

Cinsec

INTOMMOU March 199

> SHOULD THE LAND OF THE COUNTRY BE JUSTLY PARTITIONED, I DO ALSO INHERIT A PIECE WHERE TO ERECT MY HUMBLE HUT ! AND, OF THE INNUMERABLE RIVER BANKS OF THE COUNTRY. THERE WILL BE ONE FOR MY FUNERAL PYRE TO REST IN PEACE ! THIS COUNTRY S THEIRS AS WELL!

Late Bhupi Sherchan

PP-21 SPECIAL

The KAMAIYA SYSTEM, which exists in different parts of the country including Kailali, Kanchanpur and Bardia, is one form of bonded labour system. Kamaiyas have been slaves for generations. More than 98% of them are homeless, more than 96% are illiterate, and nearly 20% are suffering from chronic diseases. It seems as if they are born to live in the service of others without any limitation of the working hour. They are totally deprived of all rights and are bonded in debt for ages. LET US DEFEND RIGHT TO FREE LIFE OF EVERY CITIZEN

LET US END ALL FORMS OF SLAVERY!!

-EDITORIAL

E PARTY A

MARCHING Towards the 21st Century

E live but IN dreams. We talk of people's dreams. They hardly are visualized, let alone be their materialization. This transcends a sad impression to many of our minds. Minamata and Rajchadamnoen came to our rescue and illuminated the light of hope: People can live WITH dreams. There are rays of hope too.

Minmata chanted : "Janakshaba bas hosikayo" (we want janakshaba). By "Janakshaba", Minamata people mean "world not standing like this". The message is for change. Nothing is permanent than Change.

We see marginalized poor in the urban centres and remote villages, we come across starving street children whining in high pitch, we see the aborigines being victims of development, and we see the biggest treachery of our time: the sales of human kinds for the carnal joy of "haves". Women have been most affected and marginalized in the name of development. The present development and economic models help but to snatch away the bread and shelter. These are all what we disregard and endevour to eliminate. This pledge was reiterated in Rajchadamneon.

But cursing ills alone does not help. A discourse on the alternatives to the present scenario and the peoples resistance must come in Kathmandu. A genuine people's resistance and models can be engineered. People are the architect of their own future. Therefore, PP21 Kathmandu must be true peoples initiatives. Let's march towards 21st Century with a Change of Attitudes: People First!

DEMOCRACY M. A. Sabur

Newly elected government Declares its policies In the parliament Most significant of them is To uphold the principle of Democracy. Income distribution. And Justice For the poor After taking oath. In office The first act The government performed was To increase the salaries and Benefits for the officials The ministers and M.Ps. And lowered down The Scale of Their income tax. For the poor How to start? the government set-up A commission To investigate What should be the Minimum wage Also to consider Maternity leave For the female, in case Their noise becomes Unbearable. After months of hearings, Serious negotiations The commission came up with A reasonable suggestion Across the board Five percent increase. As far as maternity leave. Commission needed more time. Labour union Threatened to strike. Management gave the reason This is not the beginning season Above all High labour costs Long maternity leave Will be threat to the Overall growth And national security Disadvantageous to Foreign investment. Government released a Statement Citing its promises And commitments The worker should Wait for higher wages Until the democracy Is fully matured.



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INFORMAL

Digitized by : Bimal Chandra Sharma

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People's Plan for the 21st Century Minamata to Kathmandu



Peoples Plan for the 21st Century (PP21), a movement towards grassroots democratization which began in Japan in 1989 is seen today as a

process of building an alliance of hope across borders of countries and regions through the mobilization of permission initiatives and action. Global events of the last few decades which have resulted in the centralization of power and the rule of patronage and the consequent hegemony of a ruling class over the majority of the poor in Asia had turned the latter into puppets in the hands of the state. More recent happenings of significance, i.e. the pricing open of third world economies by the North, have resulted in a handful of powerful corporations and States co-opting the ruling elite of the third world to protect and further their interests at the expense of the vast majority of humanity. Today, huge sections f the populations if Asia do not eniov basic social, economic and political rights and their nations are unable to exercise their right to free expressions in international forums especially if they are heavily indebted to multilateral aid agencies and banks from the North.

In fact, in some parts of Asia, the people have been so marginalized that they have had to turn to bonded labor, child labor child prostitution and other forms of contemporary slavery for their survival. In this dismal scenario, military expenditures of governments have risen sky-high and drastic cuts n social spending were made to ease the pressure in the budgets. In addition, in many states political diversity and democratic opposition is no longer tolerated resulting in the aggressive suppression of the inalienable and democratic rights f the people.

In such a context, the PP21 events held in the following places.

PP21 Japan (1989)



The PP21 movement started in 1989 in the Japanese Archipelago and brought together 450 NGO leaders, researchers and activists from

around the world as well as 120,000 Japanese participants. The various theme workshops coalesced into the Minamata Forum, producing the Minamata Declaration.

PP21 was a major stimulus for a variety of Japanese movements. The networks in Japan now has its own journal 'Oruta' as well as freedom schools in Sapporo, Azumino, Tokyo and Fukuoka. Several of the workshops including farmers, women, international affairs, ODA, indigenous people and workers, have strengthened their networks in the years following this event.

PP21 Thailand (1992)



1992 ended with PP21 Thailand where a huge gathering of NGO workers, academics and grassroots people from the Asia Pacific region in

Bangkok to discuss the pressing issues that have kept the poor poorer and have caused the worsening condition of social and physical engagements. The final document of PP21 (1992) the Rajchadamnoen Pledge (see page 12) is a synthesis of the various analyses and plans that came out in the workshops and the main forum activities. It reflects the major issues facing the Asia Pacific region and the hope of the participants that the existing oppressive situation will change through Alliance of Hope.

PP21 General Assembly

A General Assembly of PP21 will be held in March 1996. The theme of the General Assembly is PEOPLE'S CONVERGENCE: SHAPING OUR FUTURE. It was originally proposed to held in Sri Lanka on 8-10 March 1996. Sri Lankan process is an important component. At the last stage of the preparation the venue had to change owing to the explosion in Colombo and the subsequent tension of uncertainty the explosion resulted. Now the venue will be in Kathmandu. The entire South Asia region will be the locus of a series of forums and events culminating in a main forum to be held Kathmandu during 8-10 March. Accordingly, the following Forums have been planned.

a. Writer's Convention Venue & Time: Dhaka, 1-3 March 1996

b. Civil Society and Human Rights Forum Venue & Time: Kathmandu, 3-5 March 1996

d. Forum on natural resources: Relationship and management; Landwater-Forest

Venue & Time: Calcutta, 2-5 March 1996 *e. Towards Tolerance and Peace* Venue & Time: Karachi, 4-6 March 1996

f. Asian Women Peasants Coming Together Venue & Time: Kathmandu, 4-6 March 1996

g. Child Workers March from Calcutta to Kathmandu Venue & Time: 22 February 7 March, 1996

h. Towards People's Charter Venue & Time: Kathmandu, 5-7 March 1996,

l. Main Forum

Peoples Convergence : Shaping Our Future

On conclusion of the above forums, the main PP21 Forum will take place in Kathmanedu for 8-10 March 1996.

PP21 South Asia Initiative



Several South Asian participants of the Bangkok event, desirous of bringing the spirit of PP21 to the subcontinent, met in Kathmandu Nepal in

16-17, February 1993 to identify transborder issues of common concern. The meeting ended identifying the following areas as the basis for further action strategies:

- Communal harmony and combating religious and ethnic violence.
- b. Environment sustainable development and river water issues
- c Economic Issues- Structural adjustment and its effects n the people possible alternatives
- d. Indigenous people ad ethnic minorities
- e. Demilitarization and demiclearization
- f. Gender
- g. Human Rights
- h. Overall South Asia perspective and future vision

South Asia Convention on Communal Harmony



As a follow up of the Kathmandu meeting, the South Asia Convention on Communal Harmony was held as Dhaka in 23-24 July 1993. the

participants in a joint declaration vowed to combat communalism and fundamentalist forces in the region through a series of campaigns, networking and solidarity actions on a trans-border basis. The convention adopted the following Dhaka Declaration.

1. To compensate the victims of the communal disturbances since 6

December 1992 for loss of lives and property and to take stern action against the perpetrator of crimes.

- 2. To exert pressure on respective governments to bring about constitutional changes which will result in the separation of the state trom religion This separation should be in all spheres of public life, especially in education and mass communication.
- 3. To come forward and build strong cultural bonds between communities to avert future communal discord.
- 4. To develop and strengthen networks in order to widen the scope of SAARC and make it functional for people in general.
- 5. To call a complete halt to further militarization, and to undertake gradual disarmament and transfer of military expenditure to social sectors in the whole region.
- 6. To observe a communal harmony day every year across South Asia, thus building a human chain of communal fraternity.

Madras Convention on South Asia Initiatives



More than a hundred participants from the South Asia region representing different NGOs, political parties, cultural forums, social movements and grass-

roots groups joined in a meeting at Madras during 26-28 August 1993 in search of a South Asian perspective for PP21 and to concretize strategies and actions for future. Separate workshops were held on areas including those identifies at the Kathmandu meeting and specific recommendations were formulated for each areas of concern. Programmatic responses were discussed and decided based on interactions in the workshops. Following workshops were held:

Women Fisherfolk Industrial worker Democracy, development and human rights Urban issues Peasants Indigenous people Environment Child labour Dalits Displaced people Since 1992, several meetings were held

in Nepal, Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka. These meetings focused on several key issues affecting the subregion, vis. communal and ethnic violence, trafficking of women and children, poverty alleviation strategies of the SA governments, environmental degradation, impact of SAPs and GATT, equitable sharing of river water, SAARC's relevance to the people, militarization, people-to-people dialogue, and so forth. In addition to above, several meetings of the Coordinating Team were held at the PP21 Secretariat in Bangkok. All these initiatives have led to the convergence of PP21 General Assembly.

