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## Federalism and Dalit Rights



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## Foreword

Dissolution of Constituent Assembly I led Nepali people, eagerly waiting for People's Constitution, into bewilderment. The progressive rights agreed upon to ensure with regard to Dalits and women by the First Constituent Assembly were historic. Safeguarding them is the major challenge at present. There is reduction of Dalit representation after the formation of Constituent Assembly II and the political parties also appeared to get inclined into retrogression. That is why conscious Dalit community is apprehensive if Dalit friendly constitution would be formed.

This publication is the outcome of the conclusions of one of the consultations conducted in series by SAMATA foundation and Samabeshi foundation. The objectives of the consultation was to inform about the demands with regard to entitlements and rights of Dalits in the Constitution making process from Dalit CA members and non-Dalit CA members dedicated for Dalit rights in Constituent Assembly II.

In the consultation, Paper was presented by Advocate Parshuram Ghimire. Mr. Ganesh Bishwokarma; the chairperson of RDN and general secretary of Mukti Samaj and former CA member Mr. Tilak Pariyar commented on this paper. Along with, many other activists expressed their views. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all on behalf of SAMATA foundation and Samabeshi foundation. Last but not the least, I thank Ms. Dikshya Singh Rathour for her support provided on the language translation.

#### **Padam Sundas**

Chairperson, SAMATA foundation

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1.

## Background

In the context of Nepal, federal state neither is a new concept nor is the practice of autonomy a unique subject. Around 25-26 hundred years ago the concept of federal state was used in Terai region of Nepal. There was a practice of monarchial autonomy from Licchhavi to Malla dynasty. There were 22-24 and small principal states as well. From 2007 onwards Congress-Communist, Madhesi, Indigenous ethnic groups were demanding federal state. Federalism was then officially declared on January 15, 2007 by the Interim Legislature Parliament under the pressure of Madhesi movements. Second People's Movement (SPM), Janaandolan II and 12 points agreement, comprehensive peace agreement, Interim Constitution 2063, announcement of reintegrated representative assembly, Madhesi movement along with other parties or agreement of government with community and interim constitution amendment has come to this current situation.

2.

## International Practice

So we will be discussing approximately about two and half dozen experiences of countries in this regard. It doesn't mean that these countries are fully federal or successful. Switzerland in 1848 entered into federal conduct. These different different independent states seem to be entered into federation model. Behind these, salvation from long colonial rule was the main pillar of freedom.

India 1947, Pakistan 1947, Germany 1949, Austria 1945, Soviet Union 1922 along with current Russia 1991, Malaysia 1948, Singapore 1965 got separated and became a federal state. South Africa and ethopia became federal after movement against colonial rule. In addition to it, Nigeria 1999, Spain 1978, Belgium 1993, Canada 1867, Yugoslavia 1945, Czechoslovak 1967, Serbia 2007 also became a federal state. From Sudan 1991 till 1994, it was regionally divided into 26 federal states which are currently different countries. Ethiopia is also a country similar to Nepal, which in 1995 got divided into 9 caste states and 2 regional administrations. That's why it is not necessary that federalism is the only solution to every problems (Ghimire, 2064). It depends upon political parties or leadership quality. In many countries of the world it has become a huge failure.

The isolation among the countries is the distinct reasons behind the failure of the Federal Union's structure. United Province of Central America know as Costa Rica today, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Salvador were the 5 nations, collectively known as Central American Federation. After the salvation from Spain's authority in 1921, somewhat liberal Federal Nation was created in 1925 but the attempt was failed time and again which lead to division as separate countries.

The Confederacy Convention of 1861 decided to establish a new Union state in protest of then President Abraham Lincoln's action of abolishing slavery; however, it was dissolved within 4 years in 1865. The French West Africa Federation of 1904 was dishanded in 1959 The Federation of Malay States established in 1895, only lasted until 1946 and came into the being different Federates. Correspondingly, in 1946 it became Malayan Union and in 1948 became Federation of Malay. The Federation ended in 1963 and Singapore was separated in 1965. Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed in 1953 and dismantled in 1963. West Indies Federation was established in 1958 and ended on 1962. Mali Federation initiated in 1959 and terminated on 1960. Federation of Arab Republic – Syria, Egypt, and Libya ended in 1969. Federation of South Arabia convened in 1963 till 1967 Aden, South Yemen separated in 1990. Imperial Federation- Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Fiji and West Indies parted in 1896. Federal Republic of Cameron started union in 1961 and was deformed in 1972.

Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth was established in 1569 and ended on 1795. Rhodesia and Nyasaland was also known as South African Federation. To dismantle this union there was huge protest in Southern Rhodesia region in 1962. The outcome of that protest resulted in separate independent states of South Rhodesia, Zambia, Nyasaland and Malawi. The former Soviet Union was established in 1922 and was

deformed in 1991 with 15 different independent states coming out of the Socialist Republic. Chechnya is still fighting for independence from Russia till date. Yugoslavia was divided into further independent states with Serbia and Montenegro being the latest to do so. Czechoslovakia was separated in 1969 and again in 1993 was separated into Czech Republic and Republic of Slovakia.

Nepal constitutionally is in the process of building as a federal state. In United Nation Organization, Nepal along with 192 countries among which 28 countries is trying to approve federalism (Anderson 2064). Those all countries don't have equal value of federalism. It's impossible to implement the same kind of federalism practice. Different states or republic form a common wealth relying on the agreement of United States of America and Swiss Federation which is commonly called "federation or united federation".

With the centralized and united statehood of the past, there was discrimination and disparity on the basis of language, region, race and religion, thus to confront these discrepancy of struggle and division; Canada, Spain and Belgium adopted the federation against discriminatory policies. To address the framework of separation on the basis of race, language and society there are provisions bestowed upon the sovereign state, but with the recent Ukrainian independence referendum, there are no agenda to form a separate independent state. In order to address the challenges of centralized and unitary governmental systems, federal republics like from Switzerland to Russia are formed in different shapes and sizes. Argentina, Australia, Austria, Papua New Guinea, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Canada, Comoros, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Malaysia, United Arab Emirates, United States of America, Venezuala, Mexico, Micronesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Africa, Spain, Saint Kitas and Novice, Sudan and Iraq are there

Though Federalism is accepted in any situation or methods but in this world the federalism is implemented as a concentration and distribution of power, balance and control, social-cultural inclusiveness, clear regular bargaining are in much highlights. Conducting federalism is easy but implementing it practically is not an easy task. After the failure of Federal rule system again unitary ruling system was back in the countries like Czechokslavia, Yugoslavia, Cameron and Yuganda. Even though Czeckoslavia, Yugoslavia and Sudan got separated but the problem isn't solved yet. In Nigeria, at first, the province number was 3 which later reached 32 racial provinces and still is in demand. Former Soviet Union and America is not made up of various independent kingdom mutual agreements. After return of India English ruler, federal state was created on the basis of community, cultural, language and geography.

## Reconstruction of the State and Political Power Division as Proposed by Federation

According to the Constitution Assembly, for the reconstruction of the state and to decentralize the political powers within a unified Nepal, 14 self-governed provinces with special framework and a localized system of division. For the Federalism, identity is the primary basis and ability is the secondary priority. For the identity foundation racial, communal, linguistic, traditional, geographical and regional basis are laid out along with historical continuity. For the ability groundwork, financial interconnection and infrastructure development and possibilities, availability of natural resources and administrative fluency are to be considered. Based on the unified racial identity, 9 provinces (Limbuwan, Kirat, Tamsaling, Newa, Tamuwan, Magarat, Tharuwan, Sherpa and Jadan); Regional identity 2 provinces (Madesh and Karnali) and Potential based 3 provinces (Sunkoshi, Narayani and Khaptad) has been proposed. According to the predominantly unified racial identity the provinces will be partitioned and no single community will be given monopoly. In state, access to marginalized and excluded community representation and identifying and for ensuring the kind of inclusiveness, according to the demarcation done by committee, Dalit and Muslim communities' regional possibilities doesn't seem to be possible.

