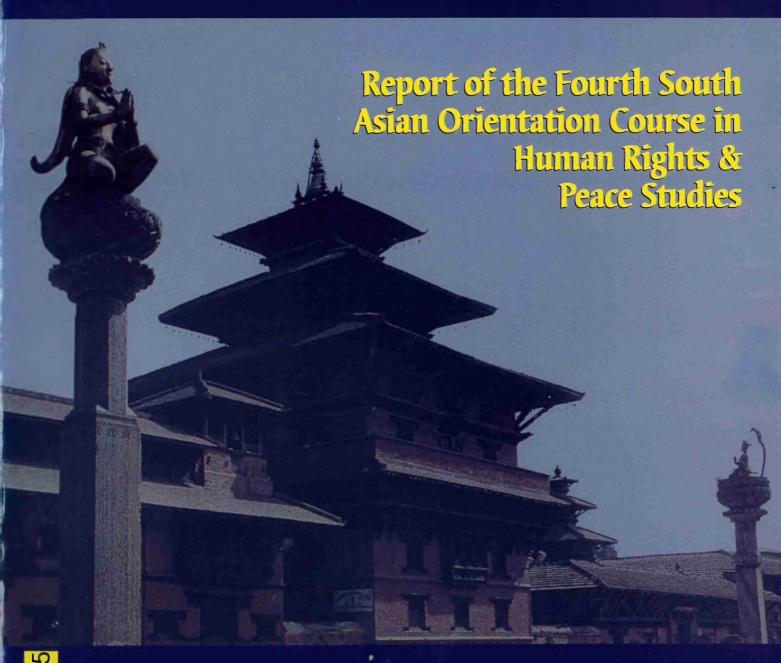
THESE FACES, THESE PEOPLE AND THEIR BLURRED DREAMS THEY HAVE STARTED COUNTING THEIR SEEDS



SAFHR PEACE STUDIES PROGRAMME

19 JULY - 2 AUGUST 2003 KATHMANDU These faces, these people and their blurred dreams
They have started counting their seeds in a chain
These seeds of their misery, a loan of their tears really
They will sow this seed in their land one day
And they will cut the crop of their joy then
This crop will be for every one, the crop of peace
A crop of fragrance blended with love
Than the star of their heart will glow
To show them the seashore
The destination
Yours and mine

(Urdu version)

lk nazm

Yeh chehrey, yeh log, inkey dhundley sey sapney
Lagey apney beejon ki mala yeh japney
Yeh beej inkey dukh ka, qarz ansuon ka
Yeh boen gey beej upni dharti mein ik din
Or katein gey fasl upni khooshion ki phir yeh
Yeh fasl ho gi sab ki, humarey aman ki
Moohabat mein goondhi yeh fasl khooshbuon ki
Phir chamkey ga inkey dilon ka sitara
Yehien hey kinara
Humara
Tumahara

(Naveen Qayyum, a participant from Pakistan)

CONTENTS

1.

PEACE STUDIES PROGRAMME AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE

2.

PARTICIPANTS AND THE FACULTY

3.

Course Structure and the Schedule

4.

DISTANCE EDUCATION

5

TERM PAPERS

6.

FIELD VISIT AND OTHER VISITS

7.

Public Lectures

8.

PEACE STUDIES FILMS

9.

EVALUATION AND COMMENTS

10.

INAUGURAL AND CLOSING SESSIONS

11.

Some of the Participants of Previous Courses

12.

ANNOUNCEMENT AND PARTNERS IN THE PROGRAMME



Peace Studies Programme at a Critical Juncture

THE FOURTH South Asian Orientation Course in Human Rights and Peace Studies was held in Kathmandu, Nepal from 19 July to 2 August 2003. The course was attended by 29 participants from various countries of South Asia with 2 participants joining from outside the region, and another 24 people - frontline thinkers and activists for human rights and peace - joined the course as resource persons, organisers of workshops in the course, other interactive events, field visit, and as guest public speakers. A two month long distance education programme preceded the course. The distance education programme consisted of studying the course material sent in two batches to the participants, discussion with the faculty, writing review notes and term papers, and preparing for the workshops. With an ever enlarged area of interested applicants belonging to diverse sections of South Asian societies, and this region's communities of peace and human rights activists, the Course was even more rigorous, deliberative, action-oriented, and knowledge-producing, and more diverse in thoughts, participation, vocations, and fields of engagement. Probably, the Course is now going to improve continuously each year with its main features in place, as the programme clearly addresses a long felt demand of the societies of South Asia in the field of human rights and peace studies to critically engage with issues of democracy in our politics.

The increasing response to the Course that began on an experimental note four years ago makes us think of the matter of its relevance concretely. SAFHR and the entire human rights and peace community of South Asia have to think how to keep the course relevant, result-oriented, critical, and responsive to the emerging issues and changing horizons of human rights and peace. The relevant points to ponder would be – how is the human rights community to respond to the changed scenario after September 11 when the politics and the military policy of the

new empire, newer and more ferocious attacks on civil liberties everywhere, and armed interventions are becoming rampant with unequal and asymmetric effects of globalisation, fascist turn of the polities across wide regions of the globe, and ever receding possibilities of reconciliation and restoration of dignity and justice? How is the human rights community to re-vision its earlier ideal of universality and democratic freedoms? How are we to make sense of the inflammable issues in world politics today in the interests of human rights, justice, and peace? The issue straightaway is - how to keep the programme of human rights and peace education relevant to today's world which is marked by victor's justice and victor's solutions of all problems?

The studies in the fourth Course were intense in deliberating on the issues mentioned above and in auditing peace processes and mechanisms. It telescoped several issues of contention and conflicts in the framework of rights and justice, conducted minute investigations into the framework of protection of rights, and brought out the complexities of the peace question that human rights and peace activists must grasp in order to make human rights and justice crucial to peace. It exceeded previous courses in case examinations, wrangling over ideas, thinking of new plans of actions, adopting new procedures of follow up and these could happen because the course concentrated this time on issues that revealed in striking fashion patterns of inequality and asymmetry - thus issues of conducting inquiry into abuses of human rights, legal framework of a human rights commission, emergence of political parties and their decline, women's participation in peace politics, environmental politics, aging of the laws of war, and the like, all were fiercely debated and discussed. It is pertinent to remember the features of the course in this respect:

 The Course combines studies of human rights and peace;

- It emphasises the need to study concrete practices;
- It makes the working of laws and institutions understandable and offers critiques of them;
- It sheds new light on issues of democracy in this region;
- It emphasises the value of open, uninhibited discussion by young minds;
- It is based on case studies, yet offers general light on issues in the region;
- It acknowledges the importance of field study;
- Instead of offering any one-country or onetheme perspective, it provides multiple perspectives and sites;
- It encourages human rights activists to think of the problems of peace rigorously and critically;
- It builds networks of activities, knowledge, units, and individuals;
- Finally, it has the capacity to offer the region ideas and programmes about peace education in an innovative way.

The programme and the previous courses

The Peace Studies Programme explores the relation between peace in the region and the activism for democracy and human rights through peace studies courses and peace audit exercises. The program aims to reach out to activists, researchers and academics, media persons, and functionaries engaged in formulation of policies for conflict resolution. About thirty participants are selected based on criteria related to human rights and peace activism and work in the area of peace studies. The course, held each year, is participatory and involves intense course work and visual studies. Frontline activists and researchers on human rights, peace and reconciliation share their knowledge and experience with the participants who leave the course with a critical understanding on issues of





"I found the entire SAFHR staff to be efficient, proactive, approachable and very cordial. This makes the entire experience smooth and very pleasant. My thanks to them for being such good organizers and hosts."

- Osama Siddique

justice and peace in South Asia. As part of the peace studies programme, smaller courses are held at local levels, and help is provided to such initiatives at local levels.

As part of the peace studies programme, SAFHR organizes also public audits of peace. Participants from peace constituencies in the conflict zones join in the audit exercise to analyze the peace questions in the region. These audit exercises are also trans-border dialogues; they bring out the plural nature of peace process and the democratic vision of peace. Statements of understandings issued from these audit exercises form the core of the agenda of human rights and peace constituencies in these conflict zones. The audits are conducted with the philosophical approach that tolerance and peace are essential values to be cherished and nourished by democratic societies and polities. To be more than mere conflict-management exercises run by States who themselves have been responsible for exacerbation of conflicts, militarism, and nuclearization of the region, and have tolerated private militias in their pursuit of national security, these audits emphasize the fact that peace is plural in nature in as much as constituencies for peace are also plural.

The peace studies programme links SAFHR's efforts in such diverse fields of human rights and justice, such as women's activism for peace, work on forms of autonomy and minority rights, protection of refugees, campaign for national laws and regional convention on refugee protection in South Asia, and promoting media participation in the work of human rights and peace.

The first course (2000) was on the theme of *Peace as Value*. This was probably the first such orientation activity in South Asia in peace and human rights education, in the form of a foundational course on the moral-ethical values of peace and human rights. The imperatives of such an orientation course were several. First, as a regional human rights forum, SAFHR realized how issues of human rights, for several reasons, were irretrievably linked with issues of peace and conflict resolution in a situation where human rights abuses were becoming worse in situation of conflict and state repression, and the

voice of the people was being erased from peace process. Second, while individual rights had received (though insufficient) recognition, group rights such as rights of minorities, refugees, nonstate persons, internally displaced, indigenous people, had got almost no recognition at all from legal authorities. Third, neither a purely human rights activism alienated from the wider concern for peace, nor a purely peace concern devoid of the values of human rights and justice was going to be able to connect the two, and establish the democratic linkage. Fourth, numerous civil liberty activists and peace campaigners had been in search of a forum that would undertake the task of establishing such a connection in the pedagogic form of an orientation course in peace studies.

The second course (2001) was on Justice, Reconciliation, Peace and the Practices of Non-Violence. There were three reasons for choosing justice, reconciliation, and non-violence as the key theme of the course: (a) resistance to aggression, injustice, and authoritarianism had been conducted in both violent and non-violent ways, but the issue of violence had often overshadowed the reason for which resistance had been mounted; (b) vast experiences of non-violent conduct for justice, dignity and equality have not been adequately noted, particularly in propagation and campaign on human rights, and finally, (c) the overwhelming presence of violence and aggression in crucial sectors of social life, in politics, economy, public life, family life, gender relations, made exploration of the structures of violence imperative. Explorations into these themes by activists and young scholars with public concerns became a refreshing aspect of peace studies programme. Built around six modules that included studying maps and peace studies films, the second course spent much time on dynamics of dialogue and reconciliation, women's rights, media in conflict and peace, information basis of human rights, human rights protection mechanisms in the region, theories and practices of justice, and the agenda to make reconciliation a matter of public culture. Field visit on the issue of people's ideas about human rights and democracy in a conflicttorn area was part of the Course. The Course had in it a smaller level course in Srinagar.

The Third Course (2002) focused on War, Violence, Intervention, and Their Impact on Democracy in South Asia. It linked for the first time issues of war and human rights and examined various ways in which issues of human rights connected with peace, and justice became the overriding theme of discussion. Laws of war were discussed in human rights perspective. Several interactive sessions reinforced by evening discussions stimulated the discussions. Case studies of other conflicts such as the Palestinian issue helped the discussion on South Asia. The Sri Lankan peace question was investigated at length. Plans for future collaborative work were adopted. The variety of participants' backgrounds noticeably influenced the course. As in the previous year, this course was accompanied by a Nepal course on peace, human rights, and humanitarian actions.

With the considerable experiences of the four orientation courses now available and with the main features of the programme in place, its links with human rights and peace community across the region firmly established, and the alumni of the course serving human rights work in different capacities and places of the world, the issue at this juncture is - how to carry the work of human rights and peace studies further? Having started as an experimental basis, should it continue in the way it runs now because its credentials are now firmly established? Should it have now local courses as essential components? Should it be re-designed as a programme that in the main will service universities in South Asia to conduct peace and human rights education thus popularising it? Or, should it now develop into a School of Peace Studies or an Open University of Human Rights and Peace to link and coordinate various human rights peace education packages, programmes, training activities, peace audit exercises, and publication activities, so that its critical and independent character is not lost in the nationalised educational systems of South Asia which often bear little resemblance to the outside world's need for a peace and human rights education?

This report needs to be studied in order to arrive at an understanding on the above mentioned questions and come to a decision.

Advisory committee's recommendations

It is instructive in this context to place the advisory meeting's report which guides the peace studies programme and lays down the basic elements of the course.

The reports of the previous courses were taken into account while laying down recommendations. Particular note was taken of the modules, composition of the faculty, composition of the participants, and the intensity of the programme. Also discussed was the widely felt need for setting up an alumni association, for maintaining contact with ex-participants, utilising their services for peace and human rights education and other work in the field of peace and human rights. The following recommendations were made:

- There should be discussion on socio-economic rights.
- The selection of persons for inaugural and valedictory lectures is important. Last year's selection was very good, and it opened the course in an exciting way.
- There was noticeable interaction across the boundaries in all senses – countries, gender, groups, and themes.
- Such a course has to be seen as a long-term investment facilitating the growth an enlightened cadre of human rights movement in this region.
- There was variation in the standards of resource persons – while some variation is unavoidable, care has to be taken to bring the lectures and interactions to one standard level as much as possible.
- The theoretical part needs to be reinforced with study of more problems – problemthemes, problem-areas, problem-issues.
- In this context more importance is to be paid to structures of thought and discussions during the orientation programme.
- In view of the variety of ways in which exparticipants have been carrying forward the work of human rights and peace, a note should be prepared on them and circulated; such a note will show what the ex-participants of the past courses are doing now, and

how they have benefited.

- There should be direct and well-established continuity between the annual courses in terms of themes, structures, participation, and follow up measures.
- The benefits or dividends of the course have to be linked to other programmes of SAFHR.
- Finally, the question is: how are we to make the syllabus of a course such as this and that has evolved over the years, more attuned to the problems of the time – in view of the need to strengthen the capacity of the participants to think critically on issues of human rights and peace, and link it to other programmes and institutions in related areas?

Apart from these general recommendations some specific suggestions were given:

On modules – laws of war should be discussed in details in present context; there should be one module to discuss thoroughly the history of the idea of rights, and the history of rights; and each module should be introduced with some suitable thematic writings and notes;

Distance education – this is a significant part, and one of the most innovative ones in the programme; notes and discussion points should be sent out to the participants well in advance so that they can form e-groups around modules to discuss the notes and consult the designated faculty member; the segment of distance education can be utilised for preparation of course assignment; it can facilitate the development of common understanding; it can develop and strengthen network of participants; it can be utilised as a tutorial session; it will also help the resource persons to acquaint themselves with the nature of the participants; the participants in an optional module can develop as a group through interaction; discussion on the modules can be built around key words and in some cases key texts; and for all these, the first set of papers, notes, and discussion material to be sent out to the participants is important. On the basis of deliberations, these notes can be revised; thereby they can become contextualised, and can contribute to the production of innovative course material / course reader. The short notes for

deliberations are to be put on SAFHR website.

Website – Developing SAFHR website for peace studies course is essential; Currently it is inadequate as a vehicle for the course – particularly for distance education, and for the purpose of communicating ideas on themes and modules; besides, instruction material can be posted there; there can be interaction, periodic announcements, and deliberation on problem areas and themes. In the perspective of the structure of the programme, website and correspondence education are linked in many ways.

Term papers - Term papers are compulsory; it was noted that participants appreciated the responsibility given on them to treat these papers as assignments; however, as assignments the design needs development; for instance, there can be a short paper to be written by each participant on (any of) the readings given to them; there can be group discussions on these short papers; the major term paper will be on any of modules; participants will bring them prepared to the 15-day long programme in Kathmandu; the course can begin with these presentations and discussions on them to be followed by lectures and workshops which can be thus specifically modulated on the basis of these discussions. As suggested in the agenda note, guidelines will be provided to the participants for term papers so that they can clearly state their positions on the problems being discussed, can engage with critical issues involved in the theme, can take in account other positions, and can re-visit own positions and experiences; these term papers may be sent to the faculty in advance; course assignments can take other forms also, such as writing a script.

Field work – Small team based fieldwork can be implemented as part of country-level courses; the current design of field visit should be maintained given its strong capacity to produce interaction and group cohesion; however, the field visit activity can be divided in two three clusters and made more intensive; field visit can be related thematically to any of the course modules.

Syllabus - Steps have to be taken towards preparing a permanent syllabus and a reader in the

context of the nature and the structure of the course. The syllabus should be mix of general themes and local contexts, problems, and expositions; its design should allow flexibility, and its preparation should be based on interactions as suggested above.

Local or smaller level courses - Local or country level courses are an integral part of the peace studies programme. These should not be seen as a "local" or "satellite" programme – but a part of the peace studies programme deserving attention and merit in its own rights. These courses can be designed as intense shorter duration specific interventions in peace studies - built around concrete problems and focused approaches. A decentralised field work programme could be linked with this. Such a course can become a way to have intense exchange of experiences. The programme can move from place to place each year.

Follow up measures - Follow up means basically follow up in terms of programmes, ideas, and organisation, and not solely following up with the participants personally and physically. Local courses can be a follow-up measure. Also, field work can be planned as a follow up measure. Ex-participants will be brought as interns for the course and other activities. The website will be developed. Communication and links with exparticipants will be strengthened in terms of activities in diverse programmes. Newsletter will be brought out as the forum for discussion and communication. And for all these, the Peace Studies Desk at SAFHR will be reinforced to carry out follow up measures and activities.

Committee members present were - Anjoo Sharan Upadhyay (Malaviya Peace Research Centre, Benaras Hindu University, Varanasi); Ujjwal Kumar Singh (People's Union for Civil Liberty and Nehru Museum and Memorial Library, New Delhi); Sunita Thakur (FNST, New Delhi); Bina Agarwal (Institute of Economic Growth, North Delhi University Campus, Delhi); G. Hara Gopal (University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad); Sanjay Chaturvedi (Centre for Geopoliitcs, Panjab University, Chandigarh); Kamal Mitra Chenoy (School of International Studies, JNU, and Joshi-Adhikari Institute of Social Studies, New Delhi); Anuradha Chenoy (School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi); C.R. Abrar (University of Dhaka and Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit, Dhaka); P. Saravanamuttu (Centre for Policy Alternatives, Colombo); A.F. Mathew (ex-participant and Mudra Institute of Communication, Ahmedabad); Ram Narayan Kumar (Committee for Information and Initiative on Punjab, New Delhi); Manesh Jha (ex-participant and Department of Social Work, University of Delhi, Delhi); Rifat Nazir Kawos (ex-participant and member, Law Ring, Srinagar); Ashok Agrawal (Committee for Information and Initiative on Punjab, New Delhi); M.I. Vijayan (Other Media, New Delhi); Rakesh Kapoor (Other Media, New Delhi); Sumanta Bannerjee (PIPFPD, Dehra Dun); Tapan K. Bose (SAFHR, Kathmandu); Rita Manchanda (SAFHR, Kathmandu); Jagat Acharya (SAFHR, Kathmandu); and Ranabir Samaddar (SAFHR, Kathmandu)



"The SAFHR course, I found amazing in a way that it actually provided me with an extremely comprehensive and explicit human right regional perspective. The approach towards the theme was flexible, encouraging and interacting....thank you for providing me this fabulous opportunity of learning. The method to involve the students and to assign them in thought provoking research assignment was very good, and then we came to Kathmandu for more exposure. It gave us more insight into the subjects and helped us to share different opinions and perspectives."

