

Socio-cultural Perspectives of Nepal-India Relations



The Dissertation

Submitted to the Research Centre of Nepal Sanskrit University

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In Political Science

By

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation entitled *Socio-Cultural Perspectives of Nepal India Relations* submitted to the Research Centre of Nepal Sanskrit University is authentic researches work under the supervision my supervisor.

This dissertation has been prepared following the method and procedures of the university under the guidance of my respected supervisor and experts. All the contents of the dissertation except those which have been duly quoted with reference are original. The contents in the dissertation included fairly. If found copied I am absolutely responsible if any evidence is found against my declaration.

Uttar Bahadur Air

Date: 15 December 2025

Letter of Recommendation by the Supervisor

I am very much pleased to certify that Mr. Uttar Bahadur Air (Registration No. 47/2077) has sincerely accomplished the Ph. D. level dissertation entitled *Socio-Cultural Perspectives of Nepal India Relations* under my supervision and also successfully faced final VIVA. Therefore, I would like to forward this dissertation to the Research Centre of Nepal Sanskrit University for further process of awarding the Degree of Ph.D.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AD	Anno Domini
APF	Armed Police Force
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
BAHO	Babasaheb Ambedkar Health Organization
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BBIN	Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal
BC	Before Christ
BCE	Before Christ Era
BDCCs	Border District Coordination Committees
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BIPPA	Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement
BJP	Bhartiya Janata Party
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICs	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
B. S,	Bikram Sambat
BSF	Border Security Force
BWG	Boundary Working Group
CA	Constituent Assembly
CCEA	Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs
CCS	Convention on the Continental Shelf
CDO	Chief District Officer
COAS	Chief of the Army Staff

COVID	Corona Virus Disease
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPN	Communist Party of Nepal
CPN-UML	Communist Party of Nepal- Unified Marxist and Leninist
CW	Cold War
DFHRI	Discount and Finance House of India Limited
DIs	Domestic Innovations
EIC	East India Company
EPG	Eminent Persons Group
EPT	Electric Power Trade
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOW	First Opium War
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoI	Government of India
GoN	Government of Nepal Republica of China
GT	Global Times
Hac	Hectare
HMG	His Majesty's Government
IBN	Investment Board of Nepal
ICAN	Indian Citizens Association of Nepal
ICCR	Indian Council of Cultural Relations
ICNR	International Conference on Nepal's Reconstruction
IGC	Inter-Governmental Committee
IGSC	Intergovernmental Sub-Committee

IMEA	Indian Ministry of External Affairs
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSEC	Informal Sector Service Center
IR	International Relations
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate
PFC	Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JCIPM	Joint Committee on Inundation and Flood Management
JCWR	Joint Committee on Water Resources
JMCWR	Joint Ministerial Commission for Water Resources
JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
JSC	Joint Steering Committee
JSTC	Joint Standing Technical Committee
JTBC	Joint Technical Level Boundary Committee
JTC	Joint Technical Committee
JTT	Joint Technical Team
JWG	Joint Working Group
JWGBM	Joint Working Group of Border Management
LoC	Line of Credit
LOCA	Line of Credit Agreement
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding

MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
n.d.	No Date
NA	Nepalese Army
NAM	Non-alignment Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCA	Nepal Citizenship Act
NCC	Nepal Chamber of Commerce
NCP	Nepali Congress Party
NCTA	Nepal Cable Television Association
NDRF	National Disaster Response Force
NDU	National Defense University
NEA	Nepal Electricity Authority
NEDA	National Economic Development Association
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGS	Nepali Gurkha Soldiers
NITLJBWG	Nepal-India Technical Level Joint Boundary Working Group
NRB	Nepal Rastra Bank
NTPC	Nepal Trade Promotion Centre
NWPP	Nepal-workers and Peasants Party
OBOR	One Belt One Road
PAT	Peace and Amity Treaty
PCS	Preform a Clearance System
PDA	Power Development Agreement
PET	Peace and Friendship Treaty
PRC	People's Republic of China

PTA	Power Trade Agreement
PTI	Press Trust of India
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
RNA	Royal Nepal Army
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Area
SAHR	South Asians for Human Rights
SASEC	South Asia Sub Regional Economic Cooperation
SPA	Seven Party Alliance
SSB	Sashastra Seema Bal
SSF	Special Security Force
WWII	World War II
THT	The Himalayan Times
TKP	The Kathmandu Post
TTC	Treaty of Trade and Commerce
TU	Tribhuvan University
TV	Television
UF	United Front
UK	United Kingdom
UML	United Marxist Leninist Party
UN	United Nations
UNHCHR	United Nations Commission of Human Rights
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention for the Law of the Sea
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Social and Cultural Organization

UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNMIN	United Nations Mission in Nepal
UNO	United Nations Organization
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
VDC	Village Development Committee
WHS	World Heritage Site
WTO	World Trade Organization
WW I	World War First
WWII	World War Second
ZoP	Zone of Peace

Abstract

The study of socio-cultural relations with neighboring countries is important in understanding the uniqueness of relations between them and make a great contribution to enriching the other dimensions of relationship like political, economic, geographical, security, administrative along with international relation and diplomacy.

The major goal of this study is to analytically evaluate the process of the development of the socio-cultural ties between Nepal and India. As well the specific objectives are:

- i. to examine the status and foundations of Nepal-India socio-cultural relations,
- ii. to analyze the main obstacles of maintaining the Nepal-India socio-cultural relations, and
- iii. to elaborate the policies related to such relations.

This study has followed the mix of qualitative and quantitative methods used in this study to address the research questions as well as the research objectives. Basically the research followed the library study however some information and data were collected through a face to face interaction with forty dignitaries related to international relations especially, the prominent figures concerning to Nepal India relations. The data collected in order to complete this study have been tabulated, processed and analytically presented. Moreover, the safety measures have been applied for their validity and reliability.

The social and cultural relation between Nepal and India is as old as the establishment of these two countries. The foundation of such relation is the people to people relation of the both countries. The religions, social beliefs, values, norms, social structure, pilgrimages, temples, open border, marital relations, etc. have strengthened the socio-cultural relations. Although due to some political causes, sometimes the formal relation between the countries cooled down, the relation between the people of two

countries has remained ever green. Nepalese people of different status from ordinary people to high profile politicians frequently visit to the famous pilgrimages in India (especially the Chardham) and Indian people cordially visit the Muktinath temple, Janaki temple, Pashupatinath temple, Lumbini, the birth place of Lord Buddha. The main obstacles hindering the relation are human trafficking from the borders of two sides, smuggling and criminals' entry, such hindrances can be handled by the top-level sincere commitment of the leaders of the both countries. Side by side the security personnel and local governments of the both sides must be made sincere, motivated and competent in this regard.

Chapter-One

Introduction

1.1 Introductions to the Study

Social and cultural factors significantly influence diplomatic relations by shaping perceptions, communication, styles, and approaches to negotiation. Understanding these factors is crucial for effective diplomacy as it helps bridge cultural divides, foster trust, and promote cooperation. Cultural background influences how countries perceive each other, potentially leading to misunderstandings or misinterpretations of actions and intentions.

Different cultures have distinct communication patterns, including verbal and non-verbal cues. Awareness of these differences is essential to avoid miscommunications and build rapport. Cultural factors also influence public opinion, which can exert pressure on governments and affect diplomatic outcomes.

Understanding a country's history and cultural traditions can provide valuable insights into its foreign policy objectives. (Mark, 2009)

Timalsina (2019, P 729) states,

“History, geography, economic cooperation, socio-cultural links, military ties, and people-to-people relations define the two countries' relationship. Despite their intimate linguistic, marital, religious, and cultural ties on a personal level, Nepal and India's relations have been strained by political difficulties and border conflicts”.

The Nepali people are well familiar with all the Indian political activities and events related in the context of Nepal. The Rana rulers in Nepal have accepted the British rulers in India. The power shifts in India and the result of developments in Nepal required a leadership change.

Sood (2014, p.65) observes,

“The Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950, has provisioned the Nepalese citizens the equal economic and educational prospects as the Indian citizens in India, while giving Indian citizens and businesses preferential treatment in Nepal over other nations. The Nepal-India border is open; thus the Indian and Nepali citizens can freely enter either countries it without a passport or visa, and live and this can also work in either country. However, the Indians are not allowed to own land or work in public institutions in Nepal”.

Nepali Prime Minister Mohan Shumsher visited India for discussions and satisfy the new leaders in India.

Upadhyaya (2018, P67) states,

“Nehru warned the Indian parliament that the Indian government could not tolerate any invasion on Nepal from anywhere, although the two nations had no military alliance. Any prospective invasion of Nepal would surely jeopardize India's security. Despite of that, Mohan Shamsher tried to receive Indian support for his dictatorship by showing the Rana rule as a bulwark against communist takeover from the north. Following the follow-up talks, New Delhi and Kathmandu signed treaties of peace and friendship, as well as trade and commerce, on July 31, 1950, to solidify their new alliance”.

Since 1950, the bilateral relations with the independent India have been commenced. The 1950 Treaty of peace and Friendship between these two countries was ratified by Nepal government.

Savada (1991, P. 72-78) says,

“The Citizenship Act of Nepal, 1952 made it exceedingly easy for Indians to move to Nepal and get citizenship, causing significant resentment in Nepal.

This policy was the same as previously made until Nepal's constitution was amended in 1962, which include several limited clauses”.

Furthermore, he states,

“The relationship between Kathmandu and New Delhi warmed dramatically after the Sino-Indian border war in 1962. India has withdrawn its assistance to Nepalese opposition groups located in India”.

GoI removed its military checkpoints and 23 liaison groups from Nepal in 1970. While GoN argued for revisions in the trade and transit Treaty, the tensions between to countries arose. The Indian Government did not accept Nepal’s proposal of zone of peace, while more than 50 nations of the world accepted it. Nepal Had lost some of its territory, such as Sikkim and land west to Kali river because of the consequence of The Anglo-Nepali War (1814-16) Likewise, some land of terai region was also lost because of the Sugauli Treaty in 1816.

Adichie, 2009 says,

“Any single story can be dangerous and create a contested environment. It gives rise to stereotypes. Stereotypes are problematic not because they are false, but because they are incomplete”.

According to Malone, (2012, p. 75),

“A 'paradox' between closeness and separation has been an equally important aspect of Nepal-India ties (Tripathi, 2019, pp.186-200). Scholars have noted that Nehruvian values and his daughter Indira Gandhi's 'hard realism' drive Indian foreign policy”.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Multi-dimensional relations have been tied between these two countries from the existence of theirs, Because of political activities in either sides some while cause

some hostility in both sides. However, except the Anglo-Nepal war, There was never any battle or war took place. Only in speeches of the leaders of both sides as well as the media of the two countries provoke the negative attitude. Due to the people to people relations as well as the soft diplomacy of the each side leaders, the situation has remained smooth. Basically, both Nepal and India are the strong supporter of non-alignment, sometimes the cold relation between China and India caused the suspecting with Nepal. Moreover, Nepal is a landlocked country and it has direct access to the sea through the Indian land. Because of the administration both sides, sometimes the trade and business of Nepal gets disturbance, As well, there were some bitter experiences of undeclared economic blockade to Nepal by India.

Crossette 1989 says,

“The weapons purchase agreement with the Government of the Republic of China (GoRC) immediately after discovering that had obtained a concession to build a road connecting China and Nepal in the western sector, relations between the two countries hit rock bottom. These events were interpreted by India as a deliberate attempt to compromise national security. India pushed for the development of a single consolidated treaty as well as an agreement on illegal trade after the 1978 trade and transit treaties expired in March 1989, which Nepal saw as a brazen attempt to strangle its economy”.

Moreover, Crossette states,

“India declared both accords invalid on March 23, 1989, and closed all but two border entry points. Fuel, cooking oil, food, salt and other basic commodities imported into India quickly became scarce. The thriving tourism industry has taken a hit. Nepal also claimed that the embargo had wreaked havoc on the environment by forcing citizens to rely on already reduced forest

supplies for energy rather than gasoline and kerosene, which were mostly imported via India. Nepal began a strong diplomatic campaign to oppose Indian pressure on trade and transit issues”.

Thousands of Nepalese Gurkha soldiers are employed by GoI. From the rise of civilization, between the people the people of those two countries remarkable civilian tie.

TBC focuses,

“The overwhelming outpouring of sympathy from Nepali people on social media platforms for the recently deceased Bollywood star Sushant Singh Rajput demonstrated the deep cultural affinity. Kalapani 400 square kilometers in the Western Nepal and Susta 140 square kilometers in the Midsouthern Nepal are two of India's territorial disputes. The Mahakali River is Nepal's western border with India, according to the Sugauli Treaty, which Nepal and British India signed on March 4, 1816. The source of the river differs between India and Nepal. Nepal is said to have presented a map from the British India Office from 1856 to back up its claim”.

Nepal's fact less version related to the birth place of Lord Buddha and big brother syndrome have caused some misunderstand. India has time and again imposed trade blockades against Nepal, in 1975, 1989, and 2015. This also resulted strong anti-India sentiment in Nepal.

According Nepali citizen perception,

“Some MoUs and pacts between two countries seem lopsided to India. Such activities and Indian attitude towards Nepal has caused the negativity in Nepali people with India. Many experts in diplomacy observe Nepal's growing ties with China has made India suspicious towards Nepal. Since

Nepal lacks access to the sea, Nepal is forced to be over dependent on India. Knowing well the compulsion of Nepal, India, directly and indirectly, exploits Nepal's sovereignty which in any case not tolerable to Nepal".

In this regard, Bhesh Bahadur Thapa (1994) writes,

"This over-dependence was exposed decades later, in 1989, when India put an economic blockade on Nepal as a result of its displeasure with the country's growing ties with China".

When the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came into government in India, it favoured the Hinduism. This has made the Non-Hindu in Nepal annoyed.

Bhattarai (2015) asserts,

"The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu nationalist organization intimately linked to India's ruling government, has maintained a Nepal chapter for a long time, has strong ties to the Hindu monarchy, and has historically backed a Hindu state in Nepal-Hindu parties in Nepal attempted to promote their agenda in 2015 by requesting that the word "secular" be deleted from the draft constitution, influenced by those in India. The fact that Indian Defense Minister Rajnath Singh has stated that he would back Nepal's return as a Hindu state has only added to these anxieties. This narrative appears to be supported by sections of the Indian media, which are embracing hyper-nationalist views at home and stirring up anti-Islam feelings in Nepal, which has a long history of religious tolerance. The study of socio-cultural relations with neighboring countries is important in understanding the unique relationships that exist between nations and cultures. These relationships can impact everything from international politics, law, and economics to security, diplomacy, and governance".

In this context, it seems justifiable to find out the root cause of hindrances occurred on the way of socio-cultural ties between Nepal, as well as to exactly understand the current status of the such ties between these two neighbors. Viewing the above mentioned discussion, the study has aimed to address the following questions through a research work:

- i. What is the status as well as the basis of the socio-cultural ties between Nepal and India?
- ii. Why are the existing challenges and threats exist between these two countries?
- iii. How can the policies be developed for faster the bilateral socio-cultural relationship between Nepal and India?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the study is sensitively asses how the Nepal–India socio-cultural relationship has evolved, Moreover, the specific objectives of the study are determined as following:

- i. To asses the basis and latest condition of socio-cultural ties between Nepal and India.
- ii. To identify analytically the core obstacles regarding the socio-cultural ties between them.
- iii. To find out the ways towards for faster the socio-cultural relations between Nepal and India.

1.4 Significance of the Study

There is an incomparable socio-cultural tie between Nepal and India, Both the countries have left their borders open for them. As well as the socio-cultural ties exist in people to people level. Viewing at the current situation Nepal share its open border with the five states of India. However, for last three decades the anti- India sentiment

in Nepali people is steadily rising. The current Political disturbance in Nepal has alarmed its people to be aware of external interference.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

The socio-cultural ties between Nepal and India, overlaps other factors of governance such as economic, politics, etc. Therefore, this study, due to the limitation of resources, is mainly concentrated in Kathmandu and Delhi (two capitals). As mentioned above the method of this research is descriptive and explanatory using a qualitative approach to gather data, generate knowledge and answer the research questions. Data and information are collected using open ended questions through purposive sampling.

1.6 Study Structure

The whole dissertation has been structured in following seven chapters.

- i. The first chapter is specifically the introductory part. It consists of the statement of problem, research questions, research objectives and delamination of the study.
- ii. The second chapter analytically focuses on the previous works related to study. As well it consists the grey area.
- iii. This chapter includes the basics of research methodology.
- iv. The fourth chapter analytically describes the current situation and achievement of socio-cultural relations between Nepal and India.
- v. The fifth chapter is related to the core threats major of the relations between Nepal and India related to political, economic, social, cultural and people's level.
- vi. The sixth chapter includes the policies to the implemented in order to make the relations better.

- vii. The last chapter, which is the seventh one includes the conclusion as well as major finding of the research.
- viii. After the seventh chapter, the reference-list and appendices are placed.

Chapter -Two

Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction to the Chapter

The overview of the related previous works is understood as a vital organ of a research work. It contributes in identifying the specific problems as well as developing hypotheses. Reviewing the previous works means a scientific study of the previous works related to the present research.

In the context of reviewing the previous work related to the research, Pant (2012) states,

“It’s review is envisaged to be instrumental in providing the guidelines for the research in the context of theories and other research. Keeping in mind the above mentioned purposes, the review of available literature has been undertaken for this research work, especially to achieve the set objectives of the research”.

This chapter presents major findings of review of the previous works, which is directly related to the research. This chapter is the basic foundation of the whole thesis. It includes electronic research database and synthesized published works, i.e. dissertations, reports, case studies, authentic books, Journals, Magazines working papers, etc. As a theoretical analysis the research gaps are genuinely included in this research.

South Asia has its own culture and ways of life. Hinduism, Islamic, Buddhism and Sikhism philosophies and way of life have been boldly stood in the South Asian communities. Dominance of above mentioned religious and cultures, to some extent, varies country to country. It is obvious that the cultural heritages such as music, arts,

social rituals, architects and human behaviors are to a large extent seem similar between these two countries.

Explaining the religious closeness between Nepal and India Pandey (1979) writes,

“As belonging to the broader South Asian culture, Nepal and India, two neighboring countries, share special closeness and similarity in cultural tradition. They are so closely and strongly interlinked by social life and cultural tradition that nobody can imagine to separate them. Both have made great contributions to enriching religious and cultural heritage in this region, and beyond. Lord Buddha, born in Nepal, has left his footprints not only in India but all over the world. Sita, the daughter of Nepal, who was married to Shree Ram Chandra, the crown prince of Ayodhya in India, has made special place in the hearts of Hindus living anywhere in the world. The contributions made by the Nepalese as well as Indian philosophers and saints to the Sanatan philosophy/Hindu philosophy but to the whole humanity, has been beyond explanation. They have forever stood as the great personalities of this region. They have helped evolve, develop, spread and conserve the cultural heritage which is well famous as the South Asian culture”.

He further adds,

“The cultural links between Nepal and India have many facets. Religion is perhaps the most important factor, and plays a predominant role in shaping the cultural relations between these two countries. This is manifested in the large number of peoples from both countries visiting each other’s countries for pilgrimage. Thousands of Nepalese nationals visit pilgrimage sites in India every year. The char dham yatra (visit of four dhams in India, viz. Badrinath/Kedarnath in Uttarakhand, Jagannath (Puri) in Orissa,

Rameshwaram in Tamilnadu, and Dwarka in Gujrat) is a life-time aspiration of almost all Hindus. There are many other places in India which are considered sacred sites by Nepalese people. They include Haridwar, Rishikesh, Varanasi, Gaya, Vaishnodevi, Mathura, Gokulpuri, Brindaban, etc”.

Prof. Ruder Upadhyaya (2024) writes,

“There are a number of religious sites in Nepal which are considered very sacred and important, and are attractions as ‘must visit’ religious destinations for Indian nationals. Such sites include Pashupatinath in Kathmandu, Lumbini (the birth place of Buddha) in Rupandehi district, Ram-Janaki temple in Janakpur (the birth place of Janak and Sita), Muktinath in Mustang, Gosaikunda in Rasuwa, Siddhanath in Kanchanpur and many more. As the peoples of both countries share common religious faiths and philosophies, and and worship same gods and incarnations, their cultural ties are really very strong and inseparable. Matrimonial relations between the people of both countries is the another important aspect of socio-cultural relation between them. It is the common practice either to bring bride from India or to send bride to India. This practice has widened the people-to- people relation or family relation between these two counties. Matrimonial relation has further more influenced the other aspects of social and cultural life, such as language, social rituals, life style, food habits, etc.

Likewise, BBC (2015, September 29) broadcasts,

“Using the cinemas and music of and by both countries is also the major component of social and cultural behavior. Indian movies are popular in Nepal; and so is the Indian music. Nepali cinemas and music are popular in

India, especially in places with concentration of the people of Nepalese origin, mainly in Northern and North-eastern India. Language is yet another component of Nepal-India cultural affinity. Peoples in both countries share many languages. Such common languages include, inter alia, Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Hindi, Avadhi, etc. Sanskrit is the root of many of these languages, which is regarded as the language of the gods and saints. Nepal and India both use Devnagari script in writing Nepali, Hindi and many other common languages. Many religious texts, including the Vedas, Upanishads, Puranas, Tripitak are written in this script”.

Kanshakar (2001) observes the cultural relation between Nepal and India as following:

“Between Nepal and India, there have been frequent exchanges of ideas, personalities and groups of people representing the areas of the art, culture, music, literature and sports. These kinds of events are not limited to government entities alone, but are taking place even more at the peoples’ level. Nepal’s diverse cultural heritage of dance and music- both classical and folk-, theatre, fine arts, and sports have been interacting with their counterparts in India, and have been contributing to foster friendly ties and generate a better understanding and appreciation of each other’s traditions. Every facet of art and culture has become a way of life, and is expressed in carvings, paintings, architecture, sculptures and performing arts like music, cinema and dance. Every form of the arts in these countries is heavily influenced by the respective religious traditions and mythologies, and has helped shape religious norms and values in Nepal and India. The close cultural relationship between the peoples of Nepal and India is a great asset for both countries. This

closeness has not only helped maintain traditional friendly relations between them but has also greatly contributed to promoting mutual understanding, appreciating each other's aspirations, and cementing the existing ties of warm and cooperative neighborhood. This has remained, and will continue to remain, the strongest and unshakable link between these two countries. Every year thousands of Nepali students study either technical or non-technical education in the colleges and universities of India. Likewise, hundreds of Nepalese people visit to Indian hospitals for treatment. Likewise, thousands of Indian citizens work formally and informally in Nepal and vice-versa".

Although there are various strengths of the social and cultural relations between Nepal and India, there are some drawbacks prevailing.

In this context, Pandey (1979) states,

“Human trafficking, illegal transport of weapons and drugs, illegal entry of the criminals and terrorists from one country to another is the most negative social and cultural aspect of open border between the two countries. It has created security threats in the both countries”.

Paudel et.al. (2018) view,

“Analyzing the prospectus of open border between India and Nepal, “Most importantly, small business performance activities in border region share sentimental attachment in the people dwelling both sides of the open border regions. Nepal and India share unique relationship of friendship and cooperation characterized by open border and deep-rooted people-to-people contact of kinship and culture from the distant”.

They further state,

“In the formal manner, the 1950s border Treaty between Nepal and

movements which set up the base for business activities in border area and it has been further expanded after the globalization and liberalization policies adopted by the government of Nepal in 1990s (Kanshakar, 2001). Border side small business has become crucial part of Nepal-India route trade. As a result, market area, population density and business activities in border sides have been increasing and further stimulated. There is psychological coherence among Nepali and Indian people in terms of lifestyle, business operation, way of thinking, motivation, dream and happiness factors as both the nations share long term history, culture, treaties, policies and political movements (Jha, 2013). These factors have established similar business in both sides of the border. Garments, raw materials, manufacturing goods, medicine and daily commodities are purchased in the border area”.

Small businesses in the border area are strengthened due to exchange of knowledge, skills and employment boosting the constantly increasing cross-flow in the border. Nevertheless, though two-way flow is increasing and has caused the challenges of controlling anti-social and illegal activities in open border region Kanshakar (2001) and Jha (2013).

In this context, Fuest and Riedel (2020) argue,

“Tax invasion have emerged in both the areas. Tax-invasion goods are one of the major challenges dominating the border area local market”.

Paudel et al. (2018) state,

“From Nepal-India open border region such tax-invasion goods are transported en route to major cities and capital of the nation which has adversely affected national revenue. Kansakar (2001) and Jha (2013) covers the Nepal-India border side people and relationship problems, prospects,

challenges of Nepal-India open border and the political nature of border issues of Nepal between India and China. Likewise, Pant (1962) highlights the trends of Nepal India trade relation and highlights the advantages of border side market to both the nations and the traders whereas Baral (1992) stresses the necessity of continuity and change between Nepal-India relations. Subedi (1994) highlights the 1950 treaty and discusses more about the present India-Nepal security relations and possible new perspectives in border security management. Shrestha (2003) identifies the problems and prospects of Nepal-India Bilateral trade relations. Behera (2011) focusses impact on security and other issues of migration from Bangladesh and Nepal to India. In the same vein Kumar (2013) highlights necessity of mutual needs of the people across the open border between Nepal and India. Sharma and Thapa (2013) show migration issues and highlight the migration”.

As granted between Nepal and India. Poudyal (2014) studied historical and cultural perspective in border dispute between Nepal and India. Kavitha (2016) highlights the problems and prospects of cross-border between Nepal-India relations under the changing paradigm. Adhikari (2015) argued that Nepal inspired the growth of art, architecture and culture on both sides of the border. Both side ministerial documents also highlighted the importance of Nepal India border.

2.2 Eastern Directive

The ancient eastern philosophy and literature have prescribed a lot of guidelines in course of the inter-state relation. Oriental literature i.e. The Vedas, Upanishads, Smirities, Purans are the oldest epics of the human civilization. These epics, of course, are treasure of social-cultural and political philosophies (Pandey, 2023). Hence it

would be much more relevant to highlight on the basic features of Hinduism and some mantras which are highly valuable for keeping harmony and peace among societies.

2.2.1 Concept of Hinduism

Hinduism is covered one of the oldest religions with roots dating back over 4,000 years, possibly originating in the Indus valley civilization (Karki.2081). The term 'Hinduism' was introduced later by British writers in 19th century. It has evolved over centuries through various schools of through philosophies and practices.

Its essence, Hinduism is a complex and rich tapestry of beliefs and practices, deeply rooted in Nepalese and Indian histories and culture, with continuing to evolve and adapt to the modern world.

Hinduism is a diverse and ancient religion and way of life. It is characterized by a wide range of belief, practices and philosophies and is often described as a collection of various traditions rather than a single, unified system. Hinduism is often called "Sanatan Dharma" meaning 'eternal order' or 'eternal way'. The following are the key aspects of Hinduism (Pandey, 2023):

1) Dharma

A central concept, Dharma refers to the cosmic order, ethical conduct and righteous living.

2) No Single Founder

Unlike many other religions, Hinduism does not have a single founder or central authority.

3) Diverse Beliefs

Hinduism encompasses monotheistic (belief in one God) and polytheistic (belief in many Gods) elements. While often seen as polytheistic, it also includes the

concept of a single ultimate reality (Brahman) which manifests as various deities like brahma (the creator), Vishnu (the preserver) and Shiva (the destroyer).

4) Secret Texts

The vedas are considered the most ancient and fundamental scriptures, believed to be divine in origin.