AN ALLIANCE OF HOPE

THE MINAMATA DECLARATION



24th August 1989, Minamata, Japan

The slogan at the beginning of the 20th century was progress. The cry at the end of

the 20th century is survival. The call for the next century is hope. Impelled by that hope for the future and with a keen sense of urgency, we began our concluding gathering of the People's Plan for the 21st Century in Minamata.

It is significant that we met in Minamata, a place which symbolizes to all of us development at its most murderous. As it did to the people of Bhopal and Chernobyl, a giant organization with advanced science, technology and production techniques condemned the people of Minamata to fear, sickness and death, and their beautiful bay to irreparable damage. These three disasters-Minamata, Bhopal and Chernobyl-can be taken as benchmarks of our time. At Minamata, the industry of a capitalist country poisoned its own citizens. At Bhopal, a US. multinational corporation poisoned people of the South. At Chernobyl, a socialist government spilled radiation out over its land and people and beyond its borders to the whole world. There is no need here to repeat the long and mounting list of eco-catastrophes. These three tell the story: there is no place to hide.

But these are not the only symbols of the disaster that 'progress' has been. For the indigenous peoples, disaster come with confiscation and exploitation of their lands and resources and destruction and disruption of their way of life.

For women, development has meant disempowerment of all kinds. They have been marginalized and subordinated by male religions, male science and knowledge, and male mal-development. The billion dollar pornography and sex industry has reduced them to mere commodities. At the same time, they continue to be subordinated within their own homes.

For the poor of the Third World, development has meant less and less control over their own resources and lives. Their struggle to survive has become more difficult, their existence has become precarious. There has indeed been progress and development, but only for the few. The rest are paying for this development by sacrificing their lives, cultures, values.

Development and progress have been disastrous because they are based on and obsession with materialistic acquisition. Profit and power have emerged as the gods of this development. The assumption behind this development has been that man is supreme, that he can use and misuse nature as he wishes. Development has been a project to conquer nature, rather than to live in harmony with it.

Development has meant increasing centralization of power. The more the word 'democracy' has been used, the less has been its practice. For indigenous people and for minorities, democracy has meant the tyranny of the majority. For the poor in Third World, democracy has meant the rule of the powerful, a very small elite. Both development and democracy have become dirty words for the oppressed because, in reality, they have come to mean impoverishment and disempowerment.

Development has also meant destruction of the rich values of diversity. It has destroyed people's creativity and capacities.

Decisions are make by fewer and fewer. Economic decisions are made by big conglomerates, political decisions by the powerful in our national capitals, or in the capitals of the big powers; the film and television industry decide what kind of education our children will have, how many children we will have. Some governments force us to have abortions, while others forbid it. Some even decide our religion.

Human beings become less powerful, less autonomous, less creative, less human. Small communities and even small and poor nations become less autonomous. They are subordinated by world markets, World Bank policies, the power games of world powers.

The gap between rich and poor, North and South, has been increasing. In the last two decades, more wealth and resources have been extracted from the Third World than in the entire previous century. The coming decades are likely to witness more rapid accumulation, concentration and centralization of power in the North. Debt payments, profits, royalties, capital flight, deterioration of the terms of trade are among the mechanisms of imperialist exploitation. This unjust, vulgar and ugly development has also created South in the North, with the terrible living conditions of indigenous people, racial minorities, migrant workers, and the unemployed.

The 20th century has brought us more and more murderous wars that at any other time in history. The Technology of killing has advanced beyond the wildest imaginations of any previous era. The state, which was supposed to be our great protector, has turned out to be the greatest killer, killing not only foreigners in wars, but also killing its own citizens in unprecedented numbers. The 20th century has perpetuated and intensified the practices of genocide, ethnocide, ecocide and femicide. These practices have occurred in the name of what we have called 'progress' and 'development'.

All these force us to ask, is there not something profoundly wrong with our understanding of historical progress? Is there not something profoundly wrong with our picture of what to fight for? Is there not something profoundly wrong with our image of where to place our hopes? "Janakashaba" a word in the Minamata dialect became familiar to all PP21 participants, "Janakashaba" means "a world standing not like this". It is a beautiful word. At Minamata rallies a new song, "Janakashaba ba hosidayo" (We want Janakashaba) was sung.

The Minamata Gathering has shown us that global conditions today have placed the people of the world on a common ground with a common fate for the first time in history. If we want to survive, live together in dignity and in mutual respect of our diversity without violating each other's autonomy and right to self-determination, we need "Janakashaba" wherever we are.

At this gathering, we talked about our aspirations for "Janakashaba". Our hope is not an empty one. It is not a mirage It is born in the midst of injustices, vices and corruptions which make us cry and at times made us despair. We discussed the hope which inspires us to fight injustices as well as social, human and ecological decay. We asked ourselves whether there is a basis for such hope.

Life and nature itself is being defiled, not only human beings. Now the sky, oceans, mountains, rivers, forests, plants, animals and all other living beings are in crisis, their very existence threatened. We were born into a world divided into hostile groups, if we want to survive collectively, then these divisions must be overcome. We have met in Minamata and found in each other the will to overcome the structures that divide us.

ere, then is our assertion: the 21st century must nor be built by these forces of degraded development but by the forces resisting it. Only then is there hope, not otherwise.

This is a precisely what is being acted out before our yes today by millions of people in the Asia Pacific region. They do not accept what has been forbidden them as their fate, they are ready to tae the leap, and they are taking it, we witness wave after wave of people's movements, emerging, spreading. defying state boundaries, complementing one another, and sharing an increased sense of urgency fostered by new networks of communication. The major struggles of the Korean, Philippine, and Burmese people, have shown explosive power.

The recent experience of glasnost has reaffirmed the continuing universal relevance of participatory democracy, undermined the basis for traditional anti-communism, and de-legitimized the ideology of the Cold War, thus creating new conditions conducive to peoples struggles. However, perestroika may well prioritize economic competitiveness at the expense of support for people's struggles for justice and democracy.

Be that as it may, the changes in the socialist countries provide the opportunity for new alliances with our brothers and sisters in the socialist establish genuine democratic power worldwide.

In these big countries and in smaller ones, in every region, town and village,

the people are on the move. And they are aware of each other as never before, looking after each other, communicate, joining in unprecedented ways. All of these is new. It is the main force defining our situation and the main reason for this gathering . Janaksghba is the spirit of the people in our time. This is why we do not hesitate , Despite everything this century has brought us to declare that the 21st century will be the century of hope.

There is another reason for hope. the present system has begun to undermine itself by creating its own contradictions: growth, uniformity against cultural diversity, alienation against human dignity mindless consumerism against humankind aspiring it regain lost values, meaning and spirituality.

The economy has pushed itself to such absurd limits that more and more people are feeling alienated and lost. All over the world, simultaneously, more and more people are searching for different ways living in harmony with one another and nature.

These contradictions are pushing forward new historical subjects, from amongst the victims of the global catastrophe, ie, indigenous peoples, women, the unemployed and the self-employed in the so-called informal sector. Alienated youth without much future, and the concerced intelligentsia are also joining the historical struggles of the masses— peasants, workers, the urban poor. The mushrooming of people's movements is giving rise to the hope that we can create a society where everyone can live with dignity.

New conditions support these aspirations. We have the knowledge, and the technology. We also have the grassroots organizations, people's spirituality and values, reaffirmed, rediscovered and newly created in the struggle for survival in the face of the collective suicide imposed by the present pattern of development.

The simultaneous emergence of this global phenomenon has it's own commonalties: common interests. common values and common threats organically linking all oppressed people and exploited groups in the world. A new logic is emerging against the logic of growth, trans-national companies and elitist power. This is true 'logic of the majority'. The 'majority' here does not mean the majority as measured in polls and elections, but the global majority, the most oppressed. It means that they must have the prerogative, and this requires a new set of priorities based on human values and in harmony with nature, culture, gender, indigenous people and other ethnic groups.

A new internationalism is being born out of these local, national, regional popular struggles confronting common enemies. These new movements are growing up within the context of peculiar contradiction involving the role of the state. Our region is being organized by trans-national capital, which is bringing together far-flung and heterogeneous areas and peoples into an integrated, hierarchical division of labor, in which peasants, workers, indigenous peoples and women are subordinated. States are vigorously promoting this as the agencies which mediate the entry of trans-national capital within their national boundaries. At the same time, transnationalization of the economy undermines the basis of the state. This places its claim to sovereignty and it's pretense as protector into question, thus weakening its legitimacy, and creating new opportunities for the people to intervene. The state seeks to protect itself through intensification of repression and violence, as we see today in many countries, or as in the case of Japan intensification of the attempt to implant static ideology into the minds of the people.

In this same process the engine of development has overheated in Japan and is running wildly out of control, producing a saturation economy. Japanese work intensely in heavily managed situations in which they are virtually powerless. The Japanese economy does not empower its citizens. but rather seeks to make them powerless and fragmented. And it has also reproduced within its boundaries a 'North' and a 'South'. The 'South' includes millions of poorly paid women part-timers, contract workers from South and Southeast Asia as well as farmers who are rapidly being marginalized.