Naveen Qayyum

Participants and the Faculty



Participants

Prakash Adhikari has a Masters degree in Economics from Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu. He is a member of Nepal Society for Applied Economics (NESOAE) and has several years of working experiences on the political economy of Nepal. Presently a full time employee of the Embassy of Japan in Kathmandu, he has worked also as a Parliamentary Intern in the Parliament Secretariat of Nepal.

Mohammad Akram is the Deputy Executive
Director of the Afghan Independent Human
Rights Commission, Afghanistan. He is
involved with the war affected communities
of Afghanistan, and his areas of work include
promotion of human rights awareness,

managing training workshops, visiting jails to monitor the human rights situation and making appropriate recommendations to the government.

K. Sumangalie Atulugama, lawyer by profession, has been working as research assistant with the Law & Society Trust for five years. She has also worked with the former Vice President of the International Court of Justice, Judge C.G.W. Weeramantry and his organization, the Weeramantry International Centre of Peace Education and Research, for about 2 years.

Rosa Basanti is a film maker from India. She has been involved in the field of documentary filmmaking for nearly three years. Her area of interests lies in media and films analysis, especially films on issues of caste, class, gender and violence.

Nazma Begum has a B.Sc. in Biological Science from the National University, Dhaka. She worked as a Kindergarten teacher and has good experience of working with children. She is now working with Odhikar, a well-known human rights centre in Bangladesh, as a Documentation Officer.

Abid Ahmad Bhat is an M.Phil. scholar of English Literature in Kashmir University. From his school days he was committed to social concerns, and participated actively in social issues in the society which provided him with a deep understanding of his society in general along, and in particular, the conflict raging in Kashmir with its bearing on the society. Besides his academic interests he is involved in journalism. He has worked as a sub editor in some local dailies and monthly journals.

Arjun Prasad Dahal holds Master degree in Sociology from Tribhuvan University, Nepal. He is the Chairperson of Community Development Organization - Nepal (CDO-Nepal) and President of the NGO Federation of Nepal, District Branch, Makawanpur. He works with the marginalised and deprived communities for their rights.

Uttam Kumar Das is an Assistant Professor and Head (Acting) of the School of Law, Queens University, Dhaka. His areas of specialization and interest are law and human rights with special reference to migration and women trafficking in South Asia; violence against women; indigenous and minority community;

criminal justice system and media. He offers three courses entitled 'International Migration Law,' 'Human Rights and Humanitarian Law,' and 'Legal Research and Writing' at undergraduate level.

Himali Diyabedanage, having worked as a preschool teacher joined AHIMSA to work as a volunteer in its Non-violent Conflict Resolution (NVCR), Peace Building & Psychosocial Programme. She has participated in trauma healing of war-affected communities.

Francisco Sidney D'Sa works for The Network for Consumer Protection in Pakistan. For last ten years he has been associated with peace movement in Pakistan, and has been one of the founder members of the Citizens Peace Committee (CPC) Islamabad-Rawalpindi. He is a member of the Pakistan India Peoples Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD).

Sarala Emmanuel currently works in the area of psychosocial support related to conflict. She has been involved as an activist with women's groups in Sri Lanka since 1996. She has written on feminist activism in conflict, and has recently conducted research that critiques Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) tools.

Bhavani Fonseka is a researcher at the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA), Sri Lanka. Her area of work relates to issues of human rights and law. Previously, she was working with



Amnesty International and the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. She has a LLB (Honours) from University of Bristol, UK and a LLM from Denver, USA.

Ruth Halstead graduated in 1998 from the University of Kent and Canterbury with a BA in Development and Social Anthropology. She works as a volunteer for Peace Brigades International in Aceh, Indonesia accompanying local NGO's who are threatened by violence. Other experience includes teaching English in Spain and Indonesia and working with a community based Eco-tourism group in Belize for 10 months.

K. N. M. Hossainul Haque, holds bachelor and masters degrees in International Relations from the University of Dhaka. Currently working as research associate with the Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU) based at Dhaka University, his broad areas of interests are human rights, governance and regional cooperation.

Shaikh Nazrul Islam is a senior reporter of The Daily Star, Bangladesh. He started his work as a staff reporter in 1998. Now he is in-charge of law and order desk of the newspaper.

Riffat Hossain Lucy has an MBBS from the University of Dhaka, and studied Public Health (DCM & MPH) with major in Epidemiology. Currently she is in charge of the advocacy desk in Bangladesh Breastfeeding Foundation, Dhaka. Prior to joining the Foundation she worked as a



Research Coordinator in National Institute of Preventive and Social Medicine (NIPSOM), Dhaka. She is also Secretary General of ReACT Bangladesh (Research, Action and Development for the Community Together, Bangladesh) and Vice-Chairperson of OMWE (Organization for Multilateral Welfare and Education).

Regina Yu-Ching Lin belongs to the regional staff of Kiwanis International in Asia and is a free-lanced English-Chinese translator for humanitarian and developmental information. She did her M.Phil in Hinduism from Cambridge University, and B.A. in Journalism. She lives in Taipei and works for promotion of awareness on issues of humanitarian development in other parts of Asia and on possibilities of cooperation across national and cultural boundaries.



Dhiraj Kumar Mondal has an M. A with LL.B degree from the University of Dhaka. He is an advocate in the Supreme Court of Bangladesh. He is involved in protection and promotion of the rights of the minorities of Bangladesh.

Samsudeen Safi Nayaj works in Mannar district in Sri Lanka as a research/field worker of the Catholic Organization for Relief and Development (CORDAID). CORDAID works with community based peace-building programmes there with the prime objective of strengthening harmonious relationships between different groups of people.

Eranthi Premaratne is a graduate in Biological Science from the University of Colombo, also studied law for her Attorney-at-Law.
Currently a Legal Researcher at The Centre for Policy Alternatives, her areas of research include constitutional matters, internally displaced persons and labour law issues.

Fasihun-Nisa-Qadri is a lawyer working with Law Ring in Srinagar. Her area of work is documentation of human rights violations in Kashmir.

Naveen Qayyum completed her masters' course in media studies from Kinnaird College, Lahore, and is currently working with Simorgh Women's Resource and Publication Centre on a project titled, 'Human Rights Text for Children'. She co-translated a research monograph, 'Violence against Women and Their Quest for Justice' by Shehla Zia. Her professional experience comprises working in different media organizations including *The News*, a daily, and the Pakistan Television Lahore Centre.

Harinder K Sandhu works with children. She is a trained theatre artist. For her, theatre is a medium to create awareness in children about social concerns.

Osama Siddique, an M.A. in Jurisprudence from Oxford University and an LL.M from Harvard Law School, is a member of the Lahore High Court Bar and the New York Bar Associations. He is a full time Advocate and Solicitor. He is also the Coordinator for the Lahore University of Management Sciences since 2001. His areas of interest have been Comparative Human Rights Law and Comparative Constitutional Law.



Neikesanuo Sorhie is a research student of Delhi University, and has just completed her Post Graduation in Political Science. She is an active member of Angami Krotho, Delhi (AKD), and the Naga Students Union Delhi (NSUD) since 1999. She represents the Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) in Delhi.

R.R.Srinivasan is the founder secretary of
Kanchanai film society in Thirunelveli in
Tamil Nadu, India. Since 1997 he has been
making films on issues of human rights. In
1999 he made a documentary on the police
atrocities that had led to the killing of 17
people on the banks of the river
Thamirabarani. It is a controversial film, and
has been screened widely. The 30 minutes film
'Untouchable Country' was screened in the
Durban conference against racism. A lecturer
on film, literature, and photography, he is
now exploring the possibilities of visual
anthropology.

Krishna Prasad Subedi works with INSEC, a well-known human rights organisation in Nepal. He is a coordinator of the Human Right Education and Training Centre, and is specifically involved in human rights education in the conflict-hit areas of the country.

Lubna Tawakkul is an M. Phil scholar studying "HIV/AIDS and Pakistani Migrants in the Gulf". She is now working with the UNHCR at Karachi, Pakistan. Before joining UNHCR she was working as a Research Assistant in the Refugee and Migration Studies Programme at the Department of International Relations, Karachi University.

Deki Yangzom is the Executive Director of the Drukyul Forum for Human Rights, Bhutan - an organisation-in-exile. She had worked for the Royal Government of Bhutan under Ministry of Development, Communication, and Agriculture for 15 years, and was working with the UNDP before she left Bhutan.

Resource Persons

C. R. Abrar is Professor in the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, and Executive Director of the Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU). He has co-authored a book on Aid, Development and Diplomacy: The Case of Bangladesh (2000), and has edited books titled On the Margin: Refugees, Migrants and Minorities (2000); Towards National Refugee Laws in South Asia (2001), and Displaced within Homelands: The Internally Displaced Persons in Bangladesh and the Region (2003). Dr. Abrar edits the RMMRU quarterly newsletter Udbastu (the Uprooted) and coordinates the Higher Education Link Programme of RMMRU and Refugee Studies Centre of Oxford University, UK; and the research link with Migration Research Centre of the University of Sussex

Imtiaz Ahmed is Professor and currently the Chair, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, also the Executive Director of the Centre for Alternatives. He is the Editor of Theoretical Perspectives: A Journal of Social Sciences and Arts and Co-Editor of two other journals South Asian Refugee Watch (Colombo and Dhaka) and Identity, Culture & Politics: An Afro-Asian Dialogue (Dakar, Colombo and Dhaka). His area of research includes: Political Theory, South Asian Politics, Aid and Development, Refugee and Migration, Women and Environment. His publications include State and Foreign Policy: India's Role in South Asia (1993); The Efficacy of the Nation State in South Asia: A Post-nationalist Critique (1998); The Construction of Diaspora: South Asians Living in Japan (2000).

Lok Raj Baral, earlier the Ambassador of Nepal to India, is one of the senior social scientists of Nepal, and has served the Department of Political Science at Tribhuvan University for many years. Professor Baral is the author several volumes on governance, law and democracy in Nepal, and South Asian relations.

Tapan Bose, an eminent documentary filmmaker, is the Secretary General, South Asia Forum for Human Rights. His international and national award winning films include "An Indian Story", "Beyond Genocide: Bhopal Gas Tragedy", "Behind the Barricades -Punjab" and "Jharkhand". He is General Secretary of the Pakistan India Peoples Forum for Peace and Democracy; he is also a Council Member of Forum for Early Warning and Early Response (FEWER)

Sahid Fiaz is a peace and human rights activist based in Karachi, Pakistan. Presently working in Aurat Foundation, a women's rights advocacy organisation, as Senior Programme Officer, his work includes looking after two major programmes on political education and governance at the local level. He has worked with SAFHR as Programme Associate and he is now the secretary of the Sindh Unit of the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy, Pakistan Chapter.

Mubashir Hasan is one of the founders of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. One of the most well-known political personalities in Pakistan working for peace between India and Pakistan, he has been the Punjab President of the Pakistan People's Party (SB) since 1989. He was a member of the cabinet of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1972-1974), and Pakistan's Finance Minister at that time.

"The literatures in various modules would help me carry out further studies in human rights. They will also be an information pool and will be important in raising awareness about peace and human rights in my country. More women participated in the workshop then men. But there could be more women resource persons."

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- Patrick Hoenig, an expert in refugee law, works at the United Nations Headquarters in the Security Council Practices and Charter Research Branch. His assignments include the drafting of legal studies on the interpretation and application of the UN Charter for publication in the "Repertory of United Nations Organs" and the reporting on Security Council meetings and consultations of the whole.
- G.Haragopal is presently teaching as Professor of Political Science in the University of Hyderabad, one of the five Universities recognised in India as "Universities with Potential for Excellence". He is the coordinator of Human Rights Programme in the University and the Editor of Indian Journal of Human rights. His publications include Political Economy of Human Rights, Gandhian World View; and Civil Liberties Perspective. He is closely associated with civil rights movement in the State of Andhra Pradesh.
- Rama Mani holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Cambridge, U.K., and an M.A. in International Affairs from Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A. Dr. Rama is the author of Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War (2002). An established international practitioner and scholar, she publishes and lectures on issues of justice, human rights, conflict, and peace-building. She is currently conducting research in Afghanistan on the justice sector for the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. Formerly, Dr. Mani was the Senior Strategy Adviser to the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva. She also serves on the Advisory Group of the Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform, UK.
- Rita Manchanda is currently the Programme
 Executive at the South Asia Forum for Human
 Rights. She is a well known journalist and the
 editor of "Women, War and Peace in South
 Asia", and the co-editor of "States, Citizens
 and Outsiders: The Uprooted Peoples of South
 Asia". She is one of the founders of the

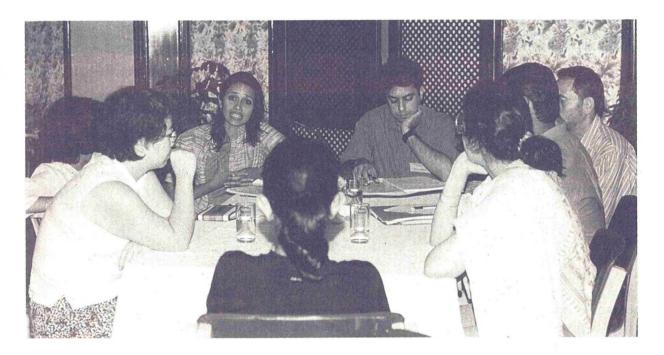
- Pakistan India Peoples' Forum for Peace and Democracy.
- A.F. Mathew is an Assistant Professor at the Mudra Institute of Communication at Ahmedabad (MICA) India. A teacher of mass communications, his publications include several articles in peer reviewed journals. He has also got short-term degrees from the Film and Television Institute of India (FTII), Pune. Mathew has been involved with the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights (CPDR), Mumbai since 1995. He has been associated with several human rights fact finding teams in the area of extra-judicial killings.
- Ravi Nair is the Executive Director of the South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre (SAHRDC), New Delhi, since 1990. He is a member of the International Advisory Committee of Robert F Kennedy Memorial Human Rights Award, Washington DC, and the Coordinator of the Asia Pacific Human Rights Network (APHRN), a coalition of frontline human rights NGOs across the Asia-Pacific region. Ravi Nair is a recipient of the M A Thomas National Human Rights Award for 1997, and was the Ida Beam Distinguished Lecturer at Iowa University, USA in October 2000. He is also a member of the NGO Core Committee of the National Human Rights Commission of India (NHRC).
- Vasudeva Nanayakkara is of the prominent political personalities in Sri Lanka. He is the National Organizer of the Democratic Left Front and an executive committee member of the Peoples' Health Movement. He has been a victim of state repression and suffered incarceration on several occasions. He is a trade unionist and the President of the United Lanka Estate Workers' Union. An Attorney at Law and a Law Graduate of Sri Lanka, he has been member of the Sri Lankan Parliament for about 17 years.
- Gautam Navlakha is an editorial consultant of EPW, a businessman and a human rights activist.

- Samir Nepal is a human rights activist in Nepal. He has been very active in the human rights movements of Nepal for more then a decade. He is now the Secretary of Hamro Abhayan, a human rights organization based in Kathmandu.
- Pratyoush Onta is a historian from Nepal. He has written on Nepali nationalism, Gorkha history, history of the media in Nepal, and on area studies. He has edited/co-edited 10 books. He has been the convenor of Martin Chautari, a public discussion forum since 1996.
- Jean-Luc Racine is Senior Fellow, Centre for the Study of South Asia, CNRS, Paris. He works on the overall dynamics of change in South Asia, and on the internal and external geopolitics of the region, particularly the intricate Indo-Pak relations. His book on Kashmir, published in French in 2002, is under translation.
- A. Rehman, currently the chairperson of the South Asia Forum for Human Rights, is the Director of the independent Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP). He had spent forty years in active journalism, the last assignment being the Chief Editor of The Pakistan Times. He also worked as managing editor of the Urdu daily Azad (1971-72) and as the executive editor of the Weekly Viewpoint (1978-1988). He was dismissed from service for trade union activities and detained for his views. Besides articles and papers, he has authored three books, and is the Chairperson of the Pakistan-India Peoples Forum for Peace and Democracy, Pakistan Chapter.
- Ranabir Samaddar is the Director of the Peace Studies Programme at the South Asia Forum for Human Rights. Earlier he was a professor of South Asian studies in Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute, Calcutta. He was the founder editor of Refugee Watch. He has written several books on themes relating to nationalism, human rights, justice and peace. His recent book is Paradoxes of the Nationalist Time Political Essays on Bangladesh (2002). He has held several visiting appointments in South Asia and abroad, and has served on journals and

- committees on social sciences and human rights and peace studies.
- Asad Sayeed obtained his Ph.D in Economics from Cambridge University. Presently he is the Director of the Collective for Social Science Research, Karachi. He has worked as Senior Economist at the Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC) and as Director, Research, at the Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER). He has been also a Research Fellow at the Applied Economics Research Centre (AERC) at the University of Karachi. He was recently awarded a fellowship by the Asian Scholarship Foundation to conduct a research study on Corruption and Development in Thailand.
- Hari Sharma is a noted political activist in Nepal.

 He is a researcher, former Principle Secretary to the Prime Minister, a trade union activist and a social commentator.
- Azra Talat Sayeed, has Ph.D. in Soical Pharmacy. She is the Executive Director of ROOTS for Equity, Pakistan. She is a member of the visiting faculty, Centre of Excellence Women Studies, University of Karachi and Institute of Women Studies, Lahore. She is a member of the Women and Environment Task Force, Asia Pacific Forum for Women, Law and Development, and now its Convener of the Task Force.
- Seira Tamang completed her Ph.D in International Relations and a post-doctoral fellowship from American University, Washington DC. She is the co-editor of the journal SINHAS (Studies in Nepali History and Society) and her research has focused on the intersection of gender and global political economy with specific attention to Nepal
- Henri Tiphagne, by training and profession a lawyer, is the Director of People's Watch, Tamilnadu, and is one of the most noted human rights personalities of the state. He has led numerous campaigns for abolition of death penalty, against racism and caste discrimination, against laws and acts of impunity, and is the organiser of the most popular and massive human rights education campaign in the state of Tamil Nadu.

Course Structure and the Schedule



Course structure

Compulsory modules

- A. Ethics and politics of peace, justice, human rights, and humanitarianism
- B. Rights, law, constitutions, and constitutionalism
- C. Institutional protection of human rights in South Asia
- D. Cases of conflicts, dialogues, peace-making, and public audits of peace
- E. Justice, women's movements, and ecological politics

Optional modules

- F. Laws of war, laws of peace, human rights law, and humanitarian laws, and relevant institutions
- G. Globalisation, politics of resources, and violence
- H. Information, reporting, and documentation basis of human rights and peace work

Note: Of the 3 optional modules participants had to take any one. In the direct orientation workshop there were 3 classes per compulsory module and 3 classes per optional module. Thus there were 15 compulsory classes and 9 optional classes - in all 24 classes in the direct course period.

Distance education or the correspondence programme part

The first two months of the programme was occupied with correspondence course work. From SAFHR peace studies desk relevant literature was sent to the participants in phases electronically and by post. Course assignments, advice and consultation on the subjects of term papers and review papers, choice of the optional modules, the preparation for the workshops, and exchange of views with members of the faculty were of some of the important part of the distance course.