Similarly, special structure under autonomous region, protected region and special region within the province that is different from local kind of department structure system is there. Within province if there is majority of any one racial or linguistic community or intensive presence then that region is called an autonomous region, where there is minority group of caste-community, culture, conservation of endangered and marginalized group and promotion of protected region, where these two regions couldn't summed up financially and to develop socially backward region and to maintain geographic region as a special region, within indigenous ethnic community in the name of 22 groups autonomous region is proposed. Autonomous region is for minority indigenous ethnic as well as for minority racial groups. But still it's not clearly stated for whom is the protected and special region for? There is no any specific special region for dalits where dalit can expose their traditional skills, and modernized their business skills. But for those dalits who are outside the special region additional discrimination and injustice base cannot be made but special attention is required. Under local bodies, village development and municipality should stay, to build local bodies province government should build high level commission, administrative compatibility, population density, transportation facility, natural resources and unavailability of transportation and culture of residents of related region along with focus on community aspect. But similarly, province government building local bodies on the basis of law along with those who did not receive autonomous region is very low minority indigenous ethnic, dalit and local bodies for other community is not cleared.

The federalism model proposed by committee features mainly: indigenous ethnics, Madhesi community and hilly-Brahmins. No structure is proposed considering dalit and Muslim committee.

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Though, this committee's report have proposed federalism for dalit committee, representative for province and local state structure and federal and in province state political structure, proportional additional rights is proposed but the most important is they are focusing on local government which can benefit Dalits.

4.

# Foundation and composition of proposed federalism by High-level Proposal Commission

The report of 11 dalits regional layout including 10 geographical and 1 Non-geographical by the majority members of State reconstruction High-Level proposal Commission, like State construction, Federation, region, Highlighted constructions and Local level of Constitutional Assembly's State reconstruction and division committee will be managed whereas District and Municipal regions including establishment of local system will be made definite. Among the foundations of regional establishment - recognition and strength are in use. Recognition termed as the primary foundation includes ethnic, tribal, lingual, cultural, geographical and regional continuity. The basis of strength includes economic inter-relation and authority, the condition and feasibility of prebasic development, natural medium and origin's availability and administrative facility made as pillar of proposal for the creation of the form of unified states of Nepal and re-construction of 10 geographical and 1 non-geographical regions. On the basis of solo ethnic recognition, 7 regions (Limbuwan, Kirant, Tamsaling, Newa, Tamuwan, Magaraat, Baaruwan); (Madhes - Mithila - Bhojpuri) regions on the basis of regional and lingual recognition and (Karnali - Khaptad – Narayani) regions on the basis of strength or nonrecognition are the proposed names put forward.

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The institute went a step further in designing the division of distribution of power and proposed a non-geographical Dalit region. The region planned by the commission inclusive of 13% of the population not within the authority was under suggested region. The commission has upheld the reconstruction planned by the constitution assembly under the commission of the 22 self-governed regions. Dividing the Sherpa, Jadan and Sunkoshi into part of other regions and joining Karnali and Khaptad together in order the decrease the number of the regions. Furthermore, the commission has a strong belief of proportionate representative in different sectors of the society with particular highlight in education, health and employment.

Despite the doubts of non-geographic Dalit region, the commission has been open to suggestive towards the reconstruction. In the context of the proposed, 'Non-geographical region will be under the law of the land.' Due to this, it is unclear whether it will attract other regions, local governance body, and formation of self-governed region, reconstruction, voting, and working order. States, special construction region and regional working order to be within the constitution and rights are to be endowed upon the constitution; are cases of doubt in itself

## Case of Dalit community in federalism

#### 5.1 The case of separate geographical region for Dalit

There is an argument about the separate geographical region for Dalit. Some claim there is no legal basis for the claim of separate geographical region and also it is not practical enough given its functionality might get altered. Some have proposed- Sahales Pradesh, Sarwejit Pradesh and Bhul Pradesh. Along with these, there are some other proposition of two Sahales Pradesh and Khaptad-Dravid self-governed region. With the ongoing discussion of naming the region on the basis of racial identity, it is notable to have it named after distinct person or less privileged community. It is believed that it will be easier to intermingle for Dalit only within the geographical Dalit region. However, it is beyond probability in Nepal to have geographically claimed region for Dalit in Nepal. It will make the case of discrimination even widespread in that special region and it will be better to focus more on the equal rights for Dalits all over the country.

There is not only possibility of getting states by community suffered from untouchability and discrimination, solution to all problems related to dalit and dalit states but federalism could give a possibility to examples of province. But overall, province according to dalit identity seems insecure and extinguishable in case of principle and impractical sense. In other sense, it's not wrong to ask for different province like Sun-Koshi, Narayani, Karnali and Khaptad region where there is majority of Dalit community.

