



Survivor's Record

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Note from the Editor

Dear Readers,

This month, while exchanging festival (Dashain-Tihar-Chhath) greetings, people are still remembering the Gen-Z revolt, the martyrs and the injured of the September uprising. The pain and the martyrs' wishes being taken away is beginning to be felt. All actors including the State should not forget those sacrifices. Their dream for socio-political transformation should not be derailed and stolen. The whole nation is mourning and more concerned about the country's future than the festive mood! At the same time, thousands of conflict victims from the previous civil war (1996 -2006) still wait for justice. Many of those who lost their relatives or whose beloved ones disappeared during the war have never celebrated festivals and are not at peace. There is no symbol of justice for either victims of serious human rights violations in our history or the recent past. Alleged perpetrators walk free.

I decided not to celebrate festivals this month and spent the time reflecting instead. The Nepali state has never treated victims and marginalized populations as respected citizens. Political betrayal and the whole system further marginalizes them. The rise of corrupt leaders in the political system, alleged perpetrators in the security institutions, organized political interference and appointments in constitutional bodies and judiciary, and the hopeless crisis in transitional justice mechanisms are not precisely beacons of hope for the future of justice.

After this Gen Z revolt, Nepal must transform from its failure to deliver a result. The transitional government should initiate reforms in every sector including transitional justice. They must dismantle the commissions formed through a politically motivated and unfair process and engage in wide consultation with victims to ensure their participation and representation. Victims and survivors have no other choice but to continue the fight for justice, dignity and rights.

- Dr. Ram Bhandari, Editor in Chief

Featured News

Impunity and Growing Dissatisfaction with the Interim Government following Ministry of Home Affairs Directive

October, Kathmandu

A recent directive from the Ministry of Home Affairs instructing the police to refrain from arresting [protesters responsible for violence](#) has raised concern about growing impunity in Nepal. The notice came after police started arresting protestors involved in looting and destruction of property during the recent Gen-z protests. The statement from the Ministry of Home Affairs explained that these offenses fall within the jurisdiction of the recently formed inquiry commission and thus do not need to be addressed immediately through regular state mechanisms. However, given that previous commission reports have not been made public nor implemented, this decision to delay accountability raises the suspicion that justice will not be realized.

The directive is reminiscent of a decision made in 2006. After the signing of the CPA, the interim government did not take legal action against the perpetrators, including one of the major culprits who remained in the cabinet, with the promise that the commissions would bring justice. Yet, after almost two decades this still has not happened.

More importantly, there has been no accountability for the deaths and injuries of protestors who were shot by the police. While the recent directive pertains to arrests of those responsible for property destruction, it implies that those responsible for these more heinous offenses will also not be addressed until an inquiry commission carries out its work. Even then, given the deeply entrenched impunity in Nepal and lack of accountability for conflict-time human rights abuses, it seems unlikely victims will see justice.

Dissatisfaction with the interim government is growing, the recent directive another reason for increasing skepticism that this cabinet will be any different from previous governments. Many believe it is not the individuals in power, but the character of the state itself which has nurtured systematic violence and impunity. Victims and survivors of the People's War who are still fighting for accountability, reparation, truth, and acknowledgement feel this is all too familiar. Justice for them and victims of the recent protests will require ongoing struggle.

As Dialogue with Political Parties and Gen-z Representatives Continues, Nepal's Politics Remain Uncertain

October, Kathmandu

With the election date coming closer, Nepal's head of state and interim prime minister have intensified the discussion with political parties and gen-z representatives in Kathmandu.

After the elected parliament was dissolved in September amid Gen-z protests and an interim government led by Sushila Karki formed, elections were scheduled for 5 March, 2026. However, due to growing political instability, many are concerned elections will not be held in March.

On 10 October, President Paudel called an all-party meeting and requested that the political parties take part in the election for the sake of democracy. However, Karki didn't actually include all of the political parties in the meeting, inviting only those that were part of the previous parliament. The lack of inclusion and coordination increased the dissatisfaction of some parties and has only worsened political instability.