Term paper and review paper

Each participant had to write a term paper of 2000 to 2500 words and review paper of around 1000 words for the course. Participants were asked to choose a topic related to any of the compulsory modules offered in the course for their term paper. They could write their review paper on any of the entries in compulsory or optional modules. Participants had to identify the module clearly relating to which s/he was to prepare the term paper and review paper in advance. The participants consulted the peace studies desk and the faculty on an appropriate theme and the relevant module.

Peace studies desk prepared the guidelines for the term papers and sent it to the participants. They were asked to prepare term papers and submit them to the peace studies desk before they came to the 15 day direct orientation programme; these papers were presented and discussed during the programme in Kathmandu. Participants revised their paper on the basis of discussion.

Field visit and NGO visit

Field-visit and NGO visits were organised on a theme related to peace studies. It was an integral part of the programme. Information on the visits was provided to the participants beforehand. This year Participants went to Pokhara, they visited CHILDREN – Nepal, Nari Sewa Kendra amd Tashi Palkhiel Tibetan Refugee Camp.

Interactive sessions

Peace studies course has always several interactive or "face to face" sessions. Such a session is intended to convey to the participants through experiential accounts and exchanges the idea of how peace activism in its various forms has grown, also the key questions that have animated the peace studies agenda. The presenters in these sessions have been frontranking thinkers and activists, and the moderators are aware of the dimensions of the work of these people. Face to face discussion and evening discussion. These sessions as part of the course were usually held as dinner interactions. Besides, on some of the days, there were post-dinner deliberations over relevant issues in view of the term papers presented by the participants and the discussions in the class rooms.

Participants' workshops

There were three workshop topics as given below and participants were asked to indicate which workshop they would like to take lead in. There were designated moderators for each workshop. They consulted the participants in advance and designed the particular worshops. The three workshop topics were as follows:

- 1. Media and issues of human rights and peace
- 2. Reporting, investigating, and documenting



"The workshop should have a prepared/thought out framework which can be given to participants before hand, so that there is a clear understanding of participants' roles. More efforts should be placed to discuss gender in each module rather then having at the end a separate session on women moderated by women resource persons."

- Sarala Emmanuel

- on human rights and peace.
- 3. Issues of human rights and the peace process in Nepal.

Public lectures

Three public lectures as part of the peace studies course were held organized in collaboration. The first, held jointly with INSEC, was delivered by Ravi Nair on "The Age of Commissions - Human Rights Commissions in Asia". The second and the

third lectures, held in collaboration with Martin Chautri, were delivered by Asad Sayeed and Mubashir Hasan respectively on "The New Empire, Islamic Fundamentalism and Pakistan's Political Economy" and "Future of SAARC".

Peace studies films

Several peace studies film sessions were held in several evenings during the course and these were followed by discussions.



"This course has opened up a platform for me to reach out to the friends of different countries. All the faculty members were approachable; they were always at hand to clear up our doubts and confusion."





The 15-day programme in Kathmandu (19 July – 3 August)					
19 July 4. 30 P.M. 5 P.M.	Registration and tea Inaugural session (Inaugural lecture on "Geopolitics and the Peace Question in South Asia" by Jean Luc Racine) / Chair: Tapan. K. Bose	11 A.M. 2 P.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module A (Ethics and politics of peace, justice, human rights, and humanitarianism) / Tapan K. Bose Participants' presentations of term papers in Module B (Rights, law, constitutions, and constitutionalism –		
20 July 9 A.M.	Introductory lecture of the course / familiarisation with the course / Ranabir Samaddar	4-7 P.M.	participants 4) / moderator: G. Hara Gopal Library hours (SAFHR library)		

21 July		24 July	
9 A.M.	Participants' presentations of term	9 A.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module
	papers in Module A (Etlics and		C (Ravi Nair)
100	politics of peace, justice, human	11 A.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module
	rights, and humanitarianism -	United the second	C (Henry Tipaghne)
	participants 2) / moderator: Rama	2 P.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module
	Mani		C (Seira Tamang)
11 A.M.	A Question Answer session on	4 – 5.30 P.M.	Participants' presentations of term
	Kashmir and Indo-Pak Relations	of the same family	papers in Module D (Cases of
	(with Jean Luc Racine) /		conflicts, dialogues, peacemaking, and
70-07-0	moderator: Tapan K. Bose		public audits of peace - participants
2 P.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module		7) / moderator: Rita Manchanda
V-15	A (Rama Mani)	9 P.M.	Group discussion on relevant
4 - 5.30 P.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module		issues in view of the term papers
	A (Rama Mani)		in Modules C and D / moderators:
22 July			Henry Tipaghne and Seira
9 A.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module		Tamang (c) and Tapan K. Bose
7	A (Rama Mani)		and Ravi Nair (D)
11 A.M.	Presentations of term papers in	25 July	The state of the s
1000	Module B (contd.) / Hara Gopal	9 A.M.	Presentations of term papers
2 P.M	Lecture and discussion on Module) Alvi.	(contd.) / moderator: Rita
	B (G. Hara Gopal)		Manchanda
4 - 5.30 P.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module	11 A.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module
	B (Lok raj Baral)		D (Shahid Fiaz)
9 P.M.	Group discussions on relevant	2 P.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module
7/	issues in view of the term papers		D (Rita Manchanda)
	in Modules A and B / moderators:	4 - 5.30 P.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module
	Rama Mani and G. Hara Gopal	and an interest	D (Ranabir Samaddar)
23 July	The Property of the Control of the C	5.30 – 7.30 P.	M. Library hours (SAFHR library)
9 A.M.	Lecture and discussion on Module		E. N. Stewarth British and
	B (G. Hara Gopal)	26 July - 27 July	
11 A.M.	Participants' presentations of term		Pokhara (resource person: Samir
the Laboratory	papers in Module C (Institutional		Nepal)
	protection of human rights in South	20 1	Variable of the
100	Asia – participants 3) / moderator:	28 July	Lecture and discussion on 3
	Henry Tipaghne	1 2 F.IVI.	optional modules simultaneously
2 P.M.	Presentations of term papers in	1	(F - Laws of war and peace; G -
	Module C (contd.) / moderator:	I.	Globalisation, resources, and violence,
La Carrier Man	Henry Tipaghne	Contract	and H - Information, reporting and
5 – 6.30 P.M.	Public lecture on "The Age of the	and the same	documentation basis of human rights
make to make	Commissions – Human Rights	the same and	and peace work) / Imtiaz Ahmed
/ West out	Commissions in Asia" by Ravi	i man la mi	(F), Asad Sayeed (G), and A.F.
Nair / Chair: Subodh Pyakurel			Mathews (h)
7.30 – 8.30 P.M. Face to face session during		4 - 5.30 P.M	Lecture and discussion in optional
	dinner time on "Experiences of	t liber.	modules contd. / Patrick Hoenig
100 100	working on issues of transitional	The state of the state of	produced greeks are an in the
1 3 2 2	justice" (Rama Mani)	2 1 1 -0-10	

(F), Asad Sayeed (G), and A.F. Mathews (H)

5.30 - 7.30 P.M. Library hours (SAFHR library)9 P.M. Peace studies films (A.F. Mathew)

29 July

9 A.M. Participants' workshop on Media and issues of human rights and peace (first workshop) / moderator:
Pratyoush Onta

11 A.M. Workshop continues

2 P.M. Lecture and discussion in optional modules / Patrick Hoening (F),
Gautam Navlakha (G), A.F.
Mathews (H)

3.30 - 5.30 P.M. Library hours (SAFHR library)
5 - 6.30 P.M. Public lecture on "New Empire,
Islamic Fundamentalism, and
Pakistan's Political Economy" by
Asad Sayeed (Venue H) / Chair:
Ranabir Samaddar

9 P.M. Peace studies films (A.F. Mathew)

30 July

Participant's workshop on Investigating, reporting, and documenting on human rights and peace (second workshop) / moderator: Gautam Navlakha

11 A.M. Participant's workshop continues
2 P.M. Participants' workshop on Issues of human rights and the peace process in Nepal (third workshop) / moderator: Hari Sharma

4 – 5.30 P.M. Participants' workshop continues 9 P.M. Peace studies films (A.F. Mathew)

31 July

9 A.M. Participants' presentations of term papers in Module E (*Justice*,

women's movements, and ecological
politics – participants 6) /
moderator: Rita Manchanda

10.30 A.M. Presentations of term papers in
Module E (contd.)

2 P.M. Lecture and discussion on Module
E (Azra Sayeed)

4 – 5.30 P.M. Lecture and discussion on Module
E (Azra Sayeed)

7.30 P.M. Face to face dinner session /
Learning from a peace campaigner
(Mubashir Hasan) moderator/

Gautam Navlakha

1 August

9 - 10.30 P.M. Lecture and discussion on Module E (Rita Manchanda) 11 A.M. 12.30 P.M. - Participants' evaluation session 2 - 5 P.M. Visit to local human rights and peace groups/organisations 5 - 6.30 P.M. Public lecture on "Future of SAARC" by Mubashir Hasan / Chair: Pratyoush Onta 9 P.M. Group discussion on relevant issues in view of the term papers in Modules E / moderators: Azra Sayeed and Rita Manchanda (Venue H)

2 August

5 – 7.30 P.M. Closing session (valedictory lecture by Vasudeva Nanayakkara, distribution of certificates, other addresses) / Chair: I.A. Rehman

3 August

10 A.M. Evaluation meeting with faculty members



Distance Education

THE DISTANCE learning period was for two months - May 15 to July 14, 2003.

During the distance course participants were sent study material through post and e-mail in four lots. Along with the select reading material a series of discussion points was also sent. These points were intended to help the participants in organising their review papers and the term papers. The discussion points were formulated against the background of the writings mailed and the purpose was to encourage the participants to discuss these amongst themselves and with the faculty person/s in that module. Names and contact IDs of resource persons of relevant modules were sent to the participants at the same time, so that they could consult the resource persons on an issue under study, or on the lead questions sent to them from time to time on the modules along with the reading

material.

After preparing the review notes, participants sent them to the resource persons for further comments and suggestions. Most of the review papers send by the participants to the concern resource persons were commented upon, and sent back for improvement. The term papers were presented and discussed during the Kathmandu course. Many review notes/papers provided original insights, they summarised the contents of the texts under review, judged South Asian or personal experiences in the light of the material and the material in the light of their experiences and knowledge. The term papers were presented in Kathmandu workshop. Each module began with participants' seminars and detailed discussions. The resource persons too gained from the wide-range of themes and issues discussed.



Select reading material

Below we give some of the material sent to participants for study during the distance learning period. This will give an idea of the syllabus and the reading material of the course.

Module A

(Ethics and politics of peace, justice, human rights, and humanitarianism)

- Bhashyam Kastuni, Walking Alone Gandhi's Partition (Delhi: Vision Books, 1949), Chapter
 "Calcutta, September 1947"
- 2. Yozo Yokota, "International Justice and the Global Environment", Journal of International Affairs, 52 (2), Spring 1999
- 3. Upendra Baxi, "The State and Human Rights Movements in India" in Manoranjan Mohanty, Partha nath Mukherjee and Aita Olle Tornquist (eds.), People's Rights: Social Movements and the State in the Third World, (New Delhi: Sage, 1998), Chapter 14
- 4. Mahmood Mamdani, "Africa: Democratic Theory and Democratic Struggles" in Manoranjan Mohanty, Partha nath Mukherjee and Aita Olle Tornquist (eds.), People's Rights: Social Movements and the State in the Third World, (New Delhi: Sage, 1998), Chapter 4
- Richard A. Falk, Human Rights Horizons The Pursuit of Justice in a Globalising World (London, 2000), Chapter 2 "A Half Century of Human Rights"

- 6. State of Human rights, Pakistan, HRCP, Pakistan, 2001
- 7. Ranabir Samaddar: Caring for the Refugees: Issues of Power, Fear and Ethics, Three Essays on Law, responsibility, and Justice, SAFHR Paper 12, 2002.

Some of the questions to be discussed

- 1. Given the history of violence during partition and the violence that continued for long and is there even today, probably in the same virulent form, what is the role that such moral appeal, which Gandhi demonstrated, has in the chronicle of resistance to war, violence, and genocide?
- 2. Six meanings of justice in the context of global environment can this principle be extended to other spheres and concerns for rights? Can we think of other principles in this context?
- 3. If we are to think of justice for women in the context of CEDAW, can we enunciate such basic principles of justice?
- 4. Human rights as citizens' rights what do the experiences of South Asia and Africa speak of the lessons of such transformation? Do rights

"The course material has been well-chosen and offers intellectual stimulation and a diversity of perspectives. The 15 day intense orientation allows great focus and interaction for sustained learning and dialogueThe 15 day course also provides an excellent opportunity to those who want to explore joint collaboration in academic/activist endeavors. The current schedule of the programme is rather hectic as it gives comparatively little opportunity of informal interaction and hardly any time left out, not one free day. Saturation and monotony can set in and affect learning and interest."

- Osama Siddique

become more secure and deeper by becoming citizens' rights? Do they create new exclusions (such as of migrants, refugees, non-state persons, persons suspected as terrorists, etc.)? Do they affect thereby the universality of rights?

- 5. How can we think of human rights as a course or process of history? If we can, where should we site it in law, in state-citizen interface, in popular demands, in the growth of consciousness, or in the extra-legal sphere of human activities?
- 6. Can each of us undertake a project of writing such a history of human rights of a specific country of South Asia? Is it possible to write or think of a global history of that type? Or, will such an attempt become inevitably biased in favour of western histories, "global" histories, which will leave out small, particular, and local attempts to secure justice and rights? In other words, are histories of rights always context-specific?
- 7. In what way can we articulate ethical issues in peace, justice, and human rights? What are our ethical practices in claiming, protecting, and respecting rights? Are these issues and practices exhausted by laws and institutions? What is their significance in our histories of rights and justice? Can we articulate the ethical issues in our respective justice-seeking and rights-claiming or rights-protecting spheres?
- 8. The ethical practices of humanitarianism and the political practices of humanitarianism how do these two relate? What do our experiences (for instance, of Sri Lanka or Gujarat or Kashmir in India, or of Afghanistan or Iraq) teach us about the relation?

Module B

(Rights, law, constitution, and constitutionalism)

1. "Laws & Law-making, and Administration of Justice" in State of Human Rights, Pakistan, (Lahore: HRCP, 2002), Chapter 1

- Ratna Kapoor and Brenda Cossman "On Women, Equality and the Constitution: Through the Looking Glass of Feminism" in Nivedita Menon (ed.), Gender and Politics in India: Themes in Politics, (New Delhi: Oxford, 2001), Chapter 3
- 3. Michel Foucault, "Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison" in Paul Rabinow (ed.), The Foucault Reader (New York: Pantheon, 1977), selected sections
- 4. Gautam Navlakha, "Defence, Development and Democracy", study paper for the First South Asian Orientation Course in Human Rights and Peace Studies, Kathmandu, 2000
- Ranabir Samaddar, "Colonial Constitutionalism", Three Essays on Law, Responsibility and Justice, SAFHR Paper 12 (Kathmandu; SAFHR, 2002)
- 6. "Constitution in Perplexity", Nepal Human Rights Year Book 2002 (Kathmandu: INSEC, 2002)
- 7. Mahendra Lawoti, "Racial Discrimination toward the Indigenous Communities in Nepal", paper presented in the National Conference in Kathmandu
- 8. Lok Raj Baral, "Second Constitutional Experiment with Democracy" in L.R. Baral, The Regional Paradox (Delhi: Adroit, 2000), Section 1

Some of the questions to be discussed

 Constitution lays out the basic framework of rights. From the point of rule and governing, this is the basic text of liberty, rights, and fairness to the subjects. From the point of administration of justice, the basic criterion of which is the observance and ensuring of rights and dignity, the matter is complicated as is borne out by the various human rights commission reports in countries of South Asia. Can we think of a strategy that will make administration of justice a part of the basic text of law, which is to say, our engagements with daily violations of rights and dignity will become as important as the operation of the constitution?

- 2. In the context of the role that human rights commission reports (for instance, the HRCP reports) play in enabling us to understand the notion of "administration of justice" in the world of rights and dignity, it is necessary to prepare such reports at every level of institution or area. Can we think of other ways of administration of justice that will address the principles of justice in a deeper way?
- 3. One instance: Prison conditions are the perfect conditions of deprivation of liberty and correction of "criminals" and "delinquents" for keeping society at peace. Yet prisons nowhere have administered justice to the victims even when they deprived liberty, punished criminals and delinquents according to scientifically measured quota of time (jail sentence period), and made themselves the place for carrying out death penalty, that is the place for depriving a human being of life. How shall we look at this mode of administration of justice from human rights point of view?
- 4. To what extent the formal equality of law and constitution enable us to address critically the social and political agenda of "women and equality"?
- 5. Human rights become rights of citizens to become operational. Through the experiences of women in getting justice, can we say that this process is enough, or do we need to think of citizenship in multiple ways?
- 6. Constitution making and constitutional mechanisms are transparent and deliberative acts of democracy. Yet, what are our South Asian experiences in the context of the fact that constitutions can co-exist with wars and violence, can connect war-making (including "war against terrorism") with development and democracy, and defence of the "republic" or the "nation" can become as important as

- constitutional functioning? Do you think that the current "war against terrorism" is subverting constitutionalism everywhere?
- 7. As peace and human rights activists and thinkers how should we relate the justice-seeking provisions of our constitutions with some of their darker origins? In what way does this question reflect on our strategies for justice and peace? In what way the colonial roots of our constitutions predicate upon our rights mechanism?
- 8. What can we learn from Nepal's current perplexity with constitutionalism in the context of political revolt and conflict in the country?
- 9. One of the relevant questions here is: Is reconciliation a constitutional act or a political act? Does constitutional primacy help in reconciliation? Can we think of justice as a field where the legal and the politics of our daily activities interact, jostle for space, and meet up?

