



Constitution Building e-Bulletin

A quick and easy way to update yourself on the latest CCD news.

Dear friends,

Please find below the **Constitution Building e-Bulletin, Volume 1, No. 5, 2010**. It contains information and resources of interest and relevance to those working in the field of Constitution Building in Nepal, as well as other citizens who are interested in keeping up to date on the fast-moving events in Nepal's progress toward a new constitution. The update is developed in conjunction with partners, including the Constituent Assembly (CA), the UN, donors, media, CSOs, INGOs and others. This information will also be posted on the CCD web site for easy access (<http://www.ccd.org.np>). We encourage you to share any helpful resources and information with the CCD media team for inclusion in future updates and on the website. Please forward your information with necessary attachments and web links to info@ccd.org.np. We hope that you will find this e-Bulletin interesting and helpful.

Sincerely,

Centre for Constitutional Dialogue (CCD)

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What's Happening at the Constituent Assembly (CA)

1. After the extension of the CA mandate by one year, the CA on 18 July adopted a new timetable for its workplan, however, without specifying target dates beyond the completion of the draft Constitution. The new calendar foresees that the remaining Thematic Committee reports will be submitted to the Constitutional Committee by 17 October, which will then finalize the first draft by 16 November. The 17 subsequent procedural stages of the constitution writing process will

be completed within the timeframe as determined by the Business Advisory Committee. An informal agreement between the major parties aims to complete the process by 13 April 2011.

2. Despite the adoption of the new workplan, the drafting process, as well as the related establishment of a State Restructuring Commission (SRC), have not advanced in recent weeks. Most attribute this lack of activity to attempts to form a new government which continues to overshadow the constitution building process. On 15 July, the three major parties, UCPN/M, NC and UML had reached an agreement regarding the formation of a SRC. The interparty agreement foresaw the selection of a maximum of 7 experts as members by the new prime minister. The parties agreed not to appoint any political leaders, and that the Commission would be given a two-month tenure beginning on 31 July. Given the uncertainty over the election of the new Prime Minister, and the opposition expressed by Madheshi parties and others against such a Commission, the establishment of the SRC and the related agreements remains uncertain.
3. After four rounds of voting, the Legislature-Parliament has still not been able to elect a new Prime Minister as none of the candidates were able to garner majority support. The leaders of UCPN/M, Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda) and of the NC, Ram Chandra Poudel, are the only official candidates for the post, after the UML withdrew the candidacy of its leader Jhala Nath Khanal shortly before voting began. Two other major voting blocs CPN-UML and United Democratic Madheshi Front (UDMF) - Samyukta Loktantrik Madhesi Morcha (SLMM) — abstained for the fourth time. The winning candidate has to secure a majority of votes of those present in parliament. The next round of the election has been scheduled for 18 August.
4. On 4 August, a Supreme Court Full Bench (comprising 3 Supreme Court justices) dismissed a writ petition filed by Matrika Yadav and Jagat Prasad Yadav, then CA members elected through the proportional system with the then CPN/M party, for the restoration of their CA membership. On 5 August, the UCPN/M submitted the names of Ram Kumar Paswan and Farmud Nasad as their replacements to the Election Commission which immediately issued certifications to both of them as CA members. Upon swearing their oath with the CA Chair they became regular CA members. The number of CA Members has thus regained its full strength of 601.
5. CA Chairman Subash Nembang has started discussion with leaders of the major political parties to resolve the differences on the contentious issues of the committee reports through majority voting. According to the modality, a list of disputed issues will be tabled at the CA for decision; once the CA decides on the issues through voting, the respective report will be sent to the Constitutional Committee. In preparation, the study committee headed by Agni Kharel has prepared about 175 questions on the remaining eight thematic committee reports. However, the questions have not yet made public.
6. The Public Opinion Collection and Coordination Committee (POCCC) has started establishing Constitutional Information Centers at different places of the country. The centers are

established with the objective of taking information from the CA to the people and vice-versa. Initially, information centers will be established in Kailali, Banke, Kaski, Chitwan and Morang districts.

