



NEPAL
NATIONAL MEMORY
— CONFERENCE-II —

MEMORY OF US

A LIVING TIMELINE

Second National Memory Conference 2026

9- 10 June 2026

Nepal Academy Hall, Kathmandu



MEMORY OF US: A LIVING TIMELINE

A Reflection Wall

Second National Memory Conference 2026

CONCEPT

Memory is held by all and carried across their lives, bodies, absences and ideas beyond what the law recognizes. Memories are carried across generations, held alive against the state's impunity. Each Nepali generation has its demand - to be seen, to be heard, and to believe they would be the last to demand the recognition of truth. However, all have been met with the same willful blindness. And yet, what remains of memories and demands are carried forward.

A living archive.

For what was not allowed to be forgotten, for what was only allowed to be remembered in silence, for those in the room and those who could not be.

THE INSTALLATION

A horizontal wall divided into four tiers each carrying a different layer of memory, from the internal armed conflict to the present. Wool threads in three colours (of the Nepali flag) run through all tiers, crossing, tangling, doubling back, and finally converging at Tier 4. Two panas, one marking the opening of Tier 1 and one burning at the base of Tier 4, remain lit throughout.

Tier 1 - Memory of Internal Armed Conflict (1996-2006): Ten years of internal armed conflict and the peace that was promised after. Photographs, victim statements, and testimonies from the era, sourced from public archives and partner organizations.

Tier 2 - Memory of the Unfinished (2006-September 2025): The years of building a state and demanding a place in the nation it was meant to represent. Photographs and testimonies from survivors still waiting for justice, families of the disappeared, landless, stateless, and the Madhesh, feminist and indigenous movements who wanted to be seen in the state they were building

Tier 3 - Memory of Inheritance (8-9 September 2025): A generation that had never protested took to the streets carrying a democratic right they believed was theirs. They were met with live ammunition, and the seats of state power burned. The government has still not accounted for what happened. Photographs from the streets and voices of the movement.

Tier 4 - Memory of Us: This is the living part of the archive. What came before is documented. What comes here is still being carried. Sticky notes and pens are placed at the base of the wall. A small pile of stones sits beside them, for those who carry a memory they are not ready to write.

What do you carry?

TIER 1

Memory of Internal Armed Conflict

1996-2006

Ten years of internal armed conflict and the peace that was promised after.



© Amnesty International / Photo: NayanTara Gurung Kakshapati

Image 1: Rajeev Kumar Karna and Bimala Devi Yadab, brother and mother of Sanjeev Kumar Karna, who was allegedly killed in police custody in 2003.

Sanjeev was arrested on 8 October 2003 in a police raid in Kataiyachauri, Janakpur, along with a group of friends. Days later, all five were allegedly shot dead by police. Three years on, the Nepal Army confirmed they had been killed in "police action." Four high-ranking officials from the Nepal Police, Nepal Army and Government are named in the FIR, a case that remains unresolved. At the time this image was taken, Rajeev worked for the National Human Rights Commission in Biratnagar, and Bimala lived alone in Janakpur.



© Amnesty International / Photo: NayanTara Gurung Kakshapati

Image 2: Jai Kishor Labh, seen far left holding the banner, father of Sanjeev Kumar Karna, who fought relentlessly for justice for his son until his death.

Jai Kishor Labh was a human rights activist and lawyer who, after the arrest and disappearance of his son Sanjeev, dedicated himself to seeking justice. He campaigned tirelessly, reaching out to national and international human rights organisations, spending long hours at his neighbourhood cyber cafe researching and writing emails, and travelling extensively to keep his son's case alive. After a seven-year battle, Jai Kishor died of a heart attack. He is survived by his wife Bimala and younger son Rajeev.



© Amnesty International / Photo: NayanTara Gurung Kakshapati

Image 3: Photographs of the Dhanusha Five, young men arrested and allegedly killed in police custody in October 2003.

On 8 October 2003, 24-year-old Sanjeev Kumar Karna was arrested in a police raid in Kataiyachauri, on the outskirts of Janakpur city, along with a group of friends. A few days later, all five were allegedly shot dead by police forces. Three years after their arrest, the Nepal Army issued a letter confirming all five had been killed in "police action." Four high-ranking officials from the Nepal Police, Nepal Army and Nepal Government are named in the FIR filed in connection with their disappearance.



© Amnesty International / Photo: NayanTara Gurung Kakshapati

Image 4: Exhumation scene at Goddhar, where the bodies of Sanjeev Kumar Karna and his four friends were recovered seven years after their disappearance.

Seven years after their disappearance, the bodies of Sanjeev Kumar Karna and his four friends were exhumed by a team led by the National Human Rights Commission from a site in Goddhar, by the Kamala river.



© Jagaran Media Center

Image 5: A bullet-riddled home in Bandipur village, Siraha, damaged during fighting between Nepali security forces and CPN (Maoist) forces on 8 May 2005.