Module C

(Institutional protection of human rights in South Asia)

- Nalini Rajan, Democracy and the Limits of Minority Rights (New Delhi: Sage Publications,:2002), Chapter 1 "Defining Human Rights"
- James Massey, Minorities in a Democracy: the Indian Experience, (Delhi: Monohar, 1999), Chapter 5 "Protection of the Human Rights of Minorities"
- 3. Vasudha Dhagamwar, "Rule of Law: Squaring the Circle", Meeta and Rajivlochan, "Rules The Administrative Experience in Tribal
 Development", and Abha Singhal Joshi, "Learning Law Outside Law School" in Satish Saberwal and Heiko Sievers (eds.), Rules,

Laws, Constitutions (New Delhi: Sage Publi-

cations, 1998)

- 4. Charls Abeysekera, Rohan Edrisinghe, Sumanasiri Liyanage, Pakiasothy Saravanamuthu, Jayadeva Uyangoda, Unitarism, Devolution and Majoritarian Elitism: A response to the Interim Report of the Sinhala Commission, (Colombo: Social Scientist Association, 1998)
- Neelam Tiruchelvam, "Devolution of Power, the Problems and Challenges" and Sunil Bastian, "Control of State Land - The Devolution Debate" in Sri Lanka: The Devolution Debate (Colombo, 1996)
- 6. Malathi Thalagodapitiya, "Government Policies for Resettlement, Rehabilitation & Reconstruction and Services Provided by the State" in Yearbook 2000: Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies Sri Lanka (Colombo, 2000)
- 7. Ambika Satkunanathan, "The Human Rights Commission", "Official Languages Commission", and "State Interference with Public Institutions: A case study of the Bribery Commission" in Sri Lanka: State of Human rights, 2000 (Colombo, 2000), Chapters 17, 18, and 19
- 8. Anil Bhattrai, Diagnostic Study of Ministry of Local Development (MLD) and the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), to be published in an ICES volume
- 9. "Judiciary and Human rights", Nepal Human Rights Year Book 2002 (Kathmandu: INSEC, 2002)
- 10. Ranabir Samaddar, "The Juridical Political Claims of Minority Protection in India", to be published in an ICES volume
- Geoff Gilbert, "Autonomy and Minority Groups – A Legal Right in International Law?" (UN Paper for Working Group on minorities, Commission on Human Rights, 2001)

Some of the questions to be discussed

- 1. Why is it that the normal administration of justice and the constitution do not evoke enough confidence among citizens with the result that citizens demand special institutional framework for defence of human rights? Does it indicate a failure or the advancement of democratic politics?
- Trace the institutional history of human rights protection mechanism in your country and show how this history combines legal and political needs, and legal and political responses to increasing awareness of human rights.
- 3. To what extent this history reflects the benchmarks set by international legal norms?
- 4. Do you think that such institutional attempts examples of which have been provided to you amount to as one has said, "Squaring the circle"? Comment on the poser.
- 5. We have provided you a selection of material on the efforts to oppose majoritarianism in Sri Lanka that often expresses itself in juridical form. The material also gives us the institutional landscape of protection of human rights which are under attack from often legally sanctioned majoritarianism. In what way do you think the defence of rights has contributed to current efforts to establish peace in Sri Lanka, and has relevance to these efforts?
- 8. In what way South Asia can learn from the global experiences of establishing frameworks of autonomy as integral part of the protection of human rights?

Module D

(Cases of conflicts, dialogues, peacemaking, and public audits of peace)

 Peace Audit Report 1, "Peace Process in Nagaland and the Chittagong Hill Tracts" by Jehan Perera, SAFHR Paper 5, Kathmandu 1999

- Peace Audit Report 2, "Peace Process in Sri Lanka" by Ranabir Samaddar, SAFHR Paper 8, Kathmandu 2001
- 3. Extracts from Peace Audit 3, "Resolutions of the Baloch Peace Audit Exercise" (to be published as SAFHR Paper)

Some of the questions to be discussed

- 1. Is reconciliation a constitutional act or a political act? Does constitutional primacy help in reconciliation? Can we think of justice as a field where the legal world and the politics of the street and of our daily activities interact, jostle for space, and meet up?
- 2. The land question seems to be a critical factor in restoration for peace. Trace its importance in auditing peace process in this region.
- 3. In what way the human rights and the humanitarian imperatives relate to each other in peace exercise? What are the experiences of Sri Lanka? Similarly there is the need to study the ways in which human rights issues become significant in peace process.
- 4. What is peace audit? In what way can you say that it is an exercise not to be undertaken by or meant for some specialists, but by and for the peace constituencies, "peace public", specifically the victims? What can be its distinctive processes, the nature of its participants, and the results?
- 5. If dialogue is at the heart of peace and restoration of justice, how are we to account for two contradictory facts in the process of peace on one hand, there is asymmetry of power among forces engaged in peace dialogues; on the other hand, dialogue marks the start of the journey towards acknowledgement of wrongs done, abuses, violence, humanitarian needs, and the need to have a new vision towards justice?
- 6. In what way women become one of the most important signifiers of need for just peace and towards that, a just process of peace? What

- does the word "just" mean in this context? How does it connect with the requirement of a plural structure of peace process that is, many levels, many voices, many issues, and many modes?
- 7. Finally, how would you account for the different roles that ceasefire can play in peace process?

Module E

(Justic, Women's movements, and ecological politics)

- 1. Rita Manchanda, "Redefining and Feminising Security", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. Xxxvi, No. 22, June 2, 2001
- 2. Rita Manchanda, "Feminist Narratives of Conflict and nation State", *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 12, 2003
- Simona Sharoni, "Middle East Politics through Feminist Lenses: Toward Theorizing International Relations from Women's Struggles", Alternatives: Social Transformation and Humane Governance 18(1), 5 – 28 (1993)
- 4. Nivedita Menon, "Elusive 'Women': Feminism and Women's Reservation Bill", *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 28, 2000.
- 5. Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pillay and Meredeth Turshen, "There Is No Aftermath for Women" in Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pillay and Meredeth Turshen (eds), The Aftermath: Women in Post – Conflict Transformation, (London, Zed books, 2001)
- Jennifer Turpin, Women, War and Peace, Chapter 1, "Many Faces: women confronting War".

Some of the issues and linkages to be discussed

Increasingly, 'Gender' is a perspective/component that is flagged in research analysis, policy recommendations and advocacy. Specifically

focus on the issue of conflict and peace.

How do you understanding gender? Is there a women's differentiated experience (s) of conflict and perspectives on peace? Is there a women's way of doing peace building? Do women and other marginalised voices emphasise the importance of the truth and justice issue in peace negotiations over power sharing?

- Explore the relevance of incorporating a gender perspective/ component in situations of conflict and conflict transformation? Can women make a difference? Taking women seriously – Initiatives and Processes
- 3. Understanding Women as Agency in the South Asia context Women's Movements: Shifting from welfare and gender rights issues to Women's Movements for Peace and Women's Movements for Justice Women's Movement for Human Rights Women's Movement for Ecology Nature of the strategies of Activism e.g. mobilization around motherhood Informal politics and formal politics strengths and limitations Is there a gender differentiated lens on peace/justice and ecology? Building alliances with "civil society"
- 3. Women and Nation's Narrative in the context of South Asia
 - Women as symbols of the nationalist construct: who constructs the 'nationalist' image of women, in whose interest is it (women's).
 - Citizenship and Representation
 - Inscribing gender rights on the 'nationalist' agenda
- 4. Women in post Conflict Transformation:
 - Women and Refugee/IDP resettlement
 - Women Militants and DDR (Demobilization, Disarmament and Rehabilitation)
 - Safeguarding the 'gains' from conflict.
 - What is security for women?
 - Feminizing the peace agenda

Optional Module F

(Laws of war and peace)

- Michel Foucault, "Docile Bodies" from Discipline and Punish in Paula Rabinow (ed.), The Foucault Reader (New York: Panthen Books, 1984), pp. 179-187
- 2. "Preliminary Remarks on the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949", ICRC (Geneva, n.d.), pp. 1-22
- 3. "Human Rights and the ICRC" from *International Humanitarian Law*, (Geneva:, ICRC, n.d.), pp.4-19
- 4. Lindsay Moir, *The Law of Internal Armed Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Chapter 1, pp. 1-29
- 5. Jozef Goldblat, *Arms Control* (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 1-32
- 6. Peter Wallensteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution War, Peace and the Global System* (SAge: London, 2002), chapters 9 and 10, pp. 231-295

Some of the questions to be discussed

- 1. Comment on the record of the South Asian states with regard to observing the laws of internal armed conflicts; comment also on the record of the armed combatants against the state in this respect.
- 2. Do you think that with rise of new technology in warfare some of the laws of war have become outdated?
- 3. Can the humanitarian laws protect human rights?
- 4. Comment on the concept and the quality of "protection" a matter relating to humanitarian laws in South Asia.
- 5. "Politics is war by other means" discuss the

- statement in the light of the politics of laws regulating warfare
- Discuss the current state of UN in achieving disarmament, outlawing war, and controlling wars.
- 7. Can you say that the UN Charter heralds the arrival of laws of peace as distinct from laws of war, and discuss in this context the interface between laws of war and the laws of peace?

Optional Module G

(Globalisation, resources, and violence)

- Rajni Kothari, "Institutionalisation of Violence", Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict, volume 2, Academic Press, 1999
- Jean Dreze, "Militarism, Development and Democracy", Lecture at the M.S. University of Baroda, 7 October 1999
- Paul Joseph, "Globalisation, Boundaries in US perceptions of Security, and the Creation of Virtual War", Paper presented at the International Peace Research Conference (IPRA), Tampere, Finland, August 2000
- 4. Goran Fejic, "Peace Process in the Era of Globalisation – Negotiating with Warlords", study material for Third South Asian Human Rights and Peace Studies Orientation Course, Kathmandu, 2002
- Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Reflections on War and Political Discourse - Realism, Just War, and Feminism in a Nuclear Age" in Jean Bethke Elshtain (ed.), Just War Theory (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992)

- 6. Richard Falk, "The Pursuit of International Justice Present Dilemmas and an Imagined Future", Journal of International Affairs, 52 (2), Spring 1999
- 7. Tania Li, "Layered Landscapes of Government and Belonging", Paper presented at the SSRC Workshop on "Resources Conceptions and Contestations", Kathmandu, 3-12 January 2003
- Michael Watts, "Some Notes on Petro-Violence", Paper for the Workshop on Environment and Violence, University of California, Berkeley, 24-26 September 1998

Some of the questions to be discussed

- In what way globalisation shapes the nature and acts of violence? Can you comment on a reading of the material suggested here the different types of violence and different levels of violence?
- Indigenous peoples' right of access to resources is increasingly conditioned by globalisation - Comment.
- 3. Discuss the problems of democracy under conditions of militarism. Do you see a connection of this question with the way militarism is shaped by globalisation, and globalisation shapes militarism?
- 4. Comment on the changes in the nature of the big powers' perceptions of security. How do these perceptions impact on state borders?
- Comment on the impact of globalisation on peace management processes, and the behaviour of the actors in the process.

"The reading material is like my reference book."

- Harinder K. Sandhu



6. Finally what do all these mean for the idea, the ideal and practices of rights and justice? In what way do the feminist notions of justice offer deeper understanding of the connections between resources, globalisation, and violence, and enrich our capacity to cope with a militaristic globalisation?

Optional Module H

(Information, reporting and documentation basis of human rights and peace work)

- 1. Report by Stuart Millar and Michael white on patterns of reporting on Iraq, *The Guardian*, 29 March 2003-05-23
- Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick, "17 Tips

 What a Peace Journalist Would Try to Do",
 from Lynch and McGoldrick, Peace Journalism
 How to Do It (Sydney 2000)
- 3. Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky,

 Manufacturing Consent The Political Economy

 of the Mass Media (New York: Pantheon Books,
 1998), Preface and Chapter 1
- 4. Robin Jeffrey, "Media Revolution and the 'Hindu Politics in North India, 1982-99", Himal, 147, July 2001
- 5. Windy Lesser, *Pictures at an Execution* (Mass, Cambridge: 1995), selected pages
- Pratyoush Onta, "The New Media in Nepal F.M. Radio and the Urban Imagination", material circulated for Second Peace Studies Course, 2001
- 7. Bertolt Brecht, "The Radio as a Communications Apparatus" in Marc Silberman, *Brecht on*

Film and Radio (London; Methun 2001)

- 8. Concise Guide to Human Rights on the Internet, Second edition, September 1998
- Investigation Report on Unregistered Bhutanese Asylum Seekers in Nepal ~ Notes on Method

Some of the questions to be discussed

- 1. Comment from your experiences on patterns of reporting in mass media. Do you think that there is something inherent in mass media to make it propagandistic, particularly the technology that enables a medium to reach millions?
- 2. What is your idea about radio's capacity to lend itself to democratic imagination?
- 3. Mass media, ownership structure, and propaganda how can you relate these three in its dynamics? How does this relation impact on public perceptions of conflict and peace?
- 4. Analyse one of the information wars in South Asia.
- 5. Prepare a note the limits on the extent to which dissent be carried in media particularly mass media.
- 6. Why method is important in conducting inquiry on issues of human rights?
- 7. Can you prepare a project proposal on how to build up a information centre on human rights and peace? How will you cope with digital divide?

SAFHR Papers

As part of distance education, there study papers have been brought out as part of the course material. These are:

- Chronicles of a No-Where People on the Indo-Bangladesh Border / Compiled by Jagat Mani Acharya, Manjita Gurung, and Ranabir Samaddar (SAFHR Paper 14)
- Insurgency and Displacement Perspectives on Nepal / Sarah Kernot with Manjita Gurung (SAFHR Paper 15)
- Peace Audit Report 3 The Peace Question in Balochistan / Shahid Fiaz (SAFHR Paper 16)

Term Papers

Below is the list of term papers written by the participants as course assignments under the compulsory modules -

Module A

(Ethics and politics of peace, justice, human rights, and humanitarianism)

- Conflict and humanitarian projects peace and human rights in Afghanistan / Akram Salam
- Humanitarian law and human rights / Nazma Begum

Module B

(Rights, law, constitutions, and constitutionalism)

- Vulnerable groups and right based approach to development / Arjun Prasad Dahal
- Bangladesh constitution and the situation of the minorities / Dhiraj Kumar Mondal
- Rights of migrant workers and responsibility of home country: the Bangladesh side of the story / K. N. M. Hossainul Haque
- Prison conditions are the perfect conditions of deprivation of liberty and correction of "criminals" and "delinquents" for keeping society at peace by Osama Siddique

Module C

(Institutional protection of human rights in South Asia)

• The principle of self-determination: the

- evolution and the lessons for the present day / Bhavani Fonseka
- The need for national institutions for establishing information / Deki Yangzom
- Protection of national institution in South Asia / Fasinun-Nisa-Qadri
- How does the defence of rights contribute to establish peace in Sri Lanka / Kumudhu Sumangalie Atulugama
- Human rights protection in South Asia / Sheikh Nazrul Islam

Module D

(Cases of conflicts, dialogues, peacemaking, and public audits of peace)

- Conflict resolution and reconciliation as a political act or a constitutional act / Eranthi Premaratne
- Pakistan-India Conflict / Francisco D'Sa
- Peace process in Sri Lanka Peace audit reporting / Harinder K. Sandhu
- Peace process in Sri Lanka / Himali Diyabedanage
- Maoist conflict and the peace process in Nepal / Prakash Adhikari
- How human rights and the humanitarian imperatives relate to each other in a peace process: peace process in Sri Lanka and Aceh, Indonesia / Ruth Halstead
- Cases of conflicts, dialogues, peacemaking and public audit of peace in Sri Lanka /

"Term papers was discussed in class; it helped the participants. Review papers were sent on e-mail, but there was no room for discussion, only comments were received on e-mail. Background information of the resource persons and participants sent in advance would be useful."

- Francisco D'Sa



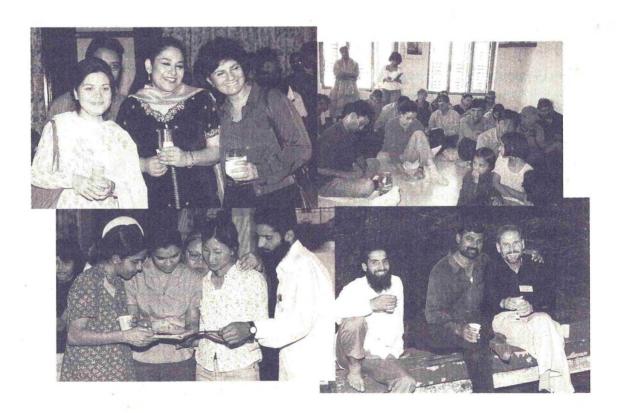
- Samsudeen Safi Nayaj
- Internal conflict in the contest of Nepal / Krishna Subedi
- Dalit Oppression in India / S. R. Srinivasan

Module E

(Justice, women's movements, and ecological politics)

- Curtailed autonomy for South Asian women / Lubna Tawakkul
- Reflections of resistance: women's movement in South Asia / Naveen Qayyum
- Naga women's role in confronting war / Neikesanuo Sorhie

- South Asian Women in Chinese Media / Regina Yu-Ching Lin
- Women rights and reproductive rights: Evolution and Bangladeshi women / Riffat Hossain Lucy
- Women as symbols of the nationalist construction: who constructs the 'nationalist' image of women and in whose interest is it?
 / Rosa Basanti
- Women Trafficking and Violation of Human Rights: The Case of Bangladesh / Uttam Kumar Das
- ♦ Alternative voices / Abid Ahmad
- The relevance of incorporating gender perspective in the Sri Lankan peace process – some reflections / Sarala Emmanuel



Field Visit and Other Visits

THE TRIP to Pokhara on 26 July took nearly seven hours. Participants there visited *CHILDREN - Nepal* and had a three-hour discussion with the children and the staff of the organisation. Next day, July 27, they visited *Nari Sewa Kendra*, a women's organization, and visited a village where women had been working to bring awareness among their community about their rights and ability within the society. The same day participants visited *Tashi Palkhiel Tibetan Refugee Camp*.

Pokhara with a population of about 1,00,000 people is situated at an altitude of 827 m from the sea level and 200 km west of Kathmandu valley. The climate of Pokhara is slightly warmer than Kathmandu with daytime temperature of around 15 degree Celsius in winter and 35 degree in summer. The monsoon season which lasts from mid-June to mid-September is very wet; Pokhara records highest rainfall in the country. Pokhara has several beautiful lakes and offers eye-catching views of Himalayan peaks. Some of the breathtaking views in Pokhara are Phewa Lake, Begnas lake and Rupa lake, Barahi temple, World Peace Pagoda, Seti Gandaki, Devi's Fall, Gupteswar Gupha, Mahendra Gupha.

In order to prepare the fieldwork, preparatory visit by the peace studies desk was made. There were exhaustive discussions with Nari Sewa Kendra, Children Nepal and the Tibetan refugee camp at Hemja, 12 KM outside Pokhara. A short note on the visit was circulated beforehand among the participants.

Tibetan refugees in Nepal

NEPAL IS the home for 18,000 Tibetan refugees. Tibetan refugees first fled to Nepal in 1959. Tibetans still continue to come to Nepal but Nepal government does not recognise new arrivals. When they come to Nepal they are at first kept in undisclosed transit camps. There is an unofficial arrangement between the Nepalese government and the office of the Dalai Lama in India that they will take the new arrivals away from Nepal. Tibetans residing in Nepal have no legal status. Nepalese law does not recognize the rights of the refugees under international law. Tibetans who arrived before 1989 can remain in Nepal with certain limited rights provided that they have refugee identity certificate. The Nepalese law in theory permits naturalization but the government does not view citizenship as a viable option for Tibetans even though they have resided in Nepal for decades. Tibetans in Nepal are essentially stateless. The government issued refugee cards (RC) in 1995 and on a smaller scale in 1999. The issuance of RCs remains incomplete, without it they cannot exercise the limited rights they possess. They cannot travel to certain restricted regions of Nepal, and it is difficult to get the travel document necessary for international travel. Tibetans residents have no right to own property or business. Legal and social discrimination severely curtail their ability to secure employment. Tibetans cannot own houses, vehicles, land and other property in Nepal. Nepal permits religious freedom, but now the government has restricted the right of Tibetans to hold cultural events or to stage peaceful political demonstrations, these activities are deemed to be anti China; the government therefore restricts such activities. In 1960 Nepalese government arranged to provide Tibetan refugees with land. They established four temporary settlements at Dhialsa, in Solu Khumbu mountain, Tashi Palkhiel in the Pokhara area, Dhorpatan in western Nepal, and at Jawalakhel in Kathmandu. The Nepal Red Cross (NRC), founded in 1963, purchased the land for these settlements with funds donated by UNHCR. In 1964, Nepal asked the Swiss government to help to resettle the refugees and administer the settlement. Thereafter, the Swiss government with Swiss Red Cross and Swiss Association for Technical Assistance provided the residents of the settlements with basic humanitarian aid, technical assistance, and vocational training.