5) Karma and Reincarnation

These are core beliefs, suggesting that actions in this life influence future lives through a cycle of birth, death and rebirth (reincarnation).

6) Moksha

The ultimate goal in Hinduism is to attain liberation (moksha) from the cycle of reincarnation, achieved through following one's dharma.

7) Global Reach

While originating in Nepal and India, Hinduism has spread to many parts of the world, with a significant number of followers globally.

8) Influence on other Religions

Hindu philosophy and practices have influenced other major religions and spiritual traditions.

2.2.2 Manifestation of Gods in Hinduism

The general name of God in Hinduism is 'Brahman', According to the Brahman Upanishad,

“The name divine essence within us is 'Atman'. They are one and the same, Infinite and eternal. However, God is also present in all creation. God's manifestation in creation goes by many names. It is the one infinite, eternal, Divine being that is manifesting in countless ways. It is like a person at the

same time being called “Father” by his son. “Friend” by his friend, “Son” by his own father, “Husband “by his wife, etc”.

A Lord has been addressed as Shiva, Vishnu, etc. and as Divine mother, Kali, Durga, etc. God can also manifest as an extraordinary being in human form, who is then known as an incarnation of God, Such as Krishna, Ram etc. Since it is the one infinite God alone that is being looked at in different ways, all these manifestations can be prayed to help and protection. This is the underlying principle behind all different sects of Hinduism. Those who prefer a particular manifestation of divinity will form a sect devoted to the contemplation and worship of that manifestation. All the sects however, will accept the ancient teachings of the Vedas and the Vedanta as the foundation of their practice.

2.2.3 Vedic Mantras

Nation strengthening mantra in the Sanskrit language has been spelled down in the 22nd mantra of the 22nd chapter of the Shukla Yajurved. This mantra has been recognized as National anthem of the yagyas as the peace providing mantra. Through this prayer a humble request is made to the almighty for the happiness and prosperity of all the creatures, energies, along with the ecology. This mantra is as following:

Aa brahman brahmano brahmavarchasi jayatam

Aa rastre rajanyah shur isharyotivyadhi maharatho jayytam

Dogdhi dharervodhangvanashuh

Sapti purandhiryash jishnu rathesthah

Sameyo ybasya yajamanasya biro jayatam

Nikame nikame naha parjnyao barshatu falabatyo na aushadhaya

Yogakshemo naha kalpatam ॥ (yajurveda 22/22)

It is a Vedic mantra which means *O god let me the brahman* be produced in our country enlightened by the brahma light or spiritual light.

This mantra has been enlisted in the yajurved and it is prayed for the wellbeing of the Hindu. This is a very broad prayer which not recited only for the welfare of Brahmins but the Hindus. For happiness, prosperity, security and spiritual prosperity of the whole nation.

The next mantra which is presented below describes the Hindu land and the Hindu people as following:

Aasindhoha sindhuparyanta yasya bharatbhumika

Pitribhuh punyabhuschamai savai hinduriti smirta

According to the above mantra, from the source of Sindhu (Indian Ocean to the whole land of the Bharat Varsha, which is the Father land as well as the motherland is the Hindu land and its people are Hindus.(hi.quora.com)

The following mantra is for maintaining peace.

Om saha navavatu saha nau bhunaktu

Saha viryam karvavahai

Tejaswinavadhitamatumahi vidiishavahai

Om sahani, shanti shanti:

This is the prayer for peace of all the creatures and materials of the universe. We can feel peace if all the people, creatures and materials of the world are happy and prosperous.

Isha vasyamid sarvam yatkincha jagatyam jagat

Tena tyaktena munijiya ma gridhaa kasya swid dananan

This is the first shloka of the Isha Vaasya Upanished. It lays emphasis on the idea that God created the Universe and also pervades all of it. He is omnipresent. He is

within the manifested Universe and also beyond we can also say that the whole Universe is enclosed or enveloped in God. And also, he dwells or resides in the entire Universe. So is in ever thing and ever thing is clothed within God. Both are simultaneously true.

Vedic Rastragaan, The Brahman Upanishad says,

“The general name of God in Hinduism is ‘Brahman’. The name of divine essence within us in ‘Atman’. They are one and the same, infinite and eternal. However, God is also present in all creation. Gods manifestation is creation goes by many names. It is the one infinite, eternal, Divine beings that is manifesting in countless ways. It is like person at the same time being called “Father” by his son. “Friend” by his friend, “Son” by his own father, “Husband “by his wife, etc. A Lord has been addressed as Shiva, Vishnu, etc. and as Divine mother, Kali, Durga, etc. God can also manifest as an extraordinary being in human form, who is then known as an incarnation of God, Such as Krishna, Ram etc. Since it is the one infinite God alone that is being looked at in different ways, all these manifestations can be prayed to help and protection. This is the underlying principle behind all different sects of Hinduism. Those who prefer a particular manifestation of divinity will form a react devoted to the contemplation and worship of that manifestation. All the sects however, will accept the ancient teachings of the Vedas and the Vedanta as the foundation of their practice”.

Shanti Mantra

O famous God Indra, do our welfare.

O, the world knowledge pushdev, Do our welfare,

O god, whose arm is Garuda, bless us

O God Brishapati Brahm, bless us

The following Sanskrit Sloka wishing the welfare of the worldly creations is quoted from the Yajurved (36/17) as following:

Om dhruv shantirantikshya shanti

Prithivi shantirap shantirapadhaya shanti

Vannaspatay shantivishwa deva shantir vraham shant

Sarve shanti shantivev shanti sama shantiredhi

Om shanti shanti shanti

2.2.4 Hindu Concept of inter-state relations

In the context of ancient Bharatvarsha, Pandey discusses as following:

“Hindu inter-state relation”, refer to the intersections and practices between different Kingdoms and states, often governed by principles rooted in Dharma (Righteousness) and Artha (Political and Economic organization). While these principles guided conduct, they also co-existed with secular practice and diplomatic norms. Dharma and Artha, Secular elements (political strategy, economic interest and power dynamics). Mandala System diplomacy and treaties, Humanitarian laws and war, Respect for all Religions were the key aspects of Hindu interstate relations” (Pandey, 2021 P.113-118).

The Mahabharat, an epic poem, provides insights into the political landscape and interstate relations of Bharatvarsha, including example of alliances, warfare, and diplomatic relations likewise, Kautilyas Arthashastra, an ancient treaty on statecraft, discusses various aspects of interstate relations, including diplomacy, espionage, and warfare, providing a comprehensive framework for understanding the oriental political thought (<https://testbook.com>).

Of course, Hinduism is the philosophy of brotherhood fraternity, friendship and mutual co-operation. This is the natural way of life (Sanatan) where every one's existence is valued and peace making is the utmost goal of the social beings. So state are the political formation but there must be cordial relation between state and state. According to Kautilya the nearest (adjoining) neighbor may be have hostile attitude. Thus the ruler must be careful of his nearest neighbors. Next to the nearest to neighbor should had good relations however, all the nations must be alert to maintain good relation to all.

2.2.4.1 Kautilya's Mandala Theory

According to Kautilya's Mandala Theory,

“Your neighbor is your natural enemy and the neighbors neighbor is your friend. This was the basic thought kautila's mandala theory. And is the very first thought that comes to quits mind when we read the text of kautilya. Mandala is a Sanskrit word which means circle. The mandala concept is one in which there are circles of friends and foes with the central point being the king and this state. This embraces twelve king in the vicinity and the considers the kingdoms as neighbors, the states which are the enemies neighbors are this enemies friends and the next circle of states are his friend. he also believes that the states which are this neighbors and are also the neighbors of this enemies are natural and should always be treated with respect. He believes that his circle is dynamic and the king should strive to be expanding this central position and reduce the power of the other King in the vicinity. He also proposes to build alliances with states which are two degrees away from the center to create a balance of power”.

2.2.4.2 The Sadguna Theory

The sadguna theory, also known as the six-fold policy is a concept from Kautlya's Arthashastra, a treatise on statecraft and public policy from oriental civilization. It outlines six strategies that a king should consider where dealing with other states

1. Peace treaty (Sandhi)
2. War (vigraha)
3. March/ Expedition(Yana)
4. Neutrality/Halting (Asana)
5. double policy (dvaidhibhava).

These strategies are not mutually exclusive and can be combined or adapted based on the specific circumstances and the mandala theory, which describes the relationship between states. According to scribed understanding the mandala theory is crucial for applying the Sadgna principles effectively.

The Sadguna theory, along with the Mandala theory, provides a framework for understanding statecraft and international relations based on the accient oriental wisdom. It emphasizes the importance of strategic thinking, adaptability and understandly the nuanus of power dynamiecs in the pursuit of national interest.

([https:// www.wisdonlib.org](https://www.wisdonlib.org))

2.2.4.3 Four core diplomatic strategic in ancient oriental political thought

The phrase “*saam, daam, dand, bhed*” refers to four core diplomatic strategies in oriental political thought offer associates with Kautalya's Arthashastra. These strategies represent a spectrum of approached to conflict resolution and achieving objectives, ranging from peaceful persuasion to fearful action. In essence “*Saam, Dana, Bhed Danda*” represents a hiesaudy of diplomatic strategies, starting with the most peaceful to the most forceful. The choice of which strategy to employ depends

in the specific context and the nature of the conflict. Each strategy has been briefly discussed below:

- a) *Saam (Samadhan or persuasion)*: this involves persuasion, conciliation and negotiation. It's about building alliances and using communication to find common ground and resolve conflict peacefully.
- b) *Daam (Benefit or Gifts)*: this refer to offering incentives, such as financial rewards or gifts, to influence the other party. It's a form of indirect influence that can be used when persuasion alone is not sufficient.
- c) *Dand\ (put at last)*: this involves punishments, force or the threat of force. It's a more assertive approach, used where other methods fail to achieve the secured outcome or when dealing with an intractable adversary.
- d) *Bhed (Difference)*: this strategy focuses on creating division or exploiting existing weakness within the opposing party. It can involve using intelligence, psychological tactics or creating discord to weaken the enemy's position.

(Sources: Nidhi soni,info@thegeostrata.com)

2.3 Theoretical Premises

The political theory plays a vital role in course of international relation related studies. The major functions highlight the understanding the objectivity of the logical/systematic presentation. In this Regard for the purpose of this study realism, liberalism, and constructivism have been discussed and analyzed here. International relation theories include several various paradigms with different opinions of the political thinkers. Since these are competing general theories regarding the study of international relations. Amongst them major theories are discussed and analyzed as following:

According to Patel (2017, p. 73),

“Some political thinkers view dependency theory as a historical condition shaping the structure of the world economy in particular situation like some big nations have appeared as determining the fortune of the small nations”.

Likewise, the rational choice theory of economics states as following: The people who are rational attempt to utilize optimum the resources they do have scarcity, in simple words, means the gap between the resources available and endless wants of the people.

KC (2072) opines, “That there are four primary power structures, i.e., security, knowledge, production and finance”, whereas Prebisch-Singer's dependency theory focuses that the prosperous countries explain that are enriched by resource flow from the poor countries, according to him such poor countries are the refers as periphery states. He further states, “The trade for underdeveloped countries deteriorates as can afford for fewer and fewer manufactured goods from developed countries in exchange of their raw materials”. In this way he argues that the cost of the primary products relatively lessens than that of the manufacturing.

The above mentioned opinion of his difference with the neo-classical theory focuses the rise of economic activities of the nation are mutually beneficial. According to prebisch singer, the periphery nations need to stop the manufactured products from the richer countries and they need to search and develop the substitution of the imports in their own countries.

According to the Marxist theorists,

“The persistent poverty is a result of capitalist exploitation. Among them Frank argues that underdevelopment of periphery states is a by-product of their frequent dealing with the core states from long period. In this way, the

Marxist theorists conclude the industrialized and developed countries have strongly influenced the economic as well as political power of the small countries. The concept is a root in the initial phase of human civilization where tribal chief (patron) provide financial assistance and security to the members of the tribe. The clients were loyal towards the chief. In the same manner the international relations the big power (Patron) distributes economic and security cooperation to the small power (Client). They exercise the superior resources and influence for which clients so that they must be loyal to the chiefs” (Patrons).

The Patron-Client relations have mainly three qualities:

- (i) reciprocity,
- (ii) asymmetric relations and
- (iii) patron's interest.

Reciprocity show the re-relations where Patron State gives foreign aid and military assistance to the client state. In return the client states pay for their assistance through solidarity and loyalty. However, the asymmetric relations mean the unequal relations where the is solely dependent on the patron. In other words the patron states have vested interest from the client states. The main purpose of the patron states was the convergence of the client states towards the ultimate goal of patron states, especially in during cold war period. For Example, Soviet Union has had a strong interest that the client states need to follow communism whereas USA had the contrasting interest that clients flow the capitalist democratic system.

2.3.1 Realism Theory

Realism, is synonymous to political realism. Shahi, 2073 states,

“Realism is an approach to international politics. It emphasizes the system's

competitive and conflicting features. Idealism or liberalism, is absolutely different from realism”.

According to realism,

“Nations are players in the globe, regarded to their security for national interests”.

This approach focuses on strength and own benefit. In this way it causes negativity.

According to it “The national politics is a world of authority and law, whereas the international politics is a realm devoid of law”. It is determined by contemporary possibilities and debates. The Realists thinkers opine that ethics is irrelevant in international relations. We can differentiate between classical and extreme realism.

Classical realism emphasizes on national interests. Machiavellian argues that "anything is justifiable for the sake of the state" (Shahi, 2073). It also restricts growing violence and warfare.

Shahi (2073) further states,

“Classical realists do not agree with the possibility of moral judgment. They criticize moralism, an abstract moral discourse which hates political realities, they value-successful political action pleads the ability to evaluate the appropriateness of a particular action amongst the possibilities of desired political consequences. Principally, realism has a long history. It encompasses a broad horizon of consequences”.

According to Shahi (2073),

“The liberal critiques have attacked over the classical realism and neorealism IR, a school of thought, stresses the competitive and conflictual aspects of international affairs. Realism is taken as origins in some previous publications, especially narrative of the Peloponnesian War, between 431 and 404 BCE. The IR theory did not appear until the twentieth century, Till Thucydides wrote

over two thousand years ago. He was not seeming as the realist. The theorists found out several similarities between ancient and modern cognitive models and actions. They look back to contemporary horizon. They then used Thusydiedes and others' creationto support the argument that there existed a timeless theory”.

According to Antunes and Comisao (2018), “Realism was the label described as a theory in politics”. Stating realism a philosophy, seeks to explain entirely global politics,

Miller (2018) focuses,

“The political restrictions are imposed by humanity's egoistic character and the lack of a centralized authority above the state. The primary priority for realists is the state's existence, which explains why states' acts are judged by ethics of responsibility rather than moral precepts. Because of realism's prominence, there has been a considerable body of writing critically of its main assumptions. Despite the merits of the criticisms, which will be discussed further in this book, realism continues to provide useful insights and is an important analytical tool for any student of international affairs”.

He further adds,

“The primary actor in foreign affairs, according to realism's basic assumption, is the nation-state. Individuals and organizations are examples of other bodies, although their influence is restricted. The state, on the other hand, is a unitary actor. National interests drive the state to speak and act in unison, especially during times of war. Third, decision-makers are rational actors in the sense that rational decision-making leads to national interest pursuit. It would be illogical to take acts that might weaken or expose your state. All leaders,

regardless of political affiliation, should be aware of this as they strive to handle their state's affairs to thrive in a competitive climate, according to realism. Finally, states exist in an environment of anarchy, in which no one is in command worldwide. In a worldwide emergency, the analogy of "no one to call" is often used to emphasize this point. We usually have police forces, military, courts, and other institutions within our states. There is an assumption that these organizations will "do something" in the event of an emergency. There is no clear statement of anybody else 'doing something on a global scale because there is no defined hierarchy. As a result, governments can only rely upon themselves in the end”.

Morgenthau (1948) striving for building a comprehensive global theory in the aftermath of the second world war views,

“Society at large, is governed by principles that have origins in human behavior (Morgenthau, 1948, pp. 55-58). Unlike more hopeful idealists who anticipated international issues to be handled by open, goodwill negotiations, Morgenthau advocated for a strategy that prioritized power over morality. Morality was depicted as something to be ignored when formulating policy. Every political activity, according to Morgenthau, is aimed at retaining, increasing, or exhibiting power. Moral or idealistic policies, it is said, can bring inferiority – and possibly the collapse or dominance of a state by a challenger. In this sense, promoting national interests is amoral - that is, it is not subject to ethical calculations”.

Waltz published *Theory of International Politics* in 1979 which focuses the realist response and redefines pragmatism in course of international relations. This theory challenges Hans Morgenthau's social theory. His theory was related to human nature.

It also minimizes philosophical analysis of human nature favoring the construction of microeconomics. In his view, Waltz state that the international systems are lie the businesses in the home economy where all the stakeholders wish for their survival.

Waltz (1979) states,

“Traditional liberals and classical realists make the same mistake by focusing on the individual state rather than ideological, moral, and economic considerations. They are unable to offer a serious explanation of the international system that is different from the larger social context. Such abstract distorts reality and overlooks many of the things that made classical realism so appealing. It is difficult to look into specific foreign policy tendencies. It is quite helpful in comprehending the fundamentals of international politics. Despite diverse forms of government and political philosophies, states behave likely and despite their growing interdependence, the general picture of international relations is unlikely to alter. The unchanging attitude of countries across millennia can be explained by the limits on their behavior enforced by the global system's architecture”.

In Waltz (1979) view non-state actors are trivial actors because all the states wish for their existence, Anarchy is meant for self-help system, within this system every country survivor itself. All the states are equal. However, they have some specialty due to their internal influence. In this way waltz’s neo-realist theory seems impractical for internal politics. Likewise, his views on power and government behavior the classical realists.

Williams (2005) argues,

“Morgenthau perceives state strength as a tool and rational actor. Acting is merely the best way to obtain the greatest amount of power”.

According to neo-realists, “states give a strong emphasis on power distribution. And their foremost interest is self- security, classical realism in terms of methodological rigor and scientific self-concept”.

In Waltz, (1979) opinion,

“The underlying principle of international affairs, anarchy, stays constant regardless of the distribution of powers across states. This has a long-term effect on state behavior that has been indoctrinated into self-help logic. In an attempt to debunk neoliberal notions about the consequences of interconnection, Waltz outlines two reasons why the chaotic international system hinders cooperation: fear and unequal gains. Each state in anarchy is unsure of the motives of others and is concerned that the potential advantages of cooperation may advantage other countries more than it, making it dependent on others. "States do not choose to put themselves in positions where they are more reliant. Security issues subordinate economic gain to political interest in a self-help system”.

Williams (2005) further states,

“Neorealism has proven tremendously influential within the field of international relations due to its theoretical elegance and methodological rigor. Many researchers believe Morgenthau's realism has become archaic" an intriguing and important episode in the history of thought on the topic, no doubt, but hardly to be seen as a fundamental contribution of the rigorously scientific theory. Currently scholars have questioned prevailing narratives in the field of international relations about unambiguous theoretical traditions. Re-examinations of Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and other theorists have grown popular as a way of questioning how their legacies are now used in the

discipline and investigating different lineages and orientations. Morgenthau has gone through a similar interpretive process. His ideas have been endorsed by several researchers as a source of change for the classic realist interpretation. Morgenthau's dedication to speak truth to power and unmask authority's claims to truth and morality as well as his proclivity to advocate different views at different periods, are highlighted by Williams”.

Williams (2005) further mentions,

“The key to grasping realism is that it is a theory which contends that in an imperfect world, distasteful activities such as war are important weapons of statecraft and that leaders must employ them when it is in the national interest. Realism is a philosophy that seeks to explain world politics in its entirety. It underlines the political restrictions imposed by humanity's egoistic character and the lack of a centralized government above the state. The primary priority for realists is the state's existence, which explains why states' acts are judged by ethics of accountability rather than moral precepts. Because of realism's prominence, there has been a considerable body of writing critically of its main assumptions. Despite the validity of the objections, which will be discussed further in this text, realism continues to produce useful insights and is an essential analysis tool for any student of global affairs”.

2.3.2 Liberal International Relation Theory

According to Shiraev and Zubok (2014) following principle:

“Liberalism is an international relations theory school. It is a refusal of realpolitik as the only possible result of international affairs; a focus on mutual gain and collaborative partnerships; and with use of international bodies and non-governmental players to influence state priorities and choices, this thought

emphasizes three factors that encourage states to cooperate rather than compete; international organizations, such as the UN, which provide a forum for nonviolent dispute resolution; international commerce, because established democracies do not go into conflict with one another, so interstate-state war will be less prevalent if there are more democratic countries; and the spread of democracy because established democracies do not go to conflict with one another, so interstate conflict will be less regular if there are more democratic nations".

They further comment liberalism as they view that liberalism believes in the significance of international institutions for inter-state cooperation. In Shiraev and Zubok (2014) opinion, "States can lessen conflict by putting in place the right international institutions and enhancing interdependence (including economic and cultural interactions)".

Shiarav and Zubok (2014) argue,

"International diplomacy can be a powerful tool for getting countries to communicate honestly and promote nonviolent solutions to problems, States can work together to achieve prosperity with the right institutions and diplomacy by lessening war affairs".

According to Placek (2012),

"The problems of attaining permanent peace and cooperation in international relations, as well as the numerous strategies that could contribute to their success, are the primary subjects that it aims to address. The democratic peace theory and, more broadly, the effect of domestic political regime types and domestic politics on international relations are two important topics of research under liberal international relations theory".

Shirayev and Zubok (2014) further argue,

“Liberalism had profound scholarly and philosophical roots from its inception. Early influences can be detected in certain larger religious practices that share the same purpose as the theory's primary principle of worldwide cooperation and peace. Eventually, in the 17th and 18th centuries, political liberalism started taking on a form that targeted aristocratic and inherited inequality. Soon after, the Enlightenment began, with philosophers such as Voltaire, Locke, Smith, and German philosopher Immanuel Kant articulating liberal concepts in their writings. The Thirty Years' War and the Enlightenment impacted liberal intellectuals in part. The length and carnage of the Three Decades' War instilled a broad aversion to warfare throughout most of Europe”.

Exploring several ideas and making observations on society John Locke (1689),

“People are born as blank slates, according to Locke, with no preconceived beliefs or notions. This phase is characterized as the Natural order because it represents individuals in their most barbaric form. As people grow older, their experiences shape their perspectives and actions. Until people may choose to leave or their barbarous nature is transformed, they are fundamentally in the Natural order. According to Locke, civil governance can bring order to chaos. When it comes to the Law of Nature, when there is a government in existence, individuals are more likely to act rationally since there are laws and punishments to follow. Civil government, according to Locke, can assist people in achieving their basic human rights of health, liberty and possession. One such concept was the Democratic Peace Theory. In Perpetual Peace, Kant argues that democracies do not wage war because their leaders are

preoccupied with re-election. After having witnessed the efficacy of economic alliance in tying authorities together, liberal campaigners grew to assume that violence was not always an inevitable aspect of international relations. Kant thinks that because the conflict was unpopular in the first place, politicians would avoid upsetting voters with their expenditures”.

Shirayev and Zubok (2014) focuses,

“The liberal political theory grew much further. Neoliberals such as Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye have since altered Kant's democratic peace theory. These philosophers have witnessed democracies fighting wars. Due to capitalist links, democracies do not wage wars with other democracies. After seeing how effective economic coalitions were at pulling nations together, liberals began to feel that aggression was not always an inherent part of global affairs. From there, support for liberal political theory grew much further. Neoliberals such as Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye have since altered Kant's democratic peace theory. These philosophers have witnessed democracies fighting wars. Due to capitalist links, democracies do not wage wars with other democracies”.

Kenneth and Waltz (1959) add,

“The basic liberal theorists claim about the essential social actors and their motivations, the relationship between the state and civil society, and the circumstances under which states develop strategies and make choices in international systems can all be expressed as three assumptions in the liberal theory of world politics. Many elements of the realist tradition have been suggested as grounds for its privileged status, including its longevity, parsimony, and appeal to politicians. The most important reason, however, is

because it remains the only fully articulated theoretical approach (sometimes referred to as "paradigm") on the subject of international relations from a social scientific perspective”.

They further observe,

“Realism has its detractors. Immanuel Kant, John Stuart Mill, Richard Cobden, Woodrow Wilson, Norman Angell, Joseph Schumpeter, and John Maynard Keynes are among the most persistent and powerful of these figures from the classical liberal tradition throughout the last two centuries. The following strands of classical liberal thought have found their way into contemporary international relations theory: republican liberalism contends that liberal democracies are more pacific than other forms of government; pluralist liberalism contends that the misdistribution of social power or the existence of deep social cleavages creates incentives for peace and cooperation, and regulatory liberalism contends that international laxity creates incentives for peace and cooperation; and regulatory liberalism contends that international laxity creates incentives”.

Ruggie (1984) argue,

“Liberalism provides a historical analysis of major changes in the international system. Liberalism can predict the slow spread of a liberal capitalist zone of peace and the direction of abrupt changes in world political and economic alignments. It also extends beyond the explanation of aggregate levels of international cooperation and conflict. It also forecasts the substantive substance of state policies in specific circumstances”. Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that liberalism combines systematic and diplomatic elements into a unified framework and it is more than just a unitary

theory that asserts the "inevitable primacy of domestic politics over foreign policy".

2.3.3 Constructivism Approach

In the context of constructive approach, Onuf (1982, P32) states,

“Constructivism's entry into in the field of international relations is frequently linked to the end of the Cold War, an event that classic theories like realism and liberalism failed to account for. Some of their key tenets, such as the belief that states are self-interested individuals competing for power and that the unequal power distribution among nations determines the balance of power between them, can be connected to their failure. Traditional theories have left little room for observing human agency due to their primary focus on the state. After all, it was the activities of regular people, not nations or international organizations, that brought the Cold War to an end. Constructivism explains this problem by claiming that the social reality is constructed”.

In this context Alter (2005) views,

“Through their actions and interactions, actors (typically powerful individuals such as leaders and prominent citizens) form – and occasionally redefine – the fundamental structure of international relations”.

According to Searle (2005),

“Nicholas Greenwood Onuf was the first theorist to use the term "constructivism" in International Relations theory, arguing that states, like individuals, live in a "world of our making," as the title of his famous book suggests, in which many entities such as "social facts" are created by human action, as opposed to "brute facts," which do not rely on human action for their existence but are phenomena of the human condition”.

Reus-Smit (2005) argue,

- (i) “The fact that constructivism arose as a meta-theory about how social sciences in general operate appears to have been the primary reason why constructivism's application in IR garnered so much criticism at first. "Constructivism produced little in the way of substantial knowledge, or even hypotheses, concerning the behavior of states or state systems. In the mid-1990s, alternative publications by various IR theorists helped to create and portray the constructivist approach as a substantial theory of international conduct. With the conclusion of the Cold War, the constructivist school of thought in IR rose to prominence, causing a significant remolding of discussions within the dominant discourse of international relations theory. Such key notions as "discourses," "norms," "identification," and "socialization" are central to constructivist arguments, and are regularly employed in modern conversations over a variety of international concerns, including "globalization," "international human rights," "security policy," and more. Some major developments compelled such a hypothetical event: leading rationalists challenge critical theorists to move beyond meta-theoretical criticism of pragmatism and produce factual theories of international affairs;
- (ii) neorealist' and neoliberals fail to forecast the end of the Cold War and the eventual results challenge to the explanatory and analytical capabilities of their concepts;
- (iii) the emerging as a new generation of international relations”.