#### 5.2 Debate of non-geographic province for Dalit

The development of the concept of non-geographic system in case of federalism was established to address the problems of ethnically, linguistically, culturally widespread minority group. In the early 20th century Karl Ratner of Austria led the concept of non-geographic federalism by addressing national diversity whose aim was to turn various indigenous groups into an autonomous state and to build cultural and educational policy (Nitsen 2004). Such Concept has been applied by three non-geographic community or cultural community and different cultural province of Belgium. As like, the 'Sami' community of Finland, Sweden and Norway has different inter-nationalistic parliament. Besides that, the concept of non-geographic federalism can also be found in Eastern Europe, Canada, Australia, New-Zealand and USA. So called cultural province, these structures are given rights regarding language, religion, education, library, museum, arts, sports, youth and tourism (Kobeli 1994, Michaeil Breen 2010).

All these non-geographic and similar like made structures are all indigenous linguistic and cultural group. But, Nepal's Dalit community is not only linguistic and cultural community and this community main aim is not only the development and conservation of religion, culture and script is not done. For non-geographical identity, strength will be subdivided and rights provided according to cultural, lingual and various other uncountable groups and tribes (Mcagre and Moore 2010, Page 76). Thus, non-geographical composition will not be the best option for the dalit community. Dalit obstacles can be seen everywhere more at the grassroots level than the higher levels. Working from higher

to grassroots level will not make any difference as it will only allocate the surface composition. The root cause of genuine infinite problems of Dalit community will not be solved. Honestly, non-geographical states were not rendered for the good of Dalit community. Principally, it has been demonstrated for the fulfillment of some different endeavor which in favor of Nepali Dalits to regulate as it is not practically possible.

To what extent Dalit should be supplemented with rights, elective power and economic source than the state is an important thing. The rights provided by Non-geographical composition to Dalit community are Assembly surrogating, Sports organization by collecting funds from the state, Dalit Literature and Cultural Enterprises operation, Training and Forum Organization only, besides that required rights for political, judicial, defense, economic and development for Dalit Community's overall development will not be available. The case related to Dalit community as to be able to use the right of elective power will be Elective Constitutional Organization is the prime reason why Non-geographical States should be protested. There seems to be no possibilities for a geographical state for Dalit Community or the ones who think it should not be accredited for them have put forward a comment especially to India's Federation that they have not solved the problem of Dalit discrimination and untouchable customs.

In Nepal, non-geographical methodology is being seen as the option for geographical federation. Lately for state reformation suggestion, High Level Commission too has proposed for non-geographical states. The Commission has gone one step ahead of the committee regarding the non-geographical states proposal. But, having said that with more argument, capability and adequate time than the committee, the 427 councilors out of 428 in the recent Constitutional Assembly voted for the opposition instead for non-geographical states shows unscientific, impractical and irrational thought process of the Commission. At

national level, there is no separate geography for Dalit therefore on the basis of National Political rationale to make Dalit's reach possible Non-geographical Federal Leadership Conduct is not necessary. At National Assembly, Non-geographical Federal Composition for Dalit Surrogate is not essential.

Since dalits don't have their ancestral or historic land they are spreaded all over the country and geographic province is not possible and if non-geographic dalit province is made it would be very beneficiary. Dalit elected from both province and central assembly proposed separate non-geographic province because of which it will be difficult for dalit member to describe their roles and responsibilities. Electing dalit parliament executive it will identify solutions to the problems of dalit like discrimination and untouchability and without harming anyone it can save other expenses but it's not necessary that province or parliament is needed. In support of dalit community, programmes like skill development, empowerment, community operation and inclusiveness development programme should be conducted where non-geographic federalism is not logical. At first even though some dalits were in support of geographic province but when there is no area where majority of dalits is seen and where there is no situation where geographic province can be made and for dalits non-geographic province is proposed. If there is non-geographic province in province assembly and federal state then dalits can be easily represented, but in national assembly, from province representative dalit and Muslim committee are elected. That's why non-geographic mechanism should not be made where they should be different from non-dalits or where non-dalits should not take responsibility of dalits. If it goes in the same way then the process will further overstressed.