Today more than one dozen Tibetan settlements exists in Nepal.

Tashi Palkhiel Tibetan Refugee Camp in Pokhara

THERE ARE four Tibetan refugee camps in Pokhara, among the four camps Tashi Palkhiel camp was established in 1962 in cooperation with the Swiss development Corporation and His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

There are 1000 refugees in this camp where basic health and educational facilities are provided. The main source of income of the refugees from this camp is carpet industry. They produce high quality carpet which is exported. Carpet is one of Nepal's biggest export items, and one of the main sources of income of the government. Today the market for Nepalese carpet has fallen in the world market and the production has fallen drastically; therefore many refugees from this camp come to Pokhara city where they work for the whole day and return in the evening to the camp. This is nearly the situation in rest of the Tibetan refugee camps in Nepal.

In this camp they have a school, an old age home and a beautiful monastery, which is looked after by the old people and the monks. This center depicts the beautiful Tibetan culture, or you may call as the small Tibet in Pokhara.

CHILDREN – Nepal (CN)

CHILDREN NEPAL is a non-profit, non governmental organization founded in 1995 by a group of Nepali professionals working in the fields of education and health. The organisation works for the protection of the right, welfare and development of the children living on the margins of society. Its objectives have been to increase access of CEDC (Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances) and their families to the services around them like health and education; mobilise civil society, service providers and other concerned people for the protection and care of the children under difficult cir-

cumstances; to help children become independent through productive activities and sale of handicrafts, facilitate training workshop and develop partnership among like minded agencies and persons; to create conditions where children do not suffer from non-discrimination in terms of caste, gender, or other criteria of disability and discrimination; to develop, test and document strategies for facilitating self help community development and self supporting activities; and to build up good relation with other organisations working on similar concerns.

CN has a holistic approach to social work and looks at the family and local community as its main focus and resource base. It believes that to improve children's conditions, the family must be absolutely tied to the effort. It works at micro level with children and their families; at meso level with schools, wards, health care providers, NGOs and cooperatives, and at the macro level it conducts advocacy, lobbying and training for children's rights. The CN-House provides basic education for children who have never been to school or have dropped out of school. It takes care of the children who are malnourished, provides shelter, fosters health care and education for children from the streets and runs day-care and pre-primary education centre for the underprivileged.

The school-linked programme facilitates the integration of girls from low caste into local schools and provides sponsorship for poor children for education. The job-linked programme gives vocational training, and finds jobs for children above 14 years. The family-support programme aims to help families to resolve conflicts, help them have access to the services around them, and organise the families and help them to raise voice for their rights. The hospital-linked programme helps children and their families to link with health facilities available locally. It also ogranises training programmes, and has income generation activities.

Nari Sewa Kendra

Participants visited another institution, Nari Sewa Kendra, a non-profit, non-governmental women's organization, earlier known as Nari Hasta Kala Vikas Kendra. It used to confine itself to skill de-

A brief description of the two institutions.

velopment but today it has widened its activities towards community development. its vision is women's empowerment through capacity building, and utilization of the available local resources. Its objectives are to improve local knowledge, skill and attitude of the deprived women, to enhance leadership of deprived population through awareness programmes, to develop human resources for the institutional development, and to network with organisations working in the same area. This group in Pokhara is playing a major role in making women's voice heard in the society where they live.

Notwithstanding the short period of the visit and the intense work involved, field-visits of the participants organised each year as part of the course have been most popular with the participants.

Visits to other institutions

The participants visited two other institutions – both in Kathmandu – during the course as part of the programme. Each year during the course the participants make visits to some appropriate institutions in the city. In the first course participants visited the SAARC secretariat. The participants had a very good discussion with the senior officials and the secretary-general of SAARC in that visit. In the second course participants visited the *Informal Ser-*



vice Sector Center (INSEC) and the Center for the Victims of Torture (CVICT). The participants of the third course visited Child Workers in Nepal (CIWIN) and Forum for Women, Law, and Development (FWLD). This year they visited to two national institutions, National Dalit Commission and National Women's Commission.

National Women Commission of Nepal

THE NATIONAL Women's Commission was formed in 2002 under the Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare. It is an impartial and autonomous body to promote women's empowerment, gender equality, social justice, peace, and women's participation in the mainstream of development of the nation by preserving and enhancing women's rights and well-being. The need for such an institution was felt particularly after the Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing in the year 1995. The Commission works for the protection and promotion of the rights and the well-being of the women, as mentioned in the proposed Act of the commission. To fulfill its purpose, the commission coordinates with the government, NGOs, INGOs, intellectuals, legal experts, and human rights activists.

Within a year of its establishment, a bill has been prepared incorporating the views gained from the interactions with different sectors of the society such as women rights organizations, lawyers, member of the parliaments, and political leaders. The draft bill or proposed Act 2003 of Women Commission describes the commission as an autonomous and corporate body which will have a separate seal of its own to carry its activities. Art. 4 of the proposed Act of the commission states that a Nepalese woman above 35 years having ten years of continuing experience in the field of women's rights can be a member of the commission. His Majesty appoints the members of the commission with the recommendation of the Recommendation Committee. The Committee consists of Prime Minister, Chief Justice, and the main opposition party leader of the House of Representatives, a woman judge of the Supreme Court or a woman legal practitioner of equivalent rank and the senior-most member of the parliament in the House of Representatives. The selected members are appointed for 4 years from the date of appointment and eligible for reappointment for one more term (Art.7). Article 9 of the Act prohibits any member to engage in any other professional employment while holding office in the commission.

Some of the functions of the commission as stated in Chapter 3 are to recommend to the government how to implement various international covenants and bilateral agreements on gender while amending the Constitution and formulating acts, laws, bylaws and national policies; review the implementation of provisions related to women in the constitution, acts, laws, bylaws and policies of the government, and press for their effective execution; provide leadership for coordination and cooperation among various branches of the government and non governmental and women's organizations that are actively concerned with the national agenda of women's human rights; coordinate women-related programmes of the various ministries, departments and local, national and international organizations and recommend effective ways to comply with principles of gender justice; promote coordination and goodwill among all organizations, intellectuals, law experts, human rights activists, international organizations and other national commissions for women who are working to foster gender equality, women's human rights and women's development; to advise HMG, the National Planning Commission and other concerned departments that formulate national policies and programs directly related to women's development; to conduct appropriate study and research issues; investigate incidents of violation of women's human rights, and advise the concerned units of HMG on specific measures in formulating appropriate policies; take appropriate actions on complaints and reports, press for law enforcement and investigation, and finally provide necessary legal and material assistance to women-victims of social evils and traditional malpractices including sexual exploitation and harassment, trafficking and domestic violence. The commission also recommends the National Planning Commission measures to incorporate appropriate measures for women's education, health, political, social and other relevant issues in the tenth five year

However, the participants were made aware of the challenges that the Commission faces, namely, that the bill of the commission is not yet passed; the commission lacks financial and human resources to run its activities smoothly; it suffers from lack of coordination and cooperation between NGOs and with the governmental institutions; it lacks any coordination mechanism; majority of the Nepalese women are not aware of the existence of the National Women Commission; and that the commission needs to represent the minority, dalits and indigenous women.

National Dalit's Commission

A LARGE section of people in Nepal continues to face extreme poverty, deprivation, denial, exclusion and marginalization although the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990, guarantees non discrimination on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste or tribe, or ideological conviction. Article 11 of the Constitution provides that all citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law. Despite these measures that injustice based on gender, caste, continues; and people are victims of the practice of untouchability, and ethnic, religious, cultural, social and economic injustices.

Although HMG Nepal has ratified several international conventions, the government has not been able to respect and uphold the rights of the people flowing from them. The National Dalit Commission has been formed after the Dalit NGOs and other human rights activists demanded the establishment of such an institution for the protection and promotion of their rights. The commission is to protect and promote the rights of the Dalits in Nepal; make recommendation to the government, investigate issues and cases relating atrocities on and violations of rights of the Dalits; and make recommendations to concerned authorities for adopting special plans and programmes and taking appropriate measures. But the significant point in this case is that, the commission lacks autonomy. The unwillingness of the government to materialise the establishment of the commission with strong legal instruments is a cause for worry. As response to the growing pressure of the Dalits, the commission itself has appointed a task force to formulate the Draft of the National Commission for Dalits.

Despite the government's efforts for the dalit upliftment over the years (such as the introduction of New Legal Code of 1963 and the Constitution of 1990), specific policies in the Eighth and Ninth Five Year Plans, establishment of Dalit Vikas Samity in 1997, and the very recent establishment of the National Dalit Commission (April 2002) with high objectives, and the proliferation of many NGOs and INGOs in promoting the rights of the dalits, the social, economic, political and health conditions of the dalits have not improved much. The policy of reservation for dalits in public offices, education and public employment may address the problem of unequal access to resources. But as experiences of other countries show, only reservation cannot help much.

Public Lectures

Three public lectures were instituted in the city during the fifteen days peace studies course. The first lecture was held on 23 July in collaboration with INSEC, a prominent human rights organisation of Nepal, and was titled, The Age of Commissions- Human Rights Commissions in Asia. The speaker was Ravi Nair, the Executive Director of the South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre.

The second lecture was held on 29 July in collaboration with a public discussion forum of Kathmandu, Martin Chautari, and was titled, New Empire, Islamic Fundamentalism and Pakistan's Political Economy. The speaker was Asad Sayeed, an economist from Karachi working on labour and development issues.

The third public lecture was held on 1 August, again in collaboration with Martin Chautari. The address was on Future of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and was delivered by Mubashir Hasan, one of the most political personalities of Pakistan and a prominent leader of the peace movement in Pakistan.

Excerpts from these public lectures are given below.

The Age of Commissions - Beyond the Paris Principles

—By Ravi Nair

THE GENERAL Assembly in its resolution 48/134 of 20 December 1993 adopted the Paris Principles Relating to the Status of National Institutions. The Paris Principles drafted in the United Nations Workshop on National Institutions for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights organised by then UN Centre for Human Rights and Government of France in Paris on 7-9 October 1991, spelt out the minimum guidelines on the competence and responsibilities, composition and guarantees of independence and pluralism, methods of operation and additional principles concerning the status of commissions with quasi-jurisdictional competence.

Since its inception, the United Nations has been concerned with the establishment of commissions on human rights at the national level. The debate on the establishment of national institutions received a fillip when the Commission on Human Rights in its resolution 23 (XXIV) of 8 March 1978 reiterated the call of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council to establish such institutions. The seminar on National and Local Institutions for the Promotion

and Protection of Human Rights held in Geneva from 18-29 September 1978 approved a set of guidelines for the structuring and functioning of national institutions. The guidelines, which were adopted by the General

Assembly in its resolution 33/46 of 14 December 1978, focused on the promotion of human rights by national institutions.

Since the adoption of the Paris Principles, a number of governments all over the world have established national human rights institutions. The minimal guarantees contained in the Paris Principles have been Since the adoption of the Paris
Principles, a number of governments all over the world have established national human rights institutions.

glorified as high standards. Critical evaluation of the national institutions by NGOs in the last onedecade has uncovered the inadequacies of the institutions and by implication, the principles that govern them. It is high time therefore that the relevance of the Paris Principles on National Human Rights Institutions is examined. In this context, the role and composition of the International Coordinating Committee must also be reviewed, rather than as a forum for self-congratulation.

With the experience of some years, the gaps in the Paris Principles have become apparent. For example, one of the responsibilities enumerated in the Paris Principles is: "To promote and ensure the harmonisation of national legislation, regulations and practices with international human rights instruments to which the State is a party and their effective implementation". Such a restrictive mandate for NHRIs is regressive. For example, Malaysia, which has established a National Human Rights Commission, has not ratified key human rights instruments such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (IESCR) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). However, the interventions by the Special Procedures Mechanisms of the Commission on Human Rights on complaints of human rights violations in Malaysia clearly testify that for an intervention in a case of human rights violation, the ratification of human rights instruments is not a prerequisite. The mandate of an NHRI must be to enforce the implementation of customary international law, and not merely to ensure compliance with ratified instruments.

The Paris Principles are also not sufficiently clear regarding the "quasi-jurisdictional competence" of NHRIs. While the Paris Principles recommend, "a national institution may be authorized to hear and consider complaints and petitions concerning individual situations," it is silent on the powers of such national institutions. While the NHRIs cannot be a substitute for - nor should they diminish the value of - the existing Constitutional and other safeguards for the protection of human rights, some NHRIs have been given the powers of a civil court, particularly with respect to the following functions: (a) summoning and enforcing the attendance of witnesses and examine them on oath; (b) discovery and production of any document; (c) receiving evidence on affidavits; (d) requisitioning any public record or copy thereof from any court or office; (e) issuing commissions for the examination of witnesses or documents; and (f) any other matter which may be prescribed."

These powers are crucial if NHRIs are to play an effective role in the protection of human rights. While so-called national institutions like the Danish Centre for Human Rights - which is a policy institute and not mandated to intervene in individual cases, India's National Human Rights Commission can intervene in individual cases and has the power of a civil court. Yet, the Danish Centre for Human Rights was found to be prickly by the new Government in Copenhagen. That the German Government is following the model of the Danish Centre for Human Rights is disturbing. It is essential that European countries move away from the system of the ombudspersons and policy institutes and establish full national human rights commission with powers of a civil court to complement the work of the Regional Human Rights mechanisms.

Moreover, the Paris Principles do not contain any non-derogable standards. Most NHRIs, according to their statute/ordinance, are barred from inquiring into abuses by armed forces. The Paris Principles are silent on these issues. Moreover, some NHRIs cannot take suo motu action. In the absence of monitoring mechanisms to comply with the Paris Principles, the role of the United Nations, particularly the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, becomes crucial. It is also necessary to complement the corrective mechanisms of NHRIs with peer pressure.

The Larrakia Declaration which led to the formation of the Asia-Pacific Forum of NHRIs (APF) "welcomes as participants in the forum other independent national institutions established to conform to the Paris Principles." While not all APF members may fully comply with the Paris Principles, APF denies membership to NHRIs that clearly contravene the Paris Principles. A few national institutions such as the Islamic Human Rights Commission of Iran, Malaysian Human Rights Commission thus merely enjoy observer status at the APF. In this context, the composition of the International Coordinating Committee on National Institutions

is also disquieting. It consists of so-called national institutions like the Danish Centre for Human Rights – which is a policy institute and not mandated to intervene in individual cases – to the National Human Rights Commission of India, which can intervene in individual cases and has the power of a civil court. This composition puts the credibility of the International Coordinating Committee in serious doubt. Whereas the Islamic Human Rights Commission only has observer status at the Asia-Pacific Forum, it enjoys equal

power with the members of the Asia-Pacific Forum at the International Coordinating Committee.

The Professional Training Series No. 4: A Handbook on the Establishment and Strengthening of National Institutions for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights of the OHCHR has proven to be inadequate. Unless the Paris Principles are revisited and strengthened in the light of these experiences, NHRIs will not achieve their objectives.

New Empire, Islamic Fundamentalism and Pakistan's Political Economy

- By Asad Sayeed

IMPERIALISM HAS been an important facet of the global world for more than a century now. After the Second World War, the US emerged as the single most powerful imperial nation in the world. Its Imperialist ambitions were, however, checked in some measure, by the existence of the Soviet Union and the ensuing cold war between these two power blocs. The extent to which the US has militarily intervened is astonishing. Between 1890 to date, the US has militarily intervened 133 times. That makes for an average of more than one military intervention a year. Those of us in South Asia did not realize the extent of America's use of force globally because fortuitously our region was saved from this onslaught till the recent attack on Afghanistan. Latin America, East and South East Asia have borne the brunt of American militarism in the last 50 years or so.

The end of the cold war created, what we can now see, somewhat of an illusion. The illusion was that the use of militarism in the fulfillment of imperial goals will diminish. Instead, multilateral institutions of economic regulation -WTO, the World Bank, the IMF and others - will be the *prime-mobile* of economic imperialism. After the first Gulf War, save for the selective use of force in Eastern Europe, it appeared that this was the trend. There was a significant decline in military budgets in all European countries and the US. September 11 has removed all blinkers. We can now see that there is more continuity than change in the imperial game plan. In the guise of the war on terrorism, militarism is to be pursued much more aggressively and without

regard to the institutions of multilateralism that were put in place under the aegis of the UN since the Second World War.

The manner in which this change in the rules of the game has impacted on domestic freedoms can be seen in the introduction of anti-terrorism legislations in a number of developing countries – particularly here in South Asia – where the repressive arms of the state have had the balance of power altered in their favour.

The recent invasion of Iraq by the Americans has prompted an important debate about the actual motives of the use of military force in this particular instance. The most common contention is that it is done for oil. Other explanations are containment of the middle east, the issue of the

waning American economic hegemony - most interestingly manifested in the rise of the Euro as an alternative currency - changes in the balance between the 'old' and the 'new' economy in the US itself. While all these explanations have some weight (particularly the one on oil), in my estimation control (and not mere containment) of the

"... increased military spending ... to challenge regimes hostile to our interests abroad....[and] accept responsibility for America's unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity and our greatness in the next century."

Middle-East has been the most important one. The use of military force has been used with impunity in the past by the US to establish its control over Latin America and East and Southeast Asia. This is as much as to extract resources from these areas as it is to prevent any anti-American state power to emerge.

September 11 has also acted as a catalyst for the ideological ascendancy of what is known as the 'neo-conservatives' in the US. The rise of the 'neo-cons' has been based in the 'The New American Century' project. Established in 1997, the initial signatories to this project included important members of the present establishment such as Dick Cheney, Jeff Bush, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, as well as the former Vice President Dan Quayle and prominent rightwing intellectual Francis Fukuyama. Most of these individuals are in one way or another associated with the 'old economy' and many of them have had a close business or ideological relationship with the Israeli right wing. The mission statement of the New American Century Project makes for chilling reading. It calls for "... increased military spending ... to challenge regimes hostile to our interests abroad....[and] accept responsibility for America's unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity and our greatness in the next century."

It is not only democracy and freedoms in the third world that has been affected by the ascendancy of the 'neo-con' ideology but it has also affected American democracy. The 'Patriot Act' and other legislations threaten many of the gains made in the American polity since the days of the civil right movement and the Vietnam War. American liberals are still floundering to find a coherent response to this ideological onslaught. While the anti-war movement has been impressive, the hope is that this is a passing phase. Once the present cabal of neo-cons is out of power, American policy will become less militaristic. This reading of the new empire is based on the notion that militarism is not a structural requirement of imperialism. This is a contentious issue, to which there are no simple answers.

Interestingly both American State and the American Right as well as militant Islamic groups consider militant or political Islam as the only organized form of resistance to the new empire. Whether or not it will ever have the organizational, economic and political wherewithal to challenge US hegemony or will only have nuisance value as it does right now is a moot point. What is more important is that the political project of militant Islam is as much if not more retrogressive, unjust and undemocratic than American hegemony. However, its legitimacy in Muslim countries is increasing consistently and therefore it is a cause of concern.

