

Last seen: May 28, 1990



Name: Chandra B. Karki

Age, Sex: 32, M

Address: Pinkhuwa, H. No. PK-28

Block-Singhi, Thram No. 221

Citizenship No: 18-5-12-0043289

Reported by: Maya Devi Chhetri (Wife)

Situation: Arrested

Last seen: January, 1990



Name: Padam B. Subba

Age, Sex: 20, M

Address: H. No. 9, Block

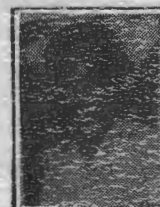
Gheemauney, Samchi

Citizenship No:

Reported by: R.P. Subba (Father)

Situation: Detained

Last seen: May, 1990



Name: Man B. Gurung
Age, Sex: 31, M
Address: Sano Dhapper, Bloci-
Emiray, Dagana
Citizenship No:
Reported by: Tularam Gurung (Father)
Situation: Arrested
Last seen: May 16, 1991

Name: Navin Chhetri
Age, Sex: 18, M
Address: Bimtar, H. No. DI-49
Block-Chengmari, Thram
No. 101, Samchi
Citizenship No: Sized by Govt.
Reported by: Arun Chhetri (Brother)
Situation: Arrested
Last seen: Sept. 22, 1990

Name: Em B. Gurung
Age, Sex: 21, M
Address: Pinkhuwa, H. No. PK-02
Bloci-Singhi, Thram, No-7230
Sarbhong
Citizenship No: 18-5-12-0043330
Reported by: Yasadha Guragai (Wife)
Situation: Arrested
Last seen: January 1990

Name: Rudra B. Karki
Age, Sex: 30, M
Address: Pinkhuwa, H. No. PK-28
Singhi, Thram-221, Sarbhong
Citizenship No: 18-5-12-0043289
Reported by: Maya Devi (Wife)
Situation: Arrested
Last seen: January 1991

Name: Yaduram Adhikari
Age, Sex: 20, M
Address: Samrang, H.No.232
Block-Samrang, Thram No. 69
Samdraupjongkhar
Citizenship No:
Reported by: Devi Charan (Brother)
Situation: Arrested
Last seen: November 4, 1990

Name: Hari P. Koirala
Age, Sex: 23, M
Address: Gathiya-I, Block-
Chargharey, Samchi
Reported by: R.P. Subba (neighbour)
Last seen: May 1990

Name: Kharga B. Subedi
Age, Sex: 48, M
Address: Deorali, Block-Singhi
Thram-239, Sarbhong
Reported by: son
Last seen: Nov. 4, 1990

Release

In the meantime, it is reported that Mr Ratna Gajamer has been released. He was abducted from Nepal on November 15, 1989.

BURMA

Release Immediately



Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

Human Rights Still Far of Sight

The brutal crackdown by the military regime has considerably affected the psychology of the Burmese people who have gradually changed into resisting and confronting the inhuman dictatorship. Burmese people have already lost freedom and basic human rights in all aspects of politics, economy and social welfare. All protection under justice and law is denied to them. It has been proved in Burma that "laws are the expression of the will of the dominant class", where the dictators are

producing laws to defend their own interests but are pretending shamelessly to rule the country with law and order. Apart from a small period when the people had tasted a sip of human rights, they have had no chance to enjoy basic freedom and human rights.

Freedom of speech and publication does not exist. People are so threatened by military agents and informers that they are afraid to speak freely even in their homes. Burmese people are living under a constant state of fear. SLORC turned its force on the people in government service. All anti-military employees were dismissed. About 4500 employees including 200 from the Education Department were dismissed after their answers to some questions in the forced "attitude tests" given by SLORC. SLORC has strictly banned employees and their family from taking part in politics either directly or indirectly. They have stated that if there is anyone in a family who has disappeared for anti-government activities, the family must immediately inform the government. Failure to do so results in severe punishment. Thus, thousands and thousands of government employees and their families are at present victims of military rule in Burma.

The Burmese people cannot go and sleep in a friend's house within a city. Anyone who has no registration card is identified as a "rebel". If new guests are not reported to the police, their family will be arrested and interrogated by SLORC soldiers. The dismissed employees have to report to their specific department monthly to help SLORC keep them under control. They are prohibited from visiting other towns or states and barred for three years from going abroad.

Although the United States (US), the European Economic Community (EEC) and Japan have cut off economic aid to the Burmese military junta, it is not fully effective because China, Thailand and some ASEAN countries support the military government. China and ASEAN countries should not look for their own short-sighted interests but participate with other

countries to pressure the SLORC through economic and political means. Inflation is almost 5 times the 1988 period. Although SLORC increased the salary after 1988, prices of basic commodities also increased so that the majority cannot afford to buy meat, fish and oil. For example, a lowest-paid employee gets a salary of 450 Kyats (US\$ 4.5 in real exchange) which can buy a viss (1.5 kg) of prawn. Because of SLORC's border trade, 80 percent of the economy is not in the hands of Burmese but with Chinese big business since 1980. Thus, the economic crisis and political suppression have reached new heights compared to even the BSPP period.

Similarly, students have no freedom to choose their university or subjects. According to the marks obtained and a quota system, the students enter their academic studies. The education policy of the regime is not for the benefit of the youth and three generation of youth have suffered already.

According to Overseas National Students' Organisation of Burma (ONSOB), though schools are being opened by SLORC, it is under heavy measures of control. Hundreds of students leaders have been put in jails, about 2500 students are fighting against the SLORC from border camps, over 30,000 youth have left Burma unable to put up with the torture and repression. Most of them end up earning their living as cheaply paid hard labour.

