



**Constitution-drafting Process:  
Ruling and Opposition Alliances  
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The Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee of the Constituent Assembly failed to find a consensus on the disputed issues of the constitution despite repeated extensions of its deadline. The chair of the Dialogue Committee Baburam Bhattarai tried to find a consensus but his attempts were like carrying water in a sieve because the opposition formed a separate alliance due to a common proposal by Congress and UML, which instead of facilitating constitution-drafting created further difficulties. In spite of several discussions among the main three parties Congress, UML, and UCPN (M), their outcome was almost nothing. Also, while the discussions were going on, the United Democratic Madhesi Front (UDMF) was revived again.

### **Common Proposal from Congress and UML, the Opposition Object**

The Dialogue Committee was given by the Constituent Assembly until November 1 to find a consensus. The Constituent Assembly had directed the Committee to submit its report with questionnaire the next day if there was no consensus within the deadline. The Committee could not find a consensus despite the last deadline by the Constituent Assembly. The Dialogue Committee gave continuity to its meeting on November 2. In the meeting, chairperson Bhattarai stated that since state restructuring, distribution of state power, form of government, and election systems were the main issues of the state and any constitution, there should be agreement one these among the past protesting power groups.

'If the main power groups do not move forward together in these issues, there will be no peace, stability once disputes and debates starts',<sup>1</sup> said Bhattarai. In the meeting of the Dialogue Committee the next day on November 3, Congress, UML, Rastriya Prajatantra Party, Bahujan Shakti Party, and two independent Constituent Assembly members submitted their views on the issues of the constitution. The suggestions included an executive prime minister from the largest party, ceremonial president elected by an electoral college consisting of members from federal and state parliaments, direct elections to the House of Representatives and complete proportional representation in the National Assembly, the Supreme Court as a court of record with the authority for final interpretation of the constitution.<sup>2</sup> Dialogue Committee chairperson Bhattarai was not happy with this proposal and stated that he would try to block as it would raise suspicions and distance among the parties.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Press release of by the secretariat of Baburam Bhattarai, chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee on November 2, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Concept paper submitted by Constituent Assembly members from Congress, CPN (UML), Rastriya Prajatantra Party, Bahujan Shakti Party, and two independent members.

<sup>3</sup> Press release of by the secretariat of Baburam Bhattarai, chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee on November 5, 2014.

UCPN (M) and other parties opposed the common proposal. There was opposition also within the ruling coalition. In the meeting of UML parliamentary party, Constituent Assembly members criticized that the party had forwarded the proposal without discussing the disputed issues of the constitution in the party.<sup>4</sup> The Indigenous Nationalities National Movement Nepal also opposed the proposal. There was opposition within Congress as well. 22 Constituent Assembly members from Congress representing Tarai-Madhes met Congress president and Prime Minister Sushil Koirala and opposed the proposal and demanded federal restructuring based on population. They demanded three states from Mewat in the east to Mahakali in the west if there were to be an agreement for seven states and four states in Tarai if there were agreement for eight states.<sup>5</sup>

Then the meeting of thought management committee of UCPN (M) decided to expose the ruling coalition from the parliament, streets, and the Dialogue Committee. The meeting of 20 opposition parties including UCPN (M) on November 19 concluded the proposal had disrupted the situation for a consensus. The press release by the 20 party opposition states, 'It is our conclusion that when the constitution-drafting process is moving ahead as per the preamble of the Interim Constitution to institutionalize the gains from the past revolutions and movements, the proposal is against the spirit of the constitution and past agreements and by forcibly trying to make it the agenda of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee also ignores the Constituent Assembly Regulations, which will disrupt the environment for consensus'.<sup>6</sup>