7. On 18 July, NEFIN submitted a memorandum to CA Chairman Subash Nembang demanding that the rights of indigenous nationalities be ensured in the new constitution. The memorandum includes demands for a secular state, a democratic republic and federalism as unchangeable provisions in the new constitution. It has also unveiled a month-long agitation programme to press for the rights of indigenous people in the new constitution.

What's Happening at the CCD



CCD Dialogue and Seminar Series: Federalism in Nepal: How will it work?

These presentations by Nepali and international experts are designed to inform interested CA members, their staff, and the general Nepali public on the issues that must be

addressed in the new Constitution and beyond for Nepal to transition to a successful federal state. As you read about these interesting programs, you may wish to know more about the subjects. To obtain the full presentations or the PowerPoint slides for any of these programs please send an email request to: info@ccd.org.np.

Karnali Province: Core Issues and Opportunities

This programme was presented by Prof. Dr. Nand Bahadur Singh and Mr. Padam Bahadur Mahat on 10 Aug 2010. Prof. Singh presented the basis of prosperous Karnali province. He said Karnali zone has been made poor and backward by the state policies of the past governments in Nepal. Otherwise, it could have been a prosperous region because this region is rich in natural resources like herbs, rivers and beautiful mountains. Prof. Singh stated that Karnali province is viable and it could develop very soon if there were good plans, implemented well. Mr. Padam Bahadur Mahat shared his views on the development of Karnali region through its agricultural revolution. There were 72 participants, including 10 CA Members in attendance.



Other Seminar Series Events at CCD

Official Language: Unilingual or Multi-lingual

On August 12, 2010, Prof. Dr. Yogendra P. Yadava and Hon. Sapana Pradhan-Malla presented their views to a total of 73 participants. Prof. Yadava stated that when dealing with protection and development of language, two types of planning are necessary, namely: structural planning and qualitative planning. He stated that, in a nation of great diversity like ours, it is very essential for the State to incorporate a multilingual policy rather than enforcing a singular language over every citizen. He clarified that there are different aspects to linguistic policies and different languages can be used for administrative, educational, informational and official linguistic policy. He also pointed out various international experiences concerning recognition of languages and official language with special reference to the policies in India. He also suggested that different languages could be used in different levels of the State, (i.e federal, provincial and local level). Hon. Pradhan-Malla was of the opinion that we should not only look at language from the point of view of administration as it is also a matter of identity and right. She expressed that democracy is for all: majority and minority and, therefore, languages belonging to the minority communities should also be recognized by the State. She shared that though the preliminary draft of the CA has proposed Nepali language in Devnagari script as the official language of the Central Government; however, the preliminary draft has opened the possibility of other languages to be the official language provided it is recommended by the Language Commission.



Programme on “How to Ensure and Strengthen Access to Justice in Federal System?”

On July 16, 2010, Prof. David Pimentel, Florida Coastal School of Law, made a presentation on core elements of access to justice, how they are incorporated in the preliminary draft of the CA Committee on Judicial System and what are the best practices in other countries. Dr. Ram Krishna Timal, Registrar of the Supreme Court of Nepal, commented on his presentation and highlighted the practical dimensions of access to justice in Nepal. Sixty-six people participated in the program out of which 21 participants were CA members.



Prof. Pimentel began his presentation by stressing on the importance of rule of law in day to day lives of people and how access to justice is central to build any rule of law. In his opinion, access to justice is a global challenge and is not limited to any particular nation or nations, as such. Although he cautioned against cultural imperialism of the West regarding the export of

some western system, he was in support of learning from each other’s experiences. According to him, some important aspects of access to justice were public awareness, legal aid, facilitating proceeding without lawyers, minimizing geographical barriers, reducing costs and delays, allowing class actions or

suits by groups. Dr. Timalsena, as a reaction to the presenter, was of the opinion that access to justice is not limited to a mere access to a court or law. It also comprises legislative and executive aspects apart from the judicial aspect.