On the one hand the number of students refugee is increasing day by day, while, on the other, the Thai government authorities view Burmese student refugees in Thailand as illegal immigrants. They have not stopped arresting, imprisoning and beating the students. Some Burmese women have been raped in jails. Occasionally the government attempts to forcibly repatriate arrested students back to Burmese authorities in the border towns. One student has killed himself while the police were taking those arrested across the river to Burma. One student was shot and killed while trying to escape from the police who alleged

that the students was attacking them.

It is unfortunate that the Burmese students who wish to be free from arrest and oppression by the Burmese military junta, now find themselves undergoing similar treatment at the hands of Thai authorities.[Source: ONSOB]

INDIA

Andhra Pradesh

Journalist Ghulam Rasool Shot Dead

On Sunday, December 29, 1991, newspapers in Hyderabad carried a report that two unidentified Naxalites were killed in an encounter at Masjidguda, on the outskirts of the city. According to the police they were killed in the early hours of 28 December in an exchange of fire. By next evening it became known that one of the killed was Ghulam Rasool, a reporter working with Udayam — third largest circulating Telugu daily. The news left everyone in shocked disbelief.

Ghulam Rasool, 30, was working as a city reporter of Udayam for the last six months. He joined the profession in 1986 after completing his intermediate (+2) and had earlier worked with Eenadu, Andhra Jyoti and Andhra Patrika. While working as a stringer, he did his B.A. through the A.P. Open University. Rasool comes from a poor family of Sharajipeta, Aleru, Nalgonda. He was a first generation graduate, if not the first literate, in his family. His own background has deeply influenced his interest within his profession and he was known for his reports on poor people. Commitment to the profession led him to make daring breakthrough in his reportage. Among the more well-known of his stories were his interviews with Sardar, a wanted underworld figure of Hyderabad, and with a dalam (armed squad) leader of the Naxalite movement. He also covered police harassment of villagers in his area, misuse of TADA, and role of police in the land grabbing and eviction

of slum dwellers in NTR Nagar in the city. In the later story, Mr K. Rajaiah, DSP of Saroornagar was named. In recent weeks Rasool appears to have done an investigation into the role of police in land grabbing activities in and around the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

On 27 December Rasool left Udayam office around 5 pm, went to the house of a friend B. Vijayaprasada Rao. Rao was from the same village as Rasool and was an unemployed post graduate in Public Administration from Osmania University. He was an associate of National Students Union of India (NSUI). Both of them went to Eenadu office and left the place around 6:30 pm. Attempts to trace their movements, in so far as recorded evidence goes, dry up around this time. There is one eyewitness account that suggests that both were picked up by the police an hour later, not very far from Rasool's house near Amberpet. Seven hours later they were taken to an abandoned shed in the open fields near Masjidguda, about 20 km from the city. Both of them were shot there. Next morning police announced that, acting on a tip-off they went to the village and found a meeting of a Naxalite armed squad taking place. They appealed to the Naxalites to surrender. Instead the Naxalites opened fire. In self defence police opened fire. Two Naxalites died on the spot while others escaped. The police hand-out also claimed that there was nothing on the bodies or in the shed that could enable them to identify the dead. Subsequently their bodies were taken to Gandhi Hospital, Secunderabad from where they were removed on Sunday afternoon. The villagers say that they were not aware of any meeting and that they had only heard a jeep and a van around 3 am and a little later sounds of gunshots. The village elders, who signed the panchnama said that the police removed wallets from the bodies which contained identity cards of the two young men. Following uproar in the press, police claimed that they were able to identify one of the victims as Ghulam Rasool. According to them, Rasool was involved in extortion of money on behalf of Naxalites, was a member of

an armed squad of CPI(ML) [People's War] and was involved in a murder case. An alert journalist community in the city is now able to trace and name some of the policemen involved in the arrest and killing of Rasool and Rao. They include Circle Inspectors, Rami Reddy (Saroor Nagar), Muralidhar (Vanastalipuram) and Laxmi Narayan (Ibrahimpattanam) and were led by DSP, Mr K. Rajaiah.

The Andhra Pradesh Union of Working Journalists (APUWJ) took up the matter at all levels. Successful bandh calls were given by the union in a number of places. The state government conceded the demand of judicial enquiry but categorically rejected the demand for suspension of the police officials involved. This has emboldened the policemen to threaten the journalists. Many journalists in Hyderabad received telephone calls warning them that they will be "bumped off" if they continue to write about police. Among those who received such phone calls were the president of APUWJ and chief reporter of Indian Express.

The situation for reporters in rural areas and district centres has become worse. It must be noted that almost all Telugu dailies bring out separate district supplements, all newspapers have engaged stringers even in remote mandal headquarters on a piece-rate basis. It is these rural correspondents who have become particularly insecure after the murder of a reporter based in a metropolis. In Karimnagar eight journalists have received direct threat from the police. In Warangal demonstrating journalists were lathi-charged by a contingent of Border Security Force (BSF).

[Source: People's Union of Democratic Rights, Delhi]

Nagaland

The Plight of Naga People

From the time immemorial, the Naga people have been occupying part of the Chindrin Valley

and the Patkai Range. Currently, divided between India and Burma (Myanmar).

The estimated population of this people is 2.3 million and made up of many tribes. Tribes are united by common traditional and customary practices and belief systems.

As stated before, the land of Naga people has been divided by Burma and India against the expressed and determined stand of the people to remain by themselves. Both these countries — India and Burma — based their claim on the British colonial conquest history.

On both sides of the border, strong attempts have been made to destroy their social and economic system and in the process invented laws giving legal immunity to the security forces.

It is on this background that the human rights situation of the Naga people has to be examined. Since 1953, India has imposed several special laws against the Naga people like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act of 1958.

Anybody acting or assumed to be acting under this law cannot be taken to any court of law without prior permission from the government which is, as expected, never given.

Armed with such enormous power, the strangers in uniforms of the Indian Army plunder the villages, outrage the modesty of women, defile places of worships, carry out mass tortures and outright cold-blooded killings.