Chenoff (2008) states,

“Constructivism has been regarded by some theorists as belonging to or being an outgrowth of the critical discourse of international relations theory, as many

of its pioneers explicitly sought to employ the insights of that theory to illuminate diverse aspects of world politics, while owing much to sociological theorizations and debates. Despite claims by some scholars that constructivism is now forming a new mainstream in international relations theory, it can still be viewed as an oppositional movement within IR theory and a genuinely radical alternative”.

Waltz (1979) observes,

“Constructivism, as a social theory, opposes materialism by hypothesizing human association structures as "primarily cultural rather than material phenomena," and rationalism by arguing for their function as not only behavior-regulating but also identity- and interest-constructing, though it admits that "material forces" "still matter," and "people" "are still intentional actors. The fact that Wendtian constructivism is widely recognized as a systematic philosophy is probably the most fundamental explanation for this”.

2.3.4 International System and the small States

According to East (1975),

“Less population, small territorial size, small economy and limited military capabilities are the basic features of small states”.

However, there is no universal definition of small states, Likewise, in 1969, the UN defined small states as the countries having less one million populations.

Maass (2009) argue that the United Nations Institute for Training and Research defined the countries having having exceptionally low population, area as well as human and economic are small states. According to World Bank, “Small states as countries having 1.5 million or less population and having rank above 75 percentiles in political stability and absence of violence" in its global governance indicators”.

Bhattarai (2017) opines,

“Even though Nepal has its own security arrangements, it has structural scarcity in economic and security terms due to its dependency on foreign powers for arms, ammunitions and war like materials. In the opinion of Keohane a small power is a state whose leaders consider that it can never, acting alone or in a small group, make a significant impact on the system. Nepali leaders' perception that they cannot change or impact the existing system without Indian support verifies Nepal as a small state as per Robert Keohane's definition. A state may be defined as small based on its weak international position and less influence on the international system”.

Bhattarai and Cirikiyasawa (2020) view,

“Nepal possesses low level of military, economic, diplomatic and technological capabilities in comparison with its large neighbors. Nepal's foreign policy agenda is significantly influenced by its geographical size and location, scarcity in economic and military structures and the geo-political regional framework”.

Jaiswal (2016) states,

“China and India are competing for their influence in Nepal which can be illustrated by their competition for commitment to connect Kathmandu with their railways. In addition, India is continuously co-operating to its border people residing in Nepal. Tibet border areas whereas China is operating Confucius centers in Nepal-India border region”.

Bhattarai (2019) opines,

“Nepal's geographical positioning has given it both vulnerabilities and opportunities. Nepal's geo-strategic importance to power nations is increasing

every day due to its emergence as a vibrant bridge between China and South Asia”

2.3.4.1 Challenges of the Small States:

Regarding the challenges of the small states, especially those of Nepal, Upreti (2016) mentions,

“The economic challenges of a small state coded by the Report of the Commonwealth Secretariat / World Bank Joint Task Force on Small State are remoteness and isolation, income volatility, openness, limited diversification, vulnerability to natural disasters and environmental change, access to external capital, poverty and limited institutional capacity. In small states, political set up struggles to nurture the norms of real democracy. As the society is less diversified, uneducated and economically underdeveloped, it is politically less active. This situation of small state further led to the “legitimacy crisis. Legitimacy crisis is the incapability of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the most appropriate or proper ones for society. There are possibilities of military topples and real challenge of sustaining democracy and attracting mass participation in politics. Small states usually having small geographical size possesses limited military capability. They have small militia, limited combat hardware and techniques. They do not have retaliatory capability during external invasion. Similarly, they do not have technical capability to produce military technologies in their own country due to which either they purchase weapons from other countries or receive them in aid from foreign powers. Small states are also weak to tackle the non-conventional forces due to which external elements make them as their playground to carry out illicit activities like drugs and human

trafficking, terrorism, etc. which further deteriorate social and political situation inside the country”.

2.4 Review of Empirical Studies

This study highlights the socio-cultural ties between Nepal and India. Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 between these two countries has significantly influenced their social and cultural relations. The Eminent Persons Group's (EPG) also has identified socio-cultural bond as well as an open border are the results of the stated treaty.

Timilasina (2019), opines,

“Nepal has been victimized as a result of an unequal and dominating treaty, which has been compared to the Versailles Treaty, and Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikari had raised his voice against this treaty for the first time even while in office, sparking an open debate about it, which led to the formation of EPG to study unequal treaties between Nepal and India”.

He further extends his view as,

“The EPG was founded in January 2016 by the Governments of the both countries to resolve longstanding bilateral difficulties between the two countries. Its mandate was to review all disputed elements of Nepal-India relations and revise bilateral agreements and treaties. The joint mechanism, which included specialists and intellectuals from Nepal and India, as well as four members from each country, made every effort to produce acceptable reports. They were given the task of reviewing several elements of bilateral ties, including the 1950 Nepal-India Friendship Treaty, and making recommendations on how to improve bilateral relations between the two countries”.

Gill (2020) argues,

“Democratic Innovations (Dis) is a detailed political history of a vital transitional and formative time in Nepal's history (1950-64) as the authors properly state. The book presents a detailed overview of political evolution in the post-Rana era, as well as an insightful analysis of events. The intra-party and inter-party hostility, as well as government infighting, are all thoroughly explained. Every government formed during the research period is also examined in terms of policy (administrative, economic, and foreign politics. This book could be considered a 'classic' of Nepali political history, despite the absence of any matured thought. There has been a rise in regional cooperative initiatives all around the world since the 1980s. Regional cooperation is based on the assumption that governments in a shared geographical space work together to achieve goals that are beyond the reach of individual countries. In South Asia, regional cooperation gradually found a home. As a result, in 1985, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was formed, and the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) agreement was signed in 2006”.

Manhas and Sharma (2014, Pp. 1-5) state,

“The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, according to Manhas and Sharma (2014), is a foundation of the India-Nepal special relationship. Despite having doubts about the treaty and engaging in political posturing, Nepal has not withdrawn from it. On numerous occasions, Nepal has made steps to counter India's undue influence. To counterbalance India, it has played the China card. It implemented a work permit system for Indian laborers in 1988, as well as a slew of other discriminatory policies towards Indians, all in

contravention of the treaty's spirit. Surprisingly, despite objections from both countries on some topics, the pact has persisted to this day. There is currently an agreement that the treaty has to be revised in light of the changing international and regional landscape. Given the geographical realities, Nepal will continue to be dependent on India. India will also have to recognize Nepal's historical ties and the strategic relevance of forging multifaceted cooperation in the future. To tackle increasing risks from non-state actors, India must take a liberal approach to provide Nepal with trade and transit facilities, as well as closely coordinate its security policy. Borders should ideally be kept open with cooperative regulatory systems, given the tight socio-cultural ties and proclivity of individuals in bordering regions to connect. All of these considerations must be taken into account in the new treaty, which will usher in new cooperation between the two countries”.

2.5 Major Factors Determining Nepal-India Relations

Following are the major determinants of Nepal-India relations, (Upreti, 2016),

- a) “Nepal is strategically located in the Himalayas. It separates the Tibetan plateau from the Indian subcontinent by running along the southern slopes of the big Himalayan ranges.
- b) When Tibet became a part of China, Nepal's northern border has come into close contact with China. Nepal's northern boundary has come into close touch with China.
- c) Arniko-Highway provides China direct access up to Nepal's border.
- d) In the south, east, and west, Nepal shares a border with India. The Nepal-India border is open, artificial, and simple to cross for Nepalese and Indian citizens alike.

- e) There are heavily inhabited, industrialized, and rich agricultural districts on both sides of the border, as well as large urban centers.
- f) Due geographical location, a unique interaction pattern. Nepal has certain severe difficulties in playing the function of a buffer state.
- g) The boundary between India and Nepal is shaped in such a way that India may be unable to protect its borders against any invasion from the north. India cannot afford to ignore these geostrategic realities as a result.
- h) The 1950 Treaty of Friendship and Peace between Nepal and India.
- i) Historically, the border between the two countries has remained open. For the citizens of the two countries, it has now become a way of life”.

According to Upreti (2003, P 259),

“Since 1978, India has mixed the two concerns, whilst Nepal has kept them distinct. Nepal does present investment prospects for Indians. It also serves as a marketplace for Indian goods. In the sphere of river water resource development, both countries might collaborate for mutual benefit. This is one area where India's business and public sectors could collaborate on a significant scale. In this aspect, the two countries have an unspoken agreement. However, not enough effort has been put into putting the accords into effect. Water issues have been politicized throughout time, to the detriment of both Nepal and India. Nonetheless, the two countries have a lot of potential for economic collaboration. In terms of society and culture, there are few differences between India and Nepal. There are so many parallels. Nepal is a Hindu-majority country. For Indians, the kingdom holds tremendous religious significance, and India holds equal religious significance for Nepal”.

Mozumdar (1975) argues,

“The King of Nepal has the sole permission to enter the innermost sanctum of the Lord Jagannath temple in Puri to give adoration. Language, religion, culture, lifestyle, set of beliefs, and festivals all have a lot in common. Because of its linkages with the political leadership in India, Nepal's older political leadership owes a great deal to India. The entire Nepalese democratic movement began on Indian soil. People from Nepal joined the Indian political revolution and an All-India Nepali Congress Party in India”.

Upreti, (2016, pp. 107-115) further focuses,

“The Indian national movement served as a political training ground for them. Because of their acquaintance with Indian politicians and the British liberal democratic model, Nepalese political leaders aspire to a parliamentary democratic system. Political leaders such as B.P. Koirala, Ganesh Man Singh, and others who worked closely with Indian leaders such as Jayprakash Narain and Ram Manohar Lohia adhered to the democratic socialist doctrine. Closer connections with their Indian counterparts changed Nepalese political leaders' perceptions and attitudes toward India. The younger generation of Nepal's current elite does not share the older generation's emotional attachment to India. Sociopolitical compatibility and systemic integrity, on the other hand, play a significant role in their perception of India, as a result of which the two nations have a closer relationship when Nepal has democratic administration”.

He further states,

“Nepal's domestic political compulsions have also a considerable impact on Nepal-India relations. The Nepalese ruling elite, whether monarchy or democratic leadership, constantly turns to India for the continuation of their

reign. The indifference of India has resulted in anti-Indian sentiment among Nepalese governments. Anti-Indianism is the most viable vehicle for political mobilization for opposing political groupings. At the international level, factors released by post-cold war globalization and liberalization have influenced India and Nepal, as well as many other developing countries. Despite the many negative consequences, both countries are compelled to embrace globalization, liberalization, and privatization”.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

According to Waltz (1979),

“Political relation between the two countries affects their dimensions of relations. Domestic political struggles among Nepal's primary political interest groups, as well as their India-tilting character for retaining power, have given rise to the Indian realism approach”.

This study recognizes the relations between Nepal and India are based on realism. It agrees that war may occurs between or among the nations. This study also focuses on sources of conflicts lie within states. It perceives that the internal political misuse in Nepal results the ineffective international relation.

Waltz (1979) further states,

“Human nature is the source of war or tension, it must be changed along with the system because war could be eliminated if only men could be changed”.

Dougherty and Pflatzgraft view,

“Realism is one of the most dominant theories of foreign relations. It goes beyond the notions of a war-prone nature and the state's nurturing of self-power. It appears to show the picture of states from the dawn of time till the present day, and it reflects the self-seeking nature of states at the expense of

others. Moreover, it implies that the nations are perpetually at war, with the centrally organized research program serving that aim. Simply stated, realism has been the prevailing paradigm in foreign policy and international relations for centuries. Realism holds that states, particularly major powers, are the primary actors in international politics; second, states look forward to pursuing their national interests, the most important of which is national security; third, the most dominant resources in pursuit of national interests are material capabilities, particularly military capabilities; and fourth, international politics is distinct from domestic politics because international politics is always anarchic and a state can intervene at any time; and finally, international politics is distinct from domestic politics because international politics is always anarchic and a state can intervene at any time”.

Waltz (1979) states,

“Unilateralism is preferred over multilateralism, and armed action is the most effective means of achieving a goal. As a result, world politics might be defined as a politics of conflict between states in which international law, morality, and human rights are either ignored or disregarded”.

In this context, it is likely to argue that India as following realism in its interaction with Nepal. Madhav Nepal, the former prime minister of Nepal, states with the researcher countries, “All of the treaties signed between the two countries, India had the upper hand, believing that Nepal cannot reject Indian hegemonic realities”. Thus, it can be concluding that the relation between Nepal and India is based on depiction of power politics.

Prof P.L. Bisht, Kumaun University remarks,

“The city-states have been viewed as sovereign nations, and states have been acknowledged as the primary actors in international politics; a state-centric vision of realism has emerged to serve the interests of individual states. The existence of sovereign and independent states supports the existence of anarchy beyond and between state borders. The international system is anarchic and that there is a gulf of power between states in their relations reciprocally. It has been hesitant to adopt UN and international law resolutions, particularly in the area of landlocked states' rights. These rights constitute the bedrock of Indian overt power in Nepal, even though most realists recognize that the current anarchy is not synonymous with disorder or lawlessness”.

Waltz (1979) views,

“The absence of centralized authority in the international domain to determine who is the hunter and who is the hunted, given those diverse situations and substances exist, according to this dissertation, this is the cutting edge, where international or bi-national politics dramatize themselves to the fullest extent possible in favor of powerful ones at the expense of powerless ones because one state's standing and capabilities are compared and determined by its geographic, demographic, military, and economic strength. A state can play a dominant role in the decision-making process from the international community to the United Nations system to the implementation of Nepal-India relation if it is geographically fortunate, demographically dense, militarily strong, and economically sound”.

Morgenthau (1948) observes,

“India is always at war with China to attain the above-mentioned three dominant components, just as all states are always at war with each other. For example, during the First World War, the Second World War, or since the Peloponnesian Wars until the attack on Afghanistan and Iraq, governments have been at odds with one another, with big powers fighting minor or powerless states. This perspective favors describing India's position in Nepal as psychological hegemony before 1947 when the East India Company ruled, and after 1947, when the Indian government became independent”.

Waltz (1979) argues,

“India has worked hard to keep Nepal isolated not only from China but also from all other foreign countries. Except, in containing security concerns. India has always said that Nepal is an independent country, but they have never stated that Nepal is an independent country capable of conducting its foreign policy towards its neighbors and others. Moreover, Nepal has not raised any objections to India's conduct of foreign policy toward its neighbors or its connections with other countries throughout the world, nor has it demanded any witnesses of such acts. India considers Nepal is a small buffer state with a power mania among its political leaders, thus it can't move forward without India's help, therefore it has always pressured Nepal to act for its gain as a self-seeking and security concern of realism. At the same time, it criticizes Nepal's abuse of domestic politics, which has resulted in significant international and Indian intervention, stating that "the internal structure of states affects not only the form but also the external behavior”.

Based on the above discussion the conceptual frame-work for this research is developed as shown presented in the figure- 1 as below:

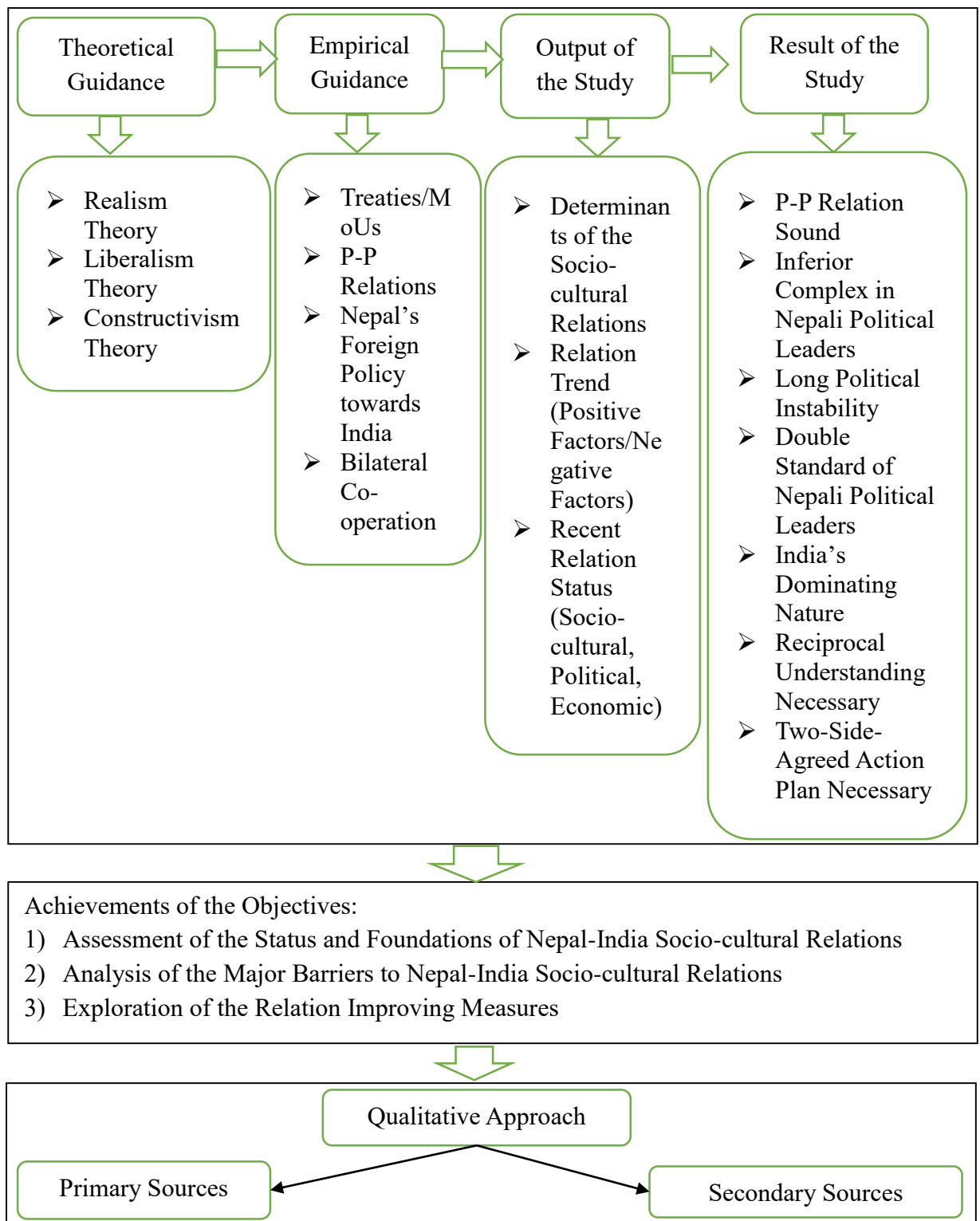


Figure-1: A sketch of the conceptual frame-work

2.8 Chapter Summary

Nepal India have been closest friends from time immemorial. The main reasons of such as long relations is:

- 1) Both Nepal and India have remained fertile lands for the evolution of Hinduism. Both in Nepal and India, majority of the people follow the Hindu religion which have been based oriental Sanatani Dharma and life-style. Many sacred Hindu epics equally have been the guiding principles of the Hindu people residing both sides. All the Hindu Gods, pilgrimages, temples, epics, rituals are equally worshipped and observed by the Hindu people of both sides.
- 2) Geographical proximity with open border from three sides is another reason for having the long relation between these two countries.

Nepal and India not only share cultural similarity between them but also have a long-standing bilateral relationship since sever and a half decade. The establishment of Nepal and India relationship can be observed under two aspects:

- (i) Nepal with British ruled India and
- (ii) Nepal with independent India.

These two aspects are crucial in shaping current relationship structure. It various aspects of the Nepal-India relations were founded during the British Colonial era in India.

After Nepal's defeat in Anglo-Nepal war (1814-16), the treaty of Sugauli was made in 1816. However, Nepal and India established their bilateral relation based on the "Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1950". It is notable that India has strong interest of Nepal has been playing a vital role for India since the China's annexation of Tibet.

Mohan, the editor of India Today (2019) states,

“The Tibet incident alarmed India and in attempt to prevent communist influence spreading in neighboring Himalaya’s country, India carried forwarded the “Himalayan Frontier Policy” of British India with the peace treaty. Though this treaty claims to have established “special relation” between two nations, it has aroused dissatisfaction and problems in both nation relationship, “The treaty was signed in a discreet manner and objectionable provisions were exchanged through letters”. Likewise, “The existence and contents of the letter were hidden for nine years and were not attached to the treaty when it was registered with United Nations”. This act of the then Indian government arouses a feeling of distrust in regard to their intentions towards the people of Nepal. The policy of special relationship despite having strong roots in domestic politics of Nepal was rather an idea enforced by the Indian establishment than a voluntary foreign policy formulated by Nepal. In addition to this, “the treaty has reduced Nepal to the virtual status of an Indian protectorate”.

The Peace Treaty between Nepal and India (1950) facilitates special political and economic relations between them. India is striving for the status of a regional power. When the internal political situation in Nepal is deteriorating, the above treaty tilted towards Indian dominance.

Chapter- Three

Methodology

3.1 Introduction to the Chapter

This study has applied qualitative techniques to achieve the objectives of the study. Qualitative techniques of data collection using both primary and secondary sources of information have been followed. Essentially, open-ended questions are used for qualitative information.

In this Chapter the research strategy, research design, research approach, and study area as well as data sources are included, through expert's opinion data are collected. Likewise, desk review, data analysis methods like data analysis software, validity analysis, data reliability, inclusion criteria and ethical consideration are included in the secondary data collection process.

3.2 Research Design

Appropriate framework for a research is provided by research design. In research designing process the research strategy decision plays a significant role. The research design indicates the relevancy of information gathered for pursuing a research. The research design process contains many interrelated decisions.

Miller (1991) state,

“Descriptive research depicts an accurate profile of people, events, or circumstances”.

Bailey (1998) states,

“The Research design is useful for descriptive purposes as well as for the determination of the relationship between and among variables at a particular point in time”. Mathews and Ross (2010) state, “Research design is

descriptive research design is cost-effective and allows the inclusion of participants or groups of people from whom a comparison can be made”.

According to Miller (1991),

“From an individual, organizational, social and cultural standpoint, this design provides the researcher with a profile of described relevant characteristics of the phenomena of interest”.

For the purpose of the research work, data related to Nepal-India political, social and cultural ties have been collected through the review of previous works. This process has been found conducive to analyze the information gathered on the status and foundations of social and cultural relation between Nepal and India.

The qualitative approach has been applied in the study for addressing the research problem and questions followed by the objectives of research analysis based on the sources of data. All the data have been examined and overviewed using the content analysis method. The validity and relevance of the data was sincerely assessed.

3.3 Study Area

According to Fraenkel and Warren (2002),

“Population refers to the entire group of persons (subjects or events) with common features in which the researcher is interested”. Desk study/review and electronic sources were used to obtain the required data and information, through a desk review, various library, and electronic sources as well as through the key informants interviews. National Level politicians, prominent academician and diplomats of both sides have been randomly selected for as the key informants (interview) since they have been closely observing the relation between these two countries.

3.4 Data Sources

Regarding the data sources, Fraenkel and Warren (2002) state as following:

“A set of values for qualitative or quantitative variables is referred to data. Data are information in the form of facts or numbers from which a conclusion can be derived. A procedure of obtaining and sorting data is required before information can be presented and interpreted. Data can be considered as the raw resources from which accurate information is obtained”.

3.4.1 Primary Source of Data

The researcher collects primary data himself. The secondary data were collected or through the previously collected by others.

According to Miller (1991),

“The information gathered from the primary source is unique. Primary data are more dependable and have a higher level of decision-making confidence as they have directly been linked to the occurrence of events”. A set of questionnaires (Appendix-A) was formed and conducted in-depth interview with 40 pertinent personalities having expertise or adequate information regarding Nepal-India social and cultural relations. In addition, official documents, direct communication with individual experts and government officials, pertinent reports, etc. that could help address the research questions.

3.4.2 Secondary Source of Data

In the context of usage of the secondary source of data, Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) state,

“Secondary data are such information which has previously been acquired or created by others. The interpretation of initial data is known as secondary data.

Such sorts of data provide information that has already been gathered by investigatory authorities and organizations”.

As the secondary sources, as mentioned in the reference list, the books, periodicals, articles, journal articles, news reports, e-books, internal records, theses/dissertations, periodic bytes of social and cultural leaders and pertinent persons, reports issued by both the countries in terms of cultural and social relations have been deeply studied.

3.5 Sampling Methods

The qualitative research needs the qualitative technique. This technique focuses on small samples qualitative inquiry.

Mathews and Ross (2020) state,

“Purposive sampling is generally associated with small, in-depth studies with research designs that are based on the gathering of qualitative data and focus on the exploration and interpretation of experience and perception”.

Viewing their definition of the purposive sampling, In this purposive sampling was applied. A representative sample size of 40 key informants (Appendix- 2B) was purposively used in this study. Key informants included political leaders, sociologists, professors of culture and international relation departments, diplomats/former ambassadors, social activists and journalists.

3.6 Field Procedure

The study is based on field study. Primary data were collected conducting field study as mentioned in Appendix-B

3.6.1 Pre-testing

The scheduled questionnaires (Appendix-A) have been pilot-tested. The pilot testing for tools and methods was performed on the 15th and 16th June, 2023. The pilot test helped to ensure the questionnaires are implementable. This phase of work was

absolutely carried out with the consultation of the research supervisor as well as experts.

3.6.2 Field Work

Based on the pre-scheduled calendar, the field work was held from July of 2023 to March of 2024.

3.7 Data Collection Methods

According to Douglas (2015), “Data collection plays a very crucial role in the analysis. In research, there are different methods used to gather information, all of which fall into two categories, i.e., primary data and secondary data”. Fundamental approach was used while collecting data. For this purpose both the primary and secondary data centering on the qualitative data.

3.7.1 Primary Data Collection Method

Interviews, researcher’s own observation and individual contacts and conversation were used as qualitative sources as the primary source.

3.7.1.1 Key Informant Interviews

Miller (1991) states,

“Key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in the community. The purpose of KIIs is to collect information from a wide range of people, including community leaders, professionals/experts, ho have the first-hand knowledge”. In this regard, 40 Kis (Appendix-B) were interviewed with the prime aim of collecting the data and information relevant to the study.

3.7.1.2 Interpersonal Communication

According to Millar (1991),

“Interpersonal communication is the process of two or more individuals exchanging information, ideas, and feelings using spoken or nonverbal ways. It usually entails a face-to-face exchange of information, expressed through the use of speech, facial expressions, body language, and gestures”.

While gathering basic and valued information for this study, a number and series of interpersonal communications with government officials, diplomats, academicians, political leaders, KIs of Nepal-India relations, and specialists, among others, were held.

3.7.1.3 Informal Discussions

According to Matthew and Ross (2010),

“Informal discussion is one of the prime means of gathering information on a particular topic. At this juncture, numbers and a series of informal discussions were held with experts, pioneers, and others while collecting first-hand information focusing on the research objectives”. For the purpose of this research various informal discussions were made to gather fact-based experience and information from the people involved in social, cultural, political and foreign affair etc.”.

3.7.2 Secondary Data Collection Method

The qualitative sources were literature/desk review, library surveys, and electronic searches.

3.7.2.1 Literature Review

The most significant aspect of the research is collecting, organizing, and synthesizing accessible information, reviewing the literature. Literature review facilitates the

understanding well the context, priorities, trends, and identifying gaps to be addressed during the study process.

For achieving the research objectives, many necessary documents were reviewed and reports were studied.

According to Miller (1991),

“A methodological approach, literature reviews were viewed as content analysis, with qualitative features triangulated to analyze structural (descriptive) as well as content criteria”.