During a clash late on the night of 8 May 2005, fighting between Nepali state security forces and the CPN (Maoist) in Bandipur village, Siraha district killed five civilians by gunfire and four more by mortar bombs dropped from an army helicopter. A further 19 civilians were injured.



© Usha Titikshu

Image 6: Conflict-affected women calling for peace at a rally in Ratnapark, Kathmandu, on World Peace Day, 21 September 2004.

On World Peace Day, 21 September 2004, conflict-affected women gathered at Ratnapark in Kathmandu to demand peace during Nepal's ongoing armed conflict.



© Usha Titikshu

Image 7: Conflict widows who formed a local Single Women's Group in Nepalgunj, 2004, part of a national network advocating against discrimination.

In 2004, conflict widows in Nepalgunj came together to form a local Single Women's Group, part of a growing national network of women working to raise awareness about discrimination faced by single women.



© Bikash Karki

Images 8: Prime Minister Koirala and Maoist chairman Prachanda signing the Comprehensive Peace Accord in Kathmandu, 21 November 2006, formally ending Nepal's decade-long armed conflict.

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© Bikash Karki

Images 9: Prime Minister Koirala and Maoist chairman Prachanda signing the Comprehensive Peace Accord in Kathmandu, 21 November 2006, formally ending Nepal's decade-long armed conflict.

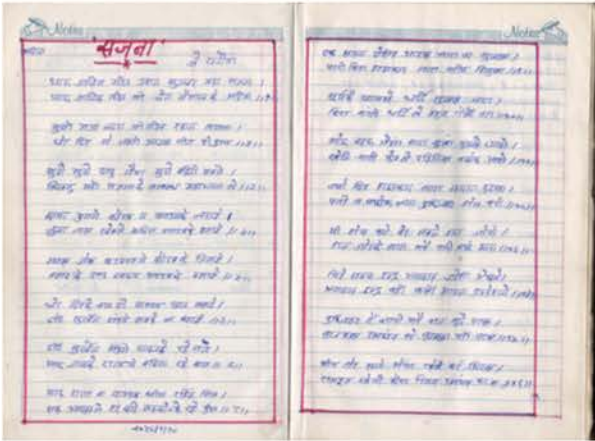
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© Bikil Sthapit / VOW Media

Image 10: Female combatants of the People's Liberation Army during Nepal's internal armed conflict.

Women made up an estimated 30 to 40 percent of the total Maoist combat force during Nepal's decade-long armed conflict from 1996 to 2006. Women and girls served as active fighters in the People's Liberation Army alongside male combatants. After the peace accord, many returned to communities where they faced stigma and difficulties reintegrating into civilian life.



© Photo courtesy: Indu Tharu/ The Record

Image 11: A handwritten page from the diary of Indu Tharu's father, bearing a poem titled "Sajna" written in Tharu.

Indu Tharu's father, a Tharu activist and publisher from Kailali, was shot by the Royal Nepal Army on 12 June 2002. Before the war, he had published Muktik Dagar, a newsletter devoted to Tharu history, language and liberation. His diary, preserved by Indu's mother through the years of conflict, contained poems, essays and the recorded names and deaths of fallen friends. It later became the basis for Indu's own documentation of Tharu memory and the conflict's impact on her community.



© Usha Titikshu

Image 12: A woman in Dang whose husband was killed by CPN (Maoist) forces in 2004.

In 2004, this woman from Dang lost her husband to CPN (Maoist) violence. Already living in a polygamous marriage, his death left her without support and exposed to abuse from her co-wife.



© Amnesty International

Image 13: Female detainees accused of involvement with CPN (Maoist), held in Nepalgunj jail, 2004.

In 2004, women accused of links to the CPN (Maoist) were held in Nepalgunj jail. Their detention reflects the broad nature of arrests during Nepal's armed conflict, where suspected association with the Maoists was sufficient grounds for detention.



© Amnesty International Nepal

Image 14: A child's illustration of a clash between CPN (Maoist) and Royal Nepal Army forces, drawn at the Sahara Children's Rehabilitation Home for Child Victims of Conflict in Nepalgunj, 2004.

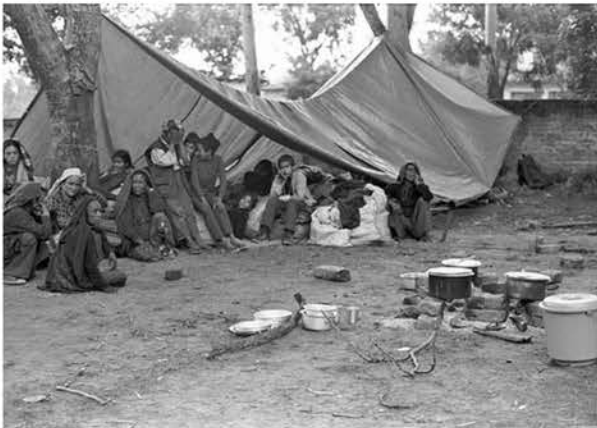
In 2004, a child at the Sahara Children's Rehabilitation Home in Nepalgunj drew this depiction of armed clashes between CPN (Maoist) and Royal Nepal Army forces.