Some of the incidents of human rights violations have been reported by the Amnesty International in October 1990. Similarly, many NGOs have also brought out a series of human rights violations in Nagaland.

In April 1991 the Army carried out mass tortures in many villages in Ukhrul Manipur. As such, the fundamental rights enshrined in the Indian constitution has no mention to Naga people who have lived these 35 years under the special laws. The action taken by the Army was clearly

against the agreement India made with Naga people in June 1947. The agreement is called Nine Points Agreement or the Hydai Agreement where in India recognized the Naga National Council (NNC), the only political organisation of the Naga people at that time as the only authority over their traditional lands and resources and agreed to act as the guardian power for ten years.

Though the Naga people on their part accept India as the guardian power, India, instead of honouring this, has militarized the area.

As the Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) wants to draw the attention of international community, what is most disturbing for the Nagas is the double standard policy of the government of India. Needless to mention the role of India in the UN and other international fora where she projected herself as the spokesman of the "wretched of the earth" for a new international democratic and humanitarian order with social and economic equality and justice, for non-violence and non-aggression and peaceful co-existence, and the high sounding rhetoric against violation of human rights, racism and apartheid. Ironically, running parallel along these lines is not only the total failure but the blatant callousness and indifferent attitude of the government of India to secure to the Nagas even the basic and minimum rights to life, liberty and property. What hope can the Nagas expect from the government of India which, while patronizing to discuss the issues relating to the human rights in the world denies and deprives the Nagas of the same things.

The Naga comprises more than 30 tribes with a population of about 2 million. However, following the armed struggle between the underground Nagas and Indian Army the hitherto unified Naga hills were segregated and divided into small administrative units. Consequently only 16 tribes were clubbed together under the new state of Nagaland in 1963, thereby leaving the remaining tribes as minorities into three separate states viz Assam,

Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur. The legacy of the British rule created an "International Boundary Line" between India and Burma which again cuts across the Naga villages, fields and even houses. These whole idea of "divide and rule" policy continues till date under the government of India and despite the provision for a unified Naga inhabited areas, concluded in the Sixteenth Point Agreement between the government of India and the Nagas, the latter's desire for their integration under one state remains unfulfilled.

Impossible as it is to submit, in this limited space a whole account of the inhuman and brutal act of the Indian army upon the Naga men, women and children as it would run into huge volume. What is attempted here is to highlight the nature of some of the most shocking and piteous experiences the Nagas have been avoidably undergoing under the physical and psychological warfare unleashed by the armed forces deployed in the Naga hills since 1956.

However, one may fail to immediately understand the prevailing situations and realities in the Naga hills as to why there is a continual and unabated violation of human rights resulting to barbaric killings, mass torture, maiming and crippling for life, anomalous sexual assault, arbitrary arrest and detention without trial, demolition and burning of houses, desecration of Churches, looting of properties, forcible occupation of schools, colleges and community halls, forced labour and imposition of collective fines to name a few. This becomes inevitable when such notorious activities are fully backed and rationalised by several infamous and black laws passed by the highest decision making body — the Indian Parliament. Incidentally, the objections of only two Member of Parliament (MP) each in Lok Sabha (Lower House) and Rajya Sabha (Upper House) from Nagaland and Manipur state respectively carries little weightage amongst hundreds of there. Under the Assam Maintenance of Public (Autonomous District) Regulation Act, 1953 — the Governor could impose collective fines on the Nagas,

detain anybody without warrant. Again the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act, 1958 empowers the Governor to declare any areas as "disturbed areas". It also endows special powers to low ranking army officer, such as Lance Naik, even to the extent of causing death. Similarly the Nagaland Security Regulation Act 1962 gives extra-constitutional powers to the Governor to displace the entire or a section of the population and the entire or a section of animal population to be instituted against the concerned authority or any armed personnel. This leaves no room for the aggrieved citizens or even the state government to seek redressal against the armed forces for gross violation of human rights. Finally, the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers (Amendment) Act, 1972 which covers all the North-East states further gave unlimited powers to the armed forces to use force even to extent of causing death; to destroy any suspicious properties; to arrest anybody without warrant and to enter and search without any warrant.

These undemocratic laws have largely been imposed on the subjective satisfaction of the authorities without proper objective criteria. The popularly elected state legislature has no role and the centre in almost all the cases overruled the former's decision. Similarly civil authorities were crippled to act independently.

The human rights situation in Nagaland continues to remain in a pathetic condition.

This is largely because the excessive violations of the human rights of the Nagas are never seriously debated in the Parliament. Nor does it attract the attention of eminent journalists/mediamen at the National level. And such other social activists, lawyers and others who sympathise with the Nagas and try to raise their voices are branded as anti-national or anti-social elements, while the complain and protest from the Nagas are considered as baseless allegations, full of lies and anti-Indian stand. In this circumstance it is questionable why the government of India still refuses to allow foreign journalists to visit the disturbed areas in

the North-East states. Earlier the government of India had abruptly turned down the repeated appeals made by the Amnesty International to send their delegates to the Naga affected areas.

Calendar of Events

Nagas entered the recorded history of the imperialist world in 1832, the year marking the beginning of their years of struggle against political and military domination, division of their land, destruction of their history, institutions and basic human rights by the outside forces.

1832-1879: Invasion and annexation of the Naga villages by the combined forces of the Ahom (Assamese) Kingdom, Meiti Kingdom and the British.

1840-1918: Wide-scale destruction of lives and property and forcible occupation of the village lands by the Kuki nomads with British support following "colonel McCulloch's Policy of planting Kuki settlements on exposed frontiers".

1873: Introduction of Inner Line Regulation for checking the influx of businessmen into Naga areas.

1879: The Fall of ~~Khonoma~~ and the Peace Treaty (unwritten) between the British and the Nagas.