After screening the date and information documents, reports, and articles not useful to the research were excluded. Prior to screening, the researcher studied various papers, websites, reports, and other relevant documents and seriously looked they should be included for further review or excluded.

3.7.2.2 Library Surveys

According to Miller (1991),

“Academic libraries are the "heart" of the learning community. “Libraries make the space available for having a research and develop their knowledge. Further Miller (1991) adds, “An academic library is the epicenter of academic life in the educational system. Pertinent books, papers, academic journals, relevant theses/dissertations, and other materials were examined during library surveys”.

According to Hiller (2001),

“During the last decade, rapid changes in library services and operations, the desire for internal institutional accountability, and external accrediting agency assessment requirements have all led to the further development and deployment of user surveys inside academic libraries”.

3.7.2.3 Electronic Searches

According to Daya Ram Shrestha (2079),

“To gather the required data and information, “Series of electronic searches like websites, electronic academic journals, articles, books, reports, periodicals, proceedings, magazines, newsletters, newspapers, policies, strategies, etc. are made to provide the required data and information to the researcher”.

3.8 Data Analysis Method

Different processes in analyzing the qualitative data have been used in this work. The social and cultural relations between Nepal and India were thoroughly observed, discussed and compared, while necessitated they were contrasted and finally synthesize. The analysis is done especially in discussing results. The date and information were descriptively analyzed.

3.9 Chapter Summary

Being aware of the sensitivity of the information and data security, adequate attention was paid toward the research ethics while conducting, analyzing, and disseminating the work and result. This research absolutely followed the research ethics such as ethical principles, truthfulness, thoroughness, objectivity, relevance, etc.

Chapter - Four

Evolution of Nepal-India Relations

4.1 Introduction to the Chapter

Nepal is an ancient country, it established as a modern state after the unification of the country in 1825 B.S. Since then it has applied various policies and strategies to adjust with the contemporary environment, i.e., national and international. Nepal and India have a bilateral relationship. This relationship is very close, extensive, and multiracial and close. The relationship is linked with politics, culture, religious, trade and commerce. Nepal transitioned from imperial strategy to small power diplomacy after being defeated in the Anglo-Nepal war in 1816.

Nepal started to link itself with the British rulers in India while Jung Bahadur, the first Rana Prime-Minister came to power in 1848.

The diplomatic relations between these two countries established on June 17, 1947. The bilateral relation is deep rooted coexistence, sovereign equality, mutual respect ambitions of the two countries. For the sustainability of the relation between these countries. Nepal reciprocity and commitments from two sides are required.

4.2 Contextual Concept of Foreign Policy

Pandey (2076) states,

“Hindu political thinkers were conscious about the necessity of inter-state relations. Various theories have been propounded in order to establish mutual relation between the states. Likewise, they have also mentioned the provision of Dharm Yuddha. They also stressed on the significance of envoys and diplomats”.

He further explains the fundamental of Hindu political thought. Mandala Theory, i.e., four strategies and six-fold foreign policy have been described in Manu Smriti.

Foreign policy is a well-defined goal and objective which influence the modality of relationships with other nations. Keyhne (1991) opines that in setting foreign policy the country should extensively evaluate its geography and external Threats. Disputes conflicts, Trade, commerce, raw materials, human resources, etc. Influence the nature of foreign policy.

Hiller (2003) states,

“Tarde diplomacy, sanctions, military/defense, intelligence, foreign aid, and global environmental policy affect the construction of foreign policy. The techniques state employs to preserve its international and domestic interests and how it interacts with other states and non-state entities make up its foreign policy”.

The main goal of foreign policy should be the protection of the country’s which can be done in nonviolent or violent methods sovereignty, integration, self-pride and national interest as well as welfare of its people,

Hiller (2003) further states,

“The six main vehicles of current American foreign policy are diplomacy, the United Nations, the international monetary system, economic aid, collective security, and military deterrence. Foreign policy, for example, is defined as "the sum of formal exterior interactions done by an autonomous actor (usually a state) in international relations" in many international relations research”.

According to Walker (1993),

“The idea of foreign policy is always changing leads to a unique necessity for secrecy in its implementation. In the literature, there are two reasons for the

need for secrecy. To begin with, public opinion is erratic and inconsistent, making untrustworthy. Second, open debate allows for internal disagreement, which weakens the state's position in international relations. The key assumptions are that governments have always had foreign policies and that the fundamentally different nature of foreign policy necessitates concealment. Over the last thirty years, scholars disputing the categorical and normalized divide between the inside and outside of the state have questioned this understanding of foreign policy. Instead, they've focused on the historical activities that gave rise to this division, examining identity and border”.

Doty (1993) expresses,

“Foreign policy should be viewed as particular kind of boundary-creating political performance. He assumes that the concept of foreign policy occurred in the sixteenth century”.

Hellman, Fahrmer and Vec (2016) argue,

“Identity has displaced history in this critical literature, and politicizing the concept of identity has resulted in the reification of the concept of foreign policy. Foreign is preferred above "policy" in a move that relies on the numerous connotations of "foreign" in the English language, and foreign policy is considered to have been about identity politics since it became possible to identify within from outside. In an ironic twist, the critical definition of foreign policy reflects the traditional conception of the phenomenon as an intellectual rather than a practical idea. The move to its logical conclusion is the attempt to make the conception of foreign policy as boundary-drawing into an expressly defined analytical concept”.

Foreign policy focuses the interests of a country and its interactions with other countries. Globalization has almost affected the fundamentals of foreign policies of the current century nations. Globalization has also strongly influenced the expected outcomes of the foreign policies of the countries. Therefore the importance of foreign policies for country has been inevitable.

Regarding the importance of foreign policy Jaiswal (2016) highlights,

“Scholarly study on leadership and foreign policy decision-making reveals a significantly more detailed and complete picture of the problem than most popular media portrayals. Because it is easier to criticize one person than a group or a system, the popular press likes to point the finger at the person who makes foreign policy decisions. The scholarly study, on the other hand, reveals the reasoning behind the executor's foreign policy decisions. Foreign policies are devised by the head of state to attain complex domestic and international objectives. It usually includes several processes, with domestic politics playing a crucial role. The role of the head of the government in foreign policy decision-making, as well as how domestic politics influences him is critically evaluated. Coalitions of domestic and international individuals and groups shape the majority of foreign policies. When examining the head of government, or, in other words, the executor of foreign policies, many driving elements can be identified to explain the rationale behind decisions made”.

Nepal is situated between two Asian giants two countries, India and China, by nature it is a buffer state. So, the founder of modern Nepal, compared Nepal with a Yam between two strong rocks.

In this context, Khanal (2009 P. 97) writes as following:

“Prithivi Narayan Shah the Great King of Nepal and who unified Nepal, compared Nepal to a yam trapped between two stones. He went on to say that the Chinese emperor should be treated with tremendous respect. Friendship with the southern seas”.

The Great King Prithvi Narayan Shah is considered the father of modern Nepal. Nepal is a yam between two stones,

“He added, defining Nepal's geopolitical predicament. The geographical location and size of the two huge neighbors were correctly indicated in this sentence. He ascribed the two neighbors independently after projecting the neighborhood policy Nepal should be careful in the south while retaining close connections to China in the north, he said. Meanwhile, Monarch Prithvi Narayan Shah expelled European missionaries and priests who had come to spread Christianity. He advocated for Nepal to have a positive relationship with China indefinitely”.

Adhikari (2015) states as following:

“The Great King Prithvi Narayan Shah was a great warrior and a visionary leader who recognized Nepal's strategic sensitivity and thus adopted non-aligned international affairs He also noted that the country's good bond with these two huge neighbors was vital. He went slowly and deliberately, keeping a safe distance and maintaining his equilibrium in light of the delicate circumstance. Following that, Nepal's foreign policy has been volatile; extreme allegiance to the southern neighbor was maintained, and a pro-northern stance emerged as a result. With the emergence of an elected government and the publication of the new constitution, Nepal's foreign policy

has undergone a significant transformation, with the diversification of Nepal's trade and transit routes to China. Foreign policy is the prime state instrument to promote its national interests at the regional and global level when interacting with the international community, it is the policy undertaken by a state. It is the set of principles by which a country conducts its foreign affairs and acts on the world stage. Internal factors such as geography, history, economy, and political and socio-cultural traditions are the major determinants of Nepal's foreign policy”.

Lohani (2011) argues that the dimensions of Nepal's foreign policy are security, stability, and status. According to him in decision-making autonomy is necessary for Nepali's sovereignty. Otherwise it would be dominated by the stronger neighbors. Overall, the basics of Nepal's foreign policy are based on the principle of Panchasheela and the UN Charter.

4.2.1 Independent Foreign Policy

As Prithvi Narayan Shah was future-looking King, he was aware of Nepal's geo-strategic condition. Therefore, he formulated and implemented an independent and advised his followers to pursue an autonomous foreign policy. In his historical directives also known as Divya Upadesh, the sense of independent foreign policy was spelled clearly. Nevertheless, his successor rulers could not follow independent and non-aligned foreign policy. In 1792 and 1814, Nepal respectively involved in wars with Tibet and British India.

Khanal (2009, P.106) mentions,

“Nepal's border was essentially set. Nepal's exterior connections were hampered by the Sugauli Treaty (1816), and British India remained the

country's sole priority. From the Sugauli Treaty onwards, Nepal's foreign policy dilemma and its implications as well seen”.

In this context, Thapa (2018) observes as following:

“Years of political volatility and instability have clouded Nepal's position in international events, owing to the decade-long Maoist insurgency that began in 1990 AD and a decade of political change that followed. Foreign influence in Nepal's internal affairs has expanded dramatically in the recent decade as a result of the fragile condition of affairs. During the Cold War, Nepal established a reputation as a country that pursued an autonomous foreign policy with significant international clout while handling a volatile geopolitical environment. Nepal was twice chosen as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council as a result of this. Nepal has also made an outstanding contribution to world peace by participating in UN peacekeeping missions. Nepal has struggled to exercise geopolitical influence in the international arena as a small country wedged between two huge neighbors, India and China. Nepal adheres to the Panchasheel and non-alignment ideals and is proud of its independence throughout its history. Currently, the small states are vulnerable to external attacks, their foreign policy, Therefore, is needed to be redefined for their sustainability. Similarly, India accounts for the majority of Nepal's international trade, an agreement took place between Nepal and China to strengthen existing connectivity via the Rasuwagadhi-Kerung border. After the execution of the agreement, it is hoped that reliance on India for trade can be reduced. In the opinions of some Nepali and Indian diplomats, India the largest country and economy in South

Asia, can make a significant contribution to the development of its neighbors rather than interfering in their domestic affairs”.

Mishra (1994) asserts as following:

“The Nepalese people's nationalist stance against such coercive diplomacy eventually forced India to withdraw from the blockade and reconsider its policies toward Nepal. Because Nepal and India have such long-standing links, a single calamity cannot jeopardize the general health of the bilateral relationship (Patel,2017). As Nepal embarks on a new path toward political stability and economic progress, it must overcome the small-state syndrome and forge a distinct international identity, as it has done in the past. Nepal should seek to have an autonomous foreign policy and make proactive rather than reactive foreign policy decisions. As a result, rather than mindlessly following the posture of world powers or adjacent nations, judgments of international events and situations should be made in an unbiased and independent manner. Nepal desires the world community's goodwill and collaboration to attain its objective of economic success”.

4.2.2 Isolationist Policy

Since Jung Bahadur Rana's ascension to power in 1846 the rana rule began in Nepal. The first prime minister from the Rana family was very strong and ambitions leader. He brings down the King authority and kept as the toy of the Prime minister. The rana rule, existed for 104 years was hereditary. Regarding the international diplomacy, then foreign policy was dominated by British India. Jung Bahadur the first Rana prime minister visited the United Kingdom. Being fully aware of the imperialism policy of Britain.

In this context (Rose, 1970) mentions as following:

“Nepal became isolated from the rest of the world over the years as a result. His conciliatory policy was intended to ensure the safety of his authority. Because China was concerned with its problems at the time, it was less concerned about Nepal's internal affairs. The Chinese administration did not even want to upset the British authorities. China was satisfied as long as Tibet's boundary with Nepal was secure. At the time, China's sole goal and intention were to limit Nepal and maintain the British out of the Himalayas, about which Beijing wished Nepal to remain a weak buffer between China and British-India to avoid a fight with the British”.

In Lohani's view (2011. P.3),

“In terms of Nepal's foreign policy, Jung Bahadur made some significant decisions (Seethi, 2018). To begin with, he decided that Nepal would remain secluded from the rest of the world. Second, he chose to overlook China because it was a waning power, and third he cemented his ties with the British by assisting in the suppression of the Sepoy insurrection in Lucknow in 1857”.

Rose (2070, P.106) further writes,

“A pragmatic leader like Jung Bahadur saw that Chinese power was declining and that Beijing was no longer able or willing to challenge British authority inside the Himalayan range, he chose a British-centric foreign policy. The fundamental purpose of the Rana Prime ministers, especially of Jung Bahadur, was to make alliances with the U.K. Nepal, as a result, saw the world from the perspective of the British for just moment. Nepalese foreign policy benefited from Jung Bahadur's visit to England, at the trip confirmed his opinion that British authority in India would not be simply overthrown and that fighting the

British is like playing with fire. The two countries became closer after Nepal assisted the British administration in defeating the sepoy Rebellion in 1857 A.D”.

Sharma, et al (2011, P15) remark,

“The Nepalese army's participation in global wars in favor of Britain, and also Jung Bahadur's visit to Europe via England, contributed to deepening the alliance. For all of these reasons, Nepal was cut off from the rest of the world. Indeed, the isolating policy would be beneficial to the Rana regime's existence as well as the nation's protection against British takeover in the long run”.

4.2.3 Special Relations Policy

A democratic movement in Nepal overthrew the 104-year long Rana rule in 1950. Immediately, King Tribhuwan became the absolute monarch. At this transitional, since transitional situation was prevailed, no foreign policy was not formed from 1951 to 1955.

According to Rose (1930),

“Throughout the Rana era, Nepal was cut off from world opinion, skepticism, and uncertainty weighed heavily on the country's foreign policy”.

When King Mahendra took rule on his hand he emphasized foreign policy to be diversified. He established diplomatic relations with UK and China too. In addition, Nepal entered in the UNO in his reign. It has widened the scope of Nepalese foreign policy based on the non-alignment orientation.

Adhikari, states,

“During the reign of King Tribhuwan, however, India dominated Nepal's foreign affairs. The two countries had a "special relationship," according to the report. This friendship was primarily limited to our southern neighbor. Nepal's

relationship with China is rarely discussed. The "Special Relations" between Nepal and India are due to several factors. During the reign of the Ranas, a special relationship existed between them and British India. There were no significant changes in the situation when the British left the subcontinent. Finally, throughout the Rana era, Nepal was cut off from world opinion, and province conservatism, skepticism, and uncertainty weighed heavily on the country's foreign policy".

4.2.4 Non-aligned Foreign Policy

After the Jakarta Convection, Nepal become the member of Non-alignment submit and followed the policy of non-alignment formally. In addition, King Birendra put forth the proposal of "Nepal as a zone of Peace". This proposal was supported by 116 countries. However, the close neighbors India diplomatically disagreed it. This culminated in a Sino-Indian rivalry declaration of non-alignment, essentially negating Nepal (Rose, 1970, p. 282).

From 1970 to 1980, Nepal made effort to practice its equidistance policy with China and India. China wished to support autonomous Nepal as well as it pleaded for non-interference externally in the international forums. China and Pakistan accepted the proposal for 'Zone of Peace' by Nepal whereas India denied it. The basic principle equidistance foreign policy was friendship with all and hostility with none.

According to Upreti (2009. P.20),

"India was enlisted to help remove the King's rule. Monarch and multiparty politics have replaced the absolute monarchy. In April 1990, the Panchayat Form was substituted with a multi-party system of governance. As a consequence of their hegemony and personality cult, Gandhi, as well as the Shah dynasty of Nepal, eloped this twin pole - the monarch as the titular head

and the multi-party-party system. Nepali politicians, on the other hand, placed democracy at the top of their priority list India's political leaders have pledged their support for Nepal's democratic forces. The new Indian government has made it a priority to develop relations with Nepal. India took a permissive stance toward Nepal's interim administration and began the normalization process”.

Rose (1970, P. 282) remarks as following;

“Considering the political system, Nepal and China Followed Different Political System However, these two countries remained close, warm, friendly, and cooperative. "The second Delhi Accord, also known as the 12-point deal, was signed in New Delhi between Nepal's seven party alliances (SPA) and the warring Maoists”. Khanal (2009, P.347) argues “Despite Nepali authorities' denials that India's establishment played a part in facilitating the 12-point agreement, it was only feasible because of India's covert support. As a result of India's extensive micromanagement of Nepal's everyday operations, the tenure of the Nepali Prime Minister was a moving target. The catastrophic Second World War ushered in a new era in global politics. Just after the postwar international relations, prewar friends began to create alliances. A new chapter in Nepal's foreign policy was also written. The accession of King Mahendra to power was a significant political event that contributed to the new situation. Following King Mahendra's succession to the throne on March 13, 1955, two significant events occurred: Nepal's admittance to the United Nations organizations (UNO) and the opening of diplomatic relations with the communist Chinese government”. NP Rose (1970, P.208), further states as following: “Nepal's involvement in the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference laid

the path for the country's non-aligned foreign policy. The principle of conceptualized in *Panchasheel*, the Bandung Conference, laid the groundwork for the nonalignment movement”.

According to Baral (2020, P.5),

“During the reign of Prithivi Narayan Shah, Nepal maintained a non-alignment policy with its neighbors, which proved effective in preserving the country's sovereignty and integrity. Nepal, as a member of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), must also play a constructive role in shaping regional (and worldwide) relations in a variety of ways. And, because Nepal is currently in a system-impacting position, Nepal must equally use all of the powers by preserving its interactions through inclusive political interaction, partnership, and cooperation, or balancing and strategic hedging”.

Nepal adopted neutrality while the first nuclear tests conducted by both the USSR and China during the Doklam issue, in Indo-Pak hostilities. Likewise, Nepal maintained balanced relations with balancing relations with the United States, China, and the Soviet Union during the Vietnam war. However, the Gurkha Regiment in India participated on Indian side in the Kashmir dispute of 1947-48. Nepal has made advocacy for a peaceful resolution of the German, Cyprus, and Cuban conflicts despite its harmony with Us. Nepal was condemned the Suez Canal invasion in 1956.

Baral and Pyakurel (2015) state,

“In the name of peace, friendship, and historical links, Nepal adopted "hushed neutrality" on the Lipulekh case and its hardships in 1962, as well as the forceful block imposed by India in 1989 and 2015. Even Nepal's neutrality does not preclude it from joining UN forces, voting in (or out of) BIMSTEC

military drills, campaigning for the Venezuelan crisis, or taking part in joint military exercises with China or the Us”.

Bhatarai (2020) points out,

“Nepal's participation in the British Army runs counter to the country's non-alignment stance, as Gorkha troops have previously been employed to support British colonialism and are now utilized as a security guarantee for the British. All of these activities could be construed as a derailment of Nepal's neutrality. Nepal's non-alignment strategy must be implemented in a variety of ways, including toward emerging powers (China and India), superpowers (the United States and Western Europe), undeveloped and developing countries, UN and Global Forums. Nepal must use the balance and counterbalance strategy to develop its ties in all directions and gain greater access to the global world by using globalization, an open global economy, multiculturalism, and soft power as diplomatic tools. Diplomacy is the sole weapon Nepal has to make effective use of its diplomatic capital in the national interest. In the meantime, historical resonance, geo-integrity geo-cultural reality, cultural affinity, geographic proximity, geo-economics, pragmatic comprehension, and modern demands must all be understood”.

4.2.5 'Zone of Peace' Proposal

As soon as King Birendra took rule he proposed a concept of Nepal as a Zone Peace.

Sharma and Majar (2015) state,

“At the non-aligned conference in Algiers, the notion was initially offered. On February 25, 1975, at King Birendra's crowning in Kathmandu, it was formally transmitted”.

Similarly, in this regard, Srivastav (2016, P41) expresses,

“The fundamental goal of proclaiming Nepal a "Zone of Peace" was to keep the country impartial in any potential regional crises while also ensuring domestic political stability and economic prosperity. The security of nations was compromised, and the global political situation was also jeopardized, as a result of events in the region. Nepal devised a new plan to proclaim Nepal a "Zone of Peace" following India's assumption of its requirements for its shift in policy toward the Soviet Union in 1971, its appropriate role in the split of Pakistan, and the rise of new Bangladesh, the accession of Sikkim, a small Himalayan state close Nepal, and nuclear tests. Nepal also had difficulties during these years on account of the Khampa event as well as other domestic problems (Baral, 2072 BS). The plan was primarily founded on the principles of Panchasheel and the spirit of nonalignment. As a result, it got widespread support from 116 countries, but India has yet to embrace it, claiming that Nepal has other goals”.

Baral (2016) views as,

“The decade of the 1980s saw significant changes in the area, including the start of India's border discussions with China, as well as the militarization and armament build-up of the subcontinent in the aftermath of the Afghan war. However, by the end of the 1980s, India's relations with Nepal had suffered a significant blow. It all began when India declined to renew Nepal's trade and transit agreements. The Rajiv Gandhi government claimed that Nepal was being ungrateful by forcing work permits on Indian workers in Nepal, charging tariffs on commodities imported from India, and, most importantly, purchasing military equipment from China without India's authorization,

allegedly in breach of the 1950 Treaty. Nepali politics began to take several twists and turns, finally leading to the end of constitutional monarchy and the rise of democratic forces. The nature of India-Nepal ties has also changed, with Nepalese political groups requesting a revision of the 1950 Treaty and more concessions from India. There were also some setbacks in bilateral relations. This was also the time when Nepal began to consider the possibility of improving relations with China. It was justified in doing so. India's relations with China have also improved (apart from the boundary issue), and bilateral trade between the two countries has increased since 2001”.

According to Bista (2012),

“Over the years, China has made rapid progress in Nepal to become its most important neighbor, even surpassing India's long-held position. Naturally, there is grown skepticism and concern about Nepal's developing ties with China. Many Indians were concerned that Kathmandu had "gone a little too far and too fast" in bolstering ties with Beijing. Nepal is important to China for geopolitical and geo-economics reasons”.

Nepal's smooth relation with China is based in various situations. Nepal's landlocked condition, particularly in geopolitics with India, stimulated Nepal to diversify trade and commerce. Nepal's interest towards "One Belt, One Road" initiative was also a reason of its proximity with China.

In this context Adhikari's arguments (2018) are noteworthy as following:

“Following the 2015 embargo, Nepal drew closer to China, signing a transit trade contract with China on March 22, 2016, together with nine other pacts. Economic development, transportation connectivity, trade connectivity (economic zone, industrial park, and dry port development), financial

integration through the opening of a Chinese bank branch, and people-to-people contact through visits and media are the five broad areas of the OBOR pact between Nepal and China. Nepal's goal to transition from a landlocked to a land-linked country by establishing suitable cross-border connectivity has ramifications for both India and China. Nepal has legal claims as a landlocked country under Article 125 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982), which safeguards the right of transit and upholds rights to the high seas' resources and potential (UN, 1982). Even though the people of Nepal were subjected to fewer than two periods of economic blockade in 1989-90 and 2015, India glossed over the reality that these provisions have supplied Nepal with many entitlements”.

4.2.6 Policy of Equidistance

Equidistance means balancing distance. However, at present it has been taken as equal proximity. While looking at the state of relation between the countries, geo-political situation should be taken in mind.

In the context of Nepal-India bilateral relation, Bhattacharjee (2004) spells down as,

“Throughout Nepal's history, its administration has maintained a cautious balance. Oli was elected Prime Minister for the second time after the first election under this constitution. When he initially became Prime Minister, he was the president of the Nepal Communist Party, which was Marxist and Leninist. When he was elected to power for the second time, he was the head of the Nepal Communist Party. His second innings, unlike his first, were convenient. He gave a foreign policy speech in which he officially introduced the Neighborhood Policy,' in which the balanced relationship with both neighbors was mentioned. Both India and China greeted him warmly. Prime

Minister Oli first traveled to India, then to China. During both visits, the Prime Minister prioritized the national interest by attempting to preserve a positive relationship with them. Normalcy in relations was restored with India. Nepal and India have inked a railroad deal. The railway agreement was signed with China the conclusion of the Joint Declaration on Rail Connectivity Cooperation was met with joy by both sides. They welcomed this as the most major move forward in bilateral collaboration, anticipating that this will usher in an era of interconnectivity. Prime Minister Oli's strategy of balancing ties was further illustrated when he accepted with India to build a train link between the two countries. During Prime Minister Oli's state trip to India, he and Prime Minister Narendra Modi decided to sign railway linkages. Since ancient times, Nepal's foreign policy has been guided by the principle of equidistance. Nepal is bordered on three sides by India: in the south, west, and east, and in the north by China. Nepal's international policy has remained a difficult, serious, and sensitive matter due to its economic and geopolitical underdevelopment”.

Regarding Nepal’s foreign policy with India, Singh and Shah state,

“Nepal's geopolitical and strategic situation has obliged it to pursue a balancing of international affairs with its closest neighbors. Nepalese international relations were influenced by India till the mid-1950s. Nepal had access to the global environment after joining the United Nations in 1955. The then-king Mahendra embraced the policy of preserving equal relationships between India and China. Despite India's objections, the one-sided relationship is now beginning to balance with the development of the Aniko Highway. In formulating Nepalese foreign policy, the concept of a "balanced partnership"

is also significant. Many Indian foreign planners underlined India's special relationship with Nepal and became vocal critics of Nepal's balancing relationship approach, emphasizing cultural, economic, geographical, and societal linkages between the two countries”.

Focusing on the lopsided relation between Nepal and India, Bhattarai (2020) state,

“The problem of a balanced relationship has always been a point of contention. Foreign policy formulation based on political party lines has resulted in more basic concerns. The leftist government is frequently accused of having a “pro-Chinese policy”, "while the rightist or centrist government has a “pro-India strategy”. However, there is a geopolitical necessity for any Nepalese government to be neither pro Chinese nor pro-Indian. As a result, when engaging with our near neighbors, we should maintain equal proximity. Nepal, on the other side, remained neutral in the conflict between India and China. In June 2017, Nepal indicated that it will stay neutral in the continuing India-China standoff and that it wishes the Doklam dispute to be resolved peacefully. In the 1962 Indo-China war, Nepal likewise remained neutral. Diplomatic relations should be balanced accordingly to context and balanced doesn't mean absolute equal. Ideologically, equidistance is a Cold War strategy implemented by small countries in the then bipolar world but in today's multi-polar world, equidistance seems an outdated idea. Still, Nepal continues to express its commitment to the equidistance policy, through different mediums, including the proposal of trilateralism”.

Many of Nepali leaders seem, while analyzing the trilateral relationship between India and China, are illusion by the term "Equi-distance" or Equi-proximity”. Nepalese leaders need to internalize it is very difficult in the prevailing situation to have equal

relationship with India and China. The high-level visits of Nepali leaders to India have opened the venue for reframing Nepal-India relations. In the current situation both countries need mutually redesign the bilateral opportunities.