Role of Media in Drafting the New Constitution

On 4 Aug 2010, Mr. Mukunda Sharma, said that media can play a better role than previously in encouraging effective peoples' participation in the constitution making process. He also said that the shortage of time, political deadlock and lack of funds for printing 53 thousand copies of a draft constitution to be distributed to people are existing challenges for the second CA public opinion collection. Mr. Kanak Dixit analyzed the current political deadlock as a positive stand taken by political parties. Further, he said that the constitution will not be promulgated until all parties make consensus, at least, on the basic principles of the constitution and management of the PLA. The Hon. Meena Pandey opined that there is difficulty in drafting a constitution in which all people have ownership. There were 81 participants, including 21 CA Members.

Interview with Raghav Bir Joshi, CA Member

Voice of the voiceless

He was only three months old and was on the rooftop getting a sun bath, along with his cousin, when an airplane passed overhead. His cousin moved his eyes following the sound but Raghav did not turn his eyes because he did not hear the sound. It was only then that his mother came to know Raghav was a hearing impaired infant. She took him to doctors and traditional healers but nothing could be done for him. His mother was sad to see one of her children becoming deaf and worried about his future. At that point she had no clue that one day her son would become the first deaf Member of Parliament in an Asia country and would contribute to the historic task of writing a new constitution for Nepal.

Raghav started going to school in 1967 (2023 BS) at the age of four. Thanks to the then queen, Ratna Rajya Laxmi Devi Shah, a school was opened for hearing impaired children in Balmandir Naxal which paved the way for Raghav's passion for education. Because sign language was not in existence at that time, Raghav Bir and his friends used to read lips for communication. At the beginning, Raghav found it difficult to read lips and his teachers used to scold and even punish him for trying to use hands or fingers for communication. But he did not give up! Away from his teachers' eyes, Raghav and his friends started to use a natural sign language using their hands.



Today, a father of twin daughters, Raghav says his kids are proud of him. Raghav is also thankful to his wife who has supported him in every step of his life. After 25 years of service fighting for the rights of deaf people, Joshi, who served twice as the President of the Nepal National Federation of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing, was elected as the first deaf Member of Parliament. He believes his term with the Constituent Assembly will impact many thousands of hearing impaired people throughout Nepal, Asia and the world, at large. With Radha Bohora interpreting for Raghav Bir in sign language, Raghav shared his views with us.

CCD: How did you manage to organize hearing impaired people in Nepal?

Joshi: When I was about 12 years old, a couple of hearing impaired friends and I were using natural sign language while walking on Kathmandu's New Road. Four Italians, who were also using natural sign language, saw us. They stopped and suggested we learn "proper" sign language and organize with others. Since there was the Panchayati system in the country, it was not easy to establish organizations and get registered. But, during the then King's birthday, we went with a written application seeking permission to establish the organization. With the order from the King, we were able to register a separate organization for the deaf just before the 1990 movement. The organization turned into the federation and is now a member of the World Federation of the Deaf.

CCD: Tell us how you were elected as a CA member?

Joshi: We had approached the UCPN-M, NC, and CPN-UML lobbying for the inclusion of a deaf member in the CA. During the conversation, they agreed but they did not keep their promise. A lawyer affiliated with CPN-United approached me. The party eventually included my name in the proportional representation list. Though I did not have any political background, I participated with full enthusiasm in the election campaign for CPN-United. I was able to garner a good number of votes for the party. I followed the election throughout the night while the votes were being counted. The party, ultimately, got five seats. They selected very inclusively, including a woman, a third gender, a deaf person and the first woman barber of Nepal. Other countries of the world were also surprised to see that I was elected a CA member because despite many years of struggle they have not gotten such an opportunity. There are only four deaf parliamentarians in the world.