In the next meeting of 22-party opposition alliance, the leaders stated that the constitution will not be drafted on time because of the common proposal. The chairperson of the Dialogue Committee Bhattarai stated that he is unable to end the roadblock in the Dialogue Committee without agreement among the parties and he will submit its report only after such an agreement.<sup>7</sup> In the meantime, Madhesi Janadhikar Forum president Upendra Yadav made public his proposal on main issues of the constitution including models of Limbuwan, Kirant, Tamsaling, Magarat, New, Narayani Tamuwan, Tarai/Madhes, and Karnali Khasan states.<sup>8</sup>

### **Agenda for Discussion**

There was no agreement on how to proceed after the November-4 proposal of Congress and UML even after discussion. Then Bhattarai dithered on calling the next meeting of the Dialogue Committee. After Bhattarai ignored their demands, enraged Congress and UML demanded a discussion on their common proposal in the Constituent Assembly through a joint press conference. In addition, in a joint press release, Congress, UML, RPP, Bahujan Shakti party, and independent

<sup>4</sup> November 6, 2014. Kantipur TV.

<sup>5</sup> Memorandum submitted to Congress president on state restructuring by Constituent Assembly members representing Tarai-Madhes.

<sup>6</sup> Joint press release of the 20 parties on November 19, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> Press release of by the secretariat of Baburam Bhattarai, chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee on November 24, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> Concept paper submitted by Madhesi Janadhikar Forum president Upendra Yadav to the Dialogue Committee on November 30, 2014.

members stressed on constitution-drafting as per the Constituent Assembly Regulations and timetable as it against people's wishes, spirit of the constitution, and counter to the responsibility of the political parties towards the country to halt the constitution-drafting process. Also, it is inappropriate to spread that being loyal to people and democracy would create a state of 'conflict' and 'friction'.<sup>9</sup>

Chairperson of the Dialogue Committee Bhattarai urged that there should be agreement among the parties to send its report to the Constituent Assembly. Arguing that the Regulations only provide for agreements only within the Committee, Dialogue Committee chair Bhattarai stressed that even if there is no consensus on the issues, at least there should be agreement on the process. 'It will be difficult to take decisions if there is no agreement among the parties on the form of the report and the way forward after that. Therefore, I had requested the senior leaders to discuss and decide these but there was no agreement',<sup>10</sup> Bhattarai said. However, UML chairperson Oli expressed his dissatisfaction at Bhattarai's role. 'His role seems to be a party activist instead of the Committee chairperson. There are attempts to put the interests of one's party above the country's, blocking the interests of the country and constitution-drafting process',<sup>11</sup> Oli commented on the Bhattarai's role.

Members from Congress, UML and other parties in the Dialogue Committee started a signature campaign to create pressure to submit the common proposal to the Constituent Assembly arguing that there is no possibility of agreement on the common proposal despite many discussions without which there was no possibility the proposal would be submitted to the Constituent Assembly. 43 members of the Dialogue Committee submitted their signatures to chair Bhattarai demanding discussion on the common proposal. The letter had signatures of 43 out of the 71 members from Congress, UML and others in the Committee.<sup>12</sup>

Dialogue Committee chair Bhattarai commented that the activities of the parties in the ruling coalition had made the environment of constitution-drafting more difficult.<sup>13</sup> He had proposed to include in the Committee report that there was no consensus despite discussions on various issues and to submit the various concept papers from different parties as annex to the report. But, the leaders did not agree to this.<sup>14</sup> After additional pressure was created, he indefinitely postponed the meeting of the Dialogue Committee.<sup>15</sup> Bhattarai argued, 'It would have been proper of me to chair meetings without looking into the larger political, legal consequences and outcomes of the letter

<sup>9</sup> Joint press release by Congress, CPN (UML), RPP, Bahujan Shakti Party, and two independent Constituent Assembly members on November 9, 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Press release of by the secretariat of Baburam Bhattarai, chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee on November 11, 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Nepal, Balkumar. November 17, 2014. 'Mistake to elect Bhattarai'. The Annapurna Post, p1.