4.2 7 Foreign Policy Provisions in the Current Constitution of Nepal

Dinesh Bhattarai, in an interview with the researcher explains the foreign policy provisions in the present constitution of Nepal as following:

“Nepal's foreign policy has as its primary goal the enhancement of the nation's dignity through the protection of the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence, as well as the promotion of the country's economic well-being and prosperity. It also has the goal of promoting global peace, harmony, and security. Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-interference in each other's domestic matters; mutual equality; non-aggression and peaceful resolution conflicts; cooperation; abiding belief in the UN Charter; the value of world peace; and other basic principles guide Nepal's foreign policy”.

The constitution of Nepal, 2015 AD states independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, nationality autonomy, self-respect, protection of rights and interests of Nepali people, protection of boundaries, and economic progress and prosperity as the fundamental subjects to safeguard Nepal's national interest (GoN, 2072).

Further, Dinesh Bhattarai states in an interview to the researcher,

“The constitution is the primary governing document for the nation's overall affair The Constitution of Nepal (2015 AD), as the highest law, has provided specific regulations regarding Nepalese foreign policy. In terms of foreign policy, the new constitution makes no significant modifications”.

The present constitution of Nepal itself states as,

“The government would adopt a strategy of reviewing previous treaties and concluding new treaties and accords based on equality and mutual interest (The constitution of Nepal, Article 51.2). There have been various modifications in foreign policy rules that are nearly identical. The changing environment necessitates a rethinking of Nepalese foreign policy. Nepal's general population and political parties have called for a rethinking of the country's relationship with its southern neighbor”.

4.2.8 Eminent Persons Group

The veteran political analyst Nilambar Acharya, in an interview with the researcher remarks,

“India and Nepal are so closely linked culturally, religiously, socially, economically, and geographically. However, as India's envoy Shyam Saran pointed out, the relationship has remained contradictory. Anti-India sentiment has risen in Nepal, particularly after the Indian blockade in 2015. Treaties struck between the two nations at various times are a point of controversy. The Eminent Persons Group (EPG), a cooperative structure with such a group of foreign policy specialists, was created as a result of this realization. Following the February 20, consultation and participation among (then) Prime Minister K.P. Oli as well as Prime Minister Narendra Modi, EPG was tasked with investigating a prospective review of the Friendship Treaty, which has been inked decades ago”.

According to Paudel (2018),

“The EPG was formed to investigate the complete history of Nepal-India ties

since independence. With the consents of the representative of the both sides in EPG prepared the report. As per the consent at the time of the formation of the EPG, it was agreed by the heads of the governments of the both countries. The report first be submitted to the prime minister of India and after them be submitted to the prime minister of Nepal. The EPG group has had requested the Indian prime minister. However, showing his busy schedule he has yet not received the report of EPG”.

4.2.9 Relation with the International Communities

After its entry in the United Nation Organization (UNO) Nepal's formal admission into the international community began only after it in 1955, its diplomatic relations with the international communities began Nepal also become the temporary member of UNO. Security council in 1969-1970 and in 1988-89. Likewise, Nepal entered NAM from the very beginning. Similarly, Nepal is one of the founder member of SAARC. In addition, the SAARC secretarial is located in Kathmandu. and the construction of the SAARC Secretariat in Kathmandu. In 2004, i.e., from the very beginning, Nepal become the member of BIMSTEC. Nepal has its bilateral relations with 168 nations to date.

NDTV (2010) argues,

“As a landlocked and sandwiched between two far larger and far stronger powers, Nepal has worked hard to preserve good relations with both its counterparts, the People's Republic of China as well as the Republic of India”.

Baral states,

“In recent years, its relationship with India, which wields stronger hegemony over Nepal, has undergone tremendous ups and downs. During the 2015 Nepal blockade, the two countries' connection was severely hindered. The Nepalese

government accused India of imposing the blockade, which India categorically rejected, claiming that the blockade was imposed by Madheshi demonstrators”.

It further adds as following:

“According to the constitution, foreign policy should be guided by "the United Nations Charter, nonalignment, Panchsheel (five principles of peaceful coexistence), international law, and the value of world peace." In practice, international policy has been more concerned with maintaining autonomy and tackling local economic and geopolitical issues than with projecting global influence. International economic institutions such as the Asian Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, a multilateral economic development organization, may be Nepal's most meaningful international contacts”.

Stephen (2014) states as,

“Nepal was a key player in the founding of the SAARC, which is focused on economic growth and hosts its secretariat. Nepal has a nonaligned foreign policy and frequently votes with the NAM at the United Nations. Nepal is a member of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Colombo Plan, and the Asian Development Bank, as well as various UN specialized bodies. The National Human Rights Panel, a government-appointed commission tasked with investigating human-rights infractions, was created in 2000. The Commission has looked into 51 complaints so far. Although freedom of expression is generally exercised as a constitutional right, certain small issues have been recorded in the country. The National Economic Development Association (NEDA) is a non-profit organization that promotes

women's trafficking and child labor continues to be an important issue. Small contested areas of the border with India are still being worked on by a joint border panel. Nepal has boundary conflicts with India in Lipulekh and Kalapani, between Darchula and Uttarakhand, and Susta, Nawalpur district, as of 2017”.

4.2.10 Relation with India

Dr. Shashikanta, a senior officer at the foreign affairs department of Bharatiya Janata Part, in an interview with the researcher remarks,

“India and Nepal have a unique friendship and cooperation relationship marked by open borders and deep-rooted people-to-people ties as near neighbors. There has long been a tradition of individuals freely moving across boundaries to share family ties and culture. In the east, south, and west, Nepal shares a border with five Indian states: Sikkim, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttarakhand. The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship is the cornerstone of India's special relationship with Nepal. Nepali citizens have received some benefits in India as a result of the Treaty's terms, including equal access to facilities and opportunities as Indian nationals. In India, around six million Nepalese people live and work”.

A popular politician and diplomat Nilambar Acharya states in an interviews with the researcher,

“The two countries established diplomatic relations on June 17, 1947, to provide a formal tone to such historic links. Our bilateral relations have become stronger because of our unshakable dedication to the values of peaceful coexistence, sovereign equality, mutual respect ambitions, and sensibilities. Nepal's sincere desire to create and foster cordial and amicable

connections with its neighbors is shown in her long-standing policy of not allowing elements hostile to India to use its territory, and Nepal expects reciprocity and assurance from India. The two countries' open border remains a distinctive characteristic of our relationship. Frontier freedom has tremendously allowed our people to freely move to each other's areas and improve interactions”.

4.2.10.1 Political

According to the Embassy of India in Kathmandu,

“Nepal and India have been living as close neighbors of South Asia since their existence of the two countries. The relationship between the two countries is bound by history, geography, economic cooperation, socio-cultural ties, and people-to-people relations. The bilateral relationship, which is marked by mutual trust, goodwill, and cooperation, has been moving forward with the increased interactions and close cooperation between the two countries over time. Several mechanisms exist between Nepal and India for bilateral cooperation covering various aspects of bilateral relations ranging from trade and economic cooperation to security and water resources. Post the visits from Nepal to India at the level of Prime Minister after Nepal got transformed into a democratic republican country in 2008, both the countries agreed to reactivate the bilateral mechanisms. Consequently, interactions have taken place on cooperation related to security, water resources, trade and commerce, customs, etc. at different levels. There has been a renewed interest on both sides to make the bilateral relationship more interactive and fruitful”.

Shankar Sharma, the former vice chairperson of National Planning commission of Nepal says,

“India is Nepal's important trade partner. Trade relations between the two countries are growing year after year, though it is in India's favor. India is also a major source country of Nepal's foreign direct investment. In Nepal, there are several joint venture ventures involving Indian capital. Trade, business, and economic cooperation have grown in tandem with other areas of the bilateral relationship as a result of geographical proximity, socio-cultural ties, and more exchanges between the two peoples. On the economic front, India and Nepal have collaborated on many initiatives, particularly in the areas of infrastructure, health, education, and other technical domains. Other initiatives are beneficial to both countries. Some initiatives are in the works, including those involving cross-border connectivity. Nepal's infrastructure, communication, and technological capacities are improving, allowing the two countries to benefit from commercial, economic, and technical collaboration. The steady economic growth and development of India can energize the economies of surrounding countries such as Nepal. Because of their tight economic ties, the developing Indian economy can provide a boost to Nepal's efforts to accelerate its social, cultural, infrastructural and economic growth. It would also open up a lot of possibilities for cooperation between the two countries”.

According to Rajan Bhattarai, a member of EPG, shares his view with the researcher,

“The Then King Gyanendra's takeover of power in 2002 was unpopular with Nepal's political parties, and the failure of additional discussions with the Maoists, as well as continuous bloodshed, prompted the parties to put pressure

on King Gyanendra to restore civilian rule. King Gyanendra announced a state of emergency in Nepal on February 1, 2005, taking emergency powers and restoring the absolute monarchy. In doing so, King Gyanendra increased the internal danger to his reign, prompting Nepal's political groups to relocate to India and form alliances with one another for the sake of restoring Nepali democracy”.

Narayan Bahadur Khadka, the former vice chairperson of NPC, in an interview with the researcher states,

“The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Accord in 2006 marked the end of Nepal's decade-long civil war and the return of the unified communist party of Nepal to institutionalized democratic politics (Maoist). The Maoists indicated their commitment to organized democracy by forming a coalition government with six political parties. Only two years later, the Maoists won a plurality of the votes in the August 2008 elections, bringing the unabashedly anti-India political party, which had ideological ties to China, to formal political power. During the Maoist insurgency in Nepal, India was an "expansionist" power that used its power consistently and systematically to make Nepal unequal. However, even after the Maoist election, when there were many questions about the future of Nepal's alliance with India, Nepal's charismatic leader and Prime Minister, Pushpa Kamal Dahal, could be heartily calling India Nepal's "unassailable ally." He adopted a far more moderate posture toward New Delhi's 'imperialists, employing rhetoric that we would expect from the India-warm Nepali congress”.

Sibbel (2021) mention,

“Why is it that in 2008, Prachanda talked how important of an ally India is to

Nepal, although the Nepali Congress and the Maoist have such opposed viewpoints² Domestic factors are unimportant, as the significance of the Nepal-India political relationship- regardless of the political parties' preferences-makes it impossible to minimize or reject the relationship entirely. As a result, the two parties face similar geopolitical circumstances and, as a result, adopt similar foreign policy positions when in power. This argument appears to be powerful at first look. Nepal is geographically smaller than India. In the twin realms of security and economy, it is likewise reliant on India. Why should any political party be able to be truly disruptive to Nepal's political relations with India in these circumstances? But what if we assume that any political party's ultimate goal when it gains office is to maintain its power? It would appear that the leadership's goal toward India would be to limit dangers to its authority while also attempting to build a base of support to keep it in place. It appears that Nepal's attitude toward India, as well as its overall foreign policy, has fluctuated throughout its history. In the late 1980s, for example, Nepal became so adamant about its independence and sovereignty that it prompted India to take strong steps to force the current leadership to acquiesce to Indian interests. It was exhausting implementing a work permit system for Indian nationals, who had enjoyed untested access to the Nepali market for decades. As a sovereign nation, it began purchasing massive weaponry and weapons, with China threatening to double the size of its military”.

Nayak (2020) argues,

“Nepal appears to be solidly acquiescent to Indian interests and eager to enmesh itself in deep dependency on its southern neighbor at other times. The

1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship with India, as well as a trade treaty, effectively established Nepal as a satellite state of India, committing Nepal to a future of military support, alliance, foreign exchange, and commerce dependence on India. At times, Nepali officials appear to place a great value on the country's autonomy and sovereignty, while at other times, they appear to place a far lower value on it. It is not possible to dismiss the significance of international forces in deciding the outcome of a tiny country's foreign policy. Instead, it tries to figure out how domestic and foreign forces interact with one another. The key two independent variables are the threat to regime security and the type of regime, whereas the dependent variables are premium, strategic autonomy, and sovereignty. When it comes to the level of priority, the leadership prioritizes the state's independence and freedom from external influence and policy supremacy. It's useful to consider how Nepal differs from other tiny governments that have to deal with asymmetric relationships. How Nepal manages its political connection with India since this has historically been Nepal's considerably more robust relationship in every essential dimension: political, military, economic, cultural, geographic, and religious. Furthermore, Nepal's relationship with India is marked not just by a vast power disparity, but also by India's strong influence over Nepal's internal affairs-another aspect that may set this asymmetric relationship apart from others”.

He further mentions as following:

“The Maoists' election victory in August 2008 culminated in the appointment of Pushpa Kamal Dahal as the Prime Minister, raising questions regarding Nepal's future India policy. Nepal had been perplexing during the Maoist

insurgency, moving from initial support to antagonism. It appears that strategic autonomy and sovereignty were not seriously prioritized until 2015 and 2016 when Nepal responded to a lucrative unofficial embargo at its Indian border. Nonetheless, the history of contemporary democratic politics suggests that Nepal's leaders are stuck in a middle ground, unable to sustainably place too high or too low a value on strategic autonomy and sovereignty. India is referred to be an "expansionist power" in Maoist philosophy and rhetoric in Nepal and is discussed in enemy-like terms. Nepal's political and economic reliance on India is viewed through an imperialist prism, merging nationalism and anti-imperialism. However, as compared to their Indian counterparts, one of the most distinguishing characteristics of Maoists in Nepal has been their "flexible situational choice" and sensitive sense of public feelings and mobilization".

Baral (2012) views,

“Prachanda called for the withdrawal and revision of the 1950 Treaty between Nepal and India. New Delhi expressed an interest in reviewing the treaty and possibly renegotiating it. However, Prachanda faced pressures as leader of the Maoist party, including the fact that the party had a more ideologically ardent side that he would have to placate to continue in power. The absorption of the Maoists into the NA was one of the most contentious problems at the time. Prachanda had previously declared in 2008 that political consensus was required before any meaningful action on the army could be taken. However, in late 2008 and early 2009, the Prachanda government decided to fire the chief of the army, General Katuwal., Thus there was a conflict between the army chief and the Prachand led cabinet because of his vehement resistance to

the Maoist rebels' quick absorption into the Nepali Army. Because India's relationship with the NA is so important to New Delhi, the sacking of General Katuwal was vigorously opposed. The Nepali and Indian armies have a long history of friendship, with each country's army head visiting the other, participating in a ceremonial ceremony, and being named honorary general in the other's army. Senior NA officers expressed their desire to Indian officials in the closing days of the Nepali monarchy under King Gyanendra that their relationship with the Indian Army would not change, regardless of political upheavals”.

He further expresses,

“From Prachanda's resignation until 2015, Nepal's authorities appear to have made a concerted effort to balance the internal threat posed by strong anti-India sentiments with the external threat posed by the risk of failing to maintain good relations with India. On the one hand, it appears that China has been gradually increasing its engagement with Nepal to commit Nepal to a certain minimum level of strategic autonomy and sovereignty prioritization, while on the other hand, Nepal has been treading carefully to avoid giving that priority too much weight. From Prachanda's resignation until 2015, Nepal's authorities appear to have made a concerted effort to balance the internal threat posed by strong anti-India sentiments with the external threat posed by the risk of failing to maintain good relations with India. On the one hand, it appears that China has been gradually increasing its engagement with Nepal to commit Nepal to a certain minimum level of strategic autonomy and sovereignty prioritization, while on the other hand, Nepal has been treading carefully to avoid giving that priority too much weight”.

User (2020) argues,

“Nepal promulgated a new Constitution with the signatures of 90 percent of the members of the Constituent Assembly (CA) II. They would congratulate Nepal on its achievement, but India, delivered a frigid letter and a mind-numbing message. The following day, India informally conveyed a proposed 7-point Constitutional change supporting 10 percent of Nepal's CA II, which has agitated Madhesi factions. Such modifications infringe on Nepal's sovereignty and internal affairs, yet the country's response was befuddling. Furthermore, India began clandestine transit trade warfare, effectively closing the Nepal-India border. All Nepalese lives are being frozen as a result of the border closures Nepal was in desperate need of cooking and oxygen gas, as well as gasoline, medicine, and other basic humanitarian goods. Due to a paucity of medicines and oxygen gas, hospitals had to halt normal operations. Except for security personnel, no gasoline had been delivered to public or private vehicles. Worse, India's transit warfare took place during a period when Nepal's and China's borders were closed following the earthquake. India's planned constitutional modification for the Madhesi minority was a farce; clearly, India's myopic goal was to dominate Nepal's natural resources and reinstate the Hindu Kingdom”.

Ranjan (2019) observes,

“Madhesi protesters are in no man's land, blocking the road at custom posts, preventing loaded vehicles from delivering to Nepal, "India said. However, this is not the case. True, India wishes to engage in genuine talks with its protected protestors to end the transit crisis in Nepal. This series of events demonstrates how a powerful state, acting as a "big brother," bullies and

pushes its narrow interests on the weaker state, smothering people's voices, livelihoods, and rights to life, liberty, security, and dignity India denied implementing a transit ban against Nepal internationally, but on October 3, 2015, India's Ministry of External Affairs ordered its customs agents to transfer stranded cargos to Nepal from its border. Despite this, Nepal continues to face obstacles in importing petroleum products and other everyday necessities from India. The order came when Nepal's land route to China reopened, cleaning the road of post-earthquake debris”.

According to the Kathmandu Post (21st September 2015),

“On the day after the Constitution was promulgated, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Hong lei sent his heartfelt congratulations to Nepal, expressing the hope that the country would seize this opportunity to achieve national unity, stability and progress. "China values its relations with Nepal and is ready to strengthen bilateral friendly cooperation and give help for Nepal's economic and social development to the best of its ability," he said (Kathmandu Post, 2015).Addressing the United Nations General Assembly's 70th session on September 27,2015, Chinese President Xi Jinping said, "Big, strong, and rich should not abuse the small, weak, and impoverished," without referencing Nepal's current challenges He emphasized the rejection of an old worldview in which one's success entails the other's failure, or that the winner takes it all. (2015, the New York Times). "The notion of sovereignty not only means that all countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity are inviolable, and their internal affairs are not vulnerable to meddling," he continued. "Big countries should respect tiny countries as equals, and take the proper approach to justice and interest by prioritizing justice over interest”.

A Nepali Newspaper The Himalayan (30 June 2018) writes,

“Tarai-Madhesi centric leaders of the Nepali Congress, then UML (now Unified with Maoist Party become CPN) and Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP), heartily welcomed the new constitution. However, India's blind devotion to the Madhesi leader and 10% of the minor Tarai-Madhesh-based cultural parties in the Constituent Assembly (CA) II voted against the new Constitution's promulgation. The same Tarai-Madhesh parties cast their votes in favor of Sushil Koirala, president of, the Nepali congress during the Prime Minister's election on October 11 under the same new constitution. The people from the Tarai Madhes ask them, why did they boycott the constitution-making process of the CA II? Why did you participate in the PM election? Who is 'Rae'? why are you behind him? All these scenarios show the double stand of the Madhesi leaders whose remote control had been operated by New Delhi”.

The India Express (24 September 2015) mentions,

“India claims that Madhesis make up the bulk of the population of Jhapa, Morang, and Sunsari districts, but this is incorrect; there is 56 percent of Pahadi, including Bahun (Report of National Statistics Bureau, Nepal). India was incorrect for two reasons: first, they manipulated the facts to suit their narrow interests against Nepal, and second, they relied heavily on information from their biased sources, such as Ranjit Rae and Tarai-Madhesi leaders. India is referred to as an "expansionist power" in the doctrine and vocabulary of Nepal's Communist Parties and is described in enemy-like terms. Nepal's political and economic dependence on India is cast through an imperialist lens, thus fusing nationalism with anti-imperialism. The ruling communist party of

Nepal, especially compared to their counterparts in India, has been their "flexible situational decisions" and an acute sense of mass sentiment and mobilization. When the Unofficial blockade took hold in 2015, India was met with a flurry of harsh criticism within Nepal. The Prime Minister of Nepal, Khadga Prasad Oli, and his officials blamed the Indian government for the unofficial blockade, saying that Indian security personnel was responsible for preventing the passage of cargo trucks into Nepal”.

An editorial in the Kathmandu Post, expresses,

“Delhi would do well not to be seen as crossing the red line to meet its objective. It could box itself in an awkward position and see it loses its diplomatic leverage against individual parties and sections of the polarized society”.

TET (16 June 2020) states as following:

“Prime Minister Oli, on the other hand, and his brand of strong Nepali nationalism was extremely unpopular in India. Furthermore, Oli's divergence from Indian desires to see the Madhesh incorporated into the Nepali Constitution, as well as the general cultivation of anti-India sentiment, were used to try to create conditions in which Oli would be removed from power, with Prachanda and Sher Bahadur Deuba, the Maois and Nepali Congress (NC) leaders, respectively, working out an agreement to form a new government. As a result, India has limited Nepal's authorities' ability to place a high value on strategic autonomy and sovereignty and, as a result, lean toward the country's northern neighbor”.

TET (16 June, 2020) further writes,

“Even tiny pro-India pivots find it difficult to succeed in Nepal's current

political environment. The other is to pursue strategic autonomy and sovereignty, which implies striving for greater ties with Beijing as China's sphere of influence in Asia grows. However, this risks inflaming the ire of a New Delhi that has the power to create political conditions that will allow it to overthrow the current Kathmandu administration, although through the use of significant amounts of political capital. The current situation in Nepal implies that, even with a Prime Minister widely seen as pro-India, New Delhi must contend with statements such as the following: China and India should be aware of Nepal's constraints as well”.

Oli, the Prime-Minister of Nepal, in his speech spells down,

“India is the only country in the South Asian area with a border that connects all member states of the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Except for Bhutan, all of India's neighbors have competed for "anonymity" connections with India over peace, harmony, and friendship. While the Indian government seeks to impose democratic oligarchy, security feudalism, capitalist socialism, justice anarchy, regulated friendship, and authoritarian rule of law, this happens. Modi's interventionist policy has been chastised. Modi's popularity is plunging, comparable to that of a former Indian Prime Minister who imposed a unilateral ban on Nepal. After Pakistan, India's largest foreign policy failure is Nepal's transit warfare”.

In an online news, it is written,

“Sushil Koirala has reservations about India. In his Tudikhel speech on September 22, 2015, Prachanda expressed his dissatisfaction with Modi's special envoy S. Jaishank, claiming that Jayashanker had insulted and disrespected him. Is Nepal's special envoy's visit to India disrespectful to any

former prime minister or major leader? It should be emphasized that all-important political reforms in Nepal, including the declaration of the Republic Federal State in 2008, were achieved with the active engagement, participation, and cooperation of the Indian people and government. The sole difference between the past and the present is that Nepali people of all dissertates previously traveled down the Indian road. However, the existing Modi-led administration has two options: either unilaterally lift the transit blockade or further sully the long-standing amicable and harmonious relations between the two countries. Despite some humanitarian issues, Nepal should be compelled to pursue self-sufficiency in the future”.

Tripathi (2019) observes,

“Nepal would gradually enhance alternate methods of subsistence and other humanitarian requirements, opening up supply routes from China. In the long run, India should pay a high price for the current transit struggle. People in general look to China for its active participation in Nepal as a "warm-friendship" country, dismissing generation-old cold friendship diplomacy, silence-negotiation, cruel policy, and mute-procession continued silence could result in a security hazard from the Nepal-China border. Unless India abandons its expansionist hegemony or China actively participates in the SAARC, the SAARC is on the verge of collapsing. Rather than being a domestic problem, Nepal's current crisis has been imported from other countries, particularly India. All of the agitating Tarai-Madhesh leaders acknowledged that India is supporting them. That is why Nepalese citizens are urging the government not to bow down at India's port. There is a powerful voice calling for Ambassador Rae to take stem action. Anti-Indian emotions

will only be quenched if India reduces its interference in Nepal's domestic affairs”.

High-level visits between Nepal and India (During Last Twenty-five years)

From 2010 AD to 2025 AD frequent high visits by the two countries have been made in both countries have been made in both countries. Such visits have resulted in smoothing culture and social relations more strongly. Some of such visits are mentioned as below:

From Nepal to India

- a) In February 2010, Ram Baran Yadav, Nepal's first President, visited India at the request of Ms. Pratibha Devisingh Patil, India's then-President.
- b) In May 2014, Nepalese Prime Minister Sushil Koirala traveled to India to join the swearing-in ceremony of Prime Minister-elect Shri Narendra Modi.
- c) The then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Kamal Thapa visited India in November 2015.
- d) Then Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Prakash Sharan Mahat visited India in October 2016 leading a Nepali delegation to participate in the 4th meeting of the Nepal-India Joint Commission.
- e) Then Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Prakash Sharan Mahat visited India in September 2016.
- f) Mr. Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda.' Nepal's then-Prime Minister, paid an official Visit to Delhi in September 2016 and returned in October 2016 to attend the BRICS-BIMSTEC Outreach Conference.

From India to Nepal

- a) In August 2014, Prime Minister of India His Excellency Shri Narendra Modi conducted a state visit to Nepal at the invitation of then-Prime Minister Mr. Sushil Koirala.
- b) His Excellency Prime Minister Modi also visited Nepal in November 2014, to participate in the 18th SAARC Summit.
- c) In July 2014, India's External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj traveled to Nepal at the request of then-Foreign Minister Mr. Mahendra Bahadur Pandey to attend the planned meeting of the bilateral Joint Commission.
- d) In November 2016, India's then-President, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, conducted an official Visit to Nepal.
- e) Modi, the Indian Prime minister along with other various cabinet ministers have visited Nepal several times in Modi's Premiership.

During Prime Minister visits in either country has helped in carrying out all agreements and understandings done earlier and also reviving existing bilateral channels to foster a cooperative agenda across all fields. The major agreement done those visits were developing rail links connecting agricultural relationship, building train link connection with Kathmandu and Raxaul, improving inland waterways for cargo traffic are providing Nepal with extra access to the sea. In addition, the strategies have been discussed in these visits.

According to Nischal Nath Pandey, the director of the Kathmandu-based think tank Centre for South Asia studies,

“Thousands of Nepali soldiers serve in India's Gurkha regiment and fight for the country. However, in recent years, calls in Nepal have grown louder for Kathmandu to cancel its bilateral peace and friendship pact with New Delhi

and to stop recruiting Nepalese into the Indian army. China's developing relations with Nepal have also made New Delhi uncomfortable”.

Baral (2018) states,

“Since 1950, Nepal and India have given the highest army rank to the chiefs of their respective forces. General Naravane will receive the honorary rank from Nepal's President, Bidhya Devi Bhandari. The Indian army chief will meet with President Bhandari, Nepalese Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli, and his Nepalese counterpart, General Purna Chandra Thapa, during his visit. The visit is noteworthy because it occurs amid rising tensions over bilateral territorial disputes over a sliver of land in the Himalayan area”.

4.2.10.2 Economic

According to the Economic Survey (GoN)- 2014/15,

“In 1951, Nepal and India began formal economic cooperation (MoF, 2014). The Koshi Barrage, Devighat Hydropower, and Watering Project, the Janakpur-Jayanagar Railway, East-West Highway, the B. P. Koirala Institute of Health Sciences, and the National Trauma Centre were all built with Indian assistance, as were the Koshi Barrage, Devighat Hydropower, and Irrigated Agriculture Plan, the Janakpur-Jayanagar Railway's East-West Highway, the B. P. Koirala Institute of Medical Sciences”.