Much of this philosophy is based on Wahabi Islam (and inspired by the writings of Syed Qutb) but other schools of thought such as orthdox Shias (particularly the Qum school) and even parts of the Barelvi tradition in South Asia subscribe to an exclusionary and repressive form of political and social control. The political project of militant Islam has three essential elements (that is apart from wajing jehad against infidels): 1) Exclusion of others and distinction in rights and obligations on the basis of being a Muslim or non-Muslim, on sectarian differences, which makes the project essentially undemocratic and intolerant of difference and diversity. 2) It is misogynist in its conception of gender relations. 3) It has virtually nothing to say on issues of socio-economic justice except that interest should be declared as haram and the promotion of charity.

What are the bases for its increasing legitimacy? I find that the overriding reason may be a reaction to cultural imperialism as well as the failure of more inclusive ideologies, such as nationalism and socialism to have delivered. American aggression in the recent past is further giving vent to more and more Muslims getting convinced of this cause. It is commonly perceived that the rise of militant Islam is the outcome of poverty. I believe that rather than poverty it is the product of modernity and development. In different places it has different bases. Amongst the western Muslim diaspora, the increasing tendency towards fundamentalist interpretations of Islam is an outcome of racial and class discrimination that these groups have faced. In the Middle-East and the Maghreb, it is a reaction to despotic regimes that are seen as deriving their legitimacy primarily from being Western stooges. Algeria, Egypt and Turkey and in some ways the

radical element in Saudi Arabia and other gulf countries are examples of this. The growth in the rank and file has been primarily amongst the rich and the middle/lower middle classes.

In South Asia, at least in Pakistan, it has been the state which has sponsored militant Islam to fight its proxy battles. Moreover, traditionally Islam has been enmeshed with the local culture and traditions. 'Sufi Islam' in its spiritual dimension is much more tolerant and ritual based. It was therefore also more superstitious and therefore 'irrational' and exploitative. Equipped with moderate education, the reaction to various forms of hegemony and injustices takes the form of a more literalist interpretation of the religious text by middle and lower middle class Muslim youth.

To reject Islamic fundamentalism, however, does not imply that one cannot be a believing Muslim in a spiritual sense. There is, therefore, a very serious need for a reformation of sorts in interpreting the 'spirit' of Islam in accordance with the requirements and developments of the modern world. Attempts made in this regard – those of Muhammad Iqbal and Ali Shariati – in the 20th century have been successfully purged from popular discourse by repressive states and by the orthodoxy. Perhaps this will take a long time, but if Muslims are to live at ease with themselves in a modern world then this very important transformation in Islamic thought has to take place.

As we know, Pakistan's economy was in shambles, and then after September 11 happened, President Musharraf received a call from Colin Powell asking him if he is "with us or against us?" The decision was made in the blink of an eye to abandon the Afghan policy and to remove the patronage given to militant Islamic groups.

Rather than taking the 'secular' leadership along with him, the President decided to go it alone albeit with the full backing of America.

The consequences have been a crackdown on Islamic militants (more than 500 of them have been given in US custody) and a further curtailment of human rights. Meanwhile, it has stabilized the economy and by playing the American game, it has given international legitimacy to military rule in Pakistan. However the decision of going it alone has alienated the President and the army, not only from the secular democratic forces but also from their erstwhile support group of the Islamic Right. Since the elections there is an attempt to woo them back. It is a difficult balancing act on the part of the regime to simultaneously woo back the mullahs and keep the Americans happy.

The fundamental point, however, is that a military dictatorship is gain 'kosher' in internationally in this day and age as long as it plays the imperial game. The new phase of American hegemony and uni-lateralism threatens to undermine democracy, the rule of law, human and socio-economic rights in both domestic and international arenas. Many of the gains made in the past 50 years are being undone. There is also no significant organised opposition to this onslaught, apart militaiit Islam. The only other political philosophy that appears to be in the making is that of anarchism. If one is inclined towards something more orderly and structured, then the search for the development of a conceptual anchor is needed to effectively confront the empire. This is not the first time in history that such a vacuum has existed. At this stage one can only hope that a coherent movement against the empire will emerge sooner rather than later.

Future of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

—By Mubashir Hasan

TO DATE, the rulers of South Asian countries have little to show in terms of achievements towards the goals of SAARC. The charter of SAARC laid down the principal objectives of the association as promotion of welfare of the peoples and acceleration of economic growth, social progress and cultural development,

strengthening self-reliance of the countries of South Asia. Towards that end the charter provided for the creation of a number of institutions: meetings of the heads of state or government, a council of ministers, a standing committee, technical committees, action committees and a secretariat.

High and low level meetings have been held almost regularly to consider and approve agendas on a fairly large number of promotional activities. There has been a fair amount of paper work. A decentralised bureaucratic setup has come into existence. A paltry sum of one and a quarter million dollars was allocated by the member countries towards the SAARC budget during the last financial year which speaks volumes for the interest shown by the ruling elites.

The website of SAARC lists 13 items in its profile

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Institutional Setup
- 3. Regional Centre
- 4. Economic Agenda
- 5. Social Agenda
- 6. Poverty Alleviation and Development Activities
- 7. Legal Issues
- 8. SAARC Funds
- 9. Promotion of Human Rights
- 10. Communications, Information and Media
- 11. Promotion of People-to-People Linkages and SAARC Professional Associations
- 12. Cooperation between SAARC and Regional and Other International Organizations
- 13. The SAARC Secretariat

It is instructive to note in the Annexure, that under the heading at No 6, Poverty Alleviation and Development Activities, no subheading is listed. Apparently the ruling elites have attached scant importance to the topic affecting a billion and half people of the region. A bit of information available from the website on the subject of poverty alleviation is summarised as follows:

1991 An Independent South Asian Commission on Poverty Alleviation (ISACPA) was established 1993. The Commission report provided a radical conceptual framework for poverty alleviation through social mobilisation and empowerment in South Asia.

1995 The Eighth SAARC Summit approved the establishment of a three-tier mechanism for dealing with poverty issues. The first-tier would comprise of the Secretaries to the governments

concerned with poverty eradication and social development in SAARC countries. The secondtier comprises of Finance and Planning Secretaries and the third-tier would comprise of Finance and Planning Ministers.

1996 The first round of the three-tier mechanism was completed.

1998 The Summit approved the establishment of the SAARC Human Resources Development Centre in Islamabad,.

1999 The Council of Ministers agreed that meetings of the SAARC Planning Ministers or other Ministers concerned should be convened to consider issues relating to poverty alleviation.

2001 National perspectives were presented and experiences exchanged. The ministerial level meeting identified the following areas where more work was needed:

- Reaching the poorest of the poor;
- Linking decentralisation to poverty eradication;
- Providing the poor access to credit;
- Developing alliances to forge ahead;
- Deepening the social mobilisation process;
- Translating lessons from grassroots activities into viable macro-policy options; and
- Synergy with other social mobilisation efforts.

Furthermore the website reports that "National poverty alleviation programmes are being implemented in accordance with specific domestic priorities and hence a single plan to fit the region has not been feasible". This observation indicates that the ruling elites have shown little interest for more than a decade in cooperating with each other for the alleviation of poverty. On the other hand they have been willing to spend enormous amount of their taxpayer's money on creating big bureaucratic setups thereby serving the interests of a section of their elites. That bulk of the budget allocation is being spent on salaries and administration should cause no surprise.

Noteworthy however, is the fact that the South Asian elites have not been able to find a way to cooperate with each other, even in serving their own elite interests. Capitalists, landholders, civil and military officers, traders and other members of the elites of the seven countries have

not been able to find a way to cooperate to exploit their peoples for their elite-benefit and govern the vast land mass of South Asia for that end. Apparently they lacked the astuteness and intelligence of the exploiter-founders of the United States of America.

Consider the case of 18th century USA. It is not applicable to South Asia nevertheless its study is instructive. The War of Independence in America had resulted in the establishment of 13 independent states. The past quarter of a century had been a period of great turmoil. Men of property and wealth were one side and tenants, labour, slaves, Indians on the other. Armed confrontations abounded. The government of most of the states rested on shaky foundations. In Federalist Paper No 10, James Madison, one of the illustrious fathers of the Constitution, argued

Noteworthy however, is the fact that the South Asian elites have not been able to find a way to cooperate with each other, even in serving their own elite interests.

that representative government was needed to maintain peace in a society ridden by factional disputes. These disputes came from "the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interest in

society" he was to contend.

According to Howard Zinn (in his famous book; A People's History of the United States), the problem before James Maidison was how to control the factional struggles that came from inequality of wealth. Zinn writes "So the real problem, according to Madison was a majority faction, and here the solution was offered by the Constitution, to have 'an extensive republic," that is a large nation ranging over thirteen states, for then "it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength, and to act in unison with each other The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States, but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States." (Page 96)

Zinn writes, "The Constitution was a compro-

mise between the slaveholding interests of the South and moneyed interests of the North. For the purpose of uniting the thirteen states into one great market for commerce, the northern delegates wanted laws regulating interstate commerce ... The South agreed to this, in return for allowing the trade in slaves to continue for twenty years before being outlawed". (Page 97) The phrase, 'life, liberty and pursuit of happiness', which appeared in the Declaration of Independence, were substituted by, 'life, liberty and property' in the Constitution.

Indeed, the situation in South Asia is different. The ruling elites of the countries of South Asia rejected the option of cooperation. They chose to benefit hugely from internally exploiting their people. They have done so through maintaining a varying degree of confrontational posture among themselves. With the passage of time, the benefits accruing from their stands vis-à-vis each other, the elites have developed strong vested interests. These vested interests are (a) clinging on to state power, (b) Securing further riches and enhancing social power and status, (c) Maintaining anti-national foreign alliances.

Since the departure of the British, the ruling elites of South Asia have attempted to walk in the footsteps of their erstwhile imperial masters. However, they are bereft of the progressive technological, military and economic superiority which was characteristic of the nineteenth century imperialists. Our elites have ended up diverting their model of the imperial dreams, inwards – towards their own land and the people. In the name national independence, national destiny, national security and a host of causes, termed 'national' by them, they have oppressed and exploited their own people as conquered subjects.

Politicians, civil apparatus of the state, its army protectors, beneficiaries of the economic policies of the government such as big traders and businessmen make up the ruling elites in India. The Pakistani elites comprise officers of the military and civil services, their client politicos and subservient feudal lords, businessmen and traders. Parallel elites exist in all the countries of South Asia.

As a result of the policies pursued by the ruling elites, all the countries of South Asia are in

a state of political and social ferment. The elites are authoritative, predatory, arbitrary and backward looking. The people are divided and subdivided into numerous factions. In their passive way, they are unorganised for collective action. They are resentful of the elites. Indeed, they harbour feelings of hostility against the state and its heavy handed apparatuses. Social contract between the state and the people hardly exists. In the absence of social contract the states of South Asia are becoming more and more ungovernable with the passage of time. The ruling elites are obliged to make laws of the land increasingly stringent and in violation of the basic human rights. Year after year they have to bolster the size of the military, paramilitary and police forces. Hundreds of thousands of armed men are deputed to protect the person, residence, offices, transport of ministers and high officials. Banks, houses of the affluent and vital installations of the state have also to be protected through employing armed men.

Each country of the SAARC stands sharply divided into the country of the rulers and the country of the ruled. There is a Pakistan of the

rulers and a Pakistan of the ruled. Similarly divided are the other member countries of SAARC.

The SAARC of the ruling elites of South Asia is much too involved in maintaining its tenuous hold on the peoples of South Asia. Their rule rests on a substantial degree of non-cooperation between the states. Indeed, to retain their hold on power they have to stoke the fires of chauvinistic nationalism, communal hatred and intolerance, thus intensifying the gulf between communities and nations and states. To expect them to cooperate with each other is asking too much of them in political and economic terms.

The SAARC of the Bangladesh of the poor, Bhutan of the poor, India of the poor, Maldive of the poor, Nepal of the poor, Pakistan of the poor and Sri Lanka of the poor does not exist. The objectives of the SAARC in so far as they relate to the overwhelming majority of South Asian people are not achievable. The governments of the countries of South Asia have to be radically transformed into governments of the people so that SAARC may have a future.



"The discussion made during the course are so important they must reach the concerned party, i.e. those in power and the primary actors such as the army, police and the rebels. This is a difficult task, but has to be tried."

- Prakash Adhikari



Peace Studies Films

THE FILM screenings at the orientation was directed at giving a background base for the media module in the course. Various aspects of the media were touched upon, such as the political economy of media in terms of ownership patterns, its hegemonic dimensions, and the ways the media influences perceptions and ensures dominance of only certain points of view. Case studies pertaining to the media coverage of the Gulf war and a case study of Hollywood were discussed.

Besides, two films of creative expressions from the third world were shown in the course. This was done to highlight the fact that there

were alternative forms of film beyond the mainstream cinema, and that these alternative films reflected the problems and struggles of everyday life. The two films shown were *Children of Heaven* (Iran) directed by Majid Majidi and *Central Station* (Brazil) directed by Walter Salles. The subsequent discussions with the participants were intense and involved the issue of representation of human rights issues of everyday existence.

Apart from these two films, two other films made by one of the participants R.R. Srinivasan on Dalits in India were also screened. These films were, *Untouchable Country* and *Death of a River*.





"As a film maker it was a totally different experience to me...rigorous course made me workaholic and got me into many new things and also helped me to develop a fresh outlook on human rights and other related issues on the modules. Field work is the real crux of any course or research. Pokhara visit helped me a lot to understand the culture and landscape of Nepal. The Tibetain refugee camp is much better then the Sri Lankan Tamils refugee camp in Tamil Nadu."

- R.R. Srinivasan

Evaluation and Comments

The course has an inbuilt system of evaluation and generating suggestions for improvement. Participants and members of the faculty offer their detailed comments in writing. Besides there are two evaluation meetings – one before the course starts; it takes into account the report of the preceding year's course, and the other immediately as the course ends. What come out through all these is an intense desire among human rights and peace community in South Asia for a course such as this, which is rich with ideas, can act as a programme for extra-ordinary meeting of minds with a variety of perspectives, and can bring together for the participants a wide array of material for perusal, and is backed with case studies, country perspectives, more group work, more participatory exercises, field visit, guidelines in preparing term papers, and small level courses in many places so that more participants are involved in the work of human rights and peace education in this region.

Professor C.R. Abrar of Dhaka University and head of the Refugee and Migratory Movement Research Unit prepared the main evaluation report on the basis of individual evaluation notes of the participants and members of the faculty, and Patrick Hoenig, last year's evaluator, presented it to the evaluation meeting held on 3 August along with his own detailed observations.



Evaluation report of the Fourth South Asian Orientation Course in Human Rights and Peace Studies, 2003

— By C.R. Abrar

Objectives

The Third South Asian Orientation Course in Human Rights and Peace Studies organized by

the South Asia Forum for Human Rights (SAFHR) was held at Kathmandu from 19 July to 2 August 2003. This direct orientation component of the course was preceded by a two and a half month correspondence course. The course aimed at exploring the relation between peace in the region and the activism for democracy and human rights, and to reach out to community leaders, social workers, human rights and peace activists, thinkers, researchers and academics, as well as persons in engaged in formulation of policies for conflict resolution. Another important objective of the course was to introduce the participants with the work of frontline activists and researchers on human rights, peace and reconciliation for an enriched and critical understanding on issues of justice and peace in South Asia.

Structure

Various teaching techniques were employed in holding the course. The initial two month correspondence component of the course began after SAFHR peace desk sent out relevant literature to the participants electronically and also by post. The resource persons were expected to advise the participants on course assignments and meet their queries during this phase. Students were also required to inform their choice of modules and topic of terms and review papers at this stage and were expected to bring necessary materials. This preparatory phase was viewed by SAFHR as crucial for the 15-day direct orientation course.

Along with the course binder for self-study, interactive sessions such as lectures, roundtable discussions, workshops and tutorials were important features of the direct orientation course. Participants were required to write a term-paper on a topic related to their course module. Towards the

end of the course participants were also asked to present their papers and field questions on their presentations. The preparation for the seminars took place in the evening tutorial groups conducted by resource persons responsible for particular modules.

A short field visit was also organized so that the participants had a direct exposure to experiences of people and organizations at the grassroots. evening time informal presentations organized by the participants. All these contributed to a better appreciation of the course dynamics.

Assement by the Participants

Logistics

The course participants were asked to comment on logistical aspect of the course.

Composition

Participants attended the course, representing a diverse range of professions: lawyers, human rights and NGO activists, journalists, film makers and medical

practitioners. Representatives of minority and refugee groups, and youths from various conflict zones of South Asia also participated. 25 frontline human rights and peace activists, academicians, journalists and researchers acted as resource persons for the course from South Asia and beyond.

Evaluation Parameters

This evaluation is essentially based on evaluation forms filled out by six resource persons and 26 participants. The forms solicited responses on the general arrangements of the course such as food, accommodation, transportation, classroom and library facilities. It also sought participants' view about the academic structure of the course that included format, design, module content, relevance of the assignments, efficacy of interactive sessions, contents of course materials including modules. Participants were also requested to provide inputs for further improving the module and share their assessment of the faculty, usefulness of the field trip and gender sensitivity in overall planning of the course. In the final section they were asked to make a general assessment of the course. The evaluator also attended two days of lectures and engaged in informal talks, one-to-one and group discussions, with some participants, as well as with a few resource persons. He also attended the participant evaluation session held on 1 August and the

Item	Excellent	Good	Average	Below Average	Not responded
Food	8	12	6	0	0
Accommodation	21	5	0	0	0
Transportation	2	15	9	0	0
Class Arrangemer	nt 3	15	6	1	1
Library	6	16	4	0	0

The above table gives a positive appreciation of the participants of the logistical arrangements. While 81 percent of them (21 respondents) felt that the quality of *accommodation* was excellent, 31 percent (8) ranked *food* as excellent. A good section of those who ranked quality of food as good, noted that while the food served at the hotel was of very high quality, the lunch arranged at the administrative college could have been better. It was for that reason they ranked the overall quality of food as good.

While 65 percent of the participants (17) thought transport facilities were either excellent or good, 35 percent (9) ranked it as average. Some participants pointed out that the transport services provided to bring them from the airport and to commute to the administrative college was good, the one for the field trip could have been better. 70 percent of the participants (18) expressed their satisfaction of the class arrangements, while 27 percent (7) thought it could have been better. A good number of the participants felt that the table lay-out of the classroom was not conducive to participatory discussions and could have been different. Others noted that audiovisual materials could have been used for the lecture sessions. Many participants thought that the toilet facilities, particularly water supply, were poor in the administrative college. Most of the participants ranked the library facilities to be

either excellent or good. Only a handful participants thought that to be of average quality.

Academic Structure

Format

Participants were asked to comment on the format of the course that combined distance education with a 15-day intensive course. 23 percent (6 respondents) thought the format was excellent, and a staggering 73 percent (19) also thought it was good. Only one participant noted that the format was below average. Some participants informed that the reason they had ranked good instead of excellent was that some faculty members did not adequately respond to their queries made during the distance education phase, others even did not respond to their messages at all. One participant suggested that there should be a correspondence between the resource persons and participants at least once during the distance education period.

Design

73 percent (19) respondents thought that the design was well chosen, 23 percent (6) differed and noted that it needed improvement, while one participant did not respond to the question.