<sup>12</sup> Budhathoki, Bishnu. 43 Constituent Assembly members submit letter with their signatures. Retrieved December 4, 2014 from <http://setopati.com/raajneeti/20132/>

<sup>13</sup> Press release of by the secretariat of Baburam Bhattarai, chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee on November 17, 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Press release of by the secretariat of Baburam Bhattarai, chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee on November 17, 2014.

<sup>15</sup> November 17, 2014. Kantipur TV.

which has raised question marks on the role of the chairperson when I have been trying to fulfil that role responsibly. Therefore, I have postponed the meetings to decide on the further steps after consulting experts, friends, and legal experts.<sup>16</sup> In the meantime, the 22-party Alliance meeting on November 17 concluded that Congress-UML common proposal cannot be submitted to the Committee. The November 29 meeting of Federal Democratic Republic Front concluded that without immediate agreement on the disputed issues the constitution cannot be promulgated on January 22.

### **Bhattarai's Activities**

Dialogue Committee chairperson Bhattarai held extensive consultations with professors and intellectuals instead of calling the Committing meetings. He met Prime Minister Sushil Koirala, UML chairperson Oli and other leaders separately and asked them to make proper environment for consensus. Bhattarai conducted a series of discussions on whether the Congress-UML proper is correct or not. On November 18, he held discussions with legal professionals close to UCPN (M) and they suggested that the Congress-UML proposal is against the Constituent Assembly Regulations.<sup>17</sup> In addition, he also met Constituent Assembly chairperson Subash Chandra Nemwang and RPP leader Surya Bahadur Thapa and asked them to make a proper environment for consensus.

### **Failed Attempts of the Parties**

Congress, UML, and UCPN (M) intensified their talks in an attempt to seek consensus on the disputed issues of the consensus. They met twice on November 6. But there was no progress at all. In addition, the parties held bi-partite talks as well. UML chairperson KP Sharma Oli and UCPN (M) chairperson Pushpa Kamal Dahal also held talks. In the meantime, UCPN (M) leaders Bhattarai and Narayan Kaji organised a press conference to announce that they were flexible on their 10-state stance. In addition to the disputed issues, the parties also talked about the Congress-UML proposal included in the report of the Dialogue Committee. There was no consensus on this in the November 14 talks among Congress, UML, and UCPN (M). UML and UCPN (M) held talks on the stalled meetings of the Dialogue Committee. While the dispute on the common proposal was going on, UML held talks with Madhes-centred parties on November 17. UML requested the Madhes-centred parties to help take the common proposal submitted to the Constituent Assembly.

Congress, UML, and UCPN (M) held a meeting at the prime minister's residence in Baluwatar, which was also participated by Constituent Assembly chairperson Nemwang. The leaders said there was an agreement to find a resolution to the long-running dispute among the parties. Congress general secretary Krishna Prasad Sitaaula said that there was an agreement to forward all the concept notes from the parties to the Constituent Assembly.<sup>18</sup> Dialogue Committee chairperson Bhattarai stated

<sup>16</sup> Press release of by the secretariat of Baburam Bhattarai, chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee on November 17, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> November 18, 2014. Kantipur TV.

<sup>18</sup> BC, Ganga and Neupane, Kulchandra. November 23, 2014. *All the concepts will be submitted to the Constituent Assembly.* The Kantipur, p1.

that the proposals were being forwarded for discussion and not for voting. There was no agreement on the issues. The problems are only being shifted from one forum to another.<sup>19</sup> There was a meeting of the 20-party opposition including UCPN (M) the next day, which concluded that the Congress-UML proposal should be forwarded as annex along with the disputed issues of the constitution.