CCD: What are your concerns for the new constitution?

Joshi: During the election campaign, I told the people that there should be representation of physically challenged people in the CA so that their concerns are also addressed in the new constitution. Now, I belong to the CA Committee on Protection of Rights of Minorities and Marginalized Communities and I have been raising my voice at all platforms in the CA and outside.

CCD: During the discussions in the CA, did you have any difficulty because you were deaf?

Joshi: At first people questioned if I could know about political issues given my disability. But the head of my committee always replied that I was competent. And then there was the issue of whether my interpreter would be allowed to enter the assembly. Initially, they said no, but once I told them how

there are four interpreters when the head of the UN world deaf committee speaks, the Speaker showed positive feedback and made the use of interpreters for deaf CA members, a rule.

CCD: Was there a day in the CA when you felt sad that as a deaf member you were not able to fully contribute to the CA?

Joshi: No, I haven't felt sad because I take this obstacle as a challenge. I am not only the voice for deaf people but I also raise all kinds of political issues. When I was initially elected, there were 26 nomination seats for the CA that were yet to be filled so I proposed that one or two seats should be allocated for the people with disabilities. So the UCPN-M nominated one member with a disability but the other parties did not do so, perhaps for political reasons.

CCD: What makes you feel proud?

Joshi: Only after six months, I was able to voice my opinions because that is when the CA rule was changed to allow interpreters for deaf members. Since then, I have been pushing for the rights of the disabled, Muslim, Dalits and other disadvantaged communities to be included in the constitution without discrimination. We have to consider health services, employment and sports and recreation for the disabled.

CCD: Despite all the talk of a constitution, it was not finalized on time. How do you feel about this?

Joshi: The process has been delayed because of the disagreement on army integration between the three main parties. Now that we have one more year in our hands, we should be careful in utilizing the time properly. But if we are unable to draft a constitution in time again it will be the fault of the three main parties, in my opinion.

CCD: How hopeful are you about the timely statute?

Joshi: If the parties do not come to consensus and continue bickering among themselves it will definitely lead to chaos and will not contribute to constitution building. But, if they put actions of commitment into words the day is not too far away that the Nepali people will have a new constitution. It is so difficult to predict the situation but the bottom line is that we must make all efforts for accomplishing the task entrusted to us by the people.

SPCBN Civil Society Outreach Project Activities

Voices from Karnali

Jumla, Nepal, July, 2010

When a large number of people from the remote areas of Nepal came to Kathmandu to fight for the new Constitution, Hans Nielsen Hauge, who was doing research at the CCD, interviewed

some people about the new constitution from rural Northwest Nepal, some 360 km away from the capital. Below are comments from some of the residents:

Sita Saut, from Bumra VDC, is 18 years, married and has a 6 months old son:

“Yes I have heard about the constitution at school. They are organizing small programs among the students to make awareness about the process. The programs are taking up issues as free education for all in every district of Nepal. The constitution should be inclusive for everybody and not leave anybody out. A good constitution will secure development for Nepal in the future.”



Rambadur Karki, Bazura VDC, 19 years who is waiting for the result of his SLC:



He said that even though he is not much updated about the constitution-making process, he remembers Maoists CA members visiting to his village during the first public consultation in January. “I did not meet them then but I really wish the government should do its work sincerely and complete the Constitution drafting process on time.”

Nabaraj Rawat, Bota VDC, 20 years old, married and has two children and is a teacher by profession:



“I have heard a little about the constitution, but not much. I heard most about it when I was in Surkhet. I think the Constitution should be inclusive for everybody. We must stop marginalizing people and make equal opportunities for all citizens of Nepal.”