1929: First organised expression for Self-rule: Memo to Simon Commission opposing inclusion in the reorganisation of India. Ref: Government of India Act, 1925.

1946: Setting up of Naga National Council (NNC) — the national political organ.

Feb. 20, 1947: NNC proposed for setting up of an Interim Government for a period of Ten years under the Guardianship of India.

June: Sir Akbar Hydari, Assam governor, and NNC entered into an agreement — The Nine Point Agreement (Hydari Agreement)

The Agreement envisages special responsibility of the Governor, as the agent of the Government of India, to ensure due observance of the provisions of the Agreement throughout the period of the Agreement which is ten years;

Recognises NNC as the sole national political authority of the Nagas with complete authority over land and its resources;

Provides NNC with the option to extend the Agreement period or to go for new arrangement regarding the future of the Naga people, at the expiry of the ten year period.

July: The Constituent Assembly of India completely ignored the provisions of the Agreement.

July 19: "If you do not wish to join the Union of India nobody will force you to do that", Gandhiji assured NNC delegation that had come to apprise him of the situation.

Aug 14: NNC declared complete independence.

Aug 15: Independent India proclaims authority over the Naga areas. Expelled all the Naga students from Government schools for refusing to express allegiance to the authority of Independent India.

1948: NNC continued to peruse India to honour the Hydari Agreement.

June: Both the Governor and the Prime Minister of Assam gave in writing that there was no question of non-implementation of the Agreement, and that the Draft Constitution was in no way inconsistent with the Agreement.

July: NNC President A.L. Phizo along with several other NNC leaders arrested and imprisoned while returning from a meeting with leaders of Indian Union.

Nov. 1949: The Governor-General of India, C.R. Rajagopalachari assured NNC delegation that "they were at full liberty to do as they liked, either to become part of India or to be separate if they felt it would be best in their interests. But Union of India went on with its plan of suppressing Nagas independence.

1951: NNC called for plebiscite. 100 percent was recorded in favour of Independent Nagaland.

1952: NNC launched civil-disobedience movement and successfully boycotted government offices, and with it began the history of imposition of inhuman — illegal laws on the Nagas.

March 30: Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India visited Kohima. Nagas walked out of the meeting over Nehru's refusal to give them a hearing.

Apr: Armed Police from Assam entered Naga Hills to arrest NNC leaders.

Sep: Assam Armed Police entered Naga Hills with power to requisition the service of any able-bodied Naga as porter, and went about committing sexual assaults, illegal detention, forced labour and so on, on the Nagas. And Marwari merchants boycotted Potato supply from the Nagas.

Nov.-Dec: Nagas sent a Twelve Member Goodwill Mission to Assam with the objective of eradicating suspicion, misunderstanding so as to avoid bloodshed and instead to secure understanding, friendship and the goodwill of the people of Assam.

1954: Assam Rifles entered Naga Hills.

July 7: Fired upon Chingmei villagers indiscriminately killing many on the spot. Thirty-one villagers survived with bullet injuries.

Nov 15: 60 men, women and children at

Yengpang village slaughtered by troops from Noklak post.

Nov 27: Chimgmei village, razed to ground by bombing.

1955: Assam Disturbed Areas Act, 1955 introduced to further strengthen the military campaign.

1956: Regular Army joined the Campaign. Bullet ridden bodies of Thepfucha, Purhielie and Lhouphezhu strung against poles and kept displayed for several days at Kohima market.

Rev. Peleseto Chase burnt-alive at Bible Hill Mission Compound, Phek, by Assam Rifles.

March 22: NNC established the Federal Government of Nagaland.

April 2: Naga Hills and Tuensang handed over to Army, and the General Officer Commanding of the Indian Army set up its headquarters at Kohima.

July 10: Naga Home guard of the Federal Government overran Kohima and Headquarters of the General Officer Commanding shifted. Heavy fighting involving aerial bombings on many fronts amidst regrouping of villages, detention of villagers in concentration camps.

1957: Creation of Naga Hills and Tuensang Area into an autonomous district.

1958: Imposed Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation of 1958. This Regulation was converted into Act on September 11, 1958.

1959: On September 5, Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that between December 1958 - July 31, 1959 Naga have suffered 1568 casualties for India's 334 casualties.

1963: Naga Hills and Tuensang Area reorganised as the State of Nagaland under the External Affairs Ministry.

1964-67: The Government of the Union of India and Federal Government of Nagaland held Peace Talks.

1965: Several MP's demanded in the Lok Sabha for arresting Jaya Prakash Narayan for saying, "It is far more important to have friendly Nagas on our frontier closely associated with us in some new constitutional manner rather than unfriendly and discontented Nagas kept forcibly within the Indian Union".

1970-89: Widespread destruction of lives and property in Naga villages continued. At many place sexual assaults were committed openly — to cite a few:

Dec. 9, 1970: Over 40 women were subjected to sexual assaults ranging from molestation to rape at Cheswezumi village.

March 24, 1971: Several women at Mao Song village were molested in public.

July 11, 1974: Four girls were raped inside the Yankeli Baptist Church.

March 3-5, 1974: 95 BSF under major Pundit Brahm Prakash and Captain Negy carried out mass tortures and sexual assaults on Ngprum and Garihang villagers. Miss Rose, in her teens, was raped in front of the Ngaprum village council members. She committed suicide next day.

Feb. 1982 onwards: India's Army personnel carried out indiscriminate torture and detention of villagers in Ukhrul areas and maimed many for life. Church and schools buildings converted to torture and detention camps. Hundreds of women subjected to sexual assaults.

1990: Twenty Assam Rifles under the command of a captain attacked the Ukhrul police station firing 2-3 hundred rounds of ammunition at the police building in an apparent attempt to rescue its driver who was detained for drunken state and knocking down a pedestal in front of the police station.