Defending his party's role in the previous day's discussion, UCPN (M) chairperson Dahal said, "We had wanted to write a note of dissent in the annex of the report, but they were in favour including in the report itself and not in the annex." Countering this, UML deputy general secretary Bishnu Poudel said, "Prachanda ji had said he would inform the 20 parties about the decision but came back having been convinced instead of convincing them."<sup>20</sup> Then UCPN (M) chairperson Dahal backed down and the agreement got overturned and the meeting of the Dialogue Committee for the same day could not take place. The meeting of November 28 and 29 of Congress, UML, UCPN (M) trying to remove the political obstacle and seek consensus on the disputed issues of the constitution also failed to reach any agreement.

### **Updating the Foreign Corps**

After the common proposal, the distance between the ruling coalition and the opposition grew further. As the constitution-drafting process was stalled, the ambassadors of the EU, Switzerland, and Norway issued a press release on November 24 urging for promulgation of the constitution by January 22, 2015. The joint press release stated, 'Will power is needed for magnanimity of leadership and consensus. It is not for us to what the constitution of Nepal should be like; it is the responsibility of the Constituent Assembly of Nepal'.<sup>21</sup>

Since the foreigners were also interested in the constitution-drafting process, political parties also wanted to clarify to them the reasons for the common proposal. On November 12, Congress and UML informed the diplomatic community in Nepal about their reasons. They stated the there was problem the constitution-drafting process itself due to UCPN (M).<sup>22</sup> The 22-party opposition in turn met with the diplomatic community on November 19 to inform them about its views.

### **Alliance Revived**

As there was no agreement between the ruling coalition and the opposition, Tarai-Madhes-centred parties started to re-organise themselves. The Alliance in the meeting of November 13 decided that it would not participate in the government until a constitution with federalism and identity is promulgated.<sup>23</sup> The decision of the Alliance not to join the government came at a time when

<sup>19</sup> Pandey, Balram. November 24, 2014. *Agreement overturned*. The Nagarik, p1.

<sup>20</sup> Pandey, Balram. November 24, 2014. *Agreement overturned*. The Nagarik, p1.

<sup>21</sup> 'Do not go beyond January 22. November 7, 2014. The Kantipur, p1.

<sup>22</sup> *Parties seeking international support*. November 13, 2014. The Kantipur, p1.

<sup>23</sup> *Madhes-centred parties not joining Koirala-led government*. Retrieved December 4, 2014 from <http://setopati.com/raajneeti/19963/>

Congress and UML leaders were focused on breaking the Tarai-Madhes-centred parties from the UCPN (M)-led alliance and making them join the government. The meeting on November 24 of Madhes-centred decided to revive the Joint Loktantrik Madhesi Alliance.

### Modi's Statements

When the parties were engaged in a debate on whether the constitution-drafting process should move forward through consensus or two-thirds majority, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi came to Nepal to participate in the 18th SAARC summit. Inaugurating the Trauma Centre a day ahead of the summit, Modi said the constitution should be common to all and stressed on consensus. Modi said, "Nepal benefits only when the constitution is drafted through consensus; constitution by numbers will not serve anyone's interest."<sup>24</sup> Then the parties started to interpret Modi's statement as per their interests. Modi also suggested party leaders to draft the constitution in his bilateral meetings. In his meeting with UML chairperson Oli, Modi said since the doors to prosperity will only open after the constitution is drafted, he said it would be better to promulgate the constitution on time.<sup>25</sup>

### Split in Maoists

The dispute in CPN (M) about how to move forward reached a peak. One faction was led by its chairperson Mohan Vaidya and the other by Secretary Netra Bikram Chand. Chandra faction boycotted the politburo meeting of November 10. The meeting directed the party to unite the party when there is a need to centralise and unify the party by stopping immediately the actions of some of the responsible leaders who are acting against the party procedures.<sup>26</sup>