According to the Indian Embassy in Kathmandu,

“Following the devastating earthquake in Nepal between April and May 2015, Indi offered immediate assistance. After a devastating 7.8 magnitude earthquake struck Nepal on April 25, 2015, the Indian government promptly dispatched National Disaster Response Force (NDRF troops and special planes with rescue and relief supplies (followed by a severe aftershock of 7.4

magnitude on May 12, 2015). Within six hours of the earthquake, 16 NDRF teams and 39 IAF aircraft flights transported 571 tons of relief aid to Nepal, containing rescue equipment, medicine, meals, water tents, quilts, and tarpaulin. Medical personnel from India have been dispatched to Nepal in various regions. In the Kathmandu valley, India assisted in the restoration of three electricity substations. The overall amount of Indian relief aid to Nepal was estimated to be US\$ 67 million. India pledged US\$ 1 billion (including a US\$ 250 million donations as well as a US\$ 750 million concessional Line of Credit) to Nepal's post-earthquake reconstruction during the International Conference for Nepal's Reconstruction (ICNR) conducted in Kathmandu on June 25, 2015. In 1952, Indian involvement began with the construction of an airstrip at Gaucharan. And since, India has mostly assisted Nepal in the development of infrastructural and human resource capability. Nepal's development efforts have benefited from India's assistance. In recent decades, India's economic assistance to Nepal has expanded considerably, particularly after the country's restoration to a multiparty system in 1990”.

Projects carried out in Nepal with India's Economic Assistance

According to the MoF (2023) the following projects in Nepal have been undertaken by the GoI:

- a) Some of the landmark projects completed and operationalized with Indian aid include the B.P. Koirala Institute of Health Sciences in Dharan, the Emergency and Trauma Centre at Bir Hospital in Kathmandu, and the Manmohan Memorial Polytechnic in Biratnagar.
- b) Integrated check-posts have been proposed at four points on the Indo-Nepal border namely (i) Raxaul-Birganj, (completed and operationalized from April

2018) (ii) Sunauli-Bhairahawa, (iii) Jogbani-Biratnagar, and (iv) Nepalgunj Road-Nepalgunj. The construction of ICP in Biratnagar is ongoing, while procedures are underway for Bhairahawa and Nepalgunj. Likewise, as envisaged by the MoU for the construction of Terai roads under phase I, the process of implementation has started.

- c) An MoU on the Development of Railway Infrastructure at five points along the Nepal-India border was signed in 2010. The construction process has been ongoing for Jayanagar-Janakpur-Bardibas-Bijalpura and Jogbani-Biratnagar sectors. For the remaining three links, both sides have started preliminary work. Likewise, the MoU on the establishment of Nepal Bharat Maitri Polytechnic at Hetauda in Makawanpur District of Nepal was signed on 16 February 2010 in New Delhi. The project is being implemented.

4.2.10.3 Cooperation in Water Resources

According to the MoF (GoN),

“The water resource is considered the backbone of the Nepali economy. The issue of water resources has always been getting due prominence in the agenda of bilateral cooperation between Nepal and India for a long time. To optimize the benefits and address the problems, both Governments have set up three-tier mechanisms called Joint Ministerial Commission for Water Resources (JMCWR), Joint Committee on Water Resources (JCWR), and Joint Standing Technical Committee (JSTC) to implement agreements and treaties, and also address water-induced problems of flood and inundation. There is also an additional mechanism- the Joint Committee on Inundation and Flood Management (JCIFM) - which deals explicitly with the issues of inundation, embankments, and flood forecasting. An important Power Trade Agreement

was signed between the two countries in 2014 paving the way for the power developers of the two countries to trade electricity across the border without restrictions. Private/public power developers from India have reached agreements with the Investment Board of Nepal to develop two mega hydropower projects -Upper Karnali and Arun III. A three-tier framework set up in 2008 to discuss all bilateral problems connected to water resources and hydropower cooperation has proven to be effective regular on-site and off-site sessions are organized. In the domain of river education and embankment construction, the Indian government has been assisting Nepal in reinforcing and extending river banks all along Lalbakeya, Bagmati, as well as Kamala rivers. Since 2008, cumulative grant aid for embankment building along these rivers has been nearly NR 4.5 billion, including the current assistance. In September 2014, a Development Authority was established to oversee the Pancheshwar Multipurpose Project. In November 2014, India's Satluj Jal Vidyut Nigam Limited and Nepal's Investment Board (IBN) signed a Power Development Agreement (PDA) for the 900 MW Arun-3 hydropower projects. In September 2014, IBN and M/s GMR agreed to a PDA for the 900 Mw Upper Karnali hydroelectric project”.

4.2.10.4 Trade, Transit and Investment

The Indian Embassy in Nepal (2017) states as following regarding trade, transit and investment in Nepal,

“India is Nepal's main trading partner and source of foreign investment, as well as providing transit for nearly all of Nepal's third-country commerce. Over two-thirds of Nepal's merchandise trade, one-third of its services trade, 36 percent of foreign direct investments, and nearly all of its petroleum

supplies come from India. Indian companies are Nepal's largest investors, accounting for 38.3 percent of the country's total permitted foreign direct investments. In Nepal, over 150 Indian companies are active in the manufacturing, banking, insurance, dry port, education, telecommunications, power, and tourist industries. India has provided a transit facility to Nepal for the third-country trade. Both the public and private sectors of India have invested in Nepal. The trade statistics reveal a phenomenal increase in the volume of bilateral trade over the years between the two countries. However, Nepal has escalating trade deficit with India. Nepal and India have concluded a bilateral Treaty of Transit”.

4.3 Current Status of Nepal-India Relations

According to Dinesh Kunwar Bhattarai, a former ambassador and diplomat,

“Nepal-India relations have had their ups and downs in the past. Nepal and India's relations are likewise quite turbulent and unstable at the moment - sometimes cordial, sometimes antagonistic, despite Nepal's desire for stable relations with India There has been a lack of trust and mutual understanding in Nepal-India relations since the adoption of the new constitution in 2015, following an unexpected trade ban from India. Nepali’s opinions toward India have worsened as a result, with many thinking that India is involved in Nepal's domestic affairs. To preserve a positive relationship between them, the government of India must cordially respect Nepal's independence and sovereignty. The Indian government has violated Nepal's commerce and transit rights by imposing an unofficial blockade. Such impacts would not be conducive to for maintaining social and cultural relations too”.

Sharing the current situation of Nepal-India relations with the researcher Madan Kumar Bhattarai, the former foreign affairs secretary of GoN, states,

“Many events of marriage between Indian and Nepali people are found along the Nepal-India border. India's foreign policy has shifted to strengthen bilateral ties with Nepal, particularly since Prime Minister Narendra Modi took office in 2014. China's rising investment in Nepal's infrastructures, energy, and other sectors is another reason for the Modi government's high-level interaction with Kathmandu. Nepal's Federal Democratic Republic has a long history of non-alignment and excellent ties with its neighbors. Relatively a small landlocked country wedged between two big and significantly stronger powers, Nepal has friendly relations with both China and India. Since the two countries established diplomatic relations, the contest between India and China has escalated on Nepalese soil. India wants to keep its historic influence in Nepal, while China wants to slash ties and create a position for itself in the bureaucracy, security services, army, as well as, last but not worst, amongst people”.

In this contest, Prof. Anupama Rey shares with the researcher in an interview as following:

“The India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, signed in 1950, is the foundation of India and Nepal's special relationship. The treaty signed is unsuitable for current democratic realities. Under the terms of the Treaty, Nepalese citizens have had unrivaled benefits in India, with equal access to amenities and opportunities as Indian residents (Based on the interview with Pashupati Shumser JBR, a former deputy prime minister of Nepal). He further adds that Nepal-India social and cultural relation is unique. The effectiveness

of relation is the result of the friendly and positive attitudes of the people of both sides. There is less trust and confidence and more disputes in Nepal-India ties. One of the most advocacy on behalf of Nepal's international relationships at the moment is to build good mutual understanding and win the Indian trust, maintain a balanced and equitable distance in relations regarding the foreign relations outside. Nepal's foreign policy toward India onward be focused on regional peace, stability, and prosperity”.

4.4 Chapter Summary

Mainly the open border between India and Nepal has fostered a unique relationship and appreciable co-operation between the two countries. In addition, more than the diplomatic relations between these two close neighbors, people to people relation has played remarkable role to strengthen social-cultural ties between them.

Dr. Shashikant, a senior officer at the foreign affairs department of Bharatiya Janata Party shares with the researcher,

“There has long been a tradition of individuals freely moving across boundaries to share family ties and culture. In the east, south, and west, Nepal shares a border with five Indian states: Sikkim, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttarakhand. The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship is the cornerstone of India's special relationship with Nepal. Nepali citizens have received some benefits in India as a result of the Treaty's terms, including equal access to facilities and opportunities as Indian nationals. In India, around six million Nepalese people live and work”.

It is remarkable to ntedown the version of Nilambar Acharya, a member of EPG from Nepal side,

“The two countries established diplomatic relations on June 17, 1947, to

provide a formal tone to such historic links. Our bilateral relations have become stronger because of our unshakable dedication to the values of peaceful coexistence, sovereign equality, mutual respect ambitions, and sensibilities. Nepal's sincere desire to create and foster cordial and amicable connections with its neighbors is shown in her long-standing policy of not allowing elements hostile to India to use its territory, and Nepal expects reciprocity and assurance from India. The two countries' open border remains a distinctive characteristic of our relationship. Frontier freedom has tremendously allowed our people to freely move to each other's areas and improve interactions”.

From decades back, there are security-related issues strongly prevailing. The two neighbors have with mutual understanding formed Joint Working Group on Border Control (JWG) the Border District Coordination Committees and Home Secretary-level Meetings. Besides, Nepal-India Joint Technical Committee was set up in 1981. This committee has achieved commendable progress. JWG is regularly mobilizing joint teams in border areas to implement the joint decision related to construction and repairing of boundary pillars and preserving the no-man's area.

Of course Nepal and India have followed a common approach to regional and multilateral institutions. They both are the members of UNO, Non-aligned Movement. SAARC, BIMSTEC and BBIN. They both strive for enhancing cooperation for greater economic integration and collective efforts for the social-cultural and economic development and prosperity in both countries.

Chapter – Five

Analysis of Nepal-India Socio-cultural Relations

5.1 Introduction to the Chapter

The study of socio-cultural relations with neighboring countries of great importance. It helps to know the uniqueness of relations between them. It also helps to strengthen the other dimensions of relationships (political, economic, geographical, security, diplomacy, etc.). The major goal of this study is to make clear assessment of the way how the Nepal–India socio-cultural relationship has developed so far. The study's specific objectives are:

- a) to examine the status and foundations of Nepal-India socio-cultural relations,
- b) to analyze the major barriers to Nepal-India socio-cultural relations, and
- c) to explore the strategies/policies to improve and foster the socio-cultural relations between Nepal and India in the future.

5.2 Socio-cultural Relation

The Foundation of Nepal- India Relations. The following discuss highlights the Socio-cultural relation is the foundation of Nepal-India relation. Pashupatinath, Muktinath, Janakpurdham and Lumbini in Nepal and Char Dham, Varanasi, Ayodhya and Bodhgaya in India are some of the important pilgrimages for the People of both countries. These sacred places play an instrumental role in keeping the people of the both countries in harmony and interrelated. According to Rajau, Socio-cultural relations also include the initiatives like Conservation of Monuments in Pashupatinath Temple complex, Kathmandu. MoU between Nepal Academy of Music and Drama and Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi is the MoU that has showcased the consideration for mutual understanding between academicians, music writers,

directors through the exchange of delegation relating to various fine arts and cultural issues and art exhibition and exchange program on a reciprocal basis. Nepal-Bharat Library is another milestone in cooperation between the nations which was founded in 1951 in Kathmandu and has been regarded as the first foreign library in Nepal.

Raj Kumar states in interview,

“People of Nepal and India are heavily dependent on each other due to the social, cultural and economic aspects. Based on the linguistic and ritualistic similarities many communities from across the borders enjoy the familiarity with one another. On the other hand, the distinction between the two nations has created a kind of identity crisis among the people living on borders”
(Based on the interview with Raj Kumar Singh, member of Lok Sabha from Ara, Bihar).

Patel (2017) explains,

“The cultural heritage of any two nations constructs a foundation for bilateral relations to function smoothly. Nepal-India relations are not just based on government-to-government relations but also people play an important role especially with the non-state actors. As people take initiatives themselves to indulge in activities together which makes the cultural relations between the nations a never-ending saga. Also, the heritage sites have been made more accessible for tourism for Nepali and Indian tourists due to SAARC consideration”.

The governments of the two countries are also making efforts to promote people-to-people contacts in the fields of art & culture, academics and media include cultural programmers, seminar-like events organized in collaboration with different local

institution of the both nations. Such beginnings are helpful to these help spread of the culture of the both countries.

Anup Thakur, a member of Lok Sabha from Hamripur, Himanchal Pradesh, share with the researcher through an interview as following:

“Formal and informal visits to the both countries media people, literary groups bureaucrats, etc. play import role in strengthening the socio-cultural, economic and ever political relations. In the field of print & electronic media and archaeology are also Indian support is time and again available to Nepali journalists and administrators, with this help Nepali media can convey or advertise opportunities to collaborate with India. In addition, abundance of assistance is provided by India in order to set up stronger bilateral relations, such as building e-library system across Nepal. The Swami Vivekananda Centre for Indian Culture was set up in Kathmandu in August 2007, It is an initiative of (GoI) to promote Indian culture to Nepali people.

Too many activities have been effectively carried out in the past with the spent of goodwill. The Nepal-Bharat Library was founded in 1951 in Kathmandu. It is as the first foreign library in Nepal. The overall purpose of this library is promote the cultural relations and information exchange between the two neighbors. B.P. Koirala India-Nepal Foundation is also a major help by GoI. This Foundation was established in 1991 MoU on it was signed between the Governments of India and Nepal. The purpose of this foundation is to grow educational, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation between Nepal and India. In addition, its goal is to promote mutual understanding and cooperation through sharing of knowledge and professional talents in academic sphere and technical specialization”.

Rameshwor Teli, a member of Lok Sabha, in an interview with the researcher says,

“The population of Indians is around six lac, who are living or domiciled in Nepal and approximately eight million Nepali citizens live and work in India. These mostly include businessmen and traders who have been living in Nepal for a long time, professionals like doctors, engineers, IT personnel. Also, labor class including seasonal or migratory construction workers visit or migrate there. The Indian Citizens Association (ICA) of Nepal was formed on 14 September 1990. ICA is the only association which deals with resident Indian citizens in Nepal with branches at Pokhara, Damak and Bhairahawa, and provides a platform to resident Indian citizens to discuss any matter of concern or any matter that might have an interest for them. Nepal and India have extended visa-free entry in their respective territories to each other’s nationals. Indians account for about 30 percent of foreign tourists in Nepal. With a view to strengthen people to people exchanges, sister city agreements have been signed (Kathmandu-Varanasi, Lumbini-Bodhgaya, Janakpur-Ayodhya) & India-Nepal Ramayana Circuit have been launched. This explains that an open and free border has made the migration easy which clearly has opened a plethora of opportunities for people across the borders. They freely travel to and engage with each other’s nation for better opportunities including expanding business. Nepal-India open borders are responsible for kin and relatives across the borders. Especially from the bordering states of India like Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Sikkim and other states. These ties are also popularly known as ‘*Roti-Beti ka Rishta*’ due to the trade and familial ties across the borders. Not only the familial relations but Nepal-India Bilateral Relations”.

Likewise, Sushil Kumar Singh, a member of Loksabha, through an interview speaks,

“People from India and Nepal share their religious beliefs, especially Hinduism and Buddhism. Similarly, there have been a lot of similarities between the cultures, languages and social strata. Maithili, Hindi or even the Bhojpuri language is spoken in the bordering regions of both the nations, which shows the cultural assimilation across the borders. Collaborations between the governments to promote cultures across nations”.

MoUs/Agreements that have been signed between Nepal and India to promote cultural relations are as follows:

- a) Sahitya Kala Akademi (India) and Nepal Academy (ii)
- b) Doordarshan (India) and Nepal TV
- c) Press Council of India and Press Council of Nepal
- d) Lalit Kala Akademi (India) and Nepal Academy of Fine Arts
- e) GoN and GoI for cooperation on youth affairs
- f) Sangeet Natak Akademi (India) and Nepal Academy of Music & Drama, and
- g) GoN and GoI for twinning of sister cities Kathmandu-Varanasi, Lumbini-Bodhgaya and Janakpur-Ayodhya.

According to the Indian embassy in Kathmandu (2023),

“Hinduism and Buddhism philosophies are the most significant connections between Nepal and India. After the independence of India, it has also become a part of cultural diplomacy for both the nations. Cultural influence has always been cost effective and its impacts are non-tangible. Indians and Nepalese are so closely and strongly interlinked by social life and cultural tradition that nobody can imagine separating them from one another. Both the nations have made great contributions in order to have enriching religious and cultural

heritage in the region, and beyond. Lord Buddha, born in Nepal, has left his footprints not only in South Asia but all over the world. Sita has been seen as the daughter of Nepal, who was married to Ram, the crown prince of Ayodhya in India, has made a special place in the hearts of Hindus living in India as well as Nepal. Pilgrimage The tourist attractions in both the countries have been evident, a significant pilgrimage could be *Char Dham* of India which has been an aspiration of Hindus to visit in their lifetimes”.

Similarly, Loksabha member Rajendra Agrawal shares his views with the researcher like,

“The religious visit of *chardham* ia, i.e. Badrinath/Kedarnath in Uttarakhand, Jagannath (Puri) in Orissa, Rameshwaram in Tamilnadu, and Dwarka in Gujarat has been the life-time aspiration of almost all Hindus due to their religious beliefs, has showcased a testimony of a long-lasting cultural ties. Some places in India have been considered as sacred sites by Nepali people include Haridwar, Rishikesh, Varanasi, Gaya, Vaishnodevi, and many more. In the same way a lot of sites are popular amongst the Indians to visit in Nepal. There are some well accepted must visits religious destinations for Indians like Pashupatinath in Kathmandu, Lumbini (the birth place of Buddha) in Rupandehi district, Ram-Janaki temple in Janakpur (the birth place of Janak and Sita), Muktinath and Damodarkunda in Musang, Behadababa temple in Kailali, Siddhanath temple in Kanchanpur and many more. Aforementioned sites have remained popular irrespective of any political situation that occurred in the region”.

In the same views Aditya Yadav, a member of the Loksabha, opines,

“Buddhism has played a major role in the cultural connectedness between both

the nations especially after the spread of Vajrayana school of thought of Buddhism. The origin of Buddhism is believed to have started with Siddhartha Gautam also known as Buddha who was born in Lumbini which is in Nepal. The enlightenment however occurred to him in Bodh Gaya is a fact well accepted which is also the reason why Nepal and cultural ties have remained strong. Major ethnic groups in Nepal adapted this religion and preserved a mass of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts which could have been lost due to Turkish invasion. So, from north India the manuscripts that arrived were preserved as there were many Indian monk scholars who came to Nepal on their way to Tibet. The destruction of Buddhist Centre's became a major reason for many to flee to Nepal who were later given shelter by Newari people of Nepal. Later, this became the one of the main reasons for the mutual respect shared between Nepal and India as the religious sentiments were involved".

Anand Gond, another member of the Lok Sabha, says,

"Many people from the West Bengal go to Nepal as doctors, engineers and teachers where they practice and develop their professionalism. There has been a natural affinity between Nepalis and the West Bengal people in terms of linguistic similarities as well as the worshiping of Goddess in both the communities. Dakshin Kali, Bhadra Kali and Taleju Bhawani have been worshiped in both the regions. There are a lot of shrines of Goddess Kali and Durga present in various Indian communities as well as the Nepali communities. The festival of Dashain and Durga Puja has dominated the ritual calendar of Nepali and Indian people. Loli Gora (Gaura) is the greatest festival which is magnificently observed in the Sudurpashchim Nepal and Kumaun

and Garwal region of India. This festival is a celebration of the worship of God Shiva and Goddess Parvati (Gauri). Origin of Sikh Heritage in Nepal

Guru Nanak Dev is believed to have meditated in six places in Kathmandu and small shrines. He meditated at a location where Singha Durbar presently stands. Also, there is a lore that goes back to 1515,6 when King Jay Jagat Malla came to Gyaneshwor Mahadev to seek blessings from Nanak ji to get rid of the diseases and drought from which citizens were suffering. Guru Nanak Dev is said to have healed the people from the diseases and ended the drought miraculously by bringing out a holy spring from a small stone down the temple. The aforementioned holy spring known as Gyan Dhara is also one of the reasons why Sikh community resides there with pride and with the historical connection to their religion. The second contact of Sikhism with Nepali people was at a very unexpected place which was a battlefield. Maharaja Ranjit Singh met Amar Singh Thapa in Kangra. In 1861, Rani Jind Kaur who was the last Queen of Punjab left Nepal after staying there for eleven years, laid the foundation for Sikh community in Nepalgunj. In recent times, the Sikh families that stayed with her became a sizable community. The 1947 partition which proved to be a painful incident in the lives of many, especially Punjabis, a lot of families moved from Punjab to Nepal. Hence, there were several Sikh families that came during the period of 1947-1957 in Nepalgunj. Today most of these families have successful businesses and are considered as a respectable sect of Nepali society”.

Deep Kumar Upadhyay, in his interview with the researcher, explains,

“Movies: Movies have played a major role in connecting people across the borders. A lot of artists have transcended borders with their artistry like Nepali

actress Manisha Koirala, who has done a lot of Hindi films. Music composers like Shanti Thatal, an Indian, who have been credited for a lot of Nepali songs. She has also been accepted as the first female music composer of Nepali Film Industry. Films that release in India, especially Bollywood films, also get released in Nepali theaters. A good case study of the people-to-people relations could be seen in the Film. The film, 'Saino' released in 1987 could be seen as a film that had a collaboration of Nepali and Indian artists. Hence, the love for cinema has been shared between the two nations. Multiple communities like the Marwari and Sikh community migrated from India to live a stable life in Nepal”.

He further elaborates the socio-culture relation between Nepal and India saying,

“The people from transnational communities share kin, economic and religious activities across the borders. The elites of both the countries made citizenship a touchstone of belonging or not of the communities. The Indians from the Marwadi community made a strategy of family dispersal as their business model. They migrated to Nepal for more business opportunities. The Sikhs from Jammu and Kashmir in the 1950s moved to Nepal to establish their business there. Some of them now hold their Nepali nationality with pride. They came and built Gurudwaras for setting their roots in the new land”.

Some veteran Nepali diplomats opine,

“Nepal-India relations have always been important from the perspective of national security as well as regional stability. So, cultural cooperation amongst people and governments creates trust between nations. These amicable relations help in building foreign policies that are mutually beneficial. Socio-

cultural relations between Nepal and India goes from people-to-people directly to the governments themselves”.

Along with the constructive results, there exist some problems in both sides. Such problems are related to find out the root causes of crisis amongst two side people and how solve with it. It requires sincere effort to be done by GoI and make inclusive policies based on communities. In the current situation as more as we focus on soft power the more improves Nepal-India diplomatic relations, Hundreds of Marwadi business men have their business in many cities of Nepal. Likewise, thousands of Nepali citizens and students go to India seeking employment opportunities and better opportunities for advance education. The political stability is necessary for it. The informal groups need to be acknowledged and inspired for their efforts in maintaining socio-cultural affinity among people across the nations. Both the governments along with their people should be open for conducive socio-cultural thoughts and their execution.

Bhagat Singh Kushyara, a member of EPG, shares his views with the researcher as,

“Each country in South Asia has its unique characteristics. They all share a common way of life. South Asian societies are profoundly based on the norms and values of Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, and Sikhism. Though the number of people who follow such religious and cultural stalwarts varies by country, their existence and impact on local arts, customs, and traditions can be seen in every country and civilization in the region. Nepal, however, has its geography, past, and cultural legacy, and it remains an important element of the Indian subcontinent's cultural tradition and history. Culture, as the phrase goes, knows no bounds. While both Nepal and India are part of South Asian civilization, they have a special bond and share many commonalities. Both

have made significant contributions to the region's and beyond religious and cultural legacy. Born in Nepal, Lord Buddha has left his imprint not just in South Asia but throughout the world. Sita, a Nepali princess who married Ram, the prince of Ayodhya in India, has a unique place in the hearts of Hindus all around the world. The contributions of the Nepali and Indian philosophers and saints regarding the evolution and preservation of Hinduism and Buddhism is beyond appreciation. These notable figures from the region have contributed to the evolution, development, and dissemination of the culture and heritage that is now proudly known as South Asian culture”.

Ajaya Bhatta, a member of the Lok Sabha, in an interview with the researcher views, “Hundreds of thousands of Nepalese pilgrims visit India each year. Almost all Hindus aspire to travel the *Char Dham* yatra (a pilgrimage to four Hindu shrines in India: Badrinath/Kedarnath in Uttarakhand, Jagannath (Puri) in Orissa, Rameshwaram in Tamilnadu, as well as Dwarka in Gujarat). Nepalese people see many other destinations in India as sacred sites. Haridwar, Rishikesh, Banaras, Gaya Vaishnodevi, and others are among them. Similarly, various religious places in Nepal, such as the Pashupatinath temple, the Janaki temple, the Muktinath temple, the Behadababa temple, the Siddhanath temple and Lumbini, are regarded as sacred and important and are popular with Indian tourists as "must visit" religious locations”.

5.2.1 Reciprocal Settlements

5.2.1.1 Indian Nationals Living in Nepal

The Indian nationals who live in Nepal include businessmen, traders, professionals (doctors, engineers, IT personnel), and laborers (including seasonal/migratory in the construction sector). Most of them have been living in Nepal for long time.

Ajaya Tamata, a member of the Loksabha states,

“An Indian Citizens' Association of Nepal (CAN) was formed on 14 September 1990. ICANN is the only association of resident Indian citizens in Nepal with branches at Pokhara, Damak, and Bhairahawa, and provides a platform for discussion on matters about the legitimate interest of the resident Indians in Nepal and works for the protection of such interests. Nepal and India have got open borders. There is a people-to-people relationship between the Indian and Nepalese people whether it is in the east or west border area. The nationals of both the countries share and enjoy the similar social and cultural values and norms”.

5.2.1.2 Nepali Nationals Living in India

According to Pandey (2021),

“Approximately six hundred thousand Nepali people are staying in India. Some of them have family settlement there. Some are involved in various businesses, trades, industries and miscellaneous employment. Some are studying in self-effort or getting scholarship. Some Nepali women are being suffered in India as they have been sold by the human traffickers. However, the major reason of majority of Nepali Citizens stay in India is employment since Nepal lacks employment opportunities. People not able to go for foreign employment abroad, they search permanent, temporary or seasonal employment in India. The people involved in difficult, dangerous and disastrous work are in piteous condition. Nepal's employees in India are often hated as *Dotyal* or *Bahadur* or *Meth*. They really don't like such misbehavior. Some citizens of India having Nepali origin or their associations sometimes raise voice against the ill behavior of Indians with the Nepali people in India”.

5.3 Education

Tirth Singh Rawat, in an interview with the research shares his views as,

“One of the primary components of bilateral cooperation has been India's support for the development of Nepal's human resources over the years. Every year, the Indian government provides approximately 3000 scholarships to Nepal's for Ph.D. Masters as well as Bachelor's level studies in India, and also various level studies in Nepal. These scholarships encompass areas such as engineering, agriculture, pharmacology, animal sciences, computer software, business management, music, fine arts, etc. In India, self-financing places for MBBS/BDS and PG level studies in the medical field and Bachelor of Engineering programs are provided which directly and indirectly assist in social and cultural development of Nepal, In Nepal too, many students get opportunity every year to study medical sciences and engineering. Nepal and India have sacred lands where the people of both countries visit to perform their spiritual activities”. (Based on the interview with Tirth Singh Rawat, a member of Loksabha from Uttarakhand, India).