One of the words which has been stolen from the people and corrupted is the word "democracy" Originally, democracy meant the autonomy, the self-determination, the empowerment of the people. To many people in the Third World, however, it has come to be the label for a facade of "civilian government" disguising state terror and repression in a ploy to claim legitimacy for the state to serve the interest of the powerful. For indigenous peoples and other minorities, democracy has been the ideology of "majority rule" that has defined them as "minorities" who could be legitimately ignored.

On other hand, democracy is something millions of people in the Asia-Pacific region are fighting and dying for. We need to retrieve it to serve the people's struggle. We must begin with the premise that the state and the institutions that it pretends constitute 'democracy', cannot be relied upon to bring us peace, justice, secure and dignified life, or and end to ecological destruction. Only the peoples movements themselves, independent and autonomous, can do this. And here we emphasize that we are talking about a democracy that honors the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people and other minorities.

At the same time, democracy can no longer be achieved within the limits of the state. Today, the lives of millions of people are being controlled, shattered, deformed and destroyed by decisions made outside their communities, even outside their countries. These decisions are made by foreign governments, by trans-national corporations, by agencies such as the IMF, the World Bank and big power summits.

Hence, we declare that all people, especially the oppressed people, have a natural and universal right to criticize, oppose, or prevent the implementation of decisions affecting their lives, no matter where those decisions are made. We declare that this right, as a people's right, is more fundamental than any artificial law or institution established by the state. We declare that this right means the right of the people to cross all borders, national and social to carry their struggle to the exact sources of power seeking to dominate or destroy them.

We need to make clear that this right must never be interpreted as justifying the actions of the powerful crssing borders to oppress, exploit and dispossess the people. On the contrary, we are asserting that the people have a right to counter these interventions which are going on all the time.

We recognize that the struggles of subjugated peoples for self-determination, independence and to establish their own governments, or of people to change or improve their governments, are crucial. At the same time, we believe that in the long-term, it is the transborder political actions of the people, marginalizing states and countering the power of international capital, that will produce the 21st century that we hope for.

We have no illusions about the present condition of the people of the Asia-Pacific region. The ruling powers maintain themselves by dividing the people and encouraging hostility among them. The rulers not only seek to rule us, but also to manage our mutual relations, depriving us of our right to do this for ourselves. This we must reject and overcome. Transborder political action, support and solidarity campaigns across borders will gradually develop a new "people" that transcends existing decisions, especially between people living in the North and South.

This is not utopian: the actions we describe are actually going on all over the Asia-Pacific region and all over the world. What we assert is that these transborder actions are not merely the proper responses of the people to desperate situations. Taken together, they amount to the people collectively making their own 21st century.

The Rajchadamanoen Pledge



Bangkok, 10 December 1992

Preamble

We, over 500 Thai and foreign participants of the Peoples

Plan for the 21st Century (PP 21) meeting in Bangkok between December 6-10, 1992, represent peoples movements and networks; national, regional and international NGOs ad solidarity groups from 46 countries from all regions and continents. We have come together to reiterate and renew our commitments to build trans-border alliances of peoples in struggle, solidarity and hope. We gather in the spirit that we pledged ourselves to in the Minamata Declaration (1998) which marked the birth of PP 21.

Since Minamata people alliances and processes at the local, regional and cross-continental levels have been realized across boundaries and cultures. Significant milestones in this process have been the forging of relations with the indigenous, black and peoples resistance movements in the Americas and the establishment of a group in Central America.

We have met as women, as workers, as peasants, as youth and students, as indigenous peoples, as urban poor, ad as activists and advocates of peace and human rights, participatory democracy. ecologically-sound grassroots development, alternative cultures and struggle against destructive tourism related (or resort) development. The encounters and experiences, the ideas and action plans that emerged from these sectoral and Multisectoral activities held in various parts of Thailand culminated in the Main Forum in Bangkok where we shared our experiences of life and struggles in various forms through poems, songs, dances, dramas and visual exhibits.

PP 21 From Minamata to Bangkok: Renewing the Alliance of Hope

PP 21 is taking place in Thailand in the midst of momentous global and national changes which challenge the very basis of our existence.

The Soviet Union has collapsed. The international capitalist system has become more dominant. There is unprecedented global concentration of power with the United States and its allies in the Group of 7 exercising virtual monopoly of control over political institutions, economic resources, military power, information and technological products and processes. Institutions like the IMF, the World GATT and the Asian Bank. Development Bank work together to enforce the dominance of multinational corporations in the name of the free market, totally irresponsible to the basic needs and survival of the marginaized in society. The United Nations, particularly the Security council has become a tool of US foreign policy as demonstrated in the Gulf War and in subsequent events.

Integral to this system of global domination is a whole pattern of national control and domination expressing itself in different facets of life. Most governments in the region are armed to the teeth with wide-ranging powers that are stifling the growth of civil society. Democracy has become a system of symbols and rituals shorn of substance. The fundamental civil and political rights f our people continue to be denied. This denial of rights is perhaps most blatant in societies under military rule, but is equally, if not more, destructive in societies where authoritarianism parades with a human mask.

There is mass poverty and blatant exploitation of labor and of the environ-

ment. Marginalization of women continues unabated, and violence against them is on the increase, Elites in many counties in Asia -Pacific emphasize the perpetuation of power and the pursuit of profits at the expense of the basic needs and fundamental rights of the people. The fatal grip of international capital and export-oriented industrialization on our countries, which has been propped up as economic miracles (NICs), in itself brings further misery and destitution to the poor.

But we have no reason to despair. We know that unjust structures whether at community, national, or international level must crumble and collapse. They cannot last. Our confidence is not born on naiveté. our faith in the just future of humanity is not the product of some utopian dream. In the last three years since Minamata, we have seen our struggles grow and develop.

Seven months ago, unarmed people waged a battle against guns and tanks to establish democracy. the people in this country became visible on the on the streets of the city and in the towns in the countryside. As they challenged state power the people once again demonstrated the power of non-violent popular struggle. Through blood and tears they displayed their moral courage and their commitment to the cause participatory democracy. In the process they reasserted their inherent dignity and recovered the power that is their own.

While this was perhaps the most dramatic portrayal of peoples power in the region since Minamata we have experienced ongoing struggles of women against violence and domination; indigenous peoples for their survival and to preservation of their cultural and ethnic identity and harmonious relations between nature and humanity; peasants for their land; workers for more just and human working conditions; the urban poor for the right to shelter; the youth and students for a just and democratic society, entire local and indigenous communities against mass and luxury tourism, and people against the unsustainable development paradigm and programmes.

Furthermore, democratic struggles have been successfully waged in 1990 in Bangladesh and Nepal against authoritarianism and military rule. The ongoing protracted struggle of the Burmese people against the military junta cries out for justice and international support. In the Philippines, the rejection of the US Military Bases Treaty on September 16, 1991 has removed a major threat to peace in the Asia-Pacific region.

Each of these is a witness to the awakening of peoples consciousness; A stir in our heats in response to the injustices and the inequities of the existing order. Each struggle demonstrates the ability of people to determine their won destiny. this is proof of our confidence in our capacity to alter the course of history, which in turn strengthens that confidence.

The significance of these struggles within the Asia- Pacific reality is that they emphasize a profound commitment to life. It is a commitment that has great meaning since Asia is the continent that has given birth to the world's major spiritual and moral traditions. At the same time these struggles also point out the relevance and significance to the traditions, cultures and values of the indigenous peoples of the Asia Pacific region. Central to these traditions is a vision of life and living inspired by justice, love and compassion. Harnessing what is essential in them demands reinterpretation of the traditions. It is this re-interpretation which has a resonance in the struggles of the poor and the oppressed to reassert their humanity.

Reasserting our humanity means destroying those unjust structures at family, community, national and international levels which dehumanize us and hold us in bondage to wealth and power. This demands a concerted effort on our part to create participatory democracy and foster genuine development. It demands trans-border linkages to create an ecologically sustainable, equitable and gender-just society.

Alliance Building

Alliance building is oriented towards the long term goals of PP 21 Alliance of Hope, namely global people's power which will confront and prevail over the powers of this unjust and unequal world. Building such power requires us to work towards the forging of alliances of people's movements at the grassroots, local, national, regional and global levels.

This alliance is based on people-topeople contacts rooted in a culture of friendship and partnership that transcends borders and sectoral and organizational concerns. This demands of us an attitude to learn from each other's struggles and strengthen the relationships and alliances already underway in our own societies; We are challenged to be open to persons; to support and contribute rather than merely expect support; to give meaning to language and communication between peoples; and to be open to initiatives and alternatives coming from all levels.

PP 21 is based on the initiatives and participation of peoples and their orga-

nizations. This is the essence of our alliance-building wherein we encourage and endorse the concrete agenda on which people's actions are based.

We as participants of PP 21 Thailand 1992 endorse the proposals and action plans adopted by the participants in the various sectoral and thematic forums that preceded the Main Forum, as an integral part of PP 21 Thailand 1992. At the same time, we gave adopted for ourselves the following:

Information Exchange and Dissemination

We need to know more about the things happening to and around us. We must keep abreast of the fast changing realities trends and tendencies in all their dimensions, for many reasons. For one, information is increasingly being denied to us, and there is a deliberate tendencv to block our access to information. For another, there are dominating processes at work in our localities, societies and regions which can only be fought against in a trans-border manner. Furthermore, we need to learn from and build on each other's knowledge, experiences ad struggles. All these bring us closer together and point the way towards concerted collaborative action to mutually reinforce our respective struggles.