The splittist group held its meeting in Kapilvastu on November 12. The next meeting of CPN (M) decided to ask clarifications from secretary Chand, Khadga Bahadur Bishwokarma and others for being engaged in splittist activities such as giving public opinions against the party line; boycotting standing committee, politburo, and central committee meetings; organising factional meetings and holding press conferences; which were deemed to be against the party.<sup>27</sup> However, the dispute within the party did not die down. Instead on November 24, secretary Chand announced break-up of relations with Chairperson Mohan Vaidya. Then the Chand faction held a meeting of central members in Chitawan, and on November 28, it announced the formation of a new party by the name of CPN (Maoists) with Chand as coordinator. The next day CPN (M) chairperson Mohan Vaidya and general secretary Ram Bahadur Thapa issued a joint press release stating that factionalism under Biplav leading to splittist activities and meetings in various places including Kapilvastu and other actions and the announcement of unified revolutionary principles against the party decisions are signs are weaknesses of anarchic personality cult, prohibitory dialectics,

<sup>24</sup> *Not numbers, consensus: Modi.* November 26, 2014. The Annapurna Post, p1.

<sup>25</sup> Press release by CPN (UML) on November 8, 2014.

<sup>26</sup> Joint press release on November 11 by CPN (M) chairperson Mohan Vaidya and general secretary Ram Bahadur Thapa.

<sup>27</sup> Press release by CPN (M) on November 16, 2014.

experientialist, show tendencies of rightwing opportunism.<sup>28</sup> General Secretary Thapa accused Chand of splitting the party of posts.<sup>29</sup>

### Declaration of the Judges

The second conference of the judges recommended among other things that a constitutional court is not necessary in the new constitution. This came at a time when the main opposition party UCPN (M) had been stressing on the formation of a constitutional court. The declaration read, 'Formation of a constitutional court does not seem appropriate and practical in view of the history of constitutional development and the experience of implementation of judicial process in Nepal and this is also against the norms of the Constituent Assembly itself which has aimed to increase access to justice of common people by decentralising justice. Therefore, constitutional court is not necessary. In its place, there should be a provision for the Supreme Court as the permanent interpreter of constitution'.<sup>30</sup>

The conference also endorsed the proposal there should be no barriers to the appointment of the Chief Justice and beyond accepted principles, there should be no provisions in the constitution which seeks to control the judiciary, restricts certain individuals from becoming the Chief Justice. 'The process of appointing judges to higher courts from among respected judges who have worked certain period in the lower courts, experienced senior office from the judiciary, highly respected legal professionals who have practiced law for a long duration, or legal experts who have contributed significantly to the judiciary should be strictly followed',<sup>31</sup> read the declaration. However, the Nepal Bar Association expressed its objection to the declaration. In a press release, the Bar said that many points in the declaration are against an independent, capable, and effective judiciary.<sup>32</sup>

### Conclusion

The capacity of the Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee was questioned after it failed to find consensus on the disputed issues of the constitution even after four extensions to its deadline. As per the responsibility given by the Constituent Assembly, the Dialogue Committee should find consensus. After it failed in its mandate, the Committee had to rely on Congress, UML, and UCPN (M). However, there was no consensus among them. Along with the disputed issues of the constitution, there was also no conclusion on the concept papers and common proposal submitted by Congress and UML and other parties. After attempts to interpret as per its interests, the report of the Dialogue Committee could not be submitted to the Constituent Assembly.

<sup>28</sup> Joint press release of CPN (M) chairperson Mohan Vaidya and general secretary Ram Bahadur Thapa on November 29, 2014.

<sup>29</sup> *Chand split the party for post-general secretary Thapa.* <http://setopati.com/raajneeti/20756/>

<sup>30</sup> Endorsed recommendation of the second conference of the judges on November 19, 2014.

<sup>31</sup> Endorsed recommendation of the second conference of the judges on November 19, 2014.

<sup>32</sup> Press release of the Nepal Bar Association on November 21, 2014.