5.4 Health

According to Indian Embassy in Nepal (2023),

“Most of the Indian hospitals located at the border sides of Nepal are occupied by the Nepali patients. Nepalese patients are contributing to flourishing the Indian medical market by consuming the medical services and medicines. On the other hand, the Indian hospitals and medical stores are providing treatment to the Nepali patients. Moreover, GoI has been supporting for the medical sector development in Nepal by providing medical equipment, medical infrastructure development and technical expertise. Every year hundreds of

Nepali medical human resources are either produced or developed in India. Likewise, the Indian people residing in the border side come to Nepal and gain the treatment in the eye hospitals in the terai or madhes region of Nepal, especially in Geta (Dhangadhi), Dang, Bhairhawa, Chitawan, Lahan, Biratnagar and Mechi hospitals”.

5.5 Culture

Ramesh Pokhariya, Lok Sabha member, in an interview by the researcher expresses,

“GoI has been making appreciable efforts to build people-to-people interactions in the fields of art & culture, academics, and media with various local entities in Nepal, and also operates conferences and seminars in Hindi for Nepali people. Nepali journalists/editors are invited to India where they can achieve abundance of experience in the journalism sector. Nepali editors/journalists/experts/officials also are provided opportunities to visit and gain experience related to their professions. The Nepal Academy and the Sahitya Kala Akademi (India) have already signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). To work together in the field of language, literature and culture”.

Chandhari and Ghos write (2016),

“In August 2007, an Indian Cultural Centre was established in Kathmandu to showcase the best of Indian culture in Nepali cities. The Indian Cultural Centre in Kathmandu has earned a lot of respect for its prior cultural activities. The Nepal-Bharat Library was founded in Kathmandu in 1951. Its purpose is to enhance and strengthen cultural relations and sharing of information between India and Nepal, A MoU between both the governments of India and Nepal resulted in the establishment of the B.P. Koirala India-Nepal

Foundation in 1991, The Foundation's mission is to promote mutual understanding and collaboration between India and Nepal in the areas of education, culture, science, and technology by sharing information and professional talents in academic pursuits and technical specialties”.

5.6 High-level Religious Visits

The high-level religious visit took place the recent past from two sides are discussed as following:

- a) One of the four principal aspects of soft power used by the Modi government is ancient heritage and civilizational links, which also draw from the roots of Buddhism and Hinduism shared by other countries.
- b) Indian PM Modi's address to the Constituent Assembly of Nepal during his visit to Nepal in 2014, In this sovereign assembly Modi first time, acknowledged that Lord Buddha was born in Nepal. He repeated the word 'Buddha' five times in that assembly. He also focused Nepal should develop sacred religious sites in Nepal which can strengthen the faith of the people on Hinduism and Buddhism. It can attract religious tourism from India and the world. At the moment he was strongly asserted that Nepal was the Land of Sita which makes the Nepal-India relationship very special. During this visit, he also visited the Pashupatinath Temple in Kathmandu. The bilateral visit of Modi to Nepal in 2018, put religious diplomacy at the top of his visit's theme. His visit started from Janakpur, the birthplace of Goddess Sita. He, there, he pledged 1 billion Indian rupees (USD 14.8 million) in aid for the development of the town. He also joins his Nepali counterpart to inaugurate "Ramayan Circuit" by launching the Janakpur-Ayodhya bus service. When he reached Kathmandu through Kathmandu he once again visited Pashupatinath Temple.

Then his visit extended to the Muktinath Temple in Mustang, which is believed as the temple of Lord Vishnu. Moreover, the people of both faiths – the Hindu and Buddhist, pay respect to this temple. In August 2018 Modi visited Kathmandu to attend the 4th BIMSTEC Summit. The time was he visited the Pashupatinath Temple, and also jointly inaugurated the 400-bed Nepal-Bharat Maitri Pashupati Dharmashala in Kathmandu, with his Nepali counterpart. This Dharmashala was constructed under Indian assistance.

PM Modi's 2022 visit to Nepal was unconventional. He limited this visit to Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha. On the 2566th anniversary of Lord Gautam Buddha's birth, Modi arrived directly at Lumbini. Sher Bahadur Deuba welcomed him. Two prime ministers sat down together to offer prayers in the temple. During this visit, Modi proposed a 'Buddhist Circuit' that can boost religious tourism between the two countries. Modi also viewed that 'Ram' is incomplete without Nepal. He further said that the Nepali people are equally happy as the Indians when Ram Mandir was being built in India.

- c) On the 2nd June 2023, Nepali Prime Minister Prachanda visited the religious places in Indore and Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh (India). His visit to these cities reflected the deep religious and cultural links between the two countries.
- d) Nepal and India are brought closer by common religion and culture. Offering special privileges to Nepal's King, Indian religious shrines have attached great importance to Nepal-India relations.

Koshyara says,

“With the promulgation of a secular and federal republic constitution, the centuries old traditions, cultures and religious linkages of Nepal and India are vanishing. Nepal had supplied many important ingredients to Indian temples

in the past, so India supplied important ingredients to Nepalese temples as part of a religious reciprocity. As the new political institutions of the modern state are dealing with political matters, cultural and religious linkages have been sidelined. Sandalwood is one of the main prerequisites for daily worship in Pashupati. Without sandalwood, the worship at the Temple of Pashupatinath is incomplete. India supplies Nepal with the sandalwood regularly, as per the orders of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, to continue the centuries old tradition”.

For centuries Nepal has been supplying musk of the deer to Jaganathjee Temple and Saligram to Bishnu Temples in South India.

New spotlight online (Feb 6, 2018) highlighted,

“Gyanendra’s, the former king of Nepal, Visited to Odisha from 6 February 2012 to 12 February 2012AD. Although the former monarch had lost his political power, he was paid great respect by the Indian religious institutions. During his visit offered special Puja at the 12th century shree Jagannath Temple at Puri and visited Sakhsigopal temple. This was the first visit of the Nepal King (Former) to Sakshigopal temple in 150 years. There are deep spiritual ties between Nepal and Odisha. On 9 and 10 february, the former king attended a programme commemorating the silver jubille of Pattabhisheka of Jagadguru Shankarcharya of Puri at the initiation of the Govardhan Math of Puri”. (New Sportlight Online Feb, 6,2018).

Further this on line news wrote,

“During his weeklong stay in India, the former King Gyanendra visited Shree Jagannath Temple in Puri and paid obeisance by participating in a puja in Bhubaneswar. According to the Indian media, the former King Gyanendra

entered the 12th-century shrine in the seaside pilgrim town along with Gajapati King of Puri Dibyasingha Deb through the south gate after the latter went in and performed the puja. The former Nepal King also offered three rare Salagrams (ammonite) and a gold coin and he prayed for peace across the world and he also prayed for the strengthening of friendly ties between Nepal and India”.

Elaborating the abovementioned news, the Kathmandu Post Daily wrote,

“The King of Nepal had the special privilege of performing 'aarati' of Shree Jagannath atop the 'Ratna Singhasan' (Podium). The King had special seva and rituals in the three important shrines; Shree Jagannath Temple at Puri, Lingaraj Temple at Bhubaneswar and Sakhigopal Temple at Sakhigopal. The former Nepal King held great reverence to the deep spiritual ties between Odisha and Nepal. Adi Shankaracharya had established the rituals and practices in both the Jagannath and Pashupatinath temples. During his visit, Nepal's former King attended the silver jubilee of Shankaracharya Swami Nischalananda Saraswati's pattabisheka, joined the International Gau Sambardhana Mahotsav and laid the foundation stone for a Go Mata Mandira at Rathipur near Jatni, the first temple dedicated to cows, at Gadarathipur. At the International Go-Sambardhana Mahotsav, the former monarch said that Sanathan Dharma has the ability to orient a person's mind, body and soul to spiritual awakening. It is rare for the prime minister and the opposition leader of a big country like India to visit a neighboring country Nepal on the same day. On the 15 and 16 August 2018. Narendra Modi and Rahul Gandhi found themselves in the same city in Nepal, although for entirely different reasons”.

(<https://www.kathmandupost.com>, Sat Aug 16, 2018)

e) The *Republica* Newspaper wrote,

“The Indian prime minister was wrapping up his two-day visit to Nepal, where he attended the fourth summit of the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation, or BIMSTEC. Before returning home on August 31, Modi prayed at Kathmandu’s Pashupatinath, one of the holiest shrines for Hindus. It was his third trip to the 5th century temple since taking power in 2014”.

f) The Congress president had arrived in Kathmandu that afternoon on his way to Kailash Mansarovar. Gandhi had vowed to undertake a pilgrimage to the holy mountain in Tibet after the aircraft flying him to Karnataka for the Assembly election campaign in April suffered a near miss, developing “technical snags” and plunging hundreds of feet. Gandhi wanted to visit what Hindus believe is the abode of the god Shiva to thank the deity for escaping unharmed. A week later, former Prime Minister of India HD Deve Gowda visited with his family. He prayed at Pashupatinath temple on August 7. One unintended consequence of Indian leaders’ frequent forays into Nepal to seek blessings of deities has been a boost to religious tourism. Though Indians have long comprised the largest share of tourists to Nepal, the endorsement of the country’s pilgrimage sites by Modi and other leaders has helped increase the numbers. The sleepy southeastern town of Janakpur, for example, saw a substantial growth in the number of Indian tourists after Modi’s visit. Deepak Raj Joshi, head of the Nepal Tourism Board, was quoted by the *Republica* newspaper as saying that the number had increased by 20 percent”.

Based on the above discussion it can be concluded that Nepal has got an opportunity to serve as a gateway to Kailash Mansarovar. Approximately fifteen thousand Indian travel Nepalgunj in western Nepal to Humla, where they take a helicopter to the Tibetan border near the Kailash Mansarovar.

However, the visits of the Indian high profile politicians to Nepal's religious sites almost has been same controversy.

According to the Nepali diplomats,

“In 1988, during Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's state visit to Nepal in December, his wife Sonia Gandhi was denied entry into Pashupatinath because non-Hindus are barred from the temple's inner sanctum. This led to tensions between the Indian government and Nepal's monarchy and the bilateral relationship took years to normalize”.

g) Concluding his first official India visit as a prime minister of Nepal in 2021, Prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba on 3rd April 2022 went to Varanasi. He then performed a puja at Kal Bhairav and Kashi Vishwanath.

h) According to one of the Nepali on-line news,

“The President of India, Pranab Mukherjee, concluded his three-day state visit to Nepal on November 04, 2016. He was the first Indian President to visit Nepal after a gap of 18 years. Prior to Pranab Mukherjee, R.K. Narayanan was the last Indian President to visit Nepal in May 1998. During the visit, besides the capital city Kathmandu, President Pranab Mukherjee visited Pokhara- a tourist city in the Gorkha belt, and Jankapur- a religious city in Madhes region. President Pranab Mukherjee visited Janakpur– an ancient religious city situated in the Terai region, offered prayers at Janaki Mata temple and attended a civic reception organized by Janakpur

Municipal Corporation. Beside religious and spiritual allegiance, the visit is also being considered as an attempt to further strengthen India's cultural and socio- economic bonding with Nepal. During the civic reception in Janakpur, the president talked about ancient familial ties between Ayodhya and Janakpur, the importance of Janakpur as an ancient learning centre and "melting pot of diverse cultures and religions- Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism". And, notably, he argued how the economic development of Janakpur or Madhesh region is linked with the development of tourism, particularly the development of the Ramayana circuit".

5.7 Economic Cooperation to Nepal by India

In order to build modern infrastructure in Nepal India-Nepal cooperation began in 1951 with the construction of Gauchar Airport in Kathmandu which was completed in 1954. The Indian Aid Mission in Nepal established in 1954 in order to launch various projects and efforts by GoI for development in Nepal, especially to broaden connectivity, health, education, power, government departments etc. Since then India has also shared technical support with Nepal. It includes education, health, archives, archeology, irrigation, power, horticulture, development of industries, trade promotion, etc.

5.7.1 Grant Projects

According to MoF (2023), the following projects have been undertaken by government of India.

a) Large and Intermediate Infrastructure Projects

Gauchar Airport (Tribhuvan Highways, Mahendra Highway, institutional strengthening of Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu water Supply Project, Building construction of National Archives, airport construction in Janakpur, Bhairawa and

Biratnagar, of Forestry Institute in Hetauda infrastructure development and drinking water and hydro power projects were the major Projects of the decade of 1950 which were supported by GoI. Electricity, Health, Education, Irrigation, etc, thereafter, launched in Nepal by GoI.

The development co-work with India took major achievement. The significant landmark is the train operations in Jaynagar-Kurtha Section of Jaynagar - Bardibas rail link the Indian Prime Minister Modi and Nepali Prime Minister Deuba on 2nd April 2022. It is the first ever cross-border broad-gauge train link in Nepal. Among some other important projects were Integrated Check-Posts at Birgunj and Biratnagar, Nepalgunj and Bhairawa which are in process.

The cooperation in power sector began with Trishuli Hydropower Projects, Pokhara Hydropower projects, Kataiya Power House and Devighat Hydro-eclectic Project has further enhanced Nepal's economic development. First cross-border petroleum product pipeline in the South Asia region is Motihari to Amlekhganj which was initiated in 2019.

Nepal Bharat Maitri Emergency & Trauma Centre at Kathmandu, B.P Koilara Institute of Health Science, Dharan, Construction of 5 storied OPD complex of Bir Hospital, Kathmandu, are highly appreciable project operated with the assistance of GoI.

Nepal Bharat Maitri Vidyalaya of Manmohan Memorial Polytechnic, Tri-Chandra College infrastructure development, Projects, establishment of library, Gandhi Bhawan Tribhuvan University, hostels at T.U. are some other significant projects. Pashupati Dharamshala Patan Industrial Area, installation of over 3000 shallow tube wells in Terai region, Museum at Lumbini are latest major projects.

HICDPs (earlier known as Small Development Projects) are short-gestation projects with optimum utility. HICDPs have been carried out in the priority sectors of GoI for example, schools, colleges, hospitals, water, sanitation and drainage facilities, rural electrification and hydro power plant, etc. These projects have been proved conducive to enhance human capacity in Nepal.

b) Donation of Ambulances and School Buses

The GoI has regularly been donating Ambulances and school Buses to various institutions of Nepal working in health and education sectors. Ambulances are contributing the needy citizens to receive medical support in time. Similarly, school buses are providing students with safe and economical mode of transportation to commute to school, especially in less developed areas. Such donations are connecting with grass-root people even in the furthest places in Nepal. GoI has distributed 940 ambulances and 184 school buses in different parts of Nepal till 2024 AD. These services placed to be part of the first line and contributing significantly in the health care and education sector.

c) Post-earthquake Reconstruction

The Indian Embassy in Nepal states,

“Following the earthquake of April 2015, the GoI committed US\$ 1 billion, comprising US 25 million as a grant and US\$ 750 million as a Line of Credit, for post-earthquake reconstruction projects in Nepal. US\$ 150 million (US\$ 100 million as a grant and US\$ 50 million from the 4th Line of Credit) was allocated to the Housing sector to support 50,000 housing beneficiaries in Gorkha and Nuwakot. The construction of 50,000 houses has been completed, and the closing ceremony was held in Kathmandu on November 15, 2021. US\$ 50 million grant has been allocated for the reconstruction of 71

educational institutes in 8 districts of Nepal. A Grant of US\$ 50 million has been allocated for the reconstruction of 132 Health projects in 10 districts. A Grant of US\$ 50 million is allocated for the reconstruction of 28 cultural heritage projects”.

d) Flood Relief Assistance and Vehicle for Election

The Economic Survey of GoN (2022/23 FY) mentions,

“Consignment of flood and landslide relief material was handed over to 15th July, 2022. For smooth conduction of election, 200 vehicles (120 vehicles for use of security agencies and 80 for use of Election Commission of Nepal) was also handed over in November, 2022 to government of India”.

5.8 Common Cultural and Social Organizations in Both Countries

5.8.1 Nepal Academy of Music and Drama Sangeet Academy

Panta (2079), states,

“Nepal Academy of Music and Drama and Sangeet Natak Academi, New Delhi has showcased the consideration for mutual understanding between academicians, music writers, directors through the exchange of delication relating to various fine arts and cultural issues and art exhibition and exchange program on a reciprocal basic”.

5.8.2 Nepal Bharat Library

Nepal-Bharat Library was founded in Kathmandu in 1951. It has remained as a milestone in cooperation between the two nations It has been regarded as the first foreign library in Nepal.

5.8.3 The Swami Vivekananda Center for Culture

The Swami Vivekananda Center for Indian Culture was established in Kathmandu in

August 2007, It is taken as an initiative of GoI to promote Indian Culture to Nepali people. A lot of events have been done in the past with the thought of goodwill.

5.8.4 B.P. Koirala India-Nepal Foundation

This foundation works for cooperation between the two nations. The B.P. Koirala India-Nepal foundation was set up in 1991 A.D. through an MoU signed between GoN and GoI. The objective of this foundation is to deepen educational, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation between Nepal and India and to promote natural understanding and cooperation through sharing knowledge and professional talents in academic pursuits and technical specialization. (<https://www.meagov.in>).

5.8.5 Radha Swami Satsanga

The principal culture of Radha Swami Satsang located in Amritsar Punjab, India has been extended in Kathmandu. Nepal, this institution promotes the devotion towards the ordess Radha Maharani (Lord Krishna's beloved).

5.8.6 Brahma Kumaris

According to Pandey (1979),

“Brahma Kumaris is a worldwide spiritual movement led by women dedicated to personal transformation and world renewal through Rajyoga meditation founded in India in 1973. This institution has spread to over 110 countries including Nepal and has had an extensive impact in many sectors as an international Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)”.

5.8.7 Patanjali Yoga Trust

In 1995, the Divya Yog Mandiv Trust was founded by Swami Ramdev Ji and Acharya Balkrishna Ji. It was founded to address to the growing demand for Yoga and Aurveda. The Trust provides basic infrastructure, organization framework, and outreach programs to advance the benefits of these traditional values.

5.8.8 The Ramayana Circuit

The circuit is a spiritual tourism route which covers some areas in Nepal and India. It connects major pilgrimage sites across India and Nepal related to the popular epic the Ramayana. It traces the journey of Lord Rama and includes locations like Ayodhya, Lord Ram Chandra's birth place and Lordess sita's birth place at Janakpur.

The Circuit connects the journey sites such as temples, ashrams and battle rounds. The destinations are: Ayodhya, Nandigram, Shingverpur, Sitamadhi, Buxar Darbhanga, Chitrakoot, Jagadalpur, Mahendragiri, Nashik, Nagpur, Bhadrachalam, Hampi, Rameshwaram, Janalepur etc. The circuit includes direct bus services between key locations like Janakpur (Nepal) and Ayadhya (India) . It also Includes the route to Janaki Mandir in Janakpur and major Ashrams and pilgrimage sites these enhancing religious tourism of both countries is the major focus of this circuit.

5.8.9 The Art of Living Foundation

A volunteer based humanitarian and educational NGO, the Art of Living Foundation was founded in 1981 by Ravi Shankar, a Guru and spiritual personality. Its centers are spread in 180 countries including Nepal so far. Its Major goal is to foster inner peace by reducing stress. It also aimed at promoting spiritual development through various wellness programmers. This foundation also engages in various humanitarian efforts, such as disaster relief, poverty alleviation, prisoner rehabilitation, women's empowerment campaigns etc.

5.8.10 Gurdwara Nanak Piao Sahib

According to Kalpan Agrahari (2080),

“Gurdwara Nanak Piao Sahib is a significant Sikh pilgrimage site in Delhi. It marks the sport when Guru Nanak's followers were provided with water from the well he had blessed. This is one of the most prominent Gurdwaras and is

historically associated with Guru Harkrishna, the eighth Sikh Guru. Likeewis, Gurdwara Pathar Sahib, located near Leh, is believed to have been built to commemorate Guru Nanak's visit to the region. It is managed by the Indian Army. Nanak and other Sikh Gurus emphasized *bhakti* 'love' 'devotion' or 'worship' and taught that the spiritual life and secular householder life are intertwined. Guru Nanak is believed to have mediated in Nepal around 1516 AD. The main site is the Prachin Guru Nanak Nath in Balaju, Kathmandu, situated near the Bishnumati Bridge. Another important location is the Shobha Bhagwati Math in Dally, Kathmandu. These locations are significant for their historical and spiritual value. They are considered treasures of Sikh heritage in Nepal".

5.8.11 Gandhi Peace Foundation

According to Shasikanta (2080),

"Gandhi Peace Foundation was established on 31 July 1958 in Delhi, India to prepare and spread Mahatma Gandhi's thought. It began with donation of Indian Rupees ten million from Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. Its first board was composed of natables including R.R. Diwakar, Rajendra Prasad and Jawaharlal Neharu. The foundation seeks to create an environment for study and research on the teaching and practice of Mahatma Gandhi in the first instance and of allied thought and action, with a view to affecting the thoughts and actions of millions throughout the words and there by helping them to attain or maintain peaceful, harmonious, and happy social relations without hatred or violence of any kind. The Gandhi peace Foundation Nepal was established in 2016 AD to promote nonviolent philosophy and is based in Kathmandu, while a specific detailed history is not available, recent activities

show its involvement in celebrating world Nonviolence Day, awarding individuals like Gowed Prasad Ghimire with the Gandhi Noble Peace Award and engaging in community events. It operates as a non-governmental organization and appears to be associated with a border intentional network through its social media presence”.

5.8.12 Tenzing Norgay Sherpa Foundation

Tenzing Norgay Sherpa Foundation is a US based organization. It carries on the humanitarian work of Tenzing Norgay. In addition, it supports the Sherpa community in the Khumbu region of Nepal and the Darjeeling district of India. It emphasizes especially the welfare of families of climbers, healthcare and cultural presentation.

5.8.13 The Arya Samaj

The Indian Arya Samaj is a Hindu reform movement founded in 1875 by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, which aims to reform and revive Vedic Principles in India and globally. Arya Samaj Nepal was founded by Madhav Raj Joshi (Father of Sahid Sukra Raj Shastri). Its influence reached Nepal. It was founded in Nepal by Madhav Raj Joshi, the father of Sahid Sukra Raj Shastri. This has become instrumental in initiating education, ending child marriage, and promoting widow remarriage. The movement continues to operate in Nepal through various institutions, including schools like D.A.V Sushil Kedia Vishwa Bharati School, Gargi Kanya Gurukul, etc.

According to the Arya Samaj Nepal its principles are as following:

“God is the efficient cause of all true knowledge and all that is known through knowledge, God is existent, intelligent and blissful. He is formless omniscient, just, merciful, unborn, endless, unchangeable beginning-less unequalled, the support of all, the master of all, omnipresent, immanent, unaging, immortal, fearless, eternal, and holy, and the maker of all. He alone is worthy of being

worshipped, the Vedas are the scripture of all the knowledge. It is the paramount duty of all Aryas to read them, teach them, recite them and hear them being read, one should always be ready to accept the truth and to renounce untruth, all acts should be performed in accordance with Dharma that is after deliberating what is right and wrong, the prime object of the Arya Samaj is to do good to the world that is to promote the physical, spiritual and social good everyone, our conduct towards all should be guided by love righteousness and justice, we should dispel Avidya (ignorance) and promote Vidya (Knowledge), no one should be content with promoting his/her good only, on the contrary one should look for his/her good in promoting the good for all, one should regard oneself under restriction to follow the rules of society calculated to promote the well being of all while in following the rules of individual welfare all should be free”.

5.8.14 Relation of the Nepalis Dalit Organizations with the Indian Dalit Organizations

Nepal and India to a large extent, have a common history and almost similar caste-based issues, which lead to a relationship between their Dalit organizations oriented to reciprocal support, advocacy and strategies to solve discrimination problem and strengthen empowerment. Both the governments mutually address on regional and international forums, such as like the United Nations and its special agencies to advocate for human right and boldly ask concerning governments to fulfil their commitments.

According to Mazumdar (2020),

“Caste-based discrimination, economic and educational backwardness, social exclusion, etc are the common problems being faced by the Dalits of the both

countries. Major mechanisms for collaborations between them are international advocacy, share strategies, joint research and reports and solidarity and networking”.

According to Bidhya Sagar Tripathi (2023),

“The relationship between Sai Baba foundation in Nepal and India is one of the shared spiritual heritage and a continuation of similar services principles particularly through the organization of Shree Sanjay Sai Sewa organization and the broader Sri Satya Sai Baba movement. Shree Sanjay Sai Sewa organization which has its base in Nepal is inspired by both Shree Satya Sai Baba and its founder Shree Sanjay Sai Baba and works to spread his teaching globally including in India. Organizations inspired by Shirdi Sai Baba also have a significant presence in both countries, reflecting a diverse yet connected Sai Spiritual Movement. Both the Nepali and Indian branches of this organization engage are sensitively involved in humanitarian services, i.e. free education, medical camps, and supplying clean drinking water”.

5.8.15 The Mahabharat Circuit

The Mahabharat Circuit is a religious and cultural tourism route that connects sites related to the epic Mahabharata, Primarily Haryana, Uttarpradesh in India and Nepal. It features locations associated with the Pandav and Kaurava families, the battle of Kurukshetra and other key events from the ancient text. Key sites include Kurukshetra (Haryana) Hastinapur and Kampil (Uttarpradesh) and various locations in Nepal like Biratnagar, Barhakshetra Dolakha, Baitadi, Dadeldhura, Jumla, Humla, Dailekh, Damodarkunda, Muktikshetra, Pashupatikshetra, Arun Varun Valley etc.

5.8.16 The Lumbini Circuit

The Lumbini Circuit refers to a pilgrimage route connecting significant Buddhist sites associated with the life of Gautam Buddha in and around his birth place in Lumbini, Nepal. The key locations include the Maya Devi Temple, Tilaurakot, Devdaha and Ramagrama. The Circuit also includes places like Kundan, Gothihawa, Niglihawa and Sagarhawa, each offering different parts of the Buddha's life stories.

5.8.17 Buddha-based pilgrims India

Bodha Gaya (enlightment) Sarhat (first sermon) and Kushinagar (death) are the famous Buddhist Pilgrimages India. Likewise, Nalanda, a historic university, and carious caves and stupas across the country, such as Sanchi, Ajanta and Elior are other popular places related to the life and philosophy of Buddha.

5.8.18 Ambedakar related organization and activities in Nepal

Several organizations, universities and informal groups are dedicated to the ideals of Ambedakar in Nepal. Of them most popular are the Dalit rights and Buddhist philosophy. These include the Just Futures Pahal (JFP), an institution which is centered in justice and social equality being prevailed is casteism in Nepal. Dr Ambedkar Chair has been planned for Lumbini Buddhist University. Moreover, the Indian Embassy in Nepal and the Kathmandu University have been celebrating Ambedkar birth ceremony. Some informal groups, such as the Babasahab Ambedkar Health Organization (BAHO) and the Nepal Rastriya Pragati Jana Vikas Sangha have jointly launching various activities being inspired Ambedakar.

Similarly, the Kathmandu University has collaborated with the Embassy of India in Kathmandu to host discussion and celebrations of Ambedakar Jayanti pleading on his in present Nepali perspective.

5.8.19 Indian Aid Mission in Nepal:

The Indian Aid mission was established in 1954 in Nepal to coordinate development projects related to health, education, power, etc.

5.8.20 India-Nepal Alumni Network (SAMPARK)

It is a non-profit organization of Nepali people who have already studied in India. The main purpose of this Alumni is to promote cultural and friendly relations between both countries. It has been established in Kathmandu on 26 January 2021 AD.