© Dud Raj Adhikari

Image 15: Dud Raj Adhikari, injured and permanently disabled by a Maoist improvised explosive device at Lekhnath Chowk, Kaski, on 27 October 2003.

On 27 October 2003, Dud Raj Adhikari was struck by a Maoist electric explosive device near Lekhnath Chowk in Kaski district, leaving him permanently disabled. He has since been an advocate for conflict victims seeking justice. In his own words: "When will justice finally come?"



© Usha Titikshu

Image 16: A community from Jumla living in a makeshift tent in Surkhet after being forced from their village by CPN (Maoist) abuses, 2004.

In 2004, this community from Jumla had been displaced by CPN (Maoist) abuses and were living in a makeshift tent in Surkhet. Across Nepal's mid and far west, entire communities were uprooted by the conflict.



© Sudheer Sharma / Amnesty International Nepal

Image 17: Rana Bahadur Singh sitting before the ruins of his home in Panchkatia, Jajarkot, destroyed in a Maoist attack on the Nepal Police in 2000.

In 2000, a Maoist attack on the Nepal Police in Panchkatia, Jajarkot, destroyed Rana Bahadur Singh's home. His wife and two children were killed in the attack.



© INSEC

Image 18: Victims of the Doramba massacre, Ramechhap, 17 August 2003.

On 17 August 2003, 19 people, including 17 unarmed CPN (Maoist) cadres and 2 civilians, were arrested by security forces during a meeting in a house in Doramba, Ramechhap. With their hands tied behind their backs, they were marched to the top of a hill and shot dead at close range. The massacre disrupted the ceasefire and the second round of peace talks between the government and Maoist insurgents.



© INSEC

Image 19: The aftermath of the Madi bus bombing, Chitwan, 6 June 2005, Nepal's deadliest terrorist attack of the conflict.

On the morning of 6 June 2005, a Maoist-planted explosive buried in a dry riverbed was detonated as a passenger bus carrying approximately 150 people crossed the Reyu river in Madi, Chitwan. Thirty-eight civilians were killed and dozens more injured.



© INSEC

Image 20: A woman serving food to children at a makeshift camp in Kathmandu, where families displaced by the conflict from Surkhet were sheltering.

Surkhet was one of the focal districts of the armed conflict, from which families fled to Kathmandu. The Maoist conflict is estimated to have created 250,000 internally displaced persons across Nepal. Displaced families arriving in Kathmandu lived in makeshift camps with limited access to shelter, food, and basic services.



© INSEC

Image 21: A government building in Beni, Myagdi, destroyed during the CPN (Maoist) attack of 20-21 March 2004.

On the night of 20 March 2004, an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 Maoist fighters attacked Beni, the Myagdi district headquarters, targeting the district jail, police posts, and administrative buildings. Approximately 140 people were killed, including 19 civilians, 17 police officers, 14 soldiers, and around 90 Maoist rebels.

TIER 2

Memory of Unfinished

2006- September 2025

The years of building a state and demanding a place in the nation it was meant to represent.



© Helena Rodríguez / UNHCR

Image 22: A woman walking through the Tibetan refugee camp in Pokhara, 2014.

Established decades before Nepal's armed conflict, Tibetan refugee camps in Pokhara continued to house communities living in prolonged displacement. By 2014, many residents had spent their entire lives in the camp, with uncertain legal status and limited prospects for return or resettlement.



© TRIAL International

Image 23: A mural painted by students of Kathmandu School of Law, 2015, depicting faceless women representing diverse communities across Nepal.

Painted by first-year law students of Kathmandu School of Law in 2015..



© Amnesty International Nepal

Image 24: Survivors and advocates at a demonstration marking the International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in Conflict, Nepal, 19 June 2025. A placard reads: "Engage in dialogue, win trust, deliver justice."

Nearly two decades after the war ended, many survivors continue to face stigma, exclusion and barriers to justice, with their experiences largely unacknowledged in the transitional justice process.



© Kaushal Sapkota

Image 25: A girl with a physical disability participating in a Paralympic event in Kathmandu, 2015.

Nepal's National Paralympic Committee was recognised by the International Paralympic Committee in 2004, enabling people with disabilities to participate in organised sports at national and international levels.



© Nirajan Shrestha

Image 26: People supporting each other in the aftermath of the April 2015 earthquake, Kathmandu.

On 25 April 2015, a 7.8 magnitude earthquake struck Nepal, killing nearly 9,000 people and injuring over 22,000. Kathmandu and surrounding districts were among the worst affected.



© Kaushal Sapkota

Image 27: A school building collapsed in the April 2015 earthquake, Nepal.

The 2015 earthquake caused widespread destruction to schools and educational infrastructure across Nepal. Over 19,000 classrooms were destroyed or damaged, leaving hundreds of thousands of children without access to education.