Bashukala Karki, Sanigaun VD), 40 Years old, married and has six children, local hotel owner:

“I know nothing about the constitution process. I have never heard any talk about it in my life.” If the government can provide us something then it should be clean water,



toilets, electricity and good casseroles for cooking. Many NGO's are bringing out many facilities to the villagers but not at all in our village. We feel that this is not fair, and the situation is getting worse for those who are not receiving anything."

Hiralal Khatri, Chunanath VDC, 59 years old, Married, 4 children, farmer:

"I do not know of any politicians coming to my area. I think that the political system should be more like the Panchayat system or Rana regime. The existing political parties have been more of a nuisance than providing relief to the people.

"I have never had enough food to eat, so I wish I had sufficient food for my family and myself for the future. I feel we have everything we need in the village; we have roads, electricity and so forth. Now we have these facilities but there is no political stability to promote development, people are being harassed by the Maoist insurgents."



Balram Budha, Patamara VDC, 45 years old, married, 4 children, porter



"Opportunities for everybody. The educated people are not able to get work in the region itself, and they have to go abroad or to the big cities to get work. There should be improvement in the security situation."

Nabin Kumar Shahi, Lalu 5 VDC, 35 Years old, married, 2 children, working with a local NGO called KIRDARC

"I do not expect much from the government. My experience says that there is a general lack of good decision making. They could have, and should have made this constitution on time. It is a rule of individualism versus national agenda which is getting us nowhere. It is so many broken promises from all parties, and the government says we have been tending for the Nepali people for ten years. This is not true, and there is a total lack of national consensus. I feel that inter-political attitude is the main reason for the malfunction. There is also too much influence from foreign states in our country, such as India and the US, one has to know the people to form policy on the present needs of the state. Not by means of pressure from others."

CCD Sponsored Federalism Dialogue in Tamsaling

Hetauda, August 13-

The participants of the Center for Constitutional Dialogue (CCD) sponsored three-day workshop on federalism in the proposed Tamsaling province stressed the need for informed debate on federalism and Constituent Assembly (CA) State Restructuring Committee report.

Badri Aryal, Nepali Congress leader from Dhading noted that there has not been a single round of public discussion on the federal structure in the proposed Tamsaling province before now.

“There is a need to change the mentality of the leadership of all the political parties to better understand federalism,” said Aryal. He noted, *“The Federalism Dialogue is a praiseworthy initiation to reach beyond Kathmandu, but we need to go out and speak to the villagers, as well”*.

A total of 61 participants, including civil society leaders, rights activists, government officials, intellectuals, and political party leaders from ten districts attended the three day Tamsaling Province Federalism Dialogue. They came from *Dhading, Dolakha, Kavre Ppalanchowk, Lalitpur, Makwanpur, Nuwakot, Ramechhap, Rasuwa, Sindhuli and Sindhupalchowk* districts.

Professor Krishna Khanal and Professor Krishna Hachhetu, TU Central Department of Political Science, provided their expertise and experience on federalism, with an overview of the CA State Restructuring Committee report, federal structures at the provincial level, nation building, priority rights, minority rights, and fiscal federalism.

The participants entered into detailed discussions on the distribution of power between center and province. The participants also discussed minority rights in the provincial structure, local government and local service provision, as well as the basis of the formation of provinces and resolution of inter-provincial relations.

Dawa Lama, CPN- UML Chitwan District representative, expressed dissatisfaction that the federal structure was proposed by the State Restructuring Committee has not been discussed within the parties. He said that the proposed federal structure would only end up splitting the Tamsaling province.

“How would the fourteen provinces address the diversity of one hundred and one castes in the country,” said Lama.