1991: Two teenage girls, suspected National Socialist Council of Nagaland (formed in January 1980) (NSCN) cadres, detained and tortured including subjecting to sexual assaults for 10 days at Talloi military camp.

April 1991: Army subjected people in 4 villages of Ukhrul district to mass torture.

The practice of occupying village lands, felling trees and subjecting villagers to forced labour by India's Army at will is still continuing.

Punjab

Note of the Killing of Sikh Militants

The siege of Punjab is complete. Democratic process has been stalled and president's rule is continuing since more than 4 years. Punjab is being treated as a colony. It has confirmed the widespread belief that where Punjab is concerned all norms of decency and democratic claims have been thrown to the winds. Justice - social, economic and political - has been denied. Blue Star and other punitive actions which were considered as remedies to restore peace have failed miserably. Rather these measures have proved to be counter-productive and the situation has gone from bad to worse to the point of no return. The end of the dark tunnel seems to be nowhere in sight. More suffering and agony lie ahead for the people of Punjab.

Punjab is virtually cut-off from the world. The right to life, liberty, expression, fair and speedy trial, have been taken away by various acts. Uniformed brutality is on the increase.

Dead bodies of young men killed in 'encounters' are not returned to their relatives for last rites and disposed as unclaimed. People are prohibited to attend BHOG ceremonies (last religious rites) of slain persons.

According to the figures released to the Press by the Punjab Government, a total number of 3008 militants have been killed in Punjab from

April 1, 1990 to August 31, 1991, in a period of 17 months. Only the names of 897 are given, rest 2111 being listed as unidentified suspected terrorists. Only in about 24 cases bodies have been handed over to next of kin. That too under great public pressure, when people in thousands surrounded the concerned police station. All other being disposed off/cremated mostly at night. No effort has even been made to get the boy identified. This is being done to hide the death in police custody on account of torture and killings in fake encounters of innocent Amritdhari Sikh youth.

Before Operation Blue Star (as the Government calls it) in June 1984, it used to come in the newspapers from government side that there are 40 militants hiding in Akal Takhat. In this so-called operation 38 Gurdwaras were attacked by Military and other government forces. Thousands were killed including these 40.

Mr J.F. Ribeiro took over as DGP Punjab on March 28, 1986. Soon after he gave a statement that there are 38 hard core terrorists (in government terms). Though a couple of hundred were killed between June 8, 1984 to March 28, 1986 (excluding November 1984 carnage).

On September 2, 1987 Mr Ribeiro gave a statement that there were 100 terrorist leaders out of that only 65 are left, others killed. There are 200 others helping them.

K.P.S. Gill took over as Director General Punjab Police on April 21, 1988. On October 31, 1988 he said that there are 400-500 persons in Punjab who are to be dealt with. He had divided the militants in A, B and C categories. Out of these 70 are of A category.

Almost 85 percent of these total killed as terrorists by Government are in fake encounters, shown to have taken place at night only.

Examples

1. So many dead bodies of unidentified militants were found at so and so place. There were stated to be killed in inter-gang rivalry.

NEPAL

1992: The Palpa Firing Incident

On the one hand the Prime Minister and Home Minister of Nepal are repeatedly claiming that the government is committed to improve the law and order situation and safeguard human rights, while, on the other, police are opening fire on people who are peacefully protesting the misbehaviour and wrong-doings of the administration.

It is reported that on January 6, 1992, police resorted to lobbing of tear gas, lathi-charge, baton charge and blank fire on a group of people who were demanding the release of Mr Madhav Acharya, CPN (UML) activist, and cancel charges imposed on other six activists, the victims of false and fabricated charge.

But the government has given the contradictory version of the incident. According to the newspaper The Rising Nepal (government owned English Daily, January 7, 1992), "...to bring the situation under control when a group staging a sit-in in front of the district administrative office even preventing the employees from entering the office in connection with the incident that took place in Kusum Khola of Palpa district on December 30, 1991 started brick-batting, ignoring to call off the sit-in... Following the incident, a curfew has been imposed on the main road around the Tansen Durbar from 5:00 pm today to 5:00 pm tomorrow. The situation is under control now... According to the details of the incident received on the complaint of Nepal Congress (ruling party) district member Ram P. Khanal that he was attacked by CPN(UML) workers including Madhav Acharya and other six... The district administration bearing in mind the difficulties of the offices declared the Tansen Durbar area a prohibited area..."

However, commenting on the government version of the incident, the CPN(UML) leader and MP Mr Khadga Oli has denied the report

2. So many Bullet Ridden dead bodies were found. These were of militants, other times suspected militants.
3. Unidentified decomposed dead body found in so and so canal. It was of a militant.
4. Police was taking so and so for the recovery of arms (almost 100 percent at night) was attacked by militants. Militant being taken for arms recovery is the only persons who died in that encounter.
5. When being taken for recovery of arms militant jumped out of the running Jeep and disappeared under cover of darkness, other time jumped into the canal.
6. Encounter carried on for 3-4 hours 2 militants died, police recovered 1 pistol and 6 cartridges and one 12 bore gun and 5 cartridges.

These are the kind of encounter reports given by Punjab Police (now even U.P. Police) mostly to the newspapers. There are many more such methods of encounter.

During this given period of 17 months police says that 390 dead bodies of unidentified militants were found killed in intergang rivalries. Police found another 177 bullet ridden dead bodies, these were also of unidentified militants, they say.

It astonishes every body as to how Punjab Police comes to know from the dead bodies of unidentified persons of bullet ridden dead bodies that they are of militants.

Various Human Rights Organisations have asked the Punjab Government to publish the list of wanted militants from time to time.

So far the Government has not released the list of wanted militants but there are cases against thousands of persons in Punjab for harbouring the militants. Some of these are in jail, some out on bail.