© NNDCV/ 3 December 2025.

Image 28: Forum Theatre performance at the National Network of Disabled Conflict Victims (NNDCV) event marking the International Day of Persons with Disabilities. The secretaries from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Commission of Investigation on Enforced Disappeared Persons performed survivors' roles.

The Forum Theatre performance, rooted in the tradition of Theatre of the Oppressed developed by Brazilian practitioner Augusto Boal, engaged participants as both spectators and actors.



© Sabrina Dangol / TRIAL International

Image 29: Lenin Bista, a former child soldier recruited into the People's Liberation Army at age 12, looks through photographs from his time as a combatant, Kavrepalanchok.

Lenin Bista was recruited into the Maoist People's Liberation Army in 2002 at the age of 12. Mainly involved in the intelligence branch, he escorted leaders, delivered documents and surveyed barracks. After the war ended in 2006, he advocated for the right to education for former child soldiers and went on to complete a bachelor's degree. He has since become a vocal advocate for ex-child soldiers through nonviolent means, highlighting their treatment in domestic and international forums.



© Kaushal Sapkota

Image 30: Men in mourning following the loss of relatives in the 2015 earthquake, Sindhupalchok district.

While the initial epicentre of the April 2015 earthquake was in Gorkha district, Sindhupalchok recorded the highest number of deaths and the most severe structural damage of any district in Nepal.



© Aakankshya GC

Image 31: Interior of an unfinished home in a Musahar settlement, Rautahat, August 2021.

In Rautahat, many Musahar families dismantled their homes after the government promised to replace them with concrete houses under the People's Housing Programme. When construction stalled due to lack of funds, families were left living in unfinished structures. The Musahar are among the most marginalised communities in Nepal, facing landlessness, poverty and caste-based discrimination.



© Women for Human Rights (WHR)

Image 32: Protesters at the Occupy Baluwatar movement, Kathmandu, December 2012.

Occupy Baluwatar began on 28 December 2012, sparked by public outrage over the robbery and rape of a young migrant woman returning to Nepal from Saudi Arabia by airport and police officials. The peaceful protest movement called on the Nepali state to address the widespread problem of impunity and gender-based violence, with protesters gathering daily outside the prime minister's official residence in Baluwatar. The movement lasted 110 days and drew participants from across the country.



© Forum for Women, Law and Development (FWLD)

Image 33: Shravan (name changed), still waiting for citizenship through his mother

Shravan, a young participant in the 2015 protest for gender-equal citizenship, continues to face barriers in obtaining citizenship through his mother's name. Although entitled under Nepal's constitutional provisions, he has repeatedly encountered administrative obstacles and remains without full recognition by the State. His story reflects the human cost of delays in implementing equal citizenship rights.



© Forum for Women, Law and Development (FWLD)

Image 34: A movement built by the excluded

In 2015, mothers, children, survivors, youth, rights defenders, and organizations came together in a powerful call for gender-equal citizenship during Nepal's constitution-making process. Their voices carried the pain of abandonment, violence, trafficking, discrimination, and state neglect, but also the strength of survival and resistance. This was not only a protest for legal reform, but a collective demand to be seen, valued, and included as equal citizens.



© Forum for Women, Law and Development (FWLD)

Image 35: United voices for equal citizenship

Youth, advocates, law students, and individuals directly affected by gendered citizenship laws came together to demand a gender-sensitive constitution. Their collective action reflected the principle that legal identity is not just a document, but a foundation for equality, dignity, and belonging. The image captures the solidarity that shaped the reform movement.



© The Story Kitchen, 2016

Image 36: Women survivors learning documentation and reporting skills, 2016.

The Story Kitchen's programme trained conflict-affected women and survivors to document their own experiences and report on justice issues. The initiative aimed to shift the power of narrative from institutions to those directly affected, enabling survivors to record truth, build evidence and advocate for accountability on their own terms.



Image 37: Nepal Police in riot formation behind barbed wire barricades in Kathmandu, 2016.

© Niranjan Shrestha



Image 38: Nepal Police officers using force to detain a protester during a demonstration in Kathmandu, 2016.

© Niranjan Shrestha



Image 39: People with disabilities in wheelchairs facing a police cordon during a demonstration in Kathmandu.

© Niranjan Shrestha



Image 40: A woman at a brick kiln in Nepal.

Nepal's brick sector employs an estimated 300,000 workers, the majority from marginalised and vulnerable communities, living and working at the kilns during the production season. Brick kiln workers are among the most marginalised of unskilled workers, often bonded by debt to labour brokers, with little government oversight or worker representation.

© Niranjan Shrestha



Image 41: Funeral rites performed in absentia for enforced disappearance victims, Bardiya.

The headline reads: "As truth and facts are delayed, the number of families performing last rites for their disappeared loved ones is growing." Across Nepal, families of the conflict disappeared performed funeral rites without bodies, as remains were never returned. Bardiya district recorded some of the highest numbers of enforced disappearances during the conflict.