Congress, UML, and UCPN (M) engaged in the politics of pressure, threats, and manoeuvring instead of seeking consensus. Congress and UML tried their best to take their proposal to the Constituent Assembly for voting. Concluding that they would be in a weak position if there was voting in the Constituent Assembly, UCPN (M) and Tarai-Madhesi-centred parties started to block the proposal at any cost. With the ruling coalition trying to move ahead willy-nilly and the opposition trying to block it at any cost led to failure to find a way ahead. This led to the Constituent Assembly being idle.

In addition, as the polarisation among the parties grew, there was competition among the parties to seek favour from foreigners. Congress and UML blamed UCPN (M) and other parties for failure to draft the constitution and UCPN (M) and other parties blamed Congress and UML. The parties failed to notice their weakening position when informing the foreigners about internal politics. Failure to reach a consensus despite continuous discussions and meetings removed the possibility of promulgating the constitution by January 22 after fulfilling all the processes.

## Major Developments

### November 1

- Meeting of Congress, UML, and UCPN (M) leaders decides not to seek additional time for finding consensus on the disputed issues of the constitution.
- Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee fails to find consensus within the given deadline.

### November 2

- Political parties discuss submitting the disputed issues to the Constituent Assembly. Congress and UML prepare to propose a common 6-state model. UCPN (M) objects.

### November 3

- Meeting of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee. Congress, UML, and other parties submit a common proposal. Parties disagree as to how the Committee should include in its report.

### November 4

- Meeting of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee. Parties cannot agree on how to take the common proposal forward.

### November 5

- Meeting of Congress and UML asks chairperson Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee Baburam Bhattarai to call its meeting immediately.
- Chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee holds consultations with professors and intellectuals.

### November 6

- Two meetings among the political parties regarding the disputed issues of the constitution. No progress.
- Meeting of UML parliamentary party. Constituent Assembly members object to the party taking the proposal forward without holding discussing it in the party.
- Indigenous Nationalities National Movement Nepal object to the common proposal by Congress and UML.

**November 7**

- Representatives of European countries in Nepal issue a press release requesting to meet the deadline of January 8 for promulgating the constitution.

**November 8**

- Dispute between UML chairperson KP Sharma Oli and senior leader Madhav Kumar Nepal. Central committee meeting postponed until December 8.
- Meeting between UML chairperson KP Sharma Oli and UCPN (M) chairperson Pushpa Kamal Dahal. Discussion on the issues of the constitution.

**November 9**

- Congress and UML hold a joint press conference. They demand to have their common proposal discussed in the Constituent Assembly.
- 22 Congress Constituent Assembly members representing Tarai-Madhes object to Congress-UML proposal. Demand state restructuring based on population.

Legislature-parliament session prorogued.

**November 10**

- CPN (M) politburo meeting is boycotted by faction led by Secretary Netra Bikram Chand.

**November 11**

- CPN (M) secretary Netra Bikram Chand calls a separate meeting.
- Meeting of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee. Disagreement over whether to discuss the Congress-UML proposal in the Committee.

**November 12**

- Congress and UML inform the representatives of the diplomatic corps on their common proposal submitted to the Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee.

**November 13**

- UCPN (M) holds a press conference. Expresses its flexibility on its 10-state instance for constitution-drafting.

Nepal Students Union general convention is postponed for the seventh time.

- Meeting of the Joint Loktantrik Madhesi Alliance of Tarai-Madhes-centred parties decides not to participate in the government as long as a constitution with federalism and identity is promulgated.

**November 14**

- Meeting of Congress, UML, and UCPN (M). Disagreement over whether to extend the deadline of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee to find consensus.
- Meeting of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee. Disagreement again among the parties whether to extend the Committee's deadline.

**November 15**

- Chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee meetings prime minister Sushil Koirala, UML chairpersons KP Sharma Oli and other leaders separately. Requests for environment for consensus.

**November 16**

- Members of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee from Congress, UML and other parties start a signature campaign to include the common proposal in the Committee discussions.
- Meeting of UML and UCPN (M) leaders discusses ways to remove obstacles seen in the Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee.