[Source: Punjab Human Rights Organisation].

given by government-controlled media and has said, "Without giving time to remove from the restricted area, the police resorted to lathi-charging and firing".

According to the other CPN (UML) activist, "Mr Khanal, Nepali Congress district member, was heavily drunken and unfortunately fell down and got injuries. He was a relative of Chief District Officer, too. So he made a false case and the administration started to suppressing the workers of opposition political parties". [Samaj, Daily, January 7].

Similarly, the Dristi Weekly, (January 8) reports that, "There was a slight quarrel between the workers of CPN (UML) and Nepali Congress while delimitating the border of Village Development Committee. Taking advantage of this situation, the administration started arresting and issued warrant to suppress the opposition. Protesting the injustice of the administration people staged a sit-in programme. In the meantime police resorted to lathi-charging and firing. A number of people were injured. Some of them are in critical condition. No bullet injuries occurred".

1992: The Torture Case

"No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment..."

- Article 7, Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

"No person detained during investigation or for trial or for inquiry or other reasons shall be subjected to physical or mental torture nor shall be given any cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment..."

- Article 14(4), Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990

Nepal has already signed a number of international instruments, UN Convention and Universal Declaration of Human Rights

including Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. But, to be a signatory and to implement those international instruments are two very different things. Recently, Mr Dhillip Dharewa, a Nepal Sadbhavana Party leader, was severely tortured at police custody. He was arrested under fabricated and false charge. Accordingly he was not given any warrant paper before his arrest.

The Nepal Sadbhavana Party in its memorandum to Prime Minister Girija P. Koirala mentions that, "...But it is to pen with annoyance that the administration is treating political workers of the opposition party revengefully in this democratic system too, and as in the dictatorial Panchayat system, devilish atrocity by police has begun, opposition political workers are being ensnared in intricacy, fabulous cases whose an evidence is being presented by Nepal Sadbhavana Party:

Nepal Sadbhavana Party's candidate rivalling present Minister of Agriculture in last election (May, 1991 general election) Mr Dhillip Dharewa was arrested by police enmeshing in arsenal case and presented to the court on December 30, 1991. And due to high level political pressure on the court he has been sent to jail (law related to attempt to murder) for the sake of investigation. In police custody he has been through barbarous outrage; beaten with sticks, charred his feet with lighted cigarettes, etc. He has not been taken to hospital upto 5 days in spite of the judicial order.

At the attendance of police, dissembling the machinery parts of his tractor, parked at his farm-house have been taken out and squandering paddy crop, grown on his hundred acres of land, police and some Congress' leaders have shared among themselves".

WOMEN ISSUE

Does AIDS means Humiliation ?

Nowadays people used to gather in Melamchi, Sindhupalchock. It looked from a distance that

there is a fiesta. But it is neither a social gathering nor any Haat (local market). They are there to see Ms Geeta Danuwar, who returned from Bombay after passing 6 years in brothel. She is suffering from an incurable disease "AIDS".

Geeta, 23, thin pale with a skeleton only, was sold by her relative brother Mr. Radhe Danuwar. When she returned with Rs. 1500, her father became happy, but her declining health made him to consider the case. She was taken to Melanchi Bazaar, homeopathic hospital for check-up. But even after a month the health went on declining. So, she came to Kathmandu passing different hospitals and people.

After finding out HIV positive in her blood, Central Blood Checking Hospital-Teku discharged her two months ago. Now she is counting the days to "be finished" in this world. Geeta, when asked about her last wish, asks for death. She says,

"many intellectuals, journalists and common people have visited me. They always asks me how you got AIDS?", "Are you still alive?", some used to cry. The social and human attitude towards the sufferer and poor are very distinct in her case. She had come to Kathmandu to work in a Carpet Factory six years ago, but was entangle in the "more money business" and was sold to brothel. "I am fade up with the people. I hate the male faces. They cannot even console the soul that was forced to sex trade", she suffocates.

There are 35 AIDS patients so far reported in Nepal. Among them women are 15. Other keep the disease hidden and untold due to the fear of social behaviour towards such patient and the question of survival.

The few social organizations are raising their voice for help to these people. But nothing distinct have come out yet. The "edged" ones are dying. There are 3 deaths reported. The people are becoming unkind to them. Mrs. Bimla Tamang of Morang died few months ago due to the same disease.

There too the people gathered but she remained isolated and untouched. She died a humiliated death. People pointed their fingers "she is bearing the punishment of her deeds". But they ignore the main culprit who brought such fate to her. Geeta also is suffering from the same situation. Although she have pointed out the person who sold her but he is not punished as he is protected by some influential people. Rather he is living a respected life but on the other hand it is woman who succumbs to AIDS in her young age with all the humiliation and defame

SRI LANKA

The Way They Solved the Problem of Beggars

- Gamini Yapa

SAARC summit was to be held in Sri Lanka at the beginning of November 1991 and the Sri Lanka government was busy taking all necessary and some unnecessary steps to ensure its success. The government with political difficulties created by a motion of impeachment against President Premadasa which pushed the country to the brink of a constitutional crisis was eager to make the stay of the guests from other South Asian countries more pleasant.

So the government hit upon a bright idea of cleaning up the streets of Colombo getting rid of beggars. Of course there was precedence when the government of Mr Bandaranaike removed all beggars of the city, all hovels paving the way to Colombo from the airport on the eve of the Non-Aligned Summit held in mid 1970s in Sri Lanka.

After 14 years of free and open economy which the government claims to have bettered the living conditions of the people of Sri Lanka no wonder the government wanted to whistle away the beggars from the sight of the distinguished guests who presumably had more experienced this phenomenon of begging on streets of Dhaka, Delhi, Karachi or Kathmandu.