© Conflict Victims Committee, Bardiya/ Man Bahadur Chaudhary



© Niranjan Shrestha

Image 42: Residents gather around a cracked road in Kathmandu in the immediate aftermath of the April 2015 earthquake.



© Center for Human Rights and Victims of Violations, Kathmandu University / Survivor's Record, Issue 2, August 2025

Image 43: Victim and survivor representatives outside the Supreme Court, Kathmandu, August 2025, after successfully filing a historic mass petition regarding Nepal's transitional justice process.

In August 2025, over a dozen representatives from the victim and survivor community filed a mass petition at the Supreme Court, carrying 334 signatures from victims and survivors across all seven provinces and 67 districts. The petition demanded a constitutional review of the TRC Act and the effective implementation of fundamental rights under the Constitution of Nepal. The registrar's office initially denied registration, and it took four days of repeated visits and an appeal before Justice Til Prasad Shrestha's bench overturned the decision and directed the court to register the petition.



© Center for Human Rights and Victims of Violations, Kathmandu University / Survivor's Record, Issue 5, November 2025

Image 44: Conflict victims and survivors holding a sit-in outside the Commission of Investigation on Enforced Disappeared Persons (CIEDP) in Kathmandu, 21 November 2025, on the 19th anniversary of the Comprehensive Peace Accord.

On 21 November 2025, victims and survivors held coordinated sit-ins outside the TRC and CIEDP offices in Kathmandu and across all seven provinces, demanding the resignation of the commissions' chairpersons and members. The protests marked 19 years since the signing of the CPA, with victims expressing frustration over unfulfilled promises, a non-transparent commissioner appointment process, and their continued exclusion from transitional justice proceedings.



Image 45 © Surendra Khatri / National Network of Disabled Conflict Victims (NNDVCV)

Images 45: A bullet-riddled electric pole from the Battle of Beni, first displayed at Dhokamia Café, Patan, and later returned to Beni, Myagdi, as a site of local commemoration.

The pole, marked with dozens of bullet holes from the CPN (Maoist) attack on Beni on 20-21 March 2004, was brought to Kathmandu and displayed at Dhokamia Café in Patan as an object of public memory. Through the efforts of victim advocates, it was subsequently returned to Beni, where it now stands at its original site alongside information boards documenting the Battle of Beni. The pole's journey from a café in the capital to its place of origin reflects the ongoing tension between private and public memorialisation, and the question of who holds the right to preserve and display the memory of conflict.



Image 46 © Bhim Bahadur Rijal, President, Conflict Victims Rights Forum, Myagdi

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© Ramesh Adhikari / Photo: COCOAP

Image 47: Citizens celebrating the declaration of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal, 2008.

On 28 May 2008, Nepal's Constituent Assembly formally abolished the monarchy and declared Nepal a Federal Democratic Republic. Citizens took to the streets to welcome the new republic, marking the end of a 240-year-old Shah dynasty.



© Kamala Panthi

Image 48: A flooded street in Kathmandu during the monsoon season.

Kathmandu's recurring urban floods are driven by both climate change and rapid unplanned urbanisation, which has led to the loss of natural water storage and encroachment on land near rivers. Built-up areas in the Kathmandu Valley increased by 386 percent between 1990 and 2020, disrupting natural drainage and overwhelming existing systems.



© Kamala Panthi

Image 49: Ganga Maya Adhikari in Cabin 12, Bir Hospital, Kathmandu, where she has remained for over a decade demanding justice for the murder of her son Krishna Prasad Adhikari.

Krishna Prasad Adhikari, 18, was abducted, tortured and murdered in June 2004 in Chitwan by Maoist insurgents who suspected him of being a spy. In 2013, his parents Nanda Prasad and Ganga Maya began an indefinite hunger strike to force the government to investigate their son's killers. After 333 days of fasting, Nanda Prasad died in Bir Hospital on 22 September 2014. Ganga Maya has since remained in the hospital, refusing to accept her husband's body from the mortuary or perform his final rites until the perpetrators are prosecuted. Successive governments have failed to deliver justice in the case.



© Kamala Panthi

Image 50: Parliament House, Kathmandu, 2015.

Nepal promulgated its new constitution on 20 September 2015. Madhesi and Tharu communities protested, arguing the constitution failed to address demands for proportional representation and equitable federal boundaries. At least 45 people were killed during the protests. No police officers have been held accountable.



© Prajwol Bickram Rana/ HRJC

Image 51: Public demonstration by conflict victims and civil society groups, Kathmandu, 29 July 2025.

Conflict victims and civil society groups demanded that the amendment to the Enforced Disappearances Enquiry, Truth and Reconciliation Commission Act comply with Supreme Court orders and international standards. When parliament passed the amendment in August 2024, victims and human rights organisations welcomed several progressive provisions but demanded revisions to flawed provisions. Their appeal went unheard.