Responding to Lama's queries, Professor Khanal said that the report does not advocate ethnic federalism. *"The new federal structure is based on a balanced combination of identity and economic feasibility, not ethnic federalism."*

Reviewing the CA State Restructuring and Distribution of State Power Committee report on forms of federal structures, Professor Hachhethu pointed out some weakness in the committee report. *"The report proposes centralized federalism while the provinces will become multi-cultural; however, the report is silent on the protection of the minorities within each province."*

Samjahana Tolenge, a journalist from Kavre district said, *"Previously, there had not been enough discussions on what will be the basis of the proposed federal state. This Federalism Dialogue has been helpful for all of us."*

Professor Hachhetu pointed out the need for amendment in the proposed committee report as the report is successful in reflecting the diversity in *macro* level but failed to do so in *micro* level. *"The Committee advocates more centralized federalism, whereas the participants in these Federalism Dialogues prefer more decentralized federalism."*

Tek Bahadur Tamang, Tamsaling Dal said that *"the SRC committee report was prepared with a few political party leaders within the confinement of a room, rather than listening to the people"*.

Shyam Maya Magar, National Indigenous Women Federation said, *"these discussions should be held with the CA members and the key political party leaders who have the least knowledge about the consequences."* Magar said, *"This workshop has provided me clear information on federalism and cleared out misinformation about federalism."*

Nima Hyolmo, President of Hyolmo Mukti Morcha, Sindupalchowk said that the population of hyalmo is only 559 in the country so it should be taken into account the number of the population when the state restructuring is done or else it will be an injustice to the Hyolmo population.

A CCD representative, Mom Biswokarma, said that the suggestions provided by the participants will be discussed with the CA members in Kathmandu.

The CCD has already conducted ten Federalism Dialogues in the proposed federal states of *Limbuwan, Kirat, Sunkoshi, Mithila-Bhojpur-Koch-Madhes, Tamuwan, Narayani, Magarat, Lumbini-Awadh-Tharuawan, Karnali and Khaptad* province.

Sajha Sawal recorded or aired the following programmes during July in considering issues of utmost importance for Nepal's constitution building.

Sajha Sawal Update

During this period, three programmes of Sajha Sawal were recorded, one in Kathmandu and other two in the United States. The first programme of this month, recorded on 4th July in Kathmandu was 'Is Consensus Government Possible?'

Two members of the Sajha Sawal team recorded two programmes in the United States with the Nepalese diaspora (*a large group of people who come from a particular place (Nepal) and are now living in many different parts of the world*) who were gathered for a convention of the Association of Nepalese in the Americas (ANA).

Views and opinions were gathered about the current political situation in Nepal, and the brain drain issue. Recordings took place in the streets as well as at locations in New York, Baltimore, Washington and Boston.

Is Consensus Government Possible?

- After the Prime-Minsiter Madhav Kumar Nepal's resignation on June 30, Presidnet Ram Baran Yadav had set a week's deadline for the formation of a consensus government. This programme was recorded and broadcast on 4th July at Bakery Café, Sundhara with around 60 participants.
- There were two panelists, from two major political parties.
 - Baburam Bhattarai, Vice chairman of UCPN Maoist, who was also taken as one of the Prime-Ministerial candidates.
 - Narhari Acharya, Central Committee Member of Nepali Congress, whose party was also vieing for the candidacy on Prime-Minsiter.
- Both panelists agreed that a consensus government is the need of the time. Narhari Acharya said that a majority government will not last more than three months. Baburam Bhattarai said that the next government led by the Moaist can draft the constitution and lead the peace process.

Brain Drain

- The first programme in the US was on 'Views of the Nepalese Diaspora on Nepal's Peace Process and Constitution Writing.' This programme was recorded on 27th June at Hotel Radisson Cross Key, Baltimore, with 80 audience members from different walks of life and included businessmen, job-holders, teachers and students.
- The second US programme, on the Brain Drain from Nepal, was recorded on 5th July at Hotel Boston Park Plaza, Downtown, Boston with more than one hundred people in the audience.