The plan was executed with some precision the government security forces exhibited in capturing the JVP rebels in 1989 with their much of wiping power. Groups of police went into action staging predawn or late evening operations on the last days of October. They pounced upon everybody on streets of Colombo during the nights and rounded up beggars and shelterless people living on streets. Although there is an estimated number of 80,000 poor living on streets of Colombo they covered some target areas and got about 3000 of them.

But in the operations they had also collected hundreds of people who were not real beggars but working people very early on their way to work and some returning late in the evenings. A poor mother who went to the nearby street with her three small children to wait for the father returning from work had been forced with children into the police van despite all explanations. Workers who come out from the workplace for tea or meals were also rounded up. And there were also government servants in the van. In this way hundreds of people who were actually employed in genuine occupations were also taken in, harassed and insulted in the way police would do, were detained for few days and transported to urgently created Beggar Rehabilitation Centres at Ridiyagawa at the Soulnew end of Sri Lanka about 250 km away from Colombo. It is an interesting fact that nowadays the development levels of living standards of Sri Lanka are such that even employed people look like beggars!

SAARC failed. Now what happens to these people. Apparently there is no plan for rehabilitation or to send them back. Some of them lucky to escape from the camps have come out with gruesome stories of maltreatment and negligence. It has become another instance of gross violation of human rights.

Now it is reported that Lawyers for Human Rights and Development (LHRD) is preparing to take legal action on behalf of these helpless people who had fallen victims to an unwarranted

act of Sri Lanka Government which exhibits height of hypocrisy and self-deception.

INSEC PROGRAMME: 1991

After the dawn of democracy in 1990, Nepal entered into the democratic era. The 30-year long dictatorial Panchayat system curbed all the fundamental human rights of people. Even social activities were prohibited during this period. As a result of massive suppression people came to street and cry for human rights and democracy. The 60-day long people's struggle forced the King to dismiss autocratic Panchayat system and establish multiparty democracy with constitutional monarchy.

During Panchayat regime Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC) worked clandestinely. When multiparty democracy was established, INSEC also started working in open environment and launched various programmes for the protection and promotion of human rights. A brief description of the programmes launched by INSEC is given below.

National

1. Voters' Education/Awareness Programme: (July 1990 - May 1991)

A main objective of INSEC is to create awareness among the grass-root people. It launched Voters' Education/Awareness Programme before the holding of general election 1991 based on multiparty system after 30 year in the rural areas as well as some urban areas of 20 different districts. The main objectives of the programme was to make aware the rural masses about their voting rights and election procedures.

Symposium: To ensure that the general election would be conducted in a free and fair manner, INSEC organised a 3-day long symposium on "Prerequisite for Free and Fair Election" in Kathmandu and one-day

long symposium at 6 different parts of the country.

2. Training for NEOC Local Observers: (April 4-8, 1991)

The National Election Observation Committee (NEOC) invited more than 60 foreign election observers to observe the general election 1991. Similarly, it also organised National Election Observers Team. It was necessary to train and provide necessary guideline to the local observers. In this context, INSEC organised one-week long training programme for the local observers to provide basic guidelines. Resource persons were foreigners as well as national.

3. Jari System: (August - September 1991)

INSEC has conducted preliminary research/study on Jari System in Nepal. The Jari system means the amount (in kind or cash) to be paid to a person by another person who absconds with the former's wife. The latter person is called Jar and the system is called Jari System.

Though the Jari system has been prohibited by law, this system is still existing to a large extent in Karnali zone, the far-western zone of Nepal. The Jari System has even brought social disorder in the society. There are instances that the Jars have been bonded labour for the last 20 years when they could not pay Jari amount.

4. Bonded Labour: (Sept. 1991 - Feb. 1992)

According to the objective of INSEC activities, it started its work from September 1, 1991, on identification of bonded labour in Nepal. The research work has recently been completed. The research/study was conducted in three districts, viz. Kailali, Kanchanpur and Bardia, far-western region of Nepal. The report is being prepared.

In Kailali district about 8,000 forms and in Kanchanpur district 1,400 have been filled. (The forms filled in Bardia district are yet to arrive). Each form was given to each family to fill up. While observing the forms, the family having 1-5 bonded labours have been seen including a family of bonded labour having 1-37 family members. A Kamaiya gets 625 kg rice, 10 kg Oil seed, 5 kg salt and some peepers a year for fooding and 750 kg rice as salary a year by landlords. The other family members of the Kamaiya must work free of cost for having those food stuff.

The time for selling and buying bonded labour is January 15 - February 15 every year.

The form filled during the research period is under processing. The exact number of bonded labour may increase or decreased because the types of bonded labour is still to be identified while undergoing processing.

The complete report is expected to come after 2 months (last February 1992). The report will be made available upon request to all individuals and organisations concerned.

5. Publications: (1991)

INSEC has published about 26 publications which consists of posters, booklets and books on several aspects including environment, electoral law and human rights in difficult circumstances. The publications are of local, national and regional interest.

Regional

1. Training/Workshop on Human Rights Information and Documentation Handling: (March 18-25, 1991)

INSEC, in collaboration with Norway-based Human Rights Information and Documentation (HURIDOCs), organised a

week-long Regional Training Workshop on Human Rights Information and Documentation Handling. The participants were from Burma, Tibet, Bangladesh and Nepal.

2. SAARC Journalists' Meeting: (April 23, 1991)

A one day meeting of SAARC journalists was held in Kathmandu on April 23, 1991. The meeting was also attended by legal professionals and social activists as well as personnel from Press Council, university departments and media training organisations from the SAARC region.

3. Group Meeting on Protection and Promotion of Human Rights in Exceptionally Difficult Circumstances : (August 24-25, 1991)

Considering the increasing human rights violation in South Asia and human rights in exceptionally difficult circumstances in particular areas, INSEC organised to bring immediate action to this issue, a Group Meeting on "Protection and Promotion of Human Rights in Exceptionally Difficult Circumstances", August 24-25, 1991, in Kathmandu, Nepal.