## 5.3 Discussion regarding local bodies

Federal, province and local level bodies, proportional representative of dalit committee at level and area and privileged group in those bodies finds a solution to Dalit representative's questions. From these, practice of participation of Dalit committee, cooperation and reshape can be found at rule and public service. But for dalit committee different geographic province or non-geographic structure cannot be made or in not making cases, dalits can arise question to federalism saying that in which place can dalit rule? However, for dalit committee, self-government is not necessary for language, culture conservation and upliftment. But for dalits geographic self-government is necessary which is used by each and every province and local bodies,

While restructuring local bodies (district/village/municipality) on the basis of these signals like canal, furrows, transportation, path, pilli, tree, fountains etc boundaries of local bodies and arrangements are done. Now restructuring these and taking caste, nations, committee, language, religion, culture etc into consideration as boundaries and arrangements, local bodies can be made representing Dalit along with minority groups. Because even though dalits are not at province level, the majority of dalits are found in central and far western region of Nepal. Dalits majority are seen in high number in eastern terai (from jhapa to parsa) more than Yadav group (Sharma, 2008).

Inside autonomous province or area, there is wealthy language or racial committee where another form of autonomous municipality based on majority can be seen in many places of Nepal. At the VDC level, there is a majority of tight irrespective of dalits in 12 villages of Nepal and they stand in number one position in 287 villages. Similarly, minority under 4 of Chepang, 3 of Thami, Chantyal and 2-2 of Sunwar there is irrespective tight majority. There is irrespective majority of Muslim community in the 36 VDC's of Nepal. In this way Brahmin will also gets benefitted towards autonomous policy. Because, there are no any province where there is majority of Brahmins but in 102 VDC's we can find irrespective majority of Brahmins which will be benefitted to other

communities as well. Keeping in mind, there are 387 VDC's with the majority of chettriya in it (Sharma 2008).

Looking Dalits residential density atleast 2 autonomous state can be made which can be useful. Khaptad or Karnali, one can be made as Dalit majority province whereas the other place and the places like Siraha, Saptari, Dhanusha, Mahottari in Terai can be made as ...area. Dalit community which is facing issues like caste division, untouchability should be rooted out from the society and they should have privileged to live a dignified life which is one of the major aspects of human rights. But though province has been made in some places of Nepal but the problems of Dalits especially untouchability, discrimination and oppression doesn't come to the end which is related to harassment and abolishment of it, geographical infrastructures and human development along with intermingling based upon communal identity; a geographical unit is necessity. Regardless of having one or two states dedicated to such issues, it does not certainly aid in abolishment of untouchability and atrocity. A self-governed state with majority in context of execution should be given to Dalits. According to Human Development Index; minority people, less privileged class, close to extinct groups, and Dalits should be given rights to operate communal governance, with decentralized powers of political should be given to residents of those areas. The unity, sovereignty and indivisible of the state lies as the foundation for these provisions.

Not to give any particular community the total authority in both local and regional governance, and for the empowerment of Dalits, there should be facility of exercising these rights in the constitution. Local system can applicate the rights as stated by the constitution in accordance. While using those rights, eradication of untouchability, punishing the offenders, justice to the victim and aiding to the human development can be done with giving exclusive rights to Dalits in those majority regions. The thing that needs to be clarified it should

not personify any specific individual or community, that will lead to further damaging of calling for a separate region for Dalits.

#### 5.4 Forms of Governance

Executive President: President should hold the power of execution, be directly elected, appoint the ministers of council and be the sole authority for these purposes. This was exercised over 200 years in the United States. Executive presidency maintains balance of power and control within the land. All three powers of the government will remain independent of each other. It will divide the workload within three powers and stops from misuse of authority from three branches of government. The direct election of President places more responsibility within the voters. It functions for the solidarity of the nation, different groups of people, languages, and differences will be channeled into positive actions. The probability of getting Dalits, women and less populated community of being elected as President remain reduced in Nepal. Countries like Nepal, it is difficult to get statutory executive authority, balancing the branches, and harmonizing those branches at the central government is limited.

In the Parliamentary system of Britain, the Prime Minister acts as the head of government and the head of council of ministers. Voting decides the members of parliament and thus chooses the Prime Minister. Every parties are represented in the legislative and the executive branches of the government and the primary focus remains instated upon this tradition of parliamentary system. It is common practice to associate political parties with the appointment of members of the parliament. To overcome the deeply differentiated political ideology representative and stable governance is essential. Rather than calling for election within a given time frame, disposing the Prime Minister at any time with unanimous agreement is significant concern. This enables the transparency of governance and better rights to be given to Dalits, women, scheduled tribe and other parties involved.