Module

Participants were asked if the content of the module gave coverage of the subject it dealt with. 38 percent (10) of the participants felt that the module provided a comprehensive coverage, while another 58 percent (15) thought it provided a good coverage. None of the respondents felt that there was inadequate coverage. Only one participant did not record his response to this query.

Two Assignments

The two assignments, the review paper and the term paper, constituted important elements of the distance learning. Participants, without exception, noted that they were useful in preparing for the direct orientation course.

Interactive Sessions

The 15-day orientation laid major emphasis on interactive sessions including lectures, workshops and term papers. 88 percent of the participants (23) termed it as very useful. Only three partici-

pants (12 percent) felt that they needed improvement and provided specific suggestions to do so.

Scheduling

Participants were asked to comment if the time allowed for application, registration and selection of options and for preparation for the intensive course in Kathmandu was adequate or insufficient. About 70 percent (18) thought that the time given was adequate, while 8 percent (2) thought it was insufficient. 15 percent (4) had mixed response, suggesting that while they got enough time to apply and register, due to late arrival of course materials they had very little time to select options and to prepare. Two participants did not respond to this question.

Course Material

Head	Yes	No	Not Responded
Reached in time	16	10	0
Was Adequate	22	3	1
Was Helpful	26	0	0
Was Comprehensive	16	9	1
Will be Helpful	26	0	0

The modules comprised an important part of the peace course programme. Participants were required to respond if the modules reached them in time, if they felt the modules were adequate in addressing the issue, if they were of help for preparing for the orientation programme, if they were comprehensive and if the modules would be useful or future work.

About 62 percent of the participants reported that the modules reached them in time, while the rest reported that they either did not receive some parts of the module at all, or got them rather late. About 85 percent (22) stated that the module adequately served their purpose. All the participants noted that the module was helpful to prepare them for the course and that it would serve as important resource in future. However, 35 percent of the participants (9) thought that the module was not comprehensive and there was room for improvement. About 70 percent of the respondents (18) noted that the sub themes of the modules were well chosen.

Faculty Evaluation

Participants were asked to give their opinion

about the overall performance of the faculty. 54 percent (14) thought their performance was excellent. A further 38 percent (10) ranked it as good, while 8 percent (2) thought it was average.

Field Trip

As a component of the orientation programme par-ticipants were taken to Pokhra to visit an NGO working with children and another working with Tibetan refugees. 77 percent of the participants (20) thought that the field work was very useful. 15 percent (4) ranked it averagely so, while one par-ticipant did not find useful. Another participant re-ported that he/she had to miss out on the field trip.

Gender Sensitivity

Participants were asked about their impression about the gender sensitivity of the programme. 88 percent (23) noted that the programme was gender sensitive, while 8 percent (2) did not think so. One did not respond to this query.

Evaluation by the Faculty

Participants

One of the faculty members categorized the participants into three groups. One category, he noted, comprised of about 20 percent and they were "exceptional", the second category (40-50 percent) were found to be "keen, interested and lively", and the third category (about 20-30 percent) "had problems of articulation, grasp and information". Another faculty member, found each of the five presentations is his group to be good and were well received and led to very good discussions. He however noted that the term papers could be evaluated better in the light of the guidelines that conform to the theme of the module. Despite that he thought that the term papers of Bhavani and Sumangalie were extremely good and required special mention. Other faculty members commended the performance of Prakash Adhikari, and Dr. Riffat Hossain Lucy. One member acknowledged the overall performance of the Sri Lankan contingent. One resource person expressed deep appreciation of Akram's oral and visual presentations and thought they were well prepared, structured and researched.

Roundtable Discussion

Faculty members thought that the discussions in classroom following the presentations were lively. One member suggested that if less than 6-8 persons participants attended after dinner presentation than it should not be made indispensable. Other was appreciative of the round table discussion but regretted that not enough time was there to raise questions.

Evaluation of the Structure of the Module Some resource persons noted while structuring the module it would be better if it was mentioned to them what exactly could be expected in the lecture time that was allotted, especially when there was three lectures anticipated in the same module. For example, one suggested that at least one lecture in the module C could look at understanding how national human rights mechanisms work, another on how international mechanisms function and a third one on institutional measures through civil society groups, media and political parties. Another faculty found the structure of the module to be well balanced and that there was a certain degree of diversity in the course structure. He however noted that a fervently pro-globalization person be also invited to present the 'other side' of the story. One resource person recommended that an open session be organized where the participants be given an opportunity to raise their concerns relating to the module.

Field work, Film Sessions and other Activities

One of the faculty members observed that students could be encouraged to write papers on field work. Other noted that the films presented were very well received and complemented the theme of the conference in a major way. His view was shared by another member who thought the films were excellent and appreciated the general organization and group dynamism among the participants. They stated that some of the public lectures and after dinner discussions were appropriate and extremely good.

Opinion on Other Modules

Faculty members thought that the choice of subjects and modules was stimulating. However, one member noted that the overall framework was not clear to him and raised the question if concern for peace and justice run through all the modules and if the participants could see the interconnections between them.

Course Reader

Members of the faculty found the course reader to be "excellent", "diversified", "eclectic', "informative" and "comprehensive", covering theoretical aspects as well as case studies. One noted that in view of the fact that the challenge is to select just 4-5 articles to cover a such a range of topics proposed in each module, the reader is a "quite an achievement" One member suggested that Module C could have been discussed with the resource person as to ensure more material relevant to the lecture could be incorporated. Others noted that the coverage on some South Asian countries were slightly lop-sided favouring a few countries, neglecting others.

Follow Up Measures

Most faculty members suggested that networking through email contacts could be one way of keeping in touch with the participants. Others suggested additional materials could be sent to the participants for comments. One faculty member stated that the participants could be assured that he was available to them for further contact and that SAFHR could request others to make them available for follow up correspondence to further enhance the process of linkage building.

On Course Structure

Some faculty members suggested that the precourse contact with resource persons be made mandatory and some contact is assured with the participants prior to the direct orientation course. One faculty member noted that there should have been more focus on Gujrat violence. Although planning and structure were well appreciated, the intensive nature of the course demands a respite that will help improve the absorptive capacity of the students.

Class Room

The faculty members were appreciative of the facilities provided but thought that the class room may be arranged in a slightly informal way, to break away from the traditional class room structure. Most felt a round table or a half round table format rather than rows would help to engage participants better and facilitate lively debate. Some members would have liked power point facilities to help present their lectures.

Interaction with Participants

All members of the faculty reported that they greatly benefited from their interactions with the participants. Some thought it was "lively" and "rewarding". One member stated that the participants were by and large "excellent, confident, forthcoming and supportive of each other, creating an excellent atmosphere". He further noted that more space should be created for further interaction between the faculty and resource persons.

Further Collaboration

The faculty furnished a number of ideas. SAFHR needs to consider introducing short term scholar-ship/fellowship for the active participants. Follow-up programmes of SAFHR alumni may be designed. SAFHR should consider explore the possibility of having the peace course at different locations of South Asia. This will allow increased

"The review paper didn't have a forum to be discussed."
- K Sumangalie Atulugam



participation form the place where it is held. One member suggested that Afghanistan be incorporated in the future programmes and nominations could be sought from Afghan Human Rights Commission and Afghan women judges. He volunteered to facilitate such a process. Another member noted that he would definitely promote SAFHR, in his future work; other commended SAFHR's "excellent initiative", stating that "the format is good and the focus pertinent; congratulations".

Evaluation Meeting

An evaluation meeting of the Fourth South Asian Orientation Course in Human Rights and Peace Studies was organised on August 3, 2003, with faculty members and the organisers of the course. Ranabir Samaddar presented in details the report of the fourth peace studies course, and Patrick Hoeing presented the evaluation of the fourth course. On the basis of the report and evaluation, several recommendations were made. Many of the recommendations were in line with the suggestions already made in the preparatory meeting. Below we present a brief list of suggestions emanating from the meeting.

- Peace studies desk should be strengthened in order to carry out its activities and implement the follow up measures.
- A permanent advisory group consisting of intellectuals, donors, partners, faculty members, and ex-participants of the course may be

- formed.
- A permanent syllabus of the peace studies programme should be prepared with a view of establishing a stable and continuing Peace Studies Programme in South Asia.
- National level courses may be introduced while retaining the basic design of the South Asian orientation programme in each of the South Asian Countries.
- The selection of persons for inaugural, valedictory, and the other public lectures is important.
- Ex-participants can be encouraged as interns for the peace studies desk and other activities of SAFHR in the region; links with ex-participants will be strengthened thereby.
- A website for distance education should be designed where useful reading for the course can be posted.
- During the two months of distance learning, module-wise at least one resource person can be identified to work as a tutor, and help the participants with their reading and writing; at the same time other members of the faculty will be in touch with the participants for the same.
- Bio note of the members of the faculty and the participants can be prepared in advance and circulated to faculty and participants, this will help them to know each other in advance and interact.
- In order to encourage and help the participants with course work, some kind reward and encourage system or credit system may



be introduced.

- The course can be advertised in advance in some of the major journals and newspapers in South Asia and some important and relevant websites.
- Peace Studies Desk will have to function in link with other programmes, but has to work independently to develop its goals, resources, and the programme.

Finally three ideas on further developing the programme emerged. These were seen not as mutually exclusive. It was suggested that they could be pursued simultaneously. These three ideas were:

 Developing the programme as a resource centre for peace studies in South Asia and working as an advisory service for institutions will-

- ing to begin human rights and peace studies in respect of syllabus, reading material, outstation faculty, etc.
- Gradually transforming the programme into a South Asian School of Peace Studies offering courses, trainings, running publications programme, focused and appropriate research, and organizing dialogues and peace audits
- Pursuing the goal of turning the programme into an Open university for Human Rights and Peace Studies with affiliation and accreditation of human rights organizations, units, groups, and departments of universities willing to run such a course

It was agreed that the programme has to continue while gradually lending it a developed form.



"I wish SAFHR could improve our term papers and publish them; this would be useful for future participants and SAFHR as well."

- Shaikh Nazrul Islam

Inaugural and Closing Sessions

Inaugural session

Jean-Luc Racine a Senior Fellow, Centre for the Study of South Asia, CNRS, Paris, gave the inaugural lecture on July 19, 2003. His lecture was on the theme of geopolitics and the question of peace in South Asia. The Secretary-General, Tapan K. Bose and the Director of the Peace Studies Programme, Ranabir Samaddar made introductory remarks on the programme and its significance.

Geopolitics and the Question of Peace in South Asia

Jean-Luc Racine

GEOPOLITICS MIGHT have a bad name amongst peace activists, if we use the word as a substitute to real-politic, implying that the logics of conflict and peace depends mostly from the way States play their cards in the name of "national interests" rather than in the name of values (albeit values might always be referred to, as a fair pretext for less exalted goals).

My approach of geopolitics will be quite different here. I would like

to address less questions of action, than questions of analysis which are supposed to help to govern actions and perhaps to help to define expectations. As a French social scientist researching in and on South Asia for the last thirty years, I happen to be associated with a school of thought which has started to reassess the concept of geopolitics in the late 1970's, around French geographer Yves Lacoste and the journal he then founded and still edits, *Herodote*.

The definition of geopolitics as a discipline of analysis is more intricate than the ideas usually articulated on the matter. It goes much beyond geographical determinism, although it does recognize the importance of the geographical configurations (think of Kashmir, the Maoist movement in Nepal, or the LTTE maritime dimension). Basically, this way to study geopoli-



tics address the relationship between various forces in competition for the control of a territory (whatever its scale and extent), but it does so with a specific methodology, which pays a decisive attention to the perceptions of the forces at play, be they nations, communities, groups, etc... The point is not simply to define the right and the wrong, but to try to understand what people think and believe, right or wrong, for their percep-

tions contribute largely to shaping a world of tensions and conflicts. They may also offer, fortunately, opportunities for peace. In other words, we are no more in a time when war was a decision of kings and princes, not compelled to take into account the opinion of their subjects. Even the dictators who have engineered the great disasters of European XXth century, Fascism and Stalinism, did so through political parties and opinion manipulation, in an era which has been rightly labelled as the "The Age of the Crowds". They resorted to force against their national opponents, before trying to expand their empire.

Today, whatever could be the limitations of democracy, very few states or movements, in South Asia or elsewhere, can define a strategy without paying attention to public opinion and to those who will be able to convey different views,

be they members of Parliament, political parties, media persons, intellectuals and, last but not least, civil society groups. This has a number of consequences, to be analysed in a dialectic manner. On the one hand, these various forces express diverse opinions, and their perceptions might be in conflict. In the best cases, this could be a part of democratic life. On the other hand, all parties, including the State power, may try to transform the prevailing perceptions, in order to develop at best a consensus, if not a majority backing them, or a least, an active minority supposed to redefine the course of history. Beyond genuine democratic processes of competing ideas, this leaves the door open to manipulation, propaganda, disinformation, direct or indirect use of force, including, eventually, terror.

The more acute the conflict, the more the characterization of "the other side" could be schematized. In others words, questions of territory almost unavoidably find themselves enmeshed in questions of identities. Hence the construction of « myths », national, ethnic or communal, and the rewriting of history, always located in a glorified territory, either triumphant or threatened. The connection between identities and territory, partly genuine but often oversimplified, if not deliberately manipulated, is a decisive component of geopolitical issues.

Four additional remarks might draw our attention. First is the level of participation of civil societies. It is strong in South Asia as a whole, but by itself, the trend could go both ways: helping the progressive forces, or giving way to communalism. Recent history, here again, call for a precise assessment of the forces at play, including in their territorial dimension, for perceptions and conflict strategies may vary locally: the pattern of Gujarat elections of 2002 has not been replicated in other Indian states, for instance. Second is the level of trans-national connections. This also goes both ways. On the one hand, it gives strength to South Asian initiatives (SAFHR being obviously one of them), and to bilateral ones (the Pakistan-India Peoples' Forum for Peace and Democracy for instance). On the other hand, trans-national connections can also put oil on fire, on various patterns: sanctuaries of rebel movements across boundaries, trans-national networks of insurgencies, or the trans-national ideology of jihad. Such

trans-national parameters could of course be used as instruments by State machineries. Third, the dialectics of the local and the global has also to be evaluated, in the ramifications of processes which may sustains war, as well as in the patterns which define the process of peace. Could we put in the same box the US roadmap on Kashmir -if any- and the mediation of Norway in Sri Lanka? Fourth, one must not under-evaluate the forces which benefit from a strategy of conflict and tensions. They may be a part —a decisive part— of the State apparatus (hence the question of the structure of power), but they could also be non-state actors, playing a political game or simply drawing economic benefits from the situation. Hence the difficult question of bringing back rebels, militias or army expanded recruits into the mainstream of civil life.

Once due consideration is paid to the territorial dimension of peace, to the complexities of the perceptions at play, and to the intricacies of the power games involved, one is left with many other questions to address. Three are particularly challenging.

First, the definition of the best strategies for peace, in contexts which are most often specific, whatever could be the national and the international configurations. Second is the ethics of peace. Is peace a value by itself? If so, what about the right to rebel? Is non-violent struggle the only way to address the challenge of force, injustice and oppression? Can peace without justice be sustainable? Third is the question of democracy. Are democracies bringing peace? What about the right of interference? Is it unavoidably the first step to preemptive wars? What could be a democratic international regulated order, at the regional level (SAARC for instance) and globally (the UN system, including the International Penal Tribunal)?

While commenting upon South Asian cases (and eventually non South Asian cases as well), I would like to raise questions rather than to offer answers. The wide and diverse experience of the participants from all over South Asia gathered for this SAFHR course will help to go further. As Ranabir Samaddar concluded his editorial chapter in the key-reference book he co-edited recently, *The Process of Peace*: "The moment of peace is a moment of contest. In one word a democratic moment".

I wish you an illuminating and stimulating democratic fortnight, for the sake of a more peaceful South Asia. ■

Closing session

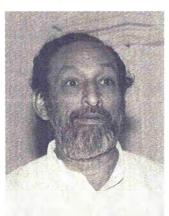
The Course ended on 2 August evening when the valedictory session was held. *Vasudeva Nanayakkara*, a prominent political personality from Sri Lanka, delivered the closing address. The theme of the lecture was South Asia and key questions for peace politics in the world today. *I. A. Relman*, the chairperson of SAFHR distributed certificates to the participants of the course. Below is the abridged text of the valedictory address. The closing session also noted the stupendous work of the peace studies desk in running such a programme on regional basis. The participants also expressed their feelings in their short speeches in the closing session.

South Asia and Key Questions for Peace Politics in the World Today Vasudeva Nanayakkara

IT IS my great privilege to be invited for this important occasion to deliver the Valedictory lecture at the closing sessions of the 4th Human Rights and Peace Studies Orientation Course. I am indeed grateful to SAFHR for this privilege.

Peace politics or politics of peace leads us to understand politics as the affairs relating to the ruling of territories and its contestation while peace signifies harmony among peoples in all their forms as –

individuals communities or nations. The absence of hostile conflict or war is obviously a necessary condition for these terms to prevail. Yet whoever came to be a ruler of a territory had either come to such position or defend the same by a sharp contest or conflict. Perhaps peace may prevail for a time thereafter correlated to political stability. But as we know the hundreds of years of medieval times to the modern age witnessed a ferocious contest for power in about all territories. The conflicts in the world as we know can be broadly categorized as communal or ethnic, social or economic, international or imperialist they can also be called internal and external conflicts. It is not my purpose here to enumerate or formulate comprehensively the possible conditions that engender these conflicts and the politics that corresponds to them. My effort will be to look at the experience of certain segments of our history in order to understand the circumstances of politics that gave rise to such conflicts. Conflicts are also distinguishable on the reason-



ing of emancipation and enslavement. Therefore our search for peace politics is to be understood in context. We are absolute in our opposition to violence even as the means of emancipation, though it may unavoidably erupt. Mass action and the ultimate legitimacy the emancipative ideas gain is our creed. Countries which had internal peace did not hesitate to wage war externally in order to provide the rulers the convenience

for their domestic conditions.

The recent budget increases of massive amounts to favour the military industrial corporations of US rest on the newly declared war on terrorism. Going back a little further in history the conquest and plunder of India by Britain facilitated her social democratic golden era. (Cutting off the index finger of millions of weavers of India to prevent the competition of Indian textiles was necessary action for Britain's prosperity). Until after the II world war and the setting up of the United Nations on the basis of the veto power for the great powers, invasions conquests, and empire building was the order of the day, which meant that weaker and poor countries were similarly conquered and plundered to produce the prosperity of the European powers.

Now let us look at the South Asia, our region, and our home. Our regions have not entirely failed to follow the world pattern in their external belligerence or the alarming military postures.

But as victims of imperialism and as post independence countries we also formed a part of the third world and the non-aligned block (with the exceptions). Therefore, we may claim credit for the international peace towards which the nonaligned and Afro Asian blocks contributed. Internally our countries have been pre occupied with the challenge of building the nation states in the style of the industrial West. In this exercise our countries have gone through partitions, cessations, and occupations in the most violent manner, producing mass misery. From the colonial times to the post independence period up to now South Asia too has its own record of violent armed conflicts both externally and internally which are no less than in any other region.