Meanwhile, different groups claiming to be Gen-z representatives have submitted various demands to the government and are threatening to organize protests once again. Prime Minister Sushila Karki called on some of the representatives on 11 October to discuss the growing division among youth groups and their support for the forthcoming election. During the conversation, youth representatives raised concern about the government's decision to not hold infiltrators of the protest responsible and reiterated their support for victims. Prime Minister Karki assured

the representatives that accountability will be pursued following an inquiry commission and reiterated her support for the victims.

Second generation leaders from the major political parties have also criticized the government's decision to not proceed with punishing those responsible for recent violence, stating that this will lead to an escalation of impunity and affect the environment for the general election. Their concerns challenge the pattern of impunity cultivated by old generation leaders Deuba, Oli, and Prachanda and provide some hope for victims and survivors. While there was no discussion of the objection to commissions from victims and survivors of the People's War, second generation leaders' solidarity with victims of the September protests is a sign that they might take a more victim friendly approach to transitional justice, as well.

While the interim government has engaged in dialogue with Gen-z representatives and political parties, Prime Minister Karki has not yet initiated conversation with victim families and survivors of the People's War. The demands of the victim movement, particularly the dismantling of current flawed commissions, remain pertinent and must also be addressed by the interim government.

Victim Leaders Meet with Chief Advisor to Demand Action on Transitional Justice

October, Kathmandu

On 16 October, conflict victim group representatives met with Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister Ajayabhadra Khanal to call attention to the incomplete transitional justice process.



Ram Bhandari and Chief Advisor Khanal hold the victim movements' recent letter

During the meeting they handed over [a letter](#) with their demands addressed to Madam Karki. The letter, also registered officially in the Prime Minister's Office, calls for the interim government to dismantle the current commissions and pursue a credible, transparent, and victim-centered process in accordance with the TRC Act. It also highlights connections between current discontent and the history of violence, reminds the government of commitments in the CPA and actions taken by the victim movement including their August mass petition, and

requests the formation of a special judicial commission to investigate recent incidents including the disproportionate use of force against Gen-z protesters.

Chief Advisor Khanal assured the representatives that he would carry forward their message to Madam Prime Minister and agreed to facilitate a meeting between Prime Minister Karki and victim groups. One representative who attended the Thursday meeting said that Khanal “seemed positive about our demand and even asked about our bottom-line for the resumption of dialogue to which we said the resignation of those officials from the commissions.”

Victim leaders will wait for Prime Minister Karki’s invitation for dialogue. To gain their trust, the interim government must actually heed their demands and take action. However, this initial meeting leaves many hopeful that they will have the government’s support.

To the right: Victim leaders Gita Rasaili and Ram Bhandari stand with Chief Advisor Khanal at their 16 Oct. meeting



The Land of the Disappeared Waits to Tell its Stories

October, Bardiya

As the victim movement continues to struggle for justice at the state-level, many victim families from rural areas have been working to improve their livelihood opportunities and economic situation. In remote areas access to the modern market is limited and poverty exacerbated by the loss of breadwinners during the People’s War. Bardiya, located in the midwestern flatland, is one such district. During the armed conflict, the state targeted Tharu communities, who make up the majority of the population in Bardiya, under the assumption that they were associated with Maoists. Over 250 people were disappeared, the highest number of recorded disappearances for any district in the country. Bardiya is also known for its national park and diverse wildlife. While the park provides some economic opportunities, those living in buffer zones deal with both lingering impacts of the conflict and ongoing human-wildlife conflict.

Victim families in Bardiya and other similar districts have initiated local projects to memorialize the disappeared and martyred and generate economic opportunity. In particular, there are several memorial parks in Bardiya which document the history of the armed conflict, honor the contributions of the disappeared and martyred, and highlight local culture. These parks provide jobs to local victims and survivors and put pressure on the government to acknowledge the sacrifices of victim families.

We encourage those of you who live in or are traveling to Nepal to visit Bardiya. You will learn more about the history of the People’s War from survivors’ perspectives, support the local community, and also have the opportunity to see Bardiya’s national park. If you are interested, you can reference [this suggested itinerary](#).