The meeting unanimously passed various action programmes to be undertaken in the near future.

According to the recommendation of the Group Meeting on "Protection and Promotion of Human Rights in Exceptionally Difficult Circumstance", a meeting, as a follow-up action programme, was held in New Delhi (in September 1991) on Bhutan issue. Similarly, other action programmes will be taken in future. INSEC has been publishing a bulletin "South Asian Exchange" according to the follow-up of action programme.

INSEC Member Abroad

Thakur Dhakal, staff member of INSEC, participated a seminar on "Culture and Nature" held in Bangladesh on November 17-29, 1991. The seminar was organised by Society for Peace and Development, Bangladesh.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CRY

Philippines

Human rights violations that was abated somewhat since the Aquino Government came into power in February 1986 increased once again from the time it promoted its counter-insurgency program, popularly called the "Total War Policy" in March 1987. This declaration followed the breakdown of an attempted peace negotiation and national ceasefire between the Government and the National Democratic Front, triggered by the January 1987 Mendiola Massacre of 18 farmers at the foot of the road to the Presidential Palace. Since then, victims of the following human rights violations have been recorded until September 1991: 18,280 subjected to arbitrary arrests; 701 to disappearances; 1,000 extrajudicial or summary executions; and 727 to massacres. Furthermore, political detention continues to exist with the incarceration of at least 602 political detainees as of 1991, many of them charged with common crimes.

[Source: PAHRA, Philippines].

East Timor

According to Amnesty International, about 100 people were killed and scores were wounded when Indonesian security forces opened fire for several minutes on a group of mourners at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor on November 12, 1991. Dozens of others were badly beaten during the incident. The victims, many of them school students and other young

people, were among an estimated 3,000 people who had gone to the grave of Sebastiao (Gomes) Rangel, a young killed on 28 October when Indonesian troops entered the parish church of Motael, Dili, where he and about 20 other political activist had been hiding.

At least 42 people, and possibly as many as 3000, have subsequently been detained, and some have reportedly been tortured and killed in police and military custody. According to one report, between 60 and 80 detainees, including witnesses of the Santa Cruz massacre, were taken from various prisons in Dili on 15 November, driven to a spot several miles outside the town, shot and buried in unmarked graves. Dozens of East Timorese were reportedly detained for questioning in Jakarta, on 20 November, following a demonstration in which they called for a thorough investigation into the killing and a referendum on East Timor's political status.

Though the Indonesian government has attempted to justify the massacre by claiming that security forces used force only when attacked and provoked by "a brutal mob", several eyewitnesses, including a delegate of the ICRC and a number of foreign journalists, have stated categorically that the process and grave side ceremony were peaceful and that the soldiers opened fire without warning and without provocation.

Pakistan

According to Amnesty International, at least 20 persons were sentenced to death between mid-September and mid-October by Special Courts for Speedy Trial. It further reports that the number of imminent executions as high as 40, and that the special courts were continuing to pass death sentences.

It said none of the prisoners had received fair trials and it feared that their death would herald a wave of executions throughout the country after a three-year lull in the use of the death penalty in Pakistan.

It was also concerned that the authorities were reviving old cases of prisoners whose death sentences had been commuted after 1988.

"At least 100 such prisoners have been moved back on to death row. We don't know what will happen to them but we fear another 2,000 prisoners, including them, are at risk of having their commutations reserved".

Tibet (China)

The one family, one child policy is actively promoted in Tibet through Work Units and Birth Control Offices working out of the offices of Neighbourhood Committees... The trend throughout Tibet since 1987 has been to enforce existing birth control policies, especially in Lhasa, and to institute restrictions where none existed previously. Minority populations are growing much faster than the national average and Chinese officials have begun to question why Tibetans and other minorities should be permitted a more lenient policy... In Tibetan areas outside the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), and in towns within the TAR, Tibetans must obtain permission for second and subsequent children and births are staggered by requiring parents to wait three years between the first and second. The necessary permission, however, is often subject to the whim of officials... In areas where a birth control policy has been announced, the principal method of enforcement appears to be a range of serious administrative penalties... Several observers have claimed that Tibetan women are being physically forced to undergo abortions and sterilisations and some published accounts report cases of infanticide. The reports allege that doctors deceive women into believing they are to undergo a totally different operation, or deliberately misinform them, saying that the foetus is deformed or already dead in the womb, and then perform an abortion and/or sterilisation.

[Source: "Defying the Dragon: China and Human Rights in Tibet, p.90-92].

Andhra Pradesh (India)

Arrest, Torture and Detention of Journalists: (Some Cases)

| Date | Name, Age | Daily | District | Incident/Case |
|----------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Feb 1990 | T. Srinivas Goud, 29 | Andra Prabha | Mehboobnagar | Tortured |
| Mar 1990 | N. Ramanaiah, 25 | Eenadu | Adilabad | TADA |
| Jul 1990 | S. Ramlinga Reddy, 30 | Udayam | Medak | TADA |
| Sep 1990 | S. S. Sudarsanam, 25 | Andhra Bhoomi | Visakhapatnam | S.341, 447, 147, 149 IPC |
| Nov 1990 | B.V.S. Rao, 35 | Eenadu | Medak | Sec 153A & 506 IPC |
| Jan 1991 | C. Muralikrishna, 24 | Eenadu | Karimnagar | Tortured |
| May 1991 | T. Sanjeev Kumar, 22 | Eenadu | Mehboobnagar | S.302 IPC |

Note: All these journalists are rural reporters based in different mandal headquarters in their respective district. APCLC petition to Press Council of India on these cases is pending. The list given here is not exhaustive.

[Source: People's Union for Democratic Rights, Delhi]

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