Information dissemination is not to be seen merely as a process of mechanical transfer, given the complexity of issues that have direct and far-reaching impact on the lives of the people. Ideas emerge from people and we need to be conscious not to impose our own ideas on them. Moreover, we also need to ensure that the ideas and analysis do not remain trapped in academic language. Proper communication strategies need to be implemented so that concerned sectors can utilize their own information base as well as obtain such analysis and information in easy people oriented language for purposes of action.

During the Main forum participants expressed the need for information exchange and dissemination on a wide and diverse range of issues These include, among others:

- the impact of bio-technology on agriculture, cash crops, drugs and pharmaceuticals, and the implications for the vast majorities of people in the region;
- an inventory of NGOs in the region. and their respective skills, resources and areas of concern;
- the sex trade and industry;
- aid , trade, debt and structural adjustment;
- environmental issues directly related to development and sustainability

Lobbying, Advocacy and Solidarity Action

The demand for accountability of multinational corporations and governments to serve the needs and promote the fundamental rights of people was also constantly expressed. Among the issues that need solidarity action are: the demand for the right of free association, protection and promotion of human rights. the right to self-determination.

South-South, South-North Alliance Building

We need to build transborder sectoral and inter sectoral alliances from the village to the international levels. Already some processes and initiatives are underway. One such exchange involves fisherfolk in southern Thailand and northern Malaysia. Another on going transborder initiative is being undertaken by a task force for the survival of Asian agriculture, farmers and peasants. Participants from among the students and youth have pledged to links on equitable terms have been forged and are being further developed between consumers in the North (e.g. Japan) and producers in the South (e.g. sugar workers in Negros, Philippines.

At the main forum we learned of many transborder actions and events being organized by groups form different countries, which cover various themes and concerns. Among these initiatives that repeatedly found mention are:

- * Strengthening mutual support networks for shelter, rescue, legal assistance, counseling, reintegration etc., for women, particularly Thai women, who fall victim to the international flesh trade (in Japan, etc.) as well as the trade in migrant female labour.
- * Women forging alliances across gender, sectoral, cultural and national lines, to strongly condemn, on 25 November 1993, the violence perpetrated against women.
- * The mobilization of national and international support for the tribal and indigenous peoples, to mark 1993 as the Year of Indigenous Peoples. International Treaties and Declarations asserting the rights of indigenous people should be translated into the indigenous languages and make available in an easily understandable form.

Inter-cultural Alliance Building

We must build alliances based on liberative cultures, to respect and enrich our diversities amidst growing tendencies towards ethnic chauvinism, communalism and racism.

PP 21 Follow-up and Facilitation Work-Continuing Mechanisms

We need to reinforce and strengthen the people's organizations' leading role and participation at the local, national and inter-sectoral levels, in collaboration with regional groups and alliances. On the regional level a minimum facilitating mechanism to ensure the follow-up of the PP 21 process is proposed. Regional consultations must be held to decide upon the form and flow of future PP 21 events. Some specific proposals include, among others:

- the preparation and dissemination of a directory of participants (including personal profiles) to the Thai PP 21 events; and
- * translation into local languages of the Thai PP 21 materials (it has been suggested that participants themselves undertake this task).

As we pledge our commitment, we are aware that we are creating power it is a power that is not based on relying on the powerful, but in our capacity to do things despite the existing oppressive structures; a power that is based on our determination to create and maintain our own spaces of action, in our confidence and ability to learn and to build reliable relations and alliances towards the 21st century.

INSEC: An Organization With A Difference



My work has involved research into bonded labour in the course of which I have visited 11 districts of Nepal and seen with my own eyes some of the problems which INSEC is working to combat. Feudal and Caste structures remain in tact in many districts; women carry the major work burden and are marginalized from social and political life: and levels of literacy are extremely low. Food security is also a huge problem and even on some of the richest agricultural land in Nepal, whole communities survive on a starvation diet. Under these conditions human rights are still violated with seeming impunity and the democratic process undermined.

The problems can't be addressed from behind a desk in Kathmandu. They

- Adam Robertson

require many committed, local people working on the ground to empower the marginalized groups, to make them aware of their human rights and help them challenge some of these long entrenched systems. INSEC's response to the problem, the INSEC Network. sets it apart from nearly every other human rights organization in Nepal. This network of small autonomous organizations is now in place in some 35 districts and is supported at the regional level by INSEC's 5 regional offices. The Network draws on local knowledge to develop relevant programmes in each community, and to deliver INSEC's human rights and literacy classes. In turn it feeds back information to the centre and the local knowledge that the Network is able to provide was of great support in our research work.

INSEC is one of a handful of NGOs in Nepal that operated before the re-establishment of Democracy in 1990. During the Panchayat period its founders risked their own human rights to secure those of the wider population. Since the advent of democracy there has been an explosion in the number of NGOs and INSEC has played an important role in strengthening and supporting the best ones and, through the Network, building a grass roots NGO movement with a strong national voice.

In short INSEC is a human rights organization with a difference. It is not a



collection of lawyers and intellectuals for whom human rights are words to be argued over. It is rather a group of activists from all walks of life who have struggled to make those words a reality in Nepal.

Like all best networks. INSEC has grown organically and from the bottom up. Though this is one of its greatest strengths, it has also made planning and prioritization of activities difficult. There is a need for an injection of professional expertise in some areas. and a need to tie its activities more firmly to the international Human Rights Instruments. The Network is still evolving and its potential must continually be developed with relevant training and resources. Sometimes INSEC is so wrapped up in its activities it forgets to tell the outside world what it is doing, and campaigning and press work could be better integrated. INSEC is however currently working on a 5 year plan that will address all of these internal problems and has already made big improvements in the areas of campaigning and communications.

Many human rights organizations operate like extended families. I feel very privileged to have been fostered, if only for a short time, in INSEC. This family has suffered my assault on the Nepali language indulgently, made my work a great pleasure, and given me a great deal more than I can ever hope to repay. As such I suppose I am debtbonded to INSEC but in the best possible way. When I return to London in March it will be with a heavy heart and a desire to return to my adopted home in the Himalaya before too long.

(The Contributor is Campaigns and Communications Officer with the Londonbased Anti-Slavery International)

Criminalization of Nepali Politics

⁷By Krishna P Upadhyay

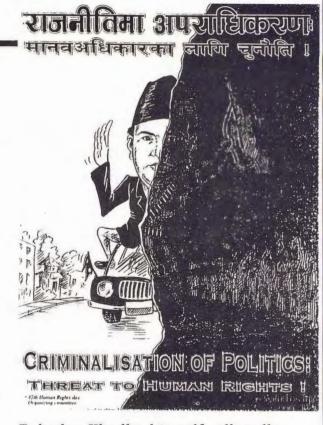
Posters criminalization of politics From the very inception of Panchayat System, people revolted against the autocratic governance of panchas who took the rein of the government for the benefit of small number of ruling elites. Many a time, we received information from the newspapers that the high officials, and ministers in many cases, were involved in smuggling in gold. Historical artifacts were stolen and smuggled out of the country. Such acts were protected by the state itself. The rulers had their own vigilantes (Mandale) who terrorized the political activists and general public opposed to the panchayat. Gross violations of human rights were reported. Many political leaders were imprisoned, tortured and killed. Many political activists were arrested in false criminal charges.. The movement for restoration of democracy in 1990 was the culmination of the struggles against such odds. It was for the rule of law and social justice— a just society.

Politicians and all the political parties seemed to respect the basic norms of democracy and human rights during the first general elections in 1991. In the history of electioneering in any South Asian Country, it was the first general elections where a single person did not loose his life on the elections day. It was the sigh of relief for the peace-loving and democratic minded people in the country. People took it as a good omen for democratic polity of Nepal. And, in deed, it was!

Crimes Forgiven and Forgotten

But the country was destined for a painful political course. After taking the rein by the first elected government. only within the first three months 13 people lost their lives due to the state atrocities. The government not only hesitated to bring the officials responsible for killing into the justice, but also compromised with the elements which were responsible for the loss of life and property during the pro-democracy movement in 1990. Mallik Commission Report was neither brought to the public nor studied for the implementation. The commission was formed after the success of pro-democracy movement to probe into the loss of life and property.

Simultaneously, the violence after the first elections increased. Inter-party violence spread up in many parts of the country. Politicians including Ram Brikcha Yadav were killed and tens of them injured during the period. A lot of clashes between different political parties were reported showing an attitude of negation others. Acts of the violence were interpreted by these parties for their own ends. Clashes between the parties which fought for multi-party in 1990 gave a way for panchas to strengthen themselves in the political arena. They were demanding for mid-term polls which took place mainly due to the intra-party wrangling in Nepali Congress and its sharpening rift with other parties in parliament. Such a situation was fertile ground for violence. Violence were the undercurrent of the elections in 1994 mid-term elections. It erupted in almost all the districts. Bullets ruled in Dang, Saptari, Ilam, Mahottari and Janakpur. The present home minister Khum



Bahadur Khadka himself allegedly opened fire among the crowds. . Four people died in Dang Incidence. A team organized by national election Observation Committee(NEOC -1994) comprising of national and international members investigated the cases in Dang and reported that he was responsible for the deaths of these people. The case was in court .