Mixed Political System with both President and Prime Minister: President is to be elected directly by the people and council of ministers is to be chosen by the parliament. In many nations, Prime Minister and council of ministers are chosen entirely outside of the parliament. It is common in former Soviet states. In the mixed system, it possesses both advantages of Presidential and Parliamentary governance. In order to make any changes, both the President and Prime Minister have to agree upon, making it positive enough. Democratic nation France started in 1958 to elect direct President and Prime Minister from the parliament. In Portugal, Poland and Sri Lanka it is at more influential state. Prime Minister is to be directly elected with executive power bestowed between executive President and parliamentary system is not a total mixed system but rather a mixture of both Presidential and Parliamentary system.

Communal Partnership or Multi Executive System: There are rarely any states conducting the majority based system. When there more tribal groups with less privilege, this system tends to be beneficial. The power of execution is not limited to President or Prime Ministers but to the communal partnership with chances of equal representation. Competing with proportionate representation are chosen for the execution powers. In Switzerland, there are 7 people who the ministers endow as the President for executive role. This is called the accord conduct of governance. In Nepal, Dalits and people of Muslim community there can be representative based upon the region and those who do not have representative region can be represented within the accord conduct.

# 5.5 National Assembly or Upper House, Regional and Administration

In the state based conducts, the upper house can be seen as the partnership of regional powers, and have vital prominence. To

implement the organizing committee there are no uniformity in different countries. There are both patterns of both equal and unequal distribution. In Spain, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, etc countries, representative are based on racial and linguistic committee. There is no equal distribution of rights and power in all countries. It is managed as such that the leadership will be on the basis of caste and language. The territory area of each state is not defined equally. In context of Nepal, the Dalits can be given representation ensuring major priority in the upper house, Dalit parliament, province parliament and local union.

#### 5.6 Representation (Election) System

Observing the election system im practice, in 211 nations worldwide, the proportionate method is perceived as the standard basis of classification. The proportion in between the number of votes and the respective place determines whether the election system resulted in majority votes, inter-proportionate and proportionate system. In favor of system and majority system, there are various system like, the first elected system, lump of block votes system means multi area system, lump of party block votes system, optional votes system, 2 cycle or race system and complementary votes system (Ghimire, 2064).

Semi proportionate voting system can be of two types, single vote-based and progression vote-based. In the proportionate arrangement, political parties can proceed with proportionate plan, mixed member plan and single member plan. In the new constitution of Nepal, the primary focus is on the party-based voting system followed by communal-based system, listed proportion-based, mixed member proportion based are to be considered. In Nepal, the multi-party proportionate system is prevalent and it can be beneficial for Dalits, women, scheduled cast and other less privileged groups. While deciding on the candidates for election, a proportional arrangement from every community can be chosen, because of the nature of proportionate voting; the probability

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of such candidates winning the election are relatively high. Candidates of multi-member regional system are usually considered to be in larger number and are basically communally chosen. In conclusion, full proportionate system with some more rights to Dalits are much beneficial.

## Strategy of Dalit Committee

- It is favourable for Dalit community who are victims of inequality
  to be allocated geographical and non-geographical regions. It is
  not possible for all scheduled cast to have protected, self-governed
  and special area arrangements. Self-governed Dalit area will be
  focused upon the cultural protection therefore it does not solve the
  problems in its entirety.
- 2. State, region and local government would distribute rights in accordance and implement compulsory proportionate representation with additional rights.
- Increase the ability for Dalit to benefit from the legislative, judiciary and executive branch of government in state, region and local stages. This will enable to have important seats in the government and also in legal framework.
- 4. Special rights and proportionate representation in all three branches of power would benefit Dalits with minimum 10% representation in the regional level. However, those who are employed by the government in the field of education, health and services along with people with foreign citizenship or who will get foreign citizenship are to be excluded on the priority basis.

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5. Compulsory education for Dalits, facilities in health and other opportunities, distributing card where additional facilities can be provided, modernizing traditional knowledge, skills and business (gold, brass, metal, tailoring and wood)of dalit community, providing rights and paying royalty while dealing professionally, in local government giving spouse dalits while doing any profession, in province providing half and more than 25 percent grant to union and help them, there while doing business except dalit committee, other communities should pay royalty in percent ratio.