Ganga Maya Continues her Struggle for Justice

September, Kathmandu

What does it take to get justice from the state? It has been nearly two decades since the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Accord and yet victims and survivors are still struggling. Among them is Ganga Maya Adhikary. She has been ill for long, but is still sitting in resistance at a government hospital in Kathmandu to demand justice for her son and husband.

Adhikary's son, Krishna Prasad Adhikary, was abducted and killed by Maoist soldiers on 6 June, 2004. Since then, she has been asking the state to hold the perpetrators accountable and, along with her husband Nanda Prasad Adhikary, began fasting to demand justice in 2013.

On 22 September, 2014, the 334th day of their fast, Nanda Prasad passed away. His family still has not received his body which lies in the mortuary of Teaching Hospital Maharajgunj, Kathmandu.

Ganga Maya continues her struggle, now both for justice for her son and the return of her husband's body, from a hospital room. On 22 September of this year, the 11th anniversary of her husband's death, a group of human rights activists and victim leaders visited her at Bir Hospital in a demonstration of solidarity. They joined her in demanding the government take legal action against the perpetrators of Krishna Prasad's death and facilitate the return of Nanda Prasad's body in accordance with his family's cultural right of cremation.

Further Reading:

[Nepal: An Appeal from Ganga Maya Adhikari: Demanding Justice for my Son and Husband,](#)
Asian Human Rights Commission



Human rights activists and victim leaders visit Ganga Maya at Bir Hospital

International Developments

Nepali Victim Leader Devi Khadka Calls for Justice for Survivors at UN Human Rights Council

September; Geneva

On Tuesday, 30 September, Nepali women's rights activist [Devi Khadka spoke at the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva](#). Khadka is a survivor herself and has spent over a decade supporting and organizing women survivors of conflict time sexual violence in Nepal. She joined a group of panelists at the "[Annual discussion on the integration of a gender perspective throughout the work of the Human Rights Council and that of its mechanisms](#)." The theme this year was "Strengthening gender perspectives in transitional justice processes."



Devi Khadka speaks at the UN Human Rights Council in September. Image taken from the UNHRC

Khadka, spoke "as the voice of thousands of women who have be subjected to institutional rape during the 10 years conflict of Nepal." In her opening speech, she discussed the gap between international instruments and the reality on the ground, emphasized the need to understand sexual violence as a product of patriarchy and structural inequality, and called upon the international community to focus not just on sexual violence, but also the economic exclusion, lack of access to health services, stigmatization, and political marginalization that women face. "Justice is not only about the perpetrator being punished. It is also about the education, health, and dignity of the survivor," she said.

Khadka's own work is a powerful example of all that can be accomplished by survivors on the ground and a reminder of the need for survivor participation in transitional justice processes. In 2021 she and 11 other women survivors formed the Aparajit Foundation with the mission "let's speak for ourselves." Through Aparajit, they trained themselves and other survivors to become psychosocial counselors, documented thousands of cases of conflict-time sexual violence (they created a database and have submitted 90 percent more complaints to the commission than the

government), opened health centers, and led a successful campaign for amendments to the TRC Act. Now a group of over 3,000 members, they continue to support survivors with counseling, legal aid, trauma healing, and leadership development as well as fight for survivor participation in transitional justice, social transformation, and the protection of women's rights. As Devi says in her speech to the Council, "The story of our struggle gives one clear message: we are not only victims, we are power."

In her speech to the UN, Khadka made her demands clear:

"I hereby request that the human rights council and all stakeholders connect truth with justice; not regard sexual violence only as a crime, but accept it as a violation of women's political, social, and economic rights. The international mechanisms should prioritize the voices of local women's rights activists and survivors during the formulation of policies. Preparation projects should not be limited to only physical compensation but should address the structural inequalities faced by women. Women's full, equal, and meaningful participation should be ensured in every step of the peace process, decision making, and justice."

Thousands of women continue to fight for justice along with other conflict victims in Nepal, where transitional justice still has not concluded even after two decades. We urge the international community to listen to their voices.