© Conflict Victims Women Network (CVWN)

Image 52: Representatives of civil society organisations working on conflict-related sexual violence meet to establish the secretariat for Nepal's Second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (NAP II, 2022-2025), Kathmandu, 7 April 2023.

The meeting, convened by the Conflict Victims Women Network (CVWN), brought together civil society organisations working on conflict-related sexual violence to coordinate implementation of NAP II. Nepal's National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security provide a framework for addressing the needs of women affected by conflict, including survivors of sexual violence seeking truth, reparations and accountability.



© Brihat Nagarik Andolan

Image 53: Youth protesters raising fists at a demonstration against caste-based discrimination organised by Brihat Nagarik Andolan, Kathmandu, 25 May 2023.

On 25 May 2023, youth gathered in Kathmandu under the Brihat Nagarik Andolan to protest caste-based discrimination. The demonstration reflects the continued demand for enforcement of anti-discrimination laws in Nepal, where caste-based violence and exclusion remain widespread despite being constitutionally prohibited.



© Uddhav Rasaili / National Memory Conference

Image 54: Panelists at the First National Memory Conference, Lalitpur, 30 November 2023, during the session on the agenda of women victims and survivors of conflict-related sexual violence in memory work.

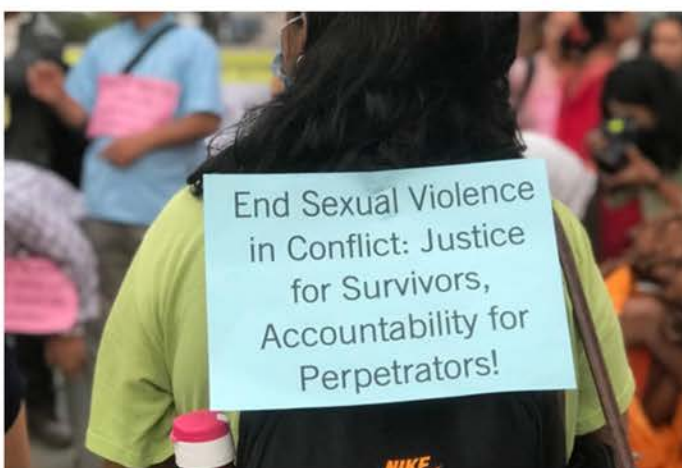
The First National Memory Conference, held on 29-30 November 2023 in Lalitpur, brought together victims, survivors, civil society organisations and advocates to address Nepal's unfinished transitional justice process. The second day's session on conflict-related sexual violence focused on the experiences of women survivors and their demands for recognition, reparations and accountability within Nepal's memory and justice frameworks.



© Salina Kafle / Human Rights and Justice Centre (HRJC)

Image 55: The Disappeared Fighters Memorial Museum at Kumbhar Adda Memorial Park, Bardiya, 27 February 2024.

Located in Bardiya district, the Kumbhar Adda Memorial Park is a victim-led national memorial honouring those forcibly disappeared during Nepal's 1996-2006 armed conflict. Built and maintained by families, community organisations and artists, the site serves as a space for gathering, testimony and remembrance. It functions as a central hub for district-wide and nationwide memorial initiatives, and stands as one of the few community-built sites of memory for conflict victims in Nepal.



© Ojaswi K.C. / Human Rights and Justice Centre (HRJC)

Image 56: A protester's bag bearing the message "End Sexual Violence in Conflict: Justice for Survivors, Accountability for Perpetrators!" at a demonstration marking the International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in Conflict, Kathmandu, 19 June 2024.



© Niranjan Kumar Chaudhary

Image 57: The memorial structure at Kumbhar Adda Memorial Park, Bardiya, 27 February 2024, under construction.

The memorial features twelve concrete pillars, one for each month of the year, on which the names of those forcibly disappeared during Nepal's armed conflict will be inscribed. At the time this image was taken, the project remained incomplete, reflecting the broader unfinished nature of Nepal's transitional justice process.



© Kaushal Sapkota

Image 58: Women in mourning following the loss of relatives in the 2015 earthquake, Sindhupalchok district.

Sindhupalchok recorded the highest death toll of any district in the April 2015 earthquake. Women, many of them newly widowed, faced the immediate loss of shelter, livelihood and family members simultaneously, with limited access to relief in remote hillside communities.



© Aakankshya GC

Image 59: A woman in a Musahar settlement, Rautahat, 2021.

TIER 3

Memory of Inheritance

8-9 September 2025

A generation that had never protested took to the streets carrying a democratic right they believed was theirs after.



© Skanda Gautam / Center for Human Rights and Victims of Violations, Kathmandu University / Survivor's Record, Issue 3, September 2025

Image 61: Nepal's Federal Parliament building in Singha Durbar, Kathmandu, on fire on 9 September 2025, as seen from above.