5.8.21 Overseas Study Centers of Indira Gandhi National Open University

This university has been established in 1997 in Kathmandu as an international Centre for academic's institution. It has been the first partner of the Indira Gandhi National Open University in Nepal since 2002 A.D. It carries on various programmes for undergraduate, post-graduate, diploma and certificate programmes.

In the same vein, Nepal Information Technology (NIT) is another overseas Centre of the Indira Gandhi National Open University in Nepal. This Centre was established in 2008 in Jawalakhel, Lalitpur. GoN has approved these two Centres.

5.8.22 United Mission to Nepal

United Mission to Nepal (UMN) is an international organization. It was founded in 1954 in cooperation with Christian Groups in India. Creating a transformed Nepali society is its main goal. It mainly works in education, health and development sectors.

5.8.23 Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage

This organization works is mainly focused on preserving Nepali Culture through projects such as exhibitions and talks- programmes in the bhoti-sambhota script.

5.8.24 Nepali Cultural Festivals in India

In a year round, several Nepali group and communities living in India celebrate their own cultural festivals and also organize events. This has contributed in bringing the

people of the two countries together, this trend also helping to preserve traditions CBos.

5.8.25 Women's Emancipation

The status of women both in Nepal and India today still is almost same despite many legal provision has been employed for their empowerment. The women in both countries are practically not emancipated economically. In such psychological and moral dimension also, Women' situation in Nepal as well as India is not identical with that of man (Pandey, 2023). The ways women carry their job, profession and domestic work, and their devotion to all these depends on the context supplied by the total pattern of life (Ahuja, 2013).

5.8.26 Mahatma Gandhis Influence in Nepali Chakra Campaign

Tulsi Mehar Shrestha, while he was in exile in India, was strongly influenced by the Gandhian philosophy, Especially the principles of non-violence, peace-making, services oriented behavior and self-dependence.

Gandhi pleaded that making the clothes necessary for the family members at home would enrich the political resistance against the British colonialism. He also argued that such activities could support economic autonomy.

In Nepal, therefore, Tulsi Mehar Shrestha was also called the 'Mahatma Gandhi of Nepal'. He was inspired by the self-reliance philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. As well as he was also inspired by the Spinning wheel(Charkha) campaign of Gandhi which was launched in India. Being impressed by the spinning wheel campaign in India, Tulsi Mehar also launched the similar campaign in Nepal in order to emphasize feeling of independence and empower the local communities while he returned Nepal from exile.

This campaign encouraged Tulsimehar Shrestha to establish the Shree Chanera Pracharak Mahaguthi in 1927 A. D. The Charkha Pracharak Mahaguthi was the first social non-governmental organization in Nepal. This NGO was specifically centered in empowering women by practicing spinning wheels and handicrafts. Moreover, Mahatma Gandhi assisted Tulsimehar by recommending the then prime minister of Nepal requesting that Tulsimehar be permitted to enter Nepal and to work these for co-operating Nepali people in their live hood affairs campaign, Launched by Tulsimehar Shrestha in Nepal, because the effective tool for social transformational, economic self-reliance and national pride.

5.8.27 The Jakarta Conference, 1955

Twenty-nine governments representative of Asian and African nations in Bandung, Indonesia met in April 1955 A.D. This meeting was co-sponsored by the governments of Burma, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Srilanka. Moreover, they also brought the twenty-four other nations from Asia, Africa and the Middle East including Nepal with them in that conference.

At that meeting the discussed peace and the role of the Third World in the cold war, decolonization and economic development. The major agenda of that meeting were:

- i. Political self-determination,
- ii. Mutual respect for sovereignty and
- iii. non-aggression non-interference in internal affairs and equality. Of course, all the agenda were significant to all the nations participated in the meeting.

The conference finally made a communique consisting of the above mentioned agenda along with the agenda for promotion of economics and cultural co-operation, protection of human rights, self-determination, end to racial discrimination, peaceful

co-existence. Finally, the conference laid down the foundation for the non-aligned movement, especially in the context of existing cold-war.

5.9 Challenges of Nepal-India Social and Cultural Relations

Nepal and India are two close neighbors with specialties since centuries. Geographical, sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors prevailing in both countries have shaped, encouraging the two countries to remain close and creating a good bilateral such specialties. At the same times occasionally restricted relations which some time cause unhappy relations.

Pandey (1979) observed,

“Due to the vast and deep-rooted connection between the people of the two countries, their relations have taken on an informal component. As a result, focusing solely on official diplomatic channels makes it difficult to comprehend India-Nepal ties. Informal and popular perceptions are both significant. Despite contrasts in size, assets, population, capacities, and degrees of development, Nepal is vital to India and vice versa for a variety of reasons. Due to centuries of physical, historical, cultural, and economic relations, Nepal is an important neighbor of India and holds a special place in its foreign policy. In terms of Hinduism and Buddhism, India and Nepal are comparable, with Buddha's birthplace Lumbini in modern-day Nepal. Not only do the two countries share an open border and unrestricted movement of people, but they also have strong relationships formed via marriages and familial ties, *Roti-Beti ka Rishta*. The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship is the cornerstone of India's special relationship with Nepal”.

Adhikari (2012) states,

“Nepal's landlocked situation, power phobia toward India's enormity,

disproportionate reliance on India, and deliberate attempts to neglect India's security problems in the Himalayan nation have strained the relationship between the two nations on numerous occasions. Despite the importance of and potential for developing a strong bilateral relationship between Nepal and India, some topics serve as irritants and areas of divergence”.

NP is noteworthy that socio-cultural aspects of relation between two nations undoubtedly affect the political relation between them and vice versa. The major impediments to Nepal-India relations are discussed in this chapter.

5.9.1 Border Disputes

Cross borders between countries often have been leading conflict.

Pant (2079) states,

“Between many countries border conflict has led to a state of war between them. Border issues not only split two countries' peoples but also their national politics. It should be investigated from both a historical and cultural standpoint Nepal has been considered an independent and sovereign country since ancient times. Nepal has been surrounded by India on three sides for thousands of years, on the south, east, and west, and on the north by China. Nepal has always been an essential strategic partner for India, It shares an 1100 km long border with five Indian states: Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, and Sikkim”.

Further Shrestha mentions,

“At one point in history, Nepal's border was said to have been expanded as Tista on the eastern with Kannada castle on the western. Nepal was also expanded to include the Ganga/Jamuna River confluence in the south, as well as the Himalayan range of Singe and Tasilhunpo monastery in the north.

Nepal's borders have been narrowed to Satalaj in the west, the Ganga River in the south, and Bangladesh in the east over time”.

Khadka (2021) mentions as following:

“Nepal's border had reached Kannada in the west and Tista in the east by the year 1863 BS. Nepal's border went back to Satalaj after the Sugauli treaty in 1866 BC. Then, there was a conflict between Nepal and the East India Company, which was ruling India at the time. They were forced to sign the Sugauli Treaty in 1873BS after that (4 March 1816 AD) as a consequence of the Sugauli Treaty, Nepal lost territory from the Mechi till Tista in the east, the Mahakali and Satalaj throughout the west, and as well as the Chure range, to flat Tarai in the south. In 1872, the East India Company returned to Nepal some stolen areas from the Sugauli accord in eastern Terai, BS Paush 7. (December 11, 1816). Likewise, once Junga Bahadur Rana aided British soldiers in the soldiers' movement, the British company was happy and restored the western Terai to Nepal as a supplemental border pact in 1917 BS, Kartik 3 (November 1, 1860 AD)”.

He further narrates (2021),

“The current boundary has been preserved as a result of this pact. Border disputes have occurred in the past in places where they were considered essential from a strategic perspective, such as forts, mountain passes, and the main economic route. Nepal is surrounded on three sides by India. The border problem is getting worse every day as a result of the open and unregulated border system. In comparison to other sides, the south side has more encroachment. It began to rise gradually after the Sugauli Treaty. To be more explicit, there began to be an upsurge in border territorial disputes between

Nepal and India after 1947 AD, that is, after India's independence. The Mechi River's source, the Antu hill region, Ramnagar's region, the north Shore of Chure Mountains to the south side, jungle, and other places are considered contested border locations. Due to India's population growth, deforestation of Nepal's four-sided forest or bush by India, and encroachment of Nepal's land, the encroachment conflict in the Dashgaza. Other disputed border locations are devoid of boundary pillars When Nepal's democracy was founded in 2007 BS, encroachment in the Kalapani-Limpiyadhura and Susta areas began to increase”.

Pant (2079) states,

“After the referendum in 1980 A.D., India continued to intrude on Nepalese territory by deforesting the jungle. Land invasion increased in other housing locations alongside Susta. Land encroachment continued in locations such as Sandakpur Tanakpur, Thori, Mahespur, Susta, Manebhanjyang, Pashupatinagar, Bhandabari, and the Mechi Paul area (two-thirds) of the Kankadhitta even after the restoration of democracy in 2046 BS. In sites like Laxmanpur, Rasiyawall-Khurlotan, Mahalisagar. Kohalawas, and Kunauli, India erected dams and embankments. Nepalese territories have been plummeting in several locations due to these structures and embankments every year during the monsoon season's big flood”.

Shrestha's observation (2018) as following is noteworthy:

“Land invasions increased in places such as Shreeantu Guphapatal of Ilam, Someshwor of Chitwan, Jhitkaiya in Bara, the Dashgaja zone of Koilawas in Dang, and the Khaba check post, as well as Gurung check post when Nepal became a republican in 2065 BS. The invasion of borderland and land is still

going on. The continuing invasion has two causes: one, Nepal's instability, and the other, political parties spending time creating and dismantling cabinets.

The Indian side is thought to have expanded on more than 60,000 hectares of Nepalese land. Kalapani-Limpiyadhura is the most controversial location, where the majority of land has intruded (37,000h.). Similarly, the land of Nepal has encroached in different places in different chunks, such as Susta (14,000 acres), the Mechi riverbank region (1,600 acres), Sarada barrage (8.85 acres), Sandakpur (2 acres), Parasan Pyara Tal (450 acres), Bhajani Lalbojhi (330 acres), Korobari (40 acres), Gulariya (6 acres), Guphatal Manebhanjyang (4 acres), Jhitkaiy. Such land encroachments have been discovered, particularly during times of political instability. Kalapani is the most contentious area. The Indian Army has encroached on the 372 square kilometers between Kalapani and Limpiyadhura. Many Nepalese voices were heard in support of it, but those voices seem to have vanished into the sky. Those who are concerned about nationality, on the other hand, are aware of the problem”.

Timilasina (2079) elaborates the border and border problem between Nepal and India as following:

“The Kali River is the border between the two countries, according to the Sugauli Treaty. The source of the Mahakali River has yet to be discovered. And it is for this reason that there is a disagreement about it. The origin of the Kali River is still a point of contention. Which of the three locations, Limpiyadhura, Lipulek, and Kali temple, is the source of the Kali River has yet to be determined. The Kali River originates at Limpiyadhura, according to historical maps and chronicles. India has encroached on the total area of land

in the world, despite being claimed by Nepal, Indian security forces have occupied Kalapani since the 1962 Indo- border conflict, India has become more mindful of land invasions in recent years. In 2065 BS Magsir 10, then- External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukharjee paid a visit to Nepal. During his visit, he stated that the border conflict between Kalapani and Susta should be resolved through negotiation. To persuade India, the Kalapani controversy can be resolved by reviewing old records and papers. When the Narayani River gets a new route and cuts Nepal's land to the west due to the heavy floods during the monsoon season, India claims the land the behind river as her own and keeps the new flow of water as the boundary. The main example of land invasion as a result of this cause is the border dispute at Susta. The Indian side has encroached on Bhendiyari, Dhanaiya, and the region between the river's jerk at Susta. The invasion in the Susta region is moving closer to the Susta home. The land has been encroached upon for 14,000 years, from 1902 BC to the present”.

He (2079) further discusses as following:

“The Narayani River appears to be a threat in Driven VDC ward 4. The route of the Narayani River should be established, and Junge pillars should be placed on both banks of the river to solve the Susta problem. This difficulty has arisen as a result of India's dam and embankment construction in the border area. The problem of plunging or sinking Nepal land has been developed as a result of dam and embankment development along the international borderline. As a result, the problem of the border has arisen. If India develops a series of chain dams, most of the plain area will be flooded, causing greater problems. Banke's Laxmanpur dam, Rupandehi's Rasiyawal-

Khurlotan dam, Kapilwastu's Mahalisagar dam, Dang's Koilabas dam. Kanchanpur's Purnagiri dam, Rupandehi's Danda-pharma dam, Rautahat's Bairganiya ring dam, the Gandak dam, the Koshi dam, as well as the elevation”.

Upadhyaya (2018) has observed this issue as following:

“The assigned borderline between the two countries is mentioned in the treaty agreement report, and accordingly, by constructing border pillars the map is drawn. (Shrestha, 2057BS, p.139) As we know, Nepal is surrounded by India from three sides. The map of Nepal has been drawn a long time back. Nepal India Joint Technical Committee had been formed in 1981 for this purpose and it worked for 26 years before it was dissolved in January 2007. The borderline between Nepal and India is 1808 km; of this, the Committee settled 98 percent of border demarcation disputes and prepared 182 strip maps. And 8,553 border pillars have been erected Surveyors from both Nepal and India have put their signatures on those maps. Only two percent of work remains, including in disputed regions of Susta and Kalapani During his visit to Kathmandu in 2066 Ashad 7, Indian External Affairs Secretary Shiv Shankar Menon stated that both countries' authorities will sign the completed work (98 percent) soon. The two foreign secretaries will almost certainly sign the map soon”.

Some of the Nepali diplomats opine,

“Before reaching an agreement and signing it, Nepal should comprehend the remaining disputed region. It means Nepal has to comprehend the locations that remain to be drawn on the map and should convince how many of the 182 set maps are clear and correct. Moreover, Nepal needs to search the further way for solution of the mapping is correct and precise on paper but faulty and

error some in the land. Likewise, Nepal must be careful to state the exact number boundary pillars and whether they are located in the same place when built or relocated. Therefore, Nepalese bureaucracy and technocracy must have enough homework earlier to sign over the documents”.

According to the Department of Survey, Nepal,

“There has been a disagreement between Nepal and India in around 54 locations. This should be made obvious to academics, historians, and future discoveries. We've recently heard reports of Nepali land being encroached upon at 22 checkpoints in Dang district, as well as Indian police tyranny in the area. We must determine the facts as soon as feasible in this regard. 81 pillars have been shifted in the Bara district, and 11 ropani lands have intruded inside the Ilam district's Shreeantu Guphatal, according to sources. Similarly, the problems of Tanakpur, Sandakpur, Mahespur, and others have yet to be resolved. We can understand that 2 percent work as a very small piece of land. It isn't, however, a small plot of land. It describes a 37-kilometer stretch of land. In other spots, it has progressively encroached on the 37-kilometer track of property. We should take a strong stance in this area, refusing to grant India even a small acre of land”.

Subedi (2074) states,

“The two countries' border conflicts should be resolved amicably and respectfully through conversation. If a third country is required to mediate the conflict, we should be prepared to ask for assistance. If we are unable to handle the matter in this manner, we should seek assistance from the United Nations. We should be ready to go to an international tribunal if the problem cannot be handled. We should seek guidance and recommendations from

experts in the field to address this problem. We need to figure out what's causing the issue after that, a higher level of reality should be told about the situation. Following that, the issue should be addressed diplomatically at the political level. Only the most complex and contentious issues should be addressed by the nation and government leaders. If a small portion of the territory is designated as a foreign land, the people who live there may be considered foreigners. That is, when the borderline shifts, the persons on one side of the border become citizens of another. They had no choice but to abandon their families on the other border area. It diminishes community members' social standing. As a consequence, we must keep this in mind”.

He further suggests as following:

“The leaders should work to resolve the border dispute while maintaining national unity. We should not look for our job, politics, or power in such a situation. The importance of nationality should be prioritized. The border issue is a highly sensitive topic for all countries. If the tiny piece of land continues to invade, eventually a large piece of land will encroach, posing a threat to the country's existence. We should not keep such a problem hidden; rather, we should be open about it. We must be dedicated to resolving internal tensions and ending the long-running and stormy issue in the country's interest by reaching a national consensus. We can reach an agreement through mutual understanding, debate, and agreement between the two countries. When dealing with this situation, both countries should seek justice, reason, and cooperation. These may be the most effective methods for resolving the issue. Both nations' elements are shared equally through boundary pillars and

borderlines. This is a shared asset between the two countries. Both sides are affected if any of the boundary pillars are missing”.

The concerning authorities must be aware of managing the border pillars in right ways, In this context Baral and Pyakurel (2015) state,

“Border authorities should periodically inspect and study bordering objects such as pillars. Apart from that, the border legislation should be revised each 10 to 20 years, as this is an important border management task. (Shrestha, 2002, p.17). Nepal should be transparent about its diplomatic efforts to resolve the matter. In terms of diplomatic policy, Nepal should make India recognize and demonstrate that the two countries are on the same footing at the world level. We need to figure out what other options there are for solving the situation. After that, we should deal with each other respectfully and cordially on a political level. We ought to go ahead and finish our research on Kalapani's complex border situation. To resolve the Nepal-India border conflict, Nepal needs to be clear on matters like What occurs if India claims Kalapani as her land? How would you respond if India said that Kalapani was bestowed by the then-king Mahendra? What should be done if China refuses to acknowledge that Kalapani is a Nepalese territory? What happens if India implements a no-man's. land/buffer-zone policy? What if India proposes stationing army personnel from both nations in the disputed territories? If India seeks a 100-year lease, what should you do? If a nearby country is required, whose country should we consider as a mediator? And, if it is claimed that taking the Kalapani issue to the world level will be a setback for Nepal, how should one answer in this situation? Nepal should be well prepared in advance to address such inquiries”.

To overcome the problem of border encroachment, Nepal and India mutually need to discuss and find out the appropriate way out. In this context, Shrestha (2002) suggests,

“Despite Nepal's repeated requests for India to halt encroaching on its border, India has not responded. India tends to be dominant. Nepal is experiencing territory encroachment as a result of this. Furthermore, the security problem is becoming more serious by the day. It would be a foolish diplomatic attempt to sign the boundary agreement paper without first specifying the encroached lands and Junge pillars. In contentious areas, we should conduct field observations. We should look into old documented documents on the subject. If we find a way to strengthen relations between the two countries, we should have serious bilateral negotiations. Bringing the agreement in front of the people, or displaying it to them, is the best way to do it. In regions where land has been encroached upon, the Junge pillar should be raised first, followed by the signature on the map. In certain cases, the map may be accurate, but the land has been encroached upon; in this case, our efforts will be worthless. The signature should not be placed on the agreement page until all border disputes have been resolved. If the current rate of incursion continues, thousands of people will finally become aliens, placing our nation and nationality in great danger. It can end Nepal's existence in the coming years”.

Baral and Payakurel (2015) further mention as following:

“After Nepal regained democracy in the 1990s, disagreements erupted. During the indo-China war of 1962, India deployed security forces in this region. Kalapani was considered a "safe zone" for Indian troops to be stationed

because of its high altitude of 20, 276 feet, which provided an "effective defense against the Chinese".

They further state the situation as following:

“Kalapani was also acknowledged as India's property at the time. Nepal, on the other hand, had held elections in the area in 1959 and collected land taxes from the locals until 1961. Kalapani has been the subject of frequent debates between successive Indian and Nepalese governments. The contact between Nepalese Prime Minister G.P. Koirala and India's Prime Minister Atal Bihari Bajpayee in the new century is important, PM Koirala visited India in July 2000 and discussed collaboration with his counterpart. Both parties agreed to perform a field survey to confirm Kalapani's delineation and set a completion date of 2002. The Joint Boundary Committee agreed to deliver reports together with newly developed strip maps at the time. Even though India's External Affairs Ministry opposed requests to remove its soldiers from the region, the country pursued a resolute policy to end the chapter”.

Arguing the multifaceted and amicable relationship between Nepal and India, Forester (2014) mentions,

“As the two nations established formal diplomatic ties on June 17, 1947, India and Nepal have sought to maintain their mutual commitment to peaceful coexistence as immediate neighbors (Ministry of Foreign Affairs/ GoN, n.d.). However, there have been some disagreements along the 1880-kilometer border that runs across West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Sikkim. After India and Nepal signed the Peace and Friendship Treaty in 1950, the two governments advocated a well-defined and formally recognized "open border" between them. An "open border" is one where individuals can freely and

unrestrictedly cross from one side to the other. Despite the presence of border checkpoints and the deployment of border security troops, crossing the physical border is relatively simple, resulting in improved social and trade connectedness between the two nations. The open character of the border has been described as a "springboard of potential" for both India and Nepal, with inherent mutual interests. This means increased goods flow from India, which serves as a significant transit center for Nepal's small landlocked country".

Nepali's Politicians often state,

"Through the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA), signed in 2011, India has benefited from investments in Nepal in sectors such as highways and other infrastructure projects, hydropower projects, tourism, and agriculture. India also supports and benefits from major cross-border projects such as the Jalpaiguri-Kakarbhitta, Jogbani- Biratnagar, Jaynagar-Bardibas, Nautanwa-Bhairahawa, and Nepalguni Road-Nepalgunj rail links, as well as the commitment to build a cross-border oil pipeline between Raxaul and Amlekgunj, between the Indian Oil Corporation and the Nepal Oil Corporation to mention only two interests".

Carens, (1987) writes,

"The British chose these ad hoc and unstructured pillars to demarcate their border for a variety of reasons: Nepali soldiers from hilly terrains could be easily recruited for the British Army; markets in Nepal territory could be properly utilized for British-made goods; and raw materials from Nepal, such as timber and firewood, could be easily transported to India. This "open border" between India and Nepal still exists nearly a century later. According to some commentators, the two countries' relationship is "unique" because of

their "open border." Other commentators, on the other hand, are alluding to a "liberal conundrum" with "open borders." On the one hand, open borders, according to liberal theorists like Joseph Carens, create a utilitarian environment that benefits people living on both sides of the border".

Bauder views the situation as following:

“There would be unrestricted movement and proper implementation of the easily available resources or raw materials in the area, benefiting persons in the immediate vicinity in particular. On the other hand, determining the scope of such "openness" is a conundrum: an "open border" would expose existing "liberal territorial polities and communities" to dangers from non-state groups, such as terrorism, smuggling, and trafficking”.

Baral and Pyakurel (2015) analyzing the positive and negative aspects of the open border between these two countries, state,

“The open border serves as a "safety valve" for the country in terms of revenue-generating and job creation from its larger neighbor, India. On the same hand, the open border system has been chastised for allowing concerns such as the larger circulation of counterfeit money and the under-documentation of informal trade. In Nepal's case, the open border acts as a "safety valve" in terms of generating cash and creating jobs from its larger neighbor, India. On the other hand, the open border system has been condemned for allowing issues such as increased counterfeit money circulation and under-documentation of informal trade. The existence of the border security force (BSF), the Special Security Force (SSF), and the integrated checkpoints have had little effect on the current situation. In this regard, as has been observed throughout time, the security forces lax attitude

may be damaging in the long term in settling current issues if they do not stick to more strict measures for those crossing without valid documentation”.

Shrestha (2002) mentions the border issue prevailing between Nepal and India as,

“The Joint Technical Committee worked for almost 26 years and was able to solve 97 percent of the boundary issues that were considered minor. They asserted that the remaining 3% was beyond their ability to resolve. The Kalapani-Limpiyadhura, with a 370-square-kilometer encroachment, Susta, with a 24-kilometer encroachment, and? Several other sites with a 15-kilometer encroachment make up this area. A total of 606 square kilometers is covered by 71 spots (Shrestha, 2003, p. 75). The lack of historical maps and documentation for demarcation is one of the most critical factors contributing to the status quo. India and Nepal's relations have worsened once again. The immediate trigger is a long-standing territorial dispute concerning Kalapani, a patch of land along the India-Nepal boundary, close to the India-China border's Lipulekh Pass, which is one of the designated areas for trade relations and the route for Tibet's Kailash-Mansarovar yatra. The root causes, on the other side, are considerably more complex. Yet, by raising the flag of Nepali nationalism and depicting India as a hegemon, Nepali Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli is part of a trend that shows the two countries ties need to be substantially reset”.

Baral mentions as,

“Following the Maoist movement in China in 1949, which was preceded by the seizure of Tibet, Nepal was 'requested' to put up 18 checkpoints along the Nepal-Tibet border. The westernmost post was Tinker Pass, approximately 6 kilometers east of Lipulekh. In 1953, India and China chose Lipulekh Pass as

a religious and border trade network. Following the 1962 conflict, a journey through Lipulekh was reestablished in 1981, and boundary trade was reopened in 1991. The China-Nepal Border Accord, which specifies the western zero point just north of Tinker Pass, was signed in Beijing in 1961 by King Mahendra. By 1969, India had removed all of its border checkpoints from Nepali territory. The Indo-Tibetan Border Police has manned the Lipulekh Pass since 1979. Given the open border and free movement of people and products, life for the inhabitants remained mostly unchanged. The topic of the Kali river's origin was first addressed in 1997, following the 1996 Mahakali Treaty (the Kali river is also known as Mahakali/Sarada further downstream), which planned the Pancheshwar multipurpose hydel project. The matter was referred to the Combined Technical Level Border Committee, which was formed in 1981 to relocate and replace old and damaged border posts along the India-Nepal border. When the Committee was dissolved in 2008, it had cleared 98 percent of the boundary, leaving the unsolved issues of Kalapani and Susta (in the Terai unaddressed. Following that, it was decided that the topic would be considered at the level of the Foreign Secretary”.

Shrestha (2002) states,

“The border in Indian side has been equipped by adequate security forces but in Nepal side there are very few security personnel. In addition, these are several incidents and accidents that took place by the Indian security forces by invading Nepali people and land. Likewise, thus free ingoing and incoming and outgoing provision incidents in Nepal also tend to fuel anti-India sentiment. Today, it is critical to put a prevail, however except some exceptions, in many Indian entry/exit point Nepali travelers have experienced

too much harassment. Therefore, it is quite necessary to build sincere understanding and have a discourse, a discussion, and mutual understanding. Despite Nepal's by two sides and need to make fruitful discussion and get effective solution. Moreover, India must stop immediately to encroach Nepali land. Nepal should also pay adequate attention to equip its motivated personnel in sensitive borders. Similarly, considering the documentation system in Nepal, These are so many lapses. Therefore, record-keeping and documenting activities, especially the information, decisions, records related to border issues must be well documented and recorded”.

5.9.2 Unequal Diplomatic Treaties and Agreements

The relationship between Nepal and India are based on natural topography, social system, history, religion, trade, culture etc. Since the early period the open border as well as free movement of people to both sides have been continuously in practice. However, the treaty of friendship trade and commerce was agreed by the two countries and signed over in 1950. This treaty has formalized the new relationship between them. This treaty provides equal treatment in various countries to the people of both sides, such as employment, settlement and purchase of property.

According to Baral (2020),

“Preferential treatment was not given to Nepalese exports to India, India granted transit for goods to be imported and exported by Nepal via India. Following the 1950’s treaty various other treaties were made between the two countries respectively in 1971, 1978, 1996, 2002, and 2009 A.D. By the virtue of reciprocal trust and friendship between the two countries co-operation and stable relations have been built”.

Bhattacharai and Khatiwada (1993) state as following,

“Because of their geographical proximity and shared religious, linguistic, and cultural identities, India and Nepal have close ties since ancient times. Despite recent political turmoil in both countries, this is mirrored