No Peace Without Liberation: Gaza Ceasefire and the Uncertain Future of Justice

October, Kathmandu

On 9 October a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas was announced. The whole world, including Nepal, has welcomed this and called for the immediate release of all hostages, including a [Nepali national Bipin Joshi](#) held hostage by Hamas since 7 October 2023. But we should be clear — a negotiated ceasefire is not peace. All eyes must remain on Gaza.

The ceasefire has put a halt to Israel's large-scale bombardment and mass slaughter, bringing some relief to Palestinians in Gaza, [tens of thousands](#) of whom are returning to their land. [Hamas released the 20 surviving Israeli hostages](#) and [1,968 Palestinians have been released](#) from Israeli prisons.

But [over 9,100](#) Palestinians remain detained and continue to face starvation and torture in Israeli prisons. 154 of the freed Palestinian prisoners have been [deported](#). And [Israel has already violated the terms of the ceasefire](#). Systematic starvation, surveillance, occupation, and killing continue.

We hope the ceasefire will hold, but more than this, demand an immediate end to the blockade, recognition of Palestinian self-determination and sovereignty, accountability for Israeli war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, the right of return for displaced families, and full liberation of Palestinians. [Without justice, lasting peace will not be possible](#).

The world has not done enough to protect the rights of the peoples in war zones. Genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity have affected global citizens on a massive scale. US led peace negotiations signed after thousands of deaths, disappearances, torture, sexual violence, displacement and massive physical damages in Palestinian land has raised little hope for the future and demonstrated a loss of humanity and death of international law. The UN and international community has lost the faith of the global majority and victims of war zones as they failed to protect human rights and save humanity.

We, global citizens, all have the responsibility to contribute for peace and justice for all.

Further Reading:

[5 Takeaways From the Ceasefire](#), Jewish Voices for Peace

[A Moon Will Rise from the Darkness: Reports on Israel's Genocide in Palestine](#), Francesca Albanese

[Palestinians in Gaza wait for ceasefire's promises to become a reality](#), Al Jazeera

Court Watch

Supreme Court Resumes Activities, but Past Cases Remain Uncertain

October, Kathmandu

On 14 October, after more than a month hiatus, the Supreme Court resumed filing writs other than habeas corpus. All services had been halted after the Supreme Court was burnt down in the Gen-z protest and only writs of habeas corpus heard beginning 11 September. On the first day of fully resumed activity, more than a dozen writs were filed against the dissolution of parliament, claiming the interim government to be [unconstitutional](#).

The Supreme Court has announced that while they will start accepting new writs, older cases will not be able to proceed at this time as [fires destroyed over 960,000 files across the country](#), including over 30,000 ongoing cases and thousands of historically significant archived cases. At the Supreme Court, 20,034 of 24,234 ongoing cases were lost. Hundreds of ongoing cases pertained to violations that occurred during the People's War.

The Court issued the [Directive on the Recovery and Authentication of Case Files Destroyed Due to Special Circumstances](#) outlining five ways in which they will work to reconstruct cases. This will be difficult and time consuming and is not likely to be finished anytime soon.

The loss of cases has further eroded the public's trust in their legal system, particularly for victims and survivors who hoped that amid the ongoing failure of state-led commissions they might get justice from the judiciary. And for victims and survivors who had cases pending at the Court, this is yet another cruel delay of justice.

News from Survivors and Their Movements

“There is no justice” — A Conversation with Laxmi Bhandari

October, Budhanilkantha

Many families were not in the mood to celebrate Dashain and Tihar this October. Some have lost children, others are overwhelmed by the uncertainty and loss gripping the nation. Needless to say, the festivals do not feel the same this year. But for many families of the disappeared and martyred, festival season has not been the same for decades.

Ram's family chose not to celebrate this year — an expression of solidarity with those families whose loved ones were killed in the recent protests and simply a matter of not being in the festival mood. But even when they have celebrated, Ram's mother Laxmi Bhandari explains, “we follow the rituals, but there's not that much excitement.”