Now we can come to the locations of these conflicts. In my country it is an 18 year old war between the government and the Tamil militants in the NE region. Here in Nepal the Maoist armed struggle was preceded by the democratic struggle and earlier armed struggles for democracy. In India the different ethnic liberation movements engaged in armed struggles particularly in the North East and social liberation struggles in certain other parts. Pakistan is sandwiched between anti terrorist US militarism and the religions feuds on the one hand and the Islamic militancy on the other hand. In Bangladesh dynasties relentlessly fight out for supremacy subverting existing democracy and mass movements.

I will not refer to the totally repressed states of Maldives or Bhutan.

The identities that emerged after a century of British suppression claimed their own rights real or perceived. Mahathma Gandhi's conception of the Grama Swarjaya was consistent with these aspirations. The rights of mass politics produced mass aspirations. This resulted in increasing social tensions that produced numerous conflicts around issues of caste and class. The deregulation and the fierce competition for survival and climbing has worsened these circumstances and conditions These tensions often give rise to armed conflicts of varying kinds and proportions. Landlessness and the clamour for land reforms and poverty in general have been the main sources of these tensions and conflicts. The

universal suffrage was mainly responsible for these results as Amartya Sen sets out in his "Freedom as Development".

Even after 50 years none of these reforms or measures has been sufficient to unify the nationalities or communities and to transform the lives of the people in the bottom half or at least give them hope. Yet, fortunes were spent on the military build up of each of these countries to symbolise the might and power of the rulers. In my country where we have had comparably high welfare measures and living standards, we experienced the armed revolt of the rural youths in 1971. It was also the time of the Naxalite armed actions. It was also the time when a sweeping mood of idealism had galvanised large sections of youth in to action.

Next comes the cold war period and the US aggression to "defend the free peoples from communism and the imminent Russian or Chinese aggression". For this alleged cause since World War II US has bombed or invaded over 30 sovereign countries until up to 2003, killing more than 8.5 million people. The intensity may have varied according to circumstances. Similarly, USSR drove its tanks to East European countries as against their people or into Afghanistan claiming to act in the pure motive of "defending socialism and freedom against US imperialist designs." Chomsky describes this cold war drama as a "macabre dance of death".

However the presence of two contending super powers, was a factor in relaxation of world tensions and reduction of large scale international violence – The active Non-Aligned block contributed to the equilibrium of relative international peace.

It is now appropriate to touch on the post cold war world of US pre eminence as the sole super power, and the principal purveyor of dominant ideas and information. It is instructive to note what the status of the US policy means to South Asia, apart from its continued and intensified interest in appropriation of resources through open markets.

Though it was argued that an unrivalled super power will give peace a better chance the contrary has been proved. Since then the US acted as the unilateral arbiter and the policeman to enforce its will no longer camouflaging the

furtherance of its corporate interests and hegemonic role. The first Gulf war to the recent invasion of Iraq and the numerous direct and indirect armed interventions exemplifies the US intentions to be the policeman of the world in terms of its own declared laws. In doing so the US has turned its back on the UN systems or rather flagrantly violated UN Charters and Conventions thus creating a new vacuum in world politics after the cold war. The multilateral approach and international comity has been struck down. This is an aggravation of her previous conduct of disregarding UN Resolutions voted by overwhelming majorities.

Since then the US has been setting up a chain of military centers around the world, several of them in Central Asia where they have never been before added to an increased number in the Middle East. The US has demonstrated its unilateral, naked military power which it justifies on her own terms regardless of the majorities in the UN or the world. Such is the challenge faced by peace politics in the world today.

At this point it is relevant to refer to the plans for the New American Century. Its paper was published in 2000. The paper recommends a colossal military build up to "fight and decisively win multiple and simultaneous major theatre wars and perform the policing duties associated with the shaping of the security environment in critical regions". The brains behind this paper are US senior defence and state officials of the present US President whose links with the military industrial corporate boards and oil companies are well known and documented. We have to pay close attention to the impact of all these on South Asia. US military agreement with and its presence in Pakistan has caused conditions of increased tensions and hostility between India and Pakistan. Strangely, at the same time, with the declared war against militant Islamic fundamentalism, the BJP government and i's Hindutva fundamentalist backers have a new found friend in US. Kashmir is a festering wound and remains an endless flash point.

At this point I wish to refer to Sri Lanka's experience of one of the bloodiest ethnic conflicts. Sri Lanka's peace process does not appear to be to the highest satisfaction of the US foreign policy not because of its slow progress or pitfalls but for

the reason of acknowledging the LTTE whilst it possessed it's armed power. In this matter India and US regimes seem to concur, though the Sri Lankan government and the facilitators (Norwegian) have made a choice to negotiate as things stand. The anti-peace forces within the government and in the opposition have been encouraged by statements made by US high officials visiting the island from time to time in addition to the war-ships that come on routine visits. Even the PM Wickremasinghe has begun to refer to a Safety Net of security by which he obviously refers to US and Indian military support. The first regression of the peace process came about when the US insisted on excluding the LTTE from an aid consultation in US regarding reconstruction etc in the war torn areas. Things have worsened since then. Now it is more than 2 months when the discussion rounds have stopped.

The US has two plans, one is to extend its economic prospects in the North East and bring the entire island within its economic extraction. Second is the well known Trincomalee port as the strategic military base for the entire Indian Ocean area. The Indians looks like consenting to such an arrangement with its right to oversee.

However in Sri Lanka the ethnic conflict has moved from the stage of conflict to the stage of conflict-resolution. An immense step forward. It is singularly appropriate here to stop and reflect for a moment now on why this forward step? The consciousness of the people themselves has moved forward certainly, but this is a lesson learnt at great cost. The defeat of Sinhala chauvinism as the hegemonic ideology of Sri Lanka, and the victory of practical senses of Tamil nationalism - both have been secured at a great price. But it was not the ideological battle alone that won the day. The bitter lessons of defeat, loss of thousands lives, economic ruination, thousands leaving the country, are among the factors forcing both sides to face reality

In today's highly complicated world, international involvement is essential for conflict resolution. We have the instances of East Timor, Middle East, Cyprus, Sierra Leone, Congo, or Angola. The

Norwegians are an indispensable element in procuring and securing the ceasefire and in

facilitating the negotiations.

What are the essential ingredients for building the peace process? From our experiences of both achievements and failures during the last 18 months we can make the following comments

- i.) A strong united voice on ceasefire
- ii.) Flexibility on Constitution making. There is no 'one' preferred or correct model. But what is put in place must be practical, efficacious and long lasting.
- iii.) Purposefulness in facing up to communalist and chauvinist forces. Mobilising the mass movement and working class against chauvinists.
- iv.) Activity in reconstruction ,relief and rehabilitation without waiting for the "final solution"
- Winning confidence of people in war-torn areas by stopping human rights and democratic rights violations
- vi.) Mobilising international support and pressure.
- vii.) Time Time and More Time.
- viii.) People's Level activities Sinhala people going in large numbers to the Buddhist Shrine Nagadeepa in the North, Tamil youth and people coming more and more and walking about in Colombo.

One last question - Is peace a neutral ground where the forces of imperial globalisation as well as the forces of their victims can meet? My contention is that whilst peace like democracy is an end itself it is also a means. The progressives committed to liberation finds in ethnic peace the opportunity to unite the people for their objectives. The Arab and Islamic militancy which was born out of US Middle East policy and the Palestine question has spread far and wide. It has the radical anti-imperialism as one face and reactionary fundamentalism as the other face. Sometimes they are at conflict with each other, at other times, they are intertwined.

This is the practical response to US hegemonism and unjust globalisation, which subject millions of people to increasing poverty, oppressive domination, and over powering consumerist culture.. These conditions have caused third world societies to be ripped apart

resulting in serious social instability. In the midst of this destruction and in the absence of any dynamic ideology or leadership to offer anything new and different, sections of socially conscious people find redress in fundamentalist mythology of the past. This is true of Hindutva as of Islamic fundamentalism. The communal hardening of multi ethnic societies based on these myths has begun to erupt in orgies of communal violence and mutual hatred. They are only superficially anti-imperial, and they finally end up in the lap of imperial force. The engagement of these obscurantist forces, religious intolerance, oppression of women, and political repression is no less important as a part of politics of peace internally as well as exter-

In the face of all the violent conflicts, terror and counter-terror and wars spreading across the globe causing millions to suffer and perish, the UN which is a representative world body has increasingly become an instrument of US policy. To put it in another way the UN has been finally superseded by the US. We are reminded of the fate of the League of Nations. At the same time we are in a new stage of geopolitics. First, the world is being fast polarised in to two axes; the US and its military allies versus the rest of the world if we include in the latter category the citizens of the world and not just the official regimes. Second, a significant transformation of the trans-Atlantic politics is taking place raising new contradictions among the erstwhile allies. Third, the people of the world through their numerous organisations and collectives have taken the issues of war and global justice out of the hands of international bodies like the UN.

The success of this new internationalism is basically enacted in the national arenas when popularly elected regimes like in Brazil and Venezuela will emerge and resist the conspiracies and pressures of imperial designs successfully. If leadership with similar progressive social programmes should emerge in country after another, these countries can begin to act as regional blocks. In any event as Wolden Bello says "Empires are transient and people's resistance is permanent". The movements of the people of US will be decisive once again.

Some of the Participants of Previous Courses

Some Members of SAFHR Alumni – Who is Doing What and Where

studies desk for the second peace studies orientation course of SAFHR

(First course, 2000)



Atta-ur-Rehman – Human rights activist from Pakistan, now working with women refugees, illegal immigrants and internally displaced people in Pakistan, a regular contributor of REFUGEE WATCH, and a researcher; working in Aurat Foundation

Chuba - Naga human rights activist, earlier secretary, Naga Students Federation, involved in Naga People's Movement for Human Rights

Shahid Fiaz – Peace activist from Pakistan, secretary, Sind Chapter of Pakistan-India Peoples' forum for Peace and Democracy, has been associated in organising peace audits of SAFHR, now working in Aurat Foundation

Alan Keenan – Scholar from the US, now peace activist and researcher in Sri Lanka

P.P.Sivapragasam – Well known peace activist from Sri Lanka, organiser of plantation workers, ran the desk of organising the anti-racism campaign in South Asia

Jagat M. Acharya – In charge of the refugee rights programme in SAFHR, and managed the peace

Bishnu Adhikari – Young human rights researcher in Nepal, now working in the programme section in USAID, Nepal, and associated as volunteer with many human rights activities of SAFHR

(Second course, 2001)



Ishtiaq Ali Mehkri – Young journalist from Karachi, working on human rights issues in DAWN

Navita Mahajan – Teacher from Chandigarh, organises various platforms and forums for peace campaign, and an educationist who has been engaged in bringing in human rights sensitivity in pedagogy

Salai Za Bik – A Burmese Chin, now President of Chin Students Union and Coordinator of the Joint Action Committee of Chin Organisations

Gulmina Bilal – A psychologist, now a FAO administrator in Berlin

Gentleson Vashum – Naga peace activist and an outstanding youth organiser of the Naga People's Movement for Human Rights

Suresh Balraj – Anthopologist and ecologist, now a leading member of Greenpeace

Kartliikeyini Sabaratnanı – One of the main coordinators of the Danish Refugee Council, now working as head of humanitarian programme in the district of Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka

Feyzi Ismail – Policy officer at the International Alert, coordinating international campaign on women building peace

Syeda Rozana Rashid - A researcher in the Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit, Dhaka, working on migration of Bangladesh women labour

A. F. Mathew – A civil liberty activist and a specialist in mass communications, he now teaches at the Mudra Institute of Communication, Ahmedabad

(Third course, 2002)



Ajay Gandhi - Scholar in McGill, now with ICRC working in Hebron, West Bank, Israel-Palestine

Hari Prasad Adlikari – Now advocacy and campaign coordinator of the Centre for Protection and Promotion of Human Rights, Bhutanese refugee Camps, Eastern Nepal

Thomas Benedikter – An economist from Italy, running the Italian section of the International Society of the Threatened Peoples, and secretary, Amnesty International, Bolzano

Iqbal Detho – National Human Rights Education Coordinator, Amnesty International, Pakistan

Anuradha Bhasin Jamwal – Executive editor, KASHMIR TIMES, and an active member of Daughters of Ladakh, Kashmir and Jammu, a group of women peace activists

Sanjay Gathia – South Asia Coordinator of Asia Forum for Human Rights and Development, Bangkok

Salina Joshi - Programme Officer in the Forum for Women, Law and Development, Nepal

Nasrullah – Leading human rights activist of Balochistan, now engaged in building up a peace studies programme in Quetta, Pakistan

Amy Etherington – A sociology graduate from Canada, now volunteer with Tamil plantation labour communities in Sri Lanka's hill country

Ranjana Thapa – Now in charge of women's programmes in INSEC, SAFHR's partner in Nepal, working also on application and relevance of international human rights laws in Nepal ■

Announcement and Partners in the Programme

Notification of the Peace Studies Course

Information on the Human Rights and Peace Studies Orientation Course is circulated through various channels. It is advertised in some major English-language dailies, weeklies and monthly magazines and journals in South Asian countries. In addition, it is notified in the newsletters and through notice boards of several departments at various universities, other educational institutions, NGOs, and INGOs. Information is also available on SAFHR website www.safhr.org. It is available on several other websites, such as that of the Humanitarian Assistance Training Inventory (HATI) of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and Relief www.relief.int/training, of the Forum on Early Warning and Early Response (FEWER) www.fewer.org and of The Coexistence Initiative www.coexistence.net and on its notice board info@coexistence.net.

Major e-mail networks also circulate the information, some of them being the *Asia Human Rights Alert*, *Help Asia*, and *South Asia – Human Rights*. Information is sent through post also. The course is usually announced in February and held in August-September. Inquiries can be addressed directly to the peace studies desk at SAFHR, south@safhr.org.

Registration fee for South Asian participants is US \$ 100 (or its equivalent in Nepali rupee) and participants from outside the region US \$ 300 (or its equivalent in Nepali rupee). Board, lodging and other expenses for the selected candidates are provided by SAFHR. Participants have to support their own travel. Travel grant is available for limited number of candidates for which they have to apply separately. The preferable age limit for participation is 35 years. Women, and human rights and peace activists from conflict areas are

particularly encouraged to apply.

Applications have to reach Peace Studies Desk in the South Asia Forum for Human Rights (GPO Box 12855, Fax 977-1-5527852,

E-mail south@safhr.org) by February each year. Applications by fax or e-mail are valid. They have to reach SAFHR Peace Studies Desk by the end of February each year in order to be considered for the course of that year. Applications have to be supported by full particulars, a 1000-word summary of the relevance of the course to the work of the participant, and names of two referees whose recommendations have to reach SAFHR peace studies desk independently. The application must include all necessary details such as language skill, experience, and nature of current work. The summary has to include candidate's own idea of peace and human rights activism, and the relation of the applicant's work with SAFHR's peace studies programme. In selection of candidates, the 1000-word summary is accorded importance. Applicants are also encouraged to visit SAFHR's website www.safhr.org for details of the courses and preceding years' reports. Inquiries addressed to the Peace Studies Desk are always welcome.

SAFHR works in collaboration with the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, EZE, CIDA, UNHCR, and other institutions at international level, also in partnership with several human rights bodies and academic organizations in the region.

The Fourth South Asian Human Rights and Peace Studies Orientation Course had been supported by the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung who is our partner in the peace studies programme.

For details please visit SAFHR website www.safhr.org

Application Form

South Asian Human Rights & Peace Studies Orientation Course

A. Personal details		
Name:	Organization:	
Position:	Gender:	
Nationality:	Place of Birth:	
Date of Birth:	Ed. qualification:	
D. Dootal address for common and		
B. Postal address for corresponder	Tel:	
	Fax:	
	E-Mail:	
3. Names and contact details of two	referees	
1. Name:	2. Name:	
Organization:	Organization;	
Position:	Position:	
Address:	Address:	
E-Mail:	Email:	
Phone:	Phone:	
Fax:	Fax:	
4. Personal skills: (if necessary you		
4. Fersonal skins. (II necessary you	r may use extra sneets of paper)	
	•	
1. Language (s) proficiency: 1	2 3	

2. Describe your reasons for apply	ying for this course.		
The state of the s			
3. Describe your significant past an	d current activities and res	ponsibilities with an outline	of your future planning.
		<u> </u>	
4. Please give your fifty word bio	note		
			-
Signature:		Date:	
Signature		Date	

Note:

- 1. A 1000-word essay on your own ideas of peace and human rights activism and the relevance of the course to your work must be enclosed with the application. Use extra sheet/ sheets for the essay.
- 2. Brief guidelines for the 1000-word essay: (a) your experience in human rights and peace studies, (b) perspective of your work, (c) reasons for joining the course in that perspective, and (d) your plans for using the lessons of the course in your future work for example, for a human rights activist it may mean better ways of reporting on abuses; legal activists can analyse legal arrangements better and prepare for better legal defence of the victims or can campaign for better legal measures; academics can use the course for syllabus-preparation; others can build up information centre; peace activists can draw upon course material to initiate or strengthen peace campaigns, etc. The statement on how the participant proposes to use the course will have to be concrete, referring to actual measures aimed to be taken.
- 3. Detailed reference letters should reach SAFHR independently by end of February; they should clearly comment on (a) the present work of the applicant (b) and the ability of the applicant to utilise the course and continue the work of human rights and peace studies.
- 4. Photocopy of this form is acceptable; electronic submission of the form is also acceptable.

SAFHR PUBLICATIONS

SAFHR Paper Series is on contemporary issues of peace and human rights in South Asia. They are in the nature of long essays and dossiers. Till now sixteen papers have been published under the series. They are:

- Girl Trafficking in Nepal
- 2. The Mahakali Integrated Development Treaty An Evaluation of News Coverage
- 3. Refugees in South Asia A Report
- 4. Those Accords A Bunch of Document
- 5. Peace process in Nagaland and Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Audit Report 1
- 6. Protection of Refugees in South Asia Need for a Legal Framework
- 7. Ten-Week War in Kargil From the News File
- 8. Peace Process in Sri Lanka Peace Audit Report 2
- 9. Reporting Conflict A Radical Critique of the Mass Media by Indian and Pakistani Journalists
- 10. A Complex Denial: Disappearances, Secret Cremations & The Issue of Truth and Justice in Punjab
- 11. Militarized Hindu Nationalism and the Mass Media
- 12. Three Essays on Law Responsibility and Justice
- 13. The Current History of Peace Politics: The Other Side of the War in Kashmir
- 14. Chronicles of a No-Where People On the Indo-Bangladesh Border
- 15. Insurgency & Displacement
- 16. The Peace Question in Balochistan

SAFHR volumes are results of collaborative research and dialogues among partners across borders. The four volumes are:

- 1. States, Citizens and Outsiders The Uprooted Peoples of South Asia
- 2. Living on the Edge Essays on the Chittagong Hill Tracts.
- 3. Shrinking Space Minority Rights in South Asia
- 4. Women, War and Peace in South Asia Beyond Victimhood to Agency
- 5. Open Borders: Women Making Peace A Report

REFUGEE WATCH is a quarterly published by SAFHR on refugees and forced migrants in South Asia. Published from 1998 in collaboration with its partner in Calcutta, Calcutta Research group, REFUGEE WATCH covers news on forced population movements in the region. reflections on systems and institutions of refugee care and protection of refugee righ from exile.

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For details please visit SAFHR website www.safhr.org

SAFHR PEACE STUDIES PROGRAMME

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