- The team collected Non Resident Nepalese's views from the street, their work places and their homes. After recording different views from different locations, there was a panel discussion with:
 - Prof. Shiva Gautam, Ph.D, a scholar from Harvard University,
 - Dr. Pramod Dhakal who lives in Canada as Director of Canada Foundation for Nepal, and promoter of the Open University of Nepal and
 - Uttam Babu Shrestha, Editor of Nepal Khabar fortnightly and Ph.D student at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).
- Panelists and audiences shared the same view that Nepal's political instability is the main cause that Nepalese who had studied abroad do not want to return to the country. They also blamed the lack of research facilities in Nepal, but have expressed willingness to participate in the development process, especially in the field of Education.
- General Secretary of CPN-ML, Chandra Prakash Mainali, was also present in the audience. He is also the Former Minister of Supply and Commerce. The panelists had a question and answer session with him on Nepal's political and development scenario.

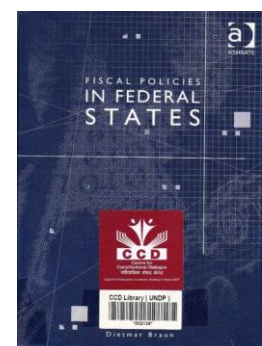
Nepali Diasporas Views on Nepal's Peace Process and Constitution Writing

- Other issue recorded in United States is NRN's views on Peace Process and Constitution Writing.
- The team had collected people's views from different parts of the states and recorded a discussion programme with three panelists:
 - Dr. Shanker Sharma, Nepalese Ambassador to the United States
 - Prof. Tara Niroula, Former President NRN, America Chapter
 - Hir Bahadur Bhandari, Young Activist, Teacher
- Around 80 were in the audiences from different walk of lives, businessmen, job-holders, and teachers.
- Nepali Diasporas wish to have dual citizenship. Ambassador Sharma said that the Embassy has informed the Nepal Constitutional Assembly of this.
- Audiences expressed their distress on Nepal's political instability. They shared their views on how Nepal can benefit from its diaspora abroad.

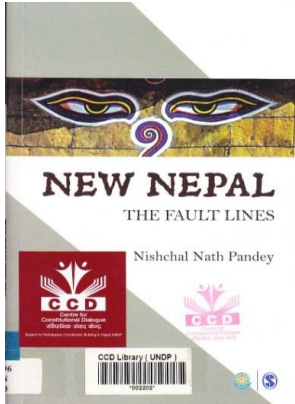
The two US programmes have not yet been broadcast

CB Resources and Recent Publications

Fiscal Policies in Federal States. This well-written book is an important contribution to comparative research on federalism. The sound empirical study on the impact of federal structures on fiscal policy-making conducted by Dietmar Braun and his collaborators provides new insights as to how

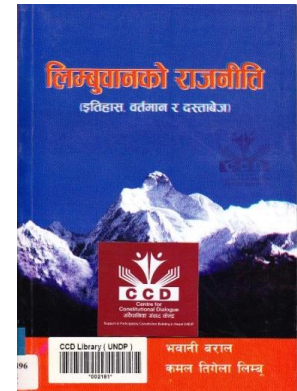


federalism works. Focusing on four different types of federal government, the study explains the effects of institutions but also reveals different strategies and modes of coordination in the interplay between central and regional governments. Available at CCD Library in English only.



New Nepal: The Fault Lines by Nishchal Nath Pandey, published by SAGE Publications in 2010. The book analyses the various fault lines such as federalism, security sector governance, issue of language, religion, ethnicity and political system as main determinants of whether or not Nepal's third experiment with multi-party systems will succeed or not. It also deliberates on the relations with India and China in the post-2006 era which is not only timely but is a very in-depth and serious study. The Terai movement, issues related to secularism and the deadlock over writing of the new Constitution has been elaborately discussed in the book. This book is available in the CCD Library in English language only.

Limbuanko Rajniti: Itihas, Bartaman ra Bhavishya by Bhawani Baral and Kamal Tigela Limbu and published by Book Club Prakashan in the year 2008. This book describes the political history of the Limbuwan region of Nepal. The book is the CCD Library in Nepali language only.



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