There had been a time when Dashain “was a very joyful festival” for their family. That was before Ram’s father, Laxmi Bhandari’s husband, Tej Bahadur Bhandari was disappeared by the state.



Laxmi Bhandari looks at a photograph of her husband, Tej Bahadur Bhandari, who was disappeared in 2001

A school teacher, a dreamer, an actor, and a community member, Tej was known for his humor and generosity. “He was the kindest person in the village,” Laxmi Bhandari said of her husband. “Though we had our own hardship, he was always eager to help others. He would lend money to those who needed it or help negotiate land disputes. If someone wanted to get married and they did not have the money, he would help finance their marriage. He was also actively involved in intervening in domestic violence. So he was known and respected for his kindness.”

On 31 December, 2001, Tej was kidnapped from the streets of Besisahar and disappeared by state security forces. Immediately after his disappearance, Laxmi was alone. Her sons were studying in Kathmandu, and she asked them not to return for security reasons. The army came to her door again and again to ask about Tej. “They would throw me outside of the house and physically abuse me,” she said.

Other hardship was ahead: her sons moved her to Kathmandu, but here, unlike in Simpani village, you needed money to survive, and they had no income. “Nobody came to help,” Laxmi explained, referring to the state.

Yet together they have supported one another and found a way forward. “I am really happy with my sons,” Laxmi said. At the same time, there is always “the uncertainty and constant searching.” “I can’t really tell myself that I am either a widow or not a widow because we are still searching,” Laxmi explained.

“There is no justice,” she declared.

“The state has not even been able to answer our basic question about whether he was taken somewhere and killed or if he is somewhere. This is a simple demand that the state has not been able to answer. We are still asking.”

Laxmi sees a connection between their struggle and the hardship faced by victims of recent state violence. “Nothing has changed. At that time, the trouble was faced by only those who had

experienced the hardship. In this time also, injured people are suffering in the hospital alone, nobody is going to look after them,” she explained. “No matter who is in power, the system is sustained.”

Further Reading:

[The disappearance of Tej Bahadur Bhandari](#), The Kathmandu Post

Monthly Conversation

Victim Leader Gita Rasaili on Discrimination, Reparation, and Justice

July, Kathmandu



This month we are featuring a conversation with **Gita Rasaili**, chairperson of the Conflict Victim Women National Network (CVWN).

A steadfast defender of human rights, Gita's advocacy is shaped by her personal experiences. Growing up in a village in Kavre district, she faced much discrimination as a Dalit and experienced the violence of the People's War first hand. Her sister was abducted, tortured, gang-raped, and killed by state security forces; her father and brother-in-law were tortured; her brother was killed. Gita began her fight for justice working in her district to support other victim families and later emerged as a leader, focusing on

women's participation in response to the sidelining of their voices in the victim movement.

We sat down with Gita in July to learn more about her activism, recent work leading the victim movement's Supreme Court writ petition, and perspective on reparations and discrimination faced by the Dalit community.

Q: Can you tell us a bit about how you got involved in the victim movement and your work with conflict victims and survivors?

GR: I became active in the victims' movement as a human rights defender after what happened to my sister. I established a foundation in her name — Reena — which initially operated mainly in my district. Because my hometown is close to Kathmandu, NGOs based there started reaching out to learn more about our activities. Later, I moved to Kathmandu, and both the foundation and I became more engaged in the broader civil society movement. Over time, our work grew beyond NGO-supported initiatives into a more independent network connected to national and even international advocacy.

Through the formation of the Conflict Victims' Common Platform (CVCP), various victims' families and groups from across the country came together. This activism and coordination helped me develop leadership skills and build a national network aimed at empowering people.

After moving to Kathmandu, I gained new perspectives, particularly on how women's voices were often silenced in the movement. This led to a stronger focus on women's rights.

Under CVCP, we established a women's committee and later we developed a women-led national network - CVWN - which I now chair. This role has further strengthened my leadership and allowed me to bring women's issues into mainstream agendas. We also provide training to women in communities, teaching leadership and communication skills. **The goal is not only to support them but to truly empower them and transform women as leaders.**

Q: You are currently leading a writ petition to Nepal's Supreme Court to invalidate the selection of commissioners for the two transitional justice commissions. How is that progressing?