On 9 September 2025, protesters set fire to Nepal's Federal Parliament building in Singha Durbar, which housed both the Upper and Lower Houses of parliament. The fire followed days of mass protests against the government's ban on social media platforms and demands for democratic accountability. Security forces used live ammunition against protesters during the demonstrations.



© Skanda Gautam / Center for Human Rights and Victims of Violations, Kathmandu University / Survivor's Record, Issue 3, September 2025

Image 62: The Supreme Court building and burnt vehicles in its compound, Kathmandu, following the protests of 9 September 2025.

The Supreme Court building and vehicles in its compound were set on fire during the protests of 8-9 September 2025.



© Manju Bajracharya Von Rospatt

Image 63: A candlelight vigil in Kathmandu on 14 September 2025, held in memory of those killed during the protests of 8-9 September 2025.

At least 77 people were killed during the anti-corruption youth uprising of 8-9 September 2025, which began over a government ban on social media but reflected longstanding public frustration over economic hardship and corruption. No one has been convicted for the deaths.



© Manju Bajracharya Von Rospatt

Image 64: Graffiti reading "Save Constitution" on the wall outside the former Parliament building, New Baneshwor, Kathmandu, 13 September 2025.

The graffiti appeared on the wall of the former Parliament building days after the protests of 8-9 September 2025, during which the building was set on fire. In the political uncertainty that followed, debates emerged about whether Nepal's 2015 Constitution should be amended or preserved, with different factions taking opposing positions.



© Manju Bajracharya Von Rospatt

Image 65: Graffiti on the Jamal Sky Bridge wall reading "Change does not come through silence", Kathmandu, 13 September 2025.



© Sejal Basnet (personal collection)

Image 66: A digital poster circulated during the September 2025 protests demanding a public appearance by Nepal's President, with the hashtags #MakeThePresidentPublic and #राष्ट्रपतिलाई सार्वजनिक गर।

As the Army Chief addressed the nation in place of the head of state, people across Nepal began asking, "Where is our President?", demanding that President Ram Chandra Paudel appear publicly and speak directly to citizens. The poster reflects public frustration that the Army was leading negotiations while the constitutional head of state remained out of public view.



© Mahabhat / Center for Human Rights and Victims of Violations, Kathmandu University / Survivor's Record, Issue 3, September 2025

Image 67: Singha Durbar, the central administrative complex of Nepal's government, on fire on 9 September 2025.

On 9 September 2025, protesters set fire to Singha Durbar, which houses the Prime Minister's office and key government ministries. The building had stood as the seat of Nepal's central administration since 1908.



© Pratima Chhetri

Image 68: Nepal Army personnel deployed at Tribhuvan International Airport, Kathmandu, during the September 2025 protests.

Following the protests of 8-9 September 2025, the Nepal Army was deployed at Tribhuvan International Airport to maintain security and order.



© Deepika Saru Magar

Image 69: Protester holding a placard, Kathmandu, 8 September 2025.

On 8 and 9 September 2025, protesters took to the streets across Nepal demanding government accountability. Demonstrators were met with live ammunition. The government has not accounted for the use of lethal force against protesters.



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Image 70: Mass protest at New Baneshwor, Kathmandu, 9 September 2025.

On 9 September 2025, tens of thousands gathered in Kathmandu to protest corruption and a government-imposed social media ban. Demonstrators were met with live ammunition. The government has not accounted for the use of lethal force against protesters.



© Kamala Panthi

Image 71: Mainstream media targeted, Kantipur Publications office, Kathmandu, 9 September 2025.

During the September 2025 protests, mobs targeted several mainstream media houses, accusing them of failing to reflect public grievances against the political establishment. Multiple newsrooms across the country were vandalized or set on fire. Journalists were chased and equipment seized.



© Roshan Maharjan

Image 72: Smoke over Kathmandu, 9 September 2025.

On 9 September 2025, public institutions were set on fire as protests escalated across Kathmandu.



© Roshan Maharjan

Image 73: Bhatbhateni Supermarket, Kathmandu, September 2025.

Multiple branches of Bhatbhateni, one of Nepal's largest retail chains, were vandalized, looted and set on fire during the September 2025 protests. The owner's alleged ties to the ruling UML party made the chain a target.



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Image 74: Fires across Kathmandu, 9 September 2025.

Smoke rises from multiple locations across Kathmandu as fires burned through the city on 9 September 2025. Streets were empty as the protests escalated.



© Prajwol Bickram Rana

Image 75: Young people gather outside old Parliament building, Kathmandu, 26 March 2026.