Politics criminalized

Nine months of CPN(UML) rule elapsed. The UML government also tried to withdraw some of the cases from the courts which was rejected by the various courts. According to Human Rights Year Book published by INSEC, a rights group, police bullets did not kill a single citizen in the country but there were reports of harassment to the cadres of other opposition parties in rural areas. After the formation of three party coalition, the issue of criminalization of politics has been taken up by human rights community in the country. The 47th Human Rights Day

Celebration Committee, a coalition of 41 Human Rights Organizations in the country, in its pamphlet on December 10, 1995 projected highlighted him. The pamphlet reads, "During these polls, the present Home Minister, Khum Bahadur Khadka, was alleged to have been involved in a shooting incident in Bijauri, Dhang, when four people were killed. Evewitnesses named him as being one of those seen with a gun shooting at demonstrators of a rival political party. A fact-finding mission by human rights activists and an international body (National Democratic Institute) provided independent corroboration of the incident. Court cases were instigated against the accused including Khum Bahadur Khadka"

Khadka is now the Home Minister. "Since his appointment, Khum Bahadur Khadka has ensured that the case against him has been withdrawn. There are many other instances where the course of justice has been abused by those in power', the rights groups lambasted.

One of his subordinates who admitted crime in court has been welcomed from the prison gates by a big throng of political party workers as if he were a national hero. Martyrs (both the cadres of NC and CPN-UML) who attained martyrdom for the noble cause of democracy, remain as in the court books. 'criminals' Ironically, none of the cabinets have corrected it. Such an irony really tempts one to ask: Are we destined to follow the Bihari **Democracy?**

"For Nepal it represents a dangerous precedence: that a politician who achieves power is immune from the law of the land. This is **the Criminalization of politics.** ", defined the rights groups of their theme for this year's focus. A fear overrules the political arena that this slow but deepening criminalization of politics may lead to an unjust governance. It intensifies among the masses when state preaches violence. Buddhiman Tamang, a minister in the three party coalition, while addressing a gathering of student workers of his party, preached violence discarding the possibility of being brought to the justice. He ordered them to become violent against rival political party workers.

Such events negate the democratic infrastructure like courts. If advocating for violence and protection of criminals becomes a practice, the democratic future is but dark. One can imagine: both Nepali Congress and CPN (UML), two giants, may ask their cadres to do any thing they like to gain power. They may urge to their partymen that they would protect and reward after forming the government of the party. Because, both of the parties are potential forces to go to power. Sufferer will be our people. Sufferer will be our democracy, making it confined to papers.

A shocking news was published on Dec 20 from New Delhi in an Indian Weekly the Out Look. The Weekly reported MP Mirza Dilbeg Sad's involvement in criminal activities. According to the report published in it, Indian government is reportedly seeking his extradition. Reportedly, CBI extracted his involvement in criminal activities, while the former interrogated a criminal Bablu, an infamous name in drug trafficking. These are all but uncovered events. incidents and types. They show how the criminalization has plunged deep into the politics. Transparency in government mechanisms and processes may uncover many more. This may give way to fight against the problem in Nepali politics. A civic society is contingent upon the decriminalization and peoples participation in politics.

(The Contributor is Programme Coordinator with INSEC)

Kamaiyas Marched for Freedom from Slavery

Slavery in Nepal was abolished over 70 years ago but for some 100,000 men, women and children, the struggle for emancipation continues. A Convention coupled with mass meeting and demonstration was held on 24-26th January 1996 which marked the beginning of a campaign for their freedom. This was organized by with support from the human rights organization Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC). Speakers at the Nepalganj Convention and demonstration included politicians and activists from Nepal and India.

It should be noted that INSEC has been active in raising awareness among the Kamaiyas since early 1991. This led the kamaiyas to begin the process for organizing themselves for their liberation.

Participated in by 464 bonded labourers (kamaiyas), the inaugural session was addressed by the prominent politicians and social activists. They included Manmohan Adhikari, the former Prime Minister and the Leader of the Main Opposition party, CPN(UML), Sushil Koirala, the Central Committee Member of the Nepali Congress, Govinda Koirala, the Central Committee member of theCPN (UML), Keshav Badal, MP, Kashiram Tharu, MP, Suresh Chaudhary, Coordinator



Kamaiya Liberation Movement, the representatives of the All Nepal Women's Organizations and All Nepal Peasants organizations. The Session was chaired by the chairman of INSEC Sushil Pyakurel

The Convention formed an organization called Kamaiya Liberation Forum. Kashiram Tharu, MP, a former Kamaiya was elected the chairman of the nine member central committee of the orga-



nization which includes all Kamaiyas and activists working for kamaiya liberation.

The last session, which was a mass meeting was addressed by Manmohan Adhikari, human rights activist Veerendra Keshari Pokhrel, Trade Union Leader Bisnu Rimal, Mahesh Chaudhary, MP, Shanker Pokhrel, MP, Keshav Badal, MP and Suresh Choudhary of INSEC who works for kamaiya on behalf of INSEC. The session was chaired by Sushil Pyakurel, the chairman of INSEC.

Kamaiya is the name given to debtbonded agricultural workers in the far west of Nepal. Many thousands of Kamaiya have been trapped in the system for generations. At peak times they will be made to work up to 20 hours a day, ploughing the landlords fields by moonlight if necessary. For this all they receive is survival rations and a shack next to the landlords house. Most are working just to pay the interest on a debt they may have inherited from their fore fathers. The stigmatic practices of slavery is widespread in the districts of Kailali, Kanchanpur, Banke, Dang and Bardia of Western Nepal. Human Rights Communities express their grave concern on this practice.

"We work as Kamaiya and Bukrahi(Female bonded labourers) for a debt. We don't have our own land and we survive by working for the landlord. If I miss one day's work the debt increases. I have a sick child; what should I do? Go to work; or stay and look after the baby? I don't even have time to clean his soiled clothes. We are human beings and we should have leave when we are sick", says Lumali Tharuni, woman bonded labourer in Bardiya District Nepal.

The vast majority of Kamaiya are Tharu, one of Nepal's biggest indigenous groups. Having a natural immunity to Malaria the Tharu people had free reign over the sub-tropical jungle of the Nepalese plains bordering India. From the beginning of the 19th Century however the land has gradually been opened up for cultivation by the rich feudal families . Now very little of the Tharu's traditional lands remain and many have been tricked or cajoled into debt-bondage.

Since the late 1980's, some human rights organizations have been working with the Kamaiya. After carrying out in depth research completed in 1992, INSEC began a programme of human riights night - classes to empower the Kamaiya and make them aware of their human rights. Now, together with supporting MP's, activists and local people, the Kamaiya are finally finding a voice. They are demanding government action to end to this illegal system once and for all.

INSEC together with the London based human rights organization Anti-Slavery International is currently working on a major new book that calls for action on this and other systems of debt bondage that operate throughout the rural areas of Nepal. Publication is planned to coincide with the UN Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery in Geneva, June 1996.

About DTP Session 1996

– Mukunda Kattel



1. The Session

Diplomacy Training Program 1996 was held in Bangkok from January 9, 1996 to February 2, 1996. It was hosted by the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. The House Committee on Human Rights (in the Thai Parliament), Chulalongkorn University, and Forum Asia were the local co-organizers.

About 30 participants from different Countries in the Asia Pacific and South Asia participated in the training. I was alone from Nepal. Other participants were from the Burmese Organizations in the Thai-Burma Border, West Papuwa, East Timor, India, Sri-Lanka, Cambodia and Thailand. Also There was representation from Chittagong Hill Tracts and Manv Adhikar Sangram Samittee (MASS Committee for Human Rights Struggle), Asam.

The training began with an Opening Ceremony that was chaired by the Chairman of the House Committee on Human Rights in the Thai Parliament Mr. Withaya Khaewpurdai. Dr. Sarah Pritchard presented remarks on DTP Program 1996. 'DTP aims to seek to address the Human Rights Defenders in the developing countries to enhance skills and strategies to defend the violation of Human Rights,' she said. DTP, thus, is a practical approach to Human Rights, she added. Mr Gotham Arya, Director- Programme for the Promotion of Non-Violence in Thai society presented the Key Notes.

Like wise, DTP Bangkok Session was concluded with a Graduation Ceremony, Mr. Laksiri Fernando and Ms Alisan Tate, Coordinators of DTP. gave away Certificates of Participation to the participants amidst a gathering. Fernando. Mr. Mr. Withaya Khaewpurdai and Dr. Gotham Arya addressed the ceremony. Mr. Jacintos, an East Timorese participant now a refugee in Australia, spoke on behalf of the participants. The ceremony followed a dinner and a Cultural Programme in the evening. A glamorous Thai dance was also performed During the Graduation where a girl of about 3 years of age miraculously presented her talent.

2. Teaching Program

The four-week training programme covered a wide range of themes. The main elements dealt week-wise were the following:

- a. Introduction to International Human Rights
- b. UN Human Rights Bodies and Procedures
- c. Diplomacy, Lobbying and Media
- d. Issues and Strategies in Human Rights

Besides the training involved other topics such as;

The International Bill of Rights

The Right of Self Determination Development and Human Rights The Work of NGOs Environment and Human Rights Drafting a Resolutions Oral Presentation Utilizing the Media, and so on.

The crew of resource persons comprised of the noted academics and scholars working in diverse fields in the region, Dr. Sarah Pritchard, Laksiri Fernando and Alisan Tate from Australia and Jose M. da Silva Campino, Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Headquarters in New York were also the resource persons. Much of the attention was focused on the practical aspects dealing how UN works. In addition to lectures and discussions on theoretical issues. Role Plays and Simulation Sessions were organized regularly which provided practical workshops. Making a press release. Oral Intervention in the UN. Organizing a Press Conference. Working out an NGO Strategy, and so forth. also received a priority attention during the training. It was useful, equally, the experiences shared by the Thai activists on how painfully they managed to come across organizing people at the grassroots. Evelvn Serrano, from PAHRA Philippines, shared her experience on PAHRA's lobby work with the international community.