Meeting of UCPN (M) thought management committee decides to expose the ruling coalition from the parliament, streets, and the Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee.

- CPN (M) central committee decides to seek clarification from Secretary Netra Bikram Chand and Khadga Bahadur Bishwokarma for conducting activities against the party.

**November 17**

- 43 members of the Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee from Congress, UML and other parties submit their signatures to the Committee chairperson to pressure to include the common proposal for discussion. Committee meetings are postponed indefinitely.
- Meeting of Congress, UML, and UCPN (M). Disagreement over whether to take the common proposal forward or not.
- Meeting of 22-party opposition alliance concludes that the common proposal by Congress, UML and other parties cannot be submitted to the Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee.

Second conference of the judges begins in the capital.

**November 18**

- Chairperson of Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee holds discussions with legal professionals close to UCPN (M). The legal professionals state that the Congress-UML proposal is against the Constituent Assembly Regulations.

**November 19**

- Meeting of 20 opposition parties including UCPN (M) concludes that the Congress-UML proposal submitted to the Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee has hampered the environment for consensus.
- Meeting of 22 opposition parties decides to inform the diplomatic corps on the disputed issues of the constitution.

The conference of the judges concludes. Endorsement of the proposal that constitutional court is not necessary.

**November 20**

- Chairperson of the Constitutional Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee meetings Constituent Assembly chairperson Subash Chandra Nemwang, RPP leader Surya Bahadur Thapa and other leaders and requests for environment for consensus.
- UML leaders consult Madhesi leaders and requests their help in submitting the common proposal for discussions in the Constituent Assembly.
- RPP-Nepal submits a memorandum to Constituent Assembly chairperson Subash Chandra Nemwang demanding a call for meeting of Constituent Assembly.

**November 21**

- Meeting between President Ram Baran Yadav and UCPN (M) chairperson Pushpa Kamal Dahal. Requests to end the stalled processes.

**November 22**

- Meeting of leaders of Congress, UML, and UCPN (M) and including Constituent Assembly chairperson Subash Chandra Nemwang in the residence of the prime minister at Baluwatar. Agreement in principle to submit the disputed issues to the Constituent Assembly.

**November 23**

- Meeting of 20 opposition parties including UCPN (M) objects the three-party decision to take away the disputed issues from the Dialogue Committee and submit to the Constituent Assembly.

**November 24**

- Meeting of 22-party alliance including UCPN (M) states the constitution will not be promulgated on time due to the Congress-UML proposal.
- Meeting Madhes-centred six political parties decide to revive the Joint Loktantrik Madhesi Morcha.
- CPN (M) secretary Netra Bikram Chand announces break in relations with CPN (M) chairperson Mohan Vaidya.

**November 25**

- Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in the capital to attend the 18th SAARC summit. Suggests leaders of the political parties to promulgate the constitution on time.

**November 26**

- 18th summit of SAARC begins in the capital.

**November 27**

- 18th SAARC summit concludes with 36-point declaration.

**November 28**

- Meeting of Congress and UML at the residence of the prime minister at Baluwatar decides to hold discussion to end the political debacle.
- Meeting of central committee members of CPN (M) secretary Netra Bikram Chand faction begins in Chitawan.

**November 29**

- Meeting of Congress, UML, and UCPN (M) fails to reach consensus on the disputed issues of the constitution.
- Meeting of Federal Democratic Republican Alliance concludes that unless there is immediate consensus on the disputed issues the constitution cannot be promulgated by January 22.
- Mohan Vaidya-led CPN (M) holds a press conference. Announces that the party is ready to reunify with UCPN (M) on the condition that it withdraws from the Constituent Assembly.
- Netra Bikram Chand faction which had broken off with Mohan Vaidya-led CPN (M) is also named CPN (M).

**November 30**

- Madhesi Janadhikar Forum-Nepal prepares its concept paper on the issues of the constitution.