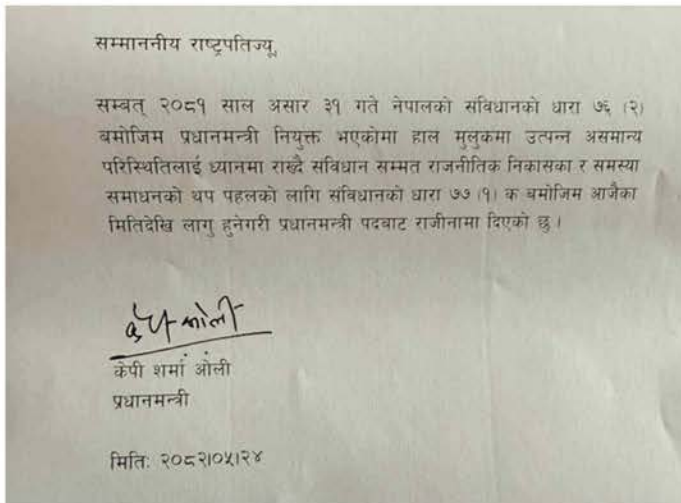
On the day new Members of Parliament were sworn in, young people gathered outside the old Parliament building with paintings, placards and photographs to remind incoming legislators that the September 2025 protests had brought them to power.



© Prajwol Bickram Rana

Image 76: Demand for the release of the Karki Commission report, Maitighar, Kathmandu, 22 March 2026.

The Karki Commission, formed to investigate the events of 8 and 9 September 2025, submitted its 900-page report to the government on 8 March 2026. Young people demonstrated demanding its full public release. The report has been leaked.



© Republica

Image 77: Resignation letter of Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli, 9 September 2025.

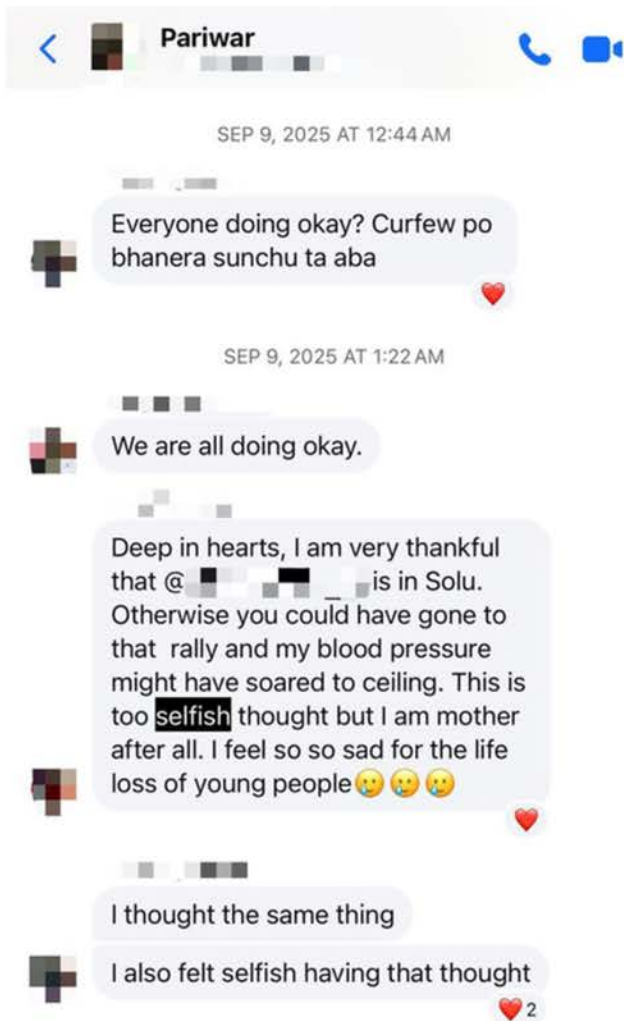
On 9 September 2025, Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli submitted his resignation to President Ramchandra Paudel.



© Roshan Maharjan

Image 78: CPN-UML party office burned, Chyasal, Lalitpur, 9 September 2025.

On 9 September 2025, protesters set fire to political party offices across the country. The headquarters of the UML and Nepali Congress were among those vandalized and burned.



© Chhime Sherpa

Image 79 : Family conversation on Facebook Messenger, 9 September 2025.

At 1:22 AM on 9 September 2025, a family checked in on each other as curfew was announced across Kathmandu. One member wrote: "Deep in hearts, I am very thankful... Otherwise you could have gone to that rally and my blood pressure might have soared to ceiling. This is too selfish thought but I am mother after all. I feel so so sad for the life loss of young people." Others replied that they had felt the same.



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Image 80: Funeral procession of protesters killed during the September 2025 uprising, Kathmandu.

At least 76 people were killed during the protests of 8 and 9 September 2025. This photograph is from a book produced by 28 Gen Z photographers through an open call in the weeks following the protests. The proceeds of the book went to the family of Prakash Bahadur Bohara, injured during the protests.



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Image 81: Looting during the protests, Kathmandu, 9 September 2025.

Widespread looting and vandalism accompanied the protests of 9 September 2025 as demonstrations escalated across the city.



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Image 82: Child in looted police uniform, Kathmandu, 9 September 2025.

During the protests of 9 September 2025, police weapons, ammunition and uniforms were looted. Children and young people were among those present as protests escalated across the city.

TIER 4

Memory of Us

A living archive

What do you carry?

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