GR: Strategically, it was decided that I should lead this petition. It demonstrates emotional support and solidarity with women victims of conflict-related sexual violence. **Historically, men have always led such initiatives.** During discussions and elections within the platform, there was initially some disagreement when my name was proposed. But eventually, in the general meeting, everyone agreed that I should lead the writ.

Q: What do you think about the current reparation policy? What kind of policy should the government adopt for conflict victims and survivors?

GR: The transitional justice and reparation process has been far too delayed. The government treats reparation as merely one component of justice, linking the two tightly. But I believe reparation should address victims' immediate needs, independent of legal justice proceedings. **Instead of recognizing reparation as a right, the government often uses it as a bargaining tool with victims.**

Reparation is a basic, independent right—it should not be conditional on justice processes. Moreover, it must be individual and needs-based. There can't be a one-size-fits-all approach. Principles and guidelines do exist for designing reparations, and policies should focus on victims' specific needs.

We're currently conducting nationwide consultations on reparation. The CVCP produced a set of reparation guidelines about six or seven years ago. Some things have changed since then, so these guidelines need updating.

Q: You are also a representative of the Dalit community and have previously spoken about the discrimination you faced as a child. Do you think society's treatment of the Dalit community has changed since the period preceding the conflict?

GR: Some changes have happened, but not to the extent we had hoped. Schools and teachers have shifted their attitudes in some ways, and education has helped some Dalits achieve better opportunities in life. During my childhood, exclusion was very direct, but today children do not experience that same level of open discrimination. However, when I return to my home community, I still feel the same marginalization I did as a child. At a deeper level, that experience hasn't completely changed.

There have been policy changes and shifts in behavior, yet much of the discrimination is still deeply rooted and passed down through generations.

This isn't limited to Nepal. It is beyond the location. About two years ago, I visited the U.S. and saw that the Dalit community there still follows similar unspoken rules of discrimination. Regardless of location, these patterns persist. Even when Dalit individuals—celebrities,

academics, or human rights activists like myself—are invited abroad, often it's only other Dalits who extend these invitations. People from outside the community rarely do so.

Caste-based discrimination still strongly affects marriage practices. Inter-caste marriages remain rare, and Dalit women who marry outside their caste often face serious problems, including domestic violence. **Overcoming these barriers takes enormous courage** and will require a very long time to truly change.

Editor's Reflection:

Our conversation with Gita Rasaili revealed not only the political urgency of Nepal's transitional justice struggle but also the profound human strength behind it. Gita appears not simply as an advocate, but as a woman shaped by grief, quiet rebellion, and an unyielding belief in dignity. Her insistence that reparations are a right, not a bargaining tool, exposes the deep flaws in current state practices and challenges us to rethink how transitional justice must respond to individual wounds rather than abstract categories. This conversation demands that we see victims not as symbols, but as agents of transformation.

Further Reading:

[Mango Juice, Matching Slippers, and a Fight for Justice: An Afternoon with Gita Rasaili](#), Shuyuan Zhang

Guest Column

Youth Voices and Aspirations for Change in South Asia (2024-25) — Akku Chowdhury

October, Pokhara

The Gen Z movement that transformed Nepal's political landscape in 2024-25 surprised observers globally. While recent youth uprisings have brought major changes to Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, Nepal's movement was particularly unexpected. Nepal, with its 4,000-year-old heritage, culture, and history, is home to diverse tribes that maintain their distinct identities and roots. The country's strength lies in its unified respect for this diversity.

The Nepal Movement

The Gen Z movement addressed the political stagnancy that had allowed political leaders to become irresponsible and unaccountable to their constituents. The immediate response was significant: the parties in power resigned, and an interim government composed of respected non-political figures took charge of Nepal. This transitional government has committed to holding elections, and there are signs of awareness within political parties as younger leaders emerge at the forefront.