The programme was both intensive and comprehensive in a compact time-table. Yet the organizers managed field trips whereby we could get acquainted with the picturesque environs of Thailand. We visited different historical-archeological spots. Of them, Sukhothai, I found, is historically bountiful. It is situated on the banks of the Yom River about 452 kilometers northwest of Bangkok. I will never forget the Thai dinner we had on a floating restaurant on the Nan River on our way back to Bangkok. During the programme we also visited the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP); the Thai Parliament and different parts in the Bangkok down town.

3. Country Situation Reports

Every evening we had an informalformal session to prepare a daily journal and present the Situation Reports. We set a routine on consensus and each of us followed our go accordingly. The most horrible reports, the report on Burma and on Chakma Refugees are extracted in the box below.

Lessons Learnt both from the Formal Sessions and Informal Talks

- UN is a difficult but useful forum. Difficult because it is a political body consisting 184 member states and representing the state-interest, not necessarily that of the peoples. The reform in UN can be possible only when these member states deem necessary and are mindful of their action. Useful because it is the only

Extracts from the report on Chittagong Hill Tracts

The participant from Chittagong Hill Tracts presented his reports with balls of tears rolling off the cheeks. This (and his fading voice) was enough to justify how difficult situation the Chakma refugees should have survived. Chakmas are the refugees in India rooted off Bangladesh, their home land, in the guise of developmental projects, namely- dam construction, power project, and so on. Indian government does not allow UNHCR to provide assistance to these refugees. It does not guarantee their security and survival either. Therefore, the Chakma refugees are living an uncertain life.

Situation of Burma (Extracts from the reports presented by the Burmese participants)

Burma is a homeland of many nationalities. Half of the total population is Burman living in the central plains and valleys. The rest are as many as 15 ethnic groups, most of whom live in more hilly regions where the life condition is very pathetic.

Burma got independence from the British rulers in 1948 However the country could not pursue a path of progress and stable government but plunged into chaos plagued by multiple uprising. The assassination of the popular leader Gen. Aung San and his cabinet also added a grievance to the Burmese fate. The Military took

advantage of the situation and took over the country on a coup in 1962. Ever since, the military juntas have been ruling a military dictatorship in Burma at the cost of the people's desire and the country's progress. Burma has been termed as 'Myanmar' now by the SLORC, the State, Law and Order Restoration Council.

Burmese situation today is inhumane. The entire Burmese people are living under a looming threat of the SLORC monster, Arrest, torture, rape or killing of innocent peoples is an only routine act of SLORC. People, be they young or elderly, are forced to carry army ammunition and supplies without food or pay. They are made to work in mines. build roads, railways, hydro-damps and tourist resorts. It is unusual to find dead bodies floating in the rivers: beheaded bodies lying along and parts of the bodies dispersed. For the Burmese people, if any SLORC troops marches to a village, it is a harbinger to havoc. disruption in social life. rape or killing. It is therefore thousands of villagers are escaping away to refuge in Thailand, India and elsewhere day after day. But their lives are still at stake as the neighboring countries often force them back at gunpoint.

The outside world seems reluctant about this human tragedy in Burma. Instead, they give money and assistance to SLORC which is spent to strengthen the army and construct their monopolized plants and projects which intentionally evicts the people.

forum where the NGOs get their voices heard.

- Human rights are not the 'western concept' nor are they 'culturally specific'. Since they include the bond of elements everybody by birth endows with, they are universal. So it is illogical to attempt to define the other way.
- In the UN there is always a possibility of pact between or amongst the states which have a similar political character. It is the reason why dictatorial and fundamentalist regimes

make an ally in the UN to defer resolutions.

- Information molds a public opinion. It is the public pressure that holds eventually any repressive state accountable to the people.
- Media-technology has made possible the people of the world to come across in an hour. But it is never impartial and independent. It is the White House that influences the media-world supplying a flow of onesided information today. Mostly, the business men control the rein,

media personnel are just the puppets of the money-men. Such media are to cater to the 'polished stories' rather than the 'real story'. That is why the victims of the capitalist world do not get space in the global media; they are 'unworthy victims' for the US and its allies.

- NGOs role is extremely important in framing a resolution in the UN System, rewording if necessary and setting a global standard.
- International Standards are important for NGOs to make their respective governments accountable to human rights, to assist in promotion and protection of them, and to challenge the perpetrators at times the rights are violated. In other words, the standards are the majoring tape that enable human rights defenders to assess the situation realistically.
- Non-violent struggle is a useful strategy to meet the human ends in humane way. The army of nonviolence is more powerful than the violent army as the whole community is mobilized in the struggle. In addition, the result of the violent action is tough and far costlier than one of the non-violence. However, success can not be guaranteed. One immediate benefit of the non-violent mode is it influences the public at large positively that results in the 'change.' To use the non-violent weapon is not easy, it needs training and strategy.
- World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank, etc. are not as benevolent to the people as they seem to be. They come to the soil of Developing Country with a seed of 'assistance' soaked at the capitalist jar. It is often the programmes of these agencies that result in the

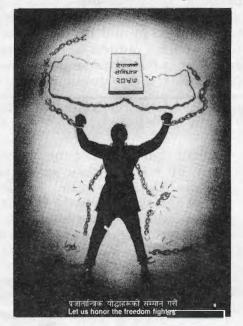
formations of refugees and IDPs in the cloak of development. What they matter is to let their interest swell and their economy boom. The side effects of their programmes are not what they take into account.

The last week

This was a period spent with people sharing the same beliefs and convictions. Being together with like minded friends was extremely inspiring and encouraging for all of us. Besides, we could learn from each other's reflection.

The fourth week of the training however went to some extent abrupt. It is because Jose Ramos Horta, who was scheduled to moderate some of the main sessions, was not allowed to enter Thailand. Jose Ramos Horta is the well known East Timorese leader. He is fighting for the independence and democracy in East Timor exiled in Australia. He is also the founder of the Diplomacy Training Programme.

> (The Contributor Coordinats of International Relations for INSEC)



Bharatpur Death Case

Krishna Joshi, an employee of Bharatpur municipality had worked in municipal check post uptill 6 o'clock in the evening on 2052 Push 7 He handed over his duty together with cash and kinds to Surya Devkota. Joshi having worked for 18 years in the municipal tax depot left office on that day but never reached home. He had been arrested while found sleeping in the highway in front of Chitwan Secondary School. He died while in police custody at 10:35 night.

The police said that he had cuts in the lower back of the knee and Joshi had died of hemorrhage. Joshi, 32 years, was a resident of the Bharatpur municipality-3 and a father of two. His death caused tension in the local market area. The cause of his death whether an accident or a planned murder was not clear. A team represented by INSEC and CVICT had attempted to investigate the situation after making an on-the-spot visit, interviewing local and government people, police, doctors.

Narration of the Event

Krishna Joshi reported to office at around 10 o'clock in the morning worked until 6 o'clock in the evening. After handing over his duty to Surya Devkota, he took snacks and drinks in the restaurant of Bir Bahadur Gurung, adjoining to Joshi's workplace. There, 6 people in his team including himself took 8 bottles of beer, one quarter litre vodka, radish and meat as snacks. They left the restaurant at about 7.30 PM.

After coming out he asked his assistant Bishnu Chapagain, to report to office before 10 o'clock and take over the duty and that he will be somewhat late as he intended to take bath. Joshi and his three friends came to a pan shop owned by Baburam Dahal. They took one quarter Vodka and a coke and Joshi then took leave from friends. Then he could stand properly and got on a bus going to Narayanghat as informed by policeman. None has informed whether Joshi reached Narayangadh or not. A person was found lying at the roadside in front of Chitwan Secondary School at around at 8.30 night. Arjun Pant, a teacher of Albatross Computer Institute saw the man (Joshi) and Dolaraj Dallakoti of the same institute informed the police. A police squad lifted him some time before 9 o'clock at night. The local witnesses say that he was drunk. The police took him to local hospital at 9 o'clock and was subjected to alcohol test at 9:15. He was registered in emergency case No. 11932 and was certified to have taken alcoholic drinks.

Joshi had requested repeatedly to the police not to test him and let him go home. According to employees on duty, he resisted to affix thumb impression due to fear of bad record as he was an employee. He had tried to misrepresent his family name too. At that time he was emitting alcoholic smell but still was fully conscious. He had entered into the hospital without stammering. Though said to have been lying, his clothes had no dirts, his body had not wounds. He had gray pants, white shirt and reddish sweater.

When he resisted putting thumb impression, he had exchange of bad words with the police. A person Kiran Adhikari, son of one of the hospital staff slapped twice to Joshi in presence of police.

Police after making Joshi sign forcefully pushed him into police van. Then too he had been trying to go home. He was taken to the district police office in the van, made body search and taken in police custody at 9:30.

Joshi had worn Wrist Watch when left Gondrang. The police, however, had reported that he possessed Rs 200, one rupee Indian currency and two packs of cigarettes. Sub Inspector Gopal Bahadur Thapa had searched his body and Hawaldar Tanka Bahadur Thapa and Centry Dil Kumar Khenju had taken him into custody.

Joshi, after being arrested, had requested police twice to release him free. Other person in custody reported that Joshi had repeatedly attempted to go out and he had fallen down twice. The police said that he had got up for the third time which caused a glass tumbler fell from the window piercing cavity back in his knee. This caused bleeding. But the other persons in custody said that the glass was not on the window but in the floor. Two plastic water vessels, one with half water and another empty were put in the window had fallen at about 10 o'clock and Joshi had also fallen simultaneously.

Joshi immediately after falling became restless, had bleeding and then was reported to the watchman. He had fallen in flat position. The police and other arrested persons, both concur that about a glass of blood was seen spilled over and lower part of Joshi's pant was wet with blood.

Joshi was then taken out from the room. Police say he was rushed to the hospital. He was taken to the hospital just 35 meter away at 10:15. Four policemen had lifted him on four limbs to carry to hospital. He had incurred excessive bleeding and his body had already pailed.

After the unnatural and unexpected death, the police did not inform the deceased family. His corpse laid unclaimed when his men reached the hospital. When deputy Mayor of Bharatpur Municipality Balaram Joshi and Udayaman Shrestha had reached police custody at 1 o'clock night, they were narrated by police that the death was caused by the glass cut. The police had informed the glass pieces had been removed and the blood washed.

Joshi taken to hospital at 10:15 died at 10:35 while undergoing treatment. According to Dr K N Joshi, Dr Sudarshan Sharma and Health Assistant Bhim Subedi, piece of glass had dropped while taking out Joshi's pants. His death had been caused by excessive bleeding.

Due to Joshi's death on 7th Poush Narayangadh market area become tense on the following day i.e. 8th Poush. Postmortem was carried out on 9th. The postmortem report carried by a team of 10 doctors led by Narayani Zonal Hospital surgeon Dr Kamarul Haqi is not made public yet. One of the doctor of the team informed Joshi's death is caused by excessive bleeding from the cut of sharp edge in the artery near the cavity back of the knee. It is yet not clear how the cut of more than one inch depth was caused by the glass.

Conclusion

- Which bus Joshi took to go to Narayanghat is not yet known. All buses used to be registered in Gondrang Checkpost but this very bus was not registered. Where Joshi got down? Who made him get down or he himself did it? Why he did not go to Narayangadh? are all unanswered questions. Someone said he had been arrested while walking but none said how he layed down by the street. Joshi who got on bus at 8 o'clock was found lying in front of Chitwan high school. Which shows that he had not reached Narayangadh. Normally a local bus stops in 5 or 6 places and time gap is iustifiable.
- Police attests that the incidence to be a normal case. Allowing person in custody to be beaten even if by a drunk person does not confirm to the duty and the dignity of a policeman.
- Custody is also a safety house. Keeping glass that can be used as a weapon throughout the night shows a clear case of police negligence.
- Whether Joshi had been subjected to planned torture by police is yet unclear. How the piece of glass reached inside or someone else attacked on him? These are the issues demanding further investigation.

Team Members:

Dr Bhogendra Sharma, CVICT Sushil Pyakurel, INSEC

Poush 12, 2052

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INSEC Summary Report on Rolpa Incidence

1. Background:

Inhabited by majority ethnic Magars, this district is backward with acute poverty and lack of education. With a tradition of celebrating local festivals and use of alcoholic drinks cause conflict between individuals and groups. In absence of proper political culture, political parties nefariously get involved into personal conflicts.

In the general election of 1991, both the seats in parliament went to United People's Front (UPF). The Nepali Congress (NC) government formal after the election had been trying to outdo the influence of UPF. Warrants had been issued to arrest people who majority are from UPF in cases that were even two decades old. The accused have not sought for judicial remedy and also there is least effort to make people aware on the concept of rule of law. The list of incidence and cases got longer and longer. After the formation of present coalition government people of Rastriya Prajatantra Party also joined Nepali Congress to dismantle UPF base.

Beatings have been common. There is tendency of threatening and beating by party which is stronger in a pocket to the neighbours from other parties.

2. Rolpa Incidence:

Some typical incidents which had intensified after September 1995 is given here under:

- A NC workers Begam Roka of Tewang village was made like animal, fed excreta, beaten and his personal property (bonds) was destroyed by a group of UPF workers. Cases of group fight, blasting and beatings were observed.

- Use of knife to injure was observed in Rangsi. District police office did not accept the registration of the case. No investigation has been made yet although information was filed in the police office through post.
- Case of fire gutting five houses belonging to 3 UPF and 2 NC supporters. There had been arrests of 15 in the case. Another incidence of fire destroyed the house of a UPF supporter. The police post is present in the village.
- 162 people sustained injuries, 6 seriously in a clash between UPF and other party workers. Attack has been reported to have been made by people coming out from the jungle area. The injured were from NC, RPP, UML and UPF. Other parties accused that UPF is frequently violating the codes and understanding in an all party meeting held two years back.

3. Police Operation:

The district had been infested with crime needing police reinforcement says the local administrator Chandra Prakash Devkota. He prefers not to call it an operation that has been launched to arrest persons involved in criminal activities as long as for two decades. As the area was influential pocket of UPF, its workers were among the affected majority. The police under the operation searched houses without search warrants and arrested people indiscriminately. The search was often made after 10 o'clock at night. Police reports 339 arrests out of which 165 were freed after ordinary enquiry and 175 virtually all from UPF were forwarded for judicial action. UPF sources says the number is much more than given by police.

4. Statement of some of the victims:

Females

- 1. Bansi Budha, Gam: She was arrested twice at an interval of one week. While in custody she was forced to drink alcohol, forced to chew cigarette, butts, inflicting burns with cigarette, pinching, licking chicks, forcing to dance, taking her in arms by police inspector Gagan Bahadur Khadka. She was also scared at the midnight after awaking her from sleep.
- 2. Samari Gharti Gam, 20 years, was tricked to come to police post and put in custody.
- 3. Dhan Kumari Gharti, 16 years, Uba VDC: She had to bear her own bus fare while being taken by police. To make her confess, she was beaten with baton, used nettle in hands, below knee and slapped in face while in police custody. The police had gone to the extent of inserting fingers in her private parts.
- 4. Kamalsari Roka, 20 years, Uba VDC: While taking her to custody, the police ill treated her by pinching, biting in cheeks and teasing by using dirty words.

Males

- 5. Thame Kami, Gharti Gaun: An accused in 8/9 cases was tortured in custody. He was not allowed to see his own men and legal practitioner too for 16/17 days.
- 6. Saune Budha, Gam: He was beaten

with foot and baton by police. He was threatened not to divulge the torture to the visiting human rights activists and journalist.

7. Nandi Ram Ghartimagar, Kot gaun: Arrested after fire in Kotgaun, he, now free, shows small scars in his foot which he claims caused by police beating.

5. Observation of INSEC Team: Conclusion

Based on analysis of events, police records interview with some of the victims, people having seen the events, administration, political workers, we have came to the following conclusions:

- 1. The innocent Magar people of the area, by their nature do not accept interference. They did not lag behind to resist police interference by night. They complain of being terrorized by local frauds. Under the pretension of attack on police and administration, cases have been framed against people, 10/12 years to 70/75 years old. There is no understanding between political parties, local administration and the public.
- 2. According to the police, the operation is targeted to the criminals of the past criminal events. Police arrests to the innocent people is not justifiable at all.
- 3. The Rolpa problem can not be solved by terrorizing the people but should have political solution. Further initiation should be taken to come to an all party understanding and mobilize public cooperation.
- 4. People seem to be insecure from the events (fire, beatings etc) happening in presence of police.

- 5. Cases of unwarranted search in private houses was observed. According to SP Chuda Bahadur Shrestha, the compulsion to search at the night was that the accused were not in houses during daytime, which is a untenable logic and a way to conceal police incompetence.
- 6 The statement of Home Minister in the Parliament that UPF has been creating terror and disorder have murdered 9 and used VDC budget allotted under the "Build your village by yourself" program to purchase arms. This is an irresponsible statement made by the minister. The murder of 9 was not a present case but had happened between 2048 Aswin to 2051 Marg which becomes evident by the letter of 2052/7/7 written by Surendra Hamal. NC district committee to the Home Minister. This letter too seems to be biased against political parties. All the arms recovered were 40/50 years old, most of it with license. The home minister seem to have misinformed the house and the public.
- 7. Some arrested persons were not given opportunity to meet their men and legal practitioners thus depriving them of their constitutional rights.
- 8. There used to be frequent conflict between groups. There used to be even exchange of letters to challenge, especially in the local festivals. The political parties have infused political colour in such conflicts.
- 9. The police SP Chuda Bahadur Shrestha says that the police operation is to arrest absconding criminals and cease illegal arms and

ammunitions. He says some 120 accused are absconding but he does not have idea of quantum of illegal arms. The operation has resulted in 36 arrests. The majority arms ceased were 40/50 years old with license but not renewed.

- 10. The political parties in the area of their stronghold have been threatening, intimidating and beating to the person of other faith. So the public seems to be terrorized.
- 11. The indifference and incompetence of police have caused absconding of the accused. Many of those in the list of absconding, are freely moving around even in district headquarters. The District Development Committee chairman, Jhakku Prasad Subedi himself has been registered with police accusing him of committing Public Offence. He has not been brought to judicial proceedings. This justifies the police operation is discriminated one.

To Summarize:

Arrests without warrants, search in the midnight without informing the owner preparing confession statement by the police and forcing the accused to sign it, not allowing the statement to be read by the accused are the cases of violation of constitutional rights. Some 50/60 arrested persons were stuffed in a 8'x10' room. Many were not allowed to be visited by legal practitioners. Such violations are adverse to the democratic norms and rule of law. Which is a case of serious concern.

United Human Rights Movement for Social Justice First National Convention on Human Rights

Background:

The political movement in Nepal, initiated by the establishment of the Prachanda Gorkha, the Prajaparishad and the Jayatu-Sanskritam movement, has entered a new phase after the restoration of democracy in 1990. The qualitative changes that have occurred in the field of human rights over this period have been remarkable and historic. Previously, the main priority of human rights organizations had been political freedom as tyranny and repression were the order of the day. However, the changed scenario now should direct these organizations to take appropriate steps in preserving, promoting and expanding the existing rights. Constant monitoring and evaluation are essential. Exploitation, slavery and atrocities in the social, economic and cultural fields are still prevalent. Apart from that, newer problems and complications are emerging at a fast pace. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for the human rights organizations to expand their activities and involve grassroots-level organizations tackling these problems effectively.

After the restoration of multiparty democracy, human rights conditions have improved dramatically, largely due to the positive steps taken by the state in the fields of human rights, democracy and freedom. Nevertheless, in order to diffuse the established norms and values of human rights of the masses, there is still a need for a lot more effort on the part of the state to make its commitment more concrete, resultoriented and dynamic. Similarly, human rights organizations, functioning even in the most neglected and rural parts far from the capital city, should seriously mobilize themselves for social justice. They should devote themselves to the movement for the consolidation of human rights.

During the tortuous pursuit of democracy, freedom and justice, the human rights movement in Nepal has had its share of ups and downs, Whether during the dark days of state-terrorism, tyranny and political repression, or in the turbulent period since the restoration of democracy, the role of the human rights organizations as the champions of democracy, human rights and development has been exemplary in the history of the human rights movement. At this historical moment, we would like to express our gratitude to the founders of Nepal's first ever human rights organization, Forum for Protection of Human Rights (FOPHUR). Likewise, we would like to thank all the individuals and organizations who have fought in various capacities for the cause of social justice and political freedom.

Human Rights is a universal, and yet a sovereign ideology. It is a human philosophy, which encourages people all over the world to emancipate human society from exploitation, repression and all forms of injustices and to live for the protection and promotion of one's faith, freedom and development. Therefore, more energy, commitment and action is needed in the human rights movement, in order to implement the objectives set by the "Universal Human Rights Declaration" to pursuade the government to adopt the still unadopted important conventions immediately, and to orient all sections of society towards social justice and enlightenment. If it is a widely known fact that Forum for Protection of Human Rights (FOPHUR), Human Rights Organization of Nepal (HURON), Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC), International Institute for Human Rights, Environment and Development (INHURED), Child Workers in Nepal (CWIN) and Centre for Victims of Torture, Nepal (CVICT) have been unit-

Main Agendas

- Our Experiences in the field of Human Rights : Achievements and Limitations.
- · Actions Needed in the Field of Human Rights.
- Human Rights : The Questions of Observations, Monitoring and Coordination.
- Code of Conduct for Human Rights Organizations and Activists.
- United Human Rights Movement for Social Justice.

Process of the Convention

- Formation of the Organizing Committee.
- Adoption of the Base Paper of the Convention.
- Adoption of the Programmes of the Convention.
- Categorization of the Committees.
 - Main Organizing Committee
 - Drafting Committee
 - Management Committee
- Working Paper/Concept Paper/Base Paper Presentation, Discussion and Adoption.
- · Adoption of the "Kathmandu Human Rights Declaration".
- Opening and Closing Sessions of the First National Convention of Human Rights Organization in Nepal.
- Press Conference

Miscellaneous

Joint Organizing Committee

	Name		Organization
1.	Vishwakant Mainali	Coordinator	FOPHUR
2.	Sushil Pyakurel	Member	INSEC
3.	Gauri Pradhan	Member	CWIN
4.	Gopal Krishna Siwakoti	Member	INHURED
5.	Arjun Karki	Member	RRN
6.	Sukanya Waiba	Member	PAM-Nepal
7.	Vishweshwor Man Shrestha	Member	NLA, Nepal
8.	Bal Bahadur Acharya	Member	PIC
9.	Bhogendra Sharma	Spokesperson	CVICT

Participation :	About 250 participants from different human rights organizations from all over Nepal.
Venue:	Kathmandu
Secretariat:	Organizing Committee Secretariat
	Human Rights Organizations' First National Convention
	C/O CWIN, P O Box 4374
	Baphal, Kathmandu, Nepal
	Phone: 271658, 278064, Fax: +977-1-278016
Date	May 1-3, 1996

edly striving for these objectives, particularly in the field of civil and political rights, for the past few years. However, these organizations have come to the conclusion that the changed time and circumstances have made it necessary to include different aspect of the rights of people, including economic, social and cultural rights, in the mainstream of the human rights movement. With this in view, a proposal put forward by INSEC outlining the need for a national human rights conference was discussed in detail. Eventually, it was decided to hold the "National Convention of Human Rights Organizations."

This convention could prove to be a milestone in the human rights movement in Nepal. It will evaluate the present state, and set the future direction of, the human rights movement. It will decide on such National policies and programs as will make the subject of human rights concern of the people. The human rights organizations have set up a national organizing committee for making necessary preparations for this convention.

Objectives of the Convention

The main objective of this convention will be to ascertain how to put the political rights attained after the restoration of multiparty democracy into practice, and to develop a united human rights movement for the economic, social and cultural rights of the people. The conference will issue a "Kathmandu Human Rights Declaration" which will be important for the national coordination of human rights organizations. Thus, the organizers will put forward a detailed programme to integrate the various human rights organizations into the national mainstream and to make them active participants in the process.

The Present Ongoing Bhutanese Movement

An Appeal

March to Bhutan January 14, 1996

To the Bhutanese refugees, it is since their arrival to the camps in Nepal been a hope that they live in the camps to go home. Hope were high that the visiting dignitaries would enable their return home, the International community. influential governments and the Nepal-Bhutan talks would facilitate their return home. But alas, as time rolled by their hopes turned down, a pall of uncertainty has cast over their future. If in one hand there is a marked decline of the international attention, the six round of Nepal-Bhutan talks ended without any progress on the other hand. It is with this hard realities AMCC has been declared.

The peaceful Appeal Movement, undertaken by the Appeal Movement Coordinating Council (AMCC) was launched on September 7, 1995 with objectives of restoration of fundamental Human Rights in Bhutan and the early repatriation of over 100,00 Bhutanese refugees languishing in camps in Eastern Nepal and in India, either through National Reconciliation or through Constitutional or legal Settlement. The first phase of the movement ended on January 13, 1996 during which time, the AMCC, despite sending appeal letters to the King of Bhutan on six different occasions failed to receive any response.

Exercising the Right to return to one's country and the Right to Freedom of peaceful assembly and association enshrined in Articles 13(2) and 20(1) respectively of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, December 10, 1948, a hundred and fifty Bhutanese refugee volunteers undertook an Appeal March to Bhutan on January 14, 1996, with an objective to appeal the King on behalf of AMCC.

The appeal March to Bhutan sailed smoothly for the first three days, unfortunately, on January 17, the 150 Appeal Marchers were intercepted at the Indo-Nepal boarder by the Indian police imposing section 144 IPC in the area. When the marchers and the support group from India plea for free passage went unheeded, they violated section 144 IPC and instantly they were arrested and imprisoned in the Indian Jails. On January 23, a further 300 Bhutanese Refugee volunteers left the camps undertaking another Appeal March to Bhutan but only to face a second blockade at the Indian border. The 300 marchers did not violate section 144 IPC imposed there but appealed the Indian authorities to release unconditionally the detainees in the Indian prison and allow them all a free and safe passage to their country. Their plea remained unheeded, so on February 14, 1996 the 273 Appeal Marchers out of 300 proceeded ahead with the Appeal March to Bhutan after 23-day waiting for justice at the Indo-Nepal border, they too were arrested and imprisoned in the Indian jail.

On February 19, 1996 over 343 Bhutanese refugees started yet another Appeal March to Bhutan. The section 144 Criminal Procedure Code imposed to the Appeal Marchers only still existed there so the marchers started sit-in demonstration. On February 26, 343 Appeal Marchers along with hundred of supporters proceeded on with the Appeal March to Bhutan raising slogans like - "India cannot stop us, Bhutan is our motherland, India should give us Justice, we have the right to go to our homeland, etc." Consequently, they were arrested and are under detention in the Indian jails.

A relay hunger strike by the 85 marchers from the first batch detained in the Jalpaiguri jail, which began on February 14, 1996 ended on February 19. Their demand is the unconditional release of the marchers detained in the jails and a free passage to their homeland. As there was no response to their demand they started indefinite fast from February 20, which went till February 27, the day when the 150 peace marchers were unconditionally released and the court declared the detention of the peace marchers was illegal.

There are again hundreds of Appeal Marchers on the Indo-Nepal border on a sit-in protest. Their cry is to release the rest of the marchers detained in the Indian jails immediately and unconditionally and allow them all a Free Passage in India to proceed to Bhutan.

Against the backdrop of the current situation, the AMCC appeals the Government of India and all other heads of the States, INGO's and NGO's to extend its serious concern into the problem of Bhutanese Refugee.

HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR BOOK 1995

Since (992, 3 issues of Year Books have appeared containing overall situation of Human Rights in the country. Besides, topical information on current issues and highlights of the year are included in the Year The Year Book is the initiative of XNSEC, a Human Book. Rights organization in the country with the purpose of reaching to a wide audience within the country and abroad interested in human rights issues and to work for the alleviation of violations of Human Rights in Nepal.

Chapters

Judiciary and Human Rights 1995

HMG and Human Rights 1995

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Parliament and Human Rights 1995

Mass Media and Human Rights 1995

Also such events in the Year Book

Facts on Human Rights Violations in 1995

Human Rights Violations : A **Composit Summary**

HUMAN RIGHTS Yearbook 1994



RECORDS OF EVENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

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Human Rights Commission

Views of Political Parties on Human Rights Situation in 1995

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