The movement created opportunities for citizens to participate in decision-making and policy formation that could build Nepal, serve the people, and most importantly, create job opportunities for the growing young population. A culture of accountability and transparency across all sectors could be established if leaders in politics, NGOs, businesses, and other socio-cultural organizations—including community leaders—truly listen to the youth and those who stood in solidarity during the two-day movement.

Change takes time in any part of the world. Learning from past movements, we should celebrate the growing awareness while recognizing that expecting immediate results would be naive. The shift in atmosphere may raise expectations among groups who have felt denied their rights and justice for many years. While I relate to their hopes and expectations based on past revolutions and movements, I remain cautious. The process has begun, but real change will take time. Gen Z has set things in motion; now comes the difficult work of sustained commitment from all people toward a shared goal of creating a better world of justice and humanity for all.

Comparing Bangladesh and Nepal

Watching the Gen Z-led Revolution of 2024 in Bangladesh, which toppled an apparently powerful authoritarian government, and then observing Nepal's movement, I noticed how differently the two movements unfolded despite being led by the same age group. The difference reflected the distinct character of the two lands: the Bangladeshis of the Bay of Bengal delta sustained their protests for days with increasing intensity, while the Nepalese from the Himalayan foothills achieved their goals without prolonged or extreme violence.

During the Bangladesh movement, I maintained close contact and discussions with members of Generation Y. Most conversations led to a sobering conclusion: this revolutionary Generation Alpha and Gen Z represent only a segment of self-interested youth. The media packaged and marketed the revolution effectively, with youth as both protagonists and primary consumers.

Historically, middle-class and upper-class elites have instrumentalized youth for their own interests. This pattern repeats across generations—every decade, youth fall into this trap. Recently, Gen Z was used as pawns in this familiar dynamic. This reflects an entrenched elite mindset. In Bangladesh's history—1947, 1952, 1969, 1971, and now 2024—it has always been the youth who made the greatest sacrifices. The truth is that the sacrifices and passion of youth are hijacked by wealthy elders pursuing self-interest and greed. This occurs systematically because without class conflict, the capitalist system will not relinquish its goals of profit and power. While the 2024 Revolution evolved into a mass movement, it was still branded as a "Gen Z Movement"—an interesting distinction. Ultimately, the primary beneficiaries of this movement and these sacrifices will be the middle class and elites.

Historical Context

The 2024-25 Gen Z movements brought back memories of my teenage years in 1968, when youth-led uprisings swept the globe. Protesters challenged governments and opposed the Vietnam War. Students en masse demanded institutional changes in disparate locations including Japan, the United States, Poland, Brazil, Italy, France, Northern Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, Spain, Germany, Ecuador, Chile, Yugoslavia, England, and Pakistan. Many succeeded in changing corrupt governments and bringing about reform. Major outcomes included: the Vietnam War ended, Bangladesh gained independence in 1971, the Prague Spring challenged Soviet control in Czechoslovakia, de Gaulle resigned in France in 1969, civil rights and anti-discrimination movements advanced significantly, and authoritarian regimes eventually fell in Portugal, Greece, and Spain.

Looking Forward

We can only wait and see how the Gen Z movement reshapes the world to face humanity's greatest challenge: the climate crisis and global warming.

**Chowdhury is a climate action activist, a fighter for a just world and trustee of Liberation War Museum in Dhaka. Currently he lives in Deumaadi, Pokhara and operates a Retreat for Conscience, Co-founder of an Eco friendly GCC Resort.*

Suggested Reading and Listening

Read: *Feel the Grass Grow: Ecologies of Slow Peace in Colombia* by Angela Jill Lederach

Detailing campesino organizing and resistance in Alta Montaña in the Montes de María region of Caribbean Colombia, Lederach advances a theory of “slow peace” and a more holistic understanding of grassroots peacebuilding.

Listen: [*The Ins and Outs of Trump’s Gaza Ceasefire*](#); Jewish Currents

In this episode of Jewish Currents podcast *On the Nose*, Alex Kane talks with Middle East experts Khaled Elgindy and Daniel Levy about the ceasefire: Trump’s involvement, their trepidation, the absence of accountability, and the future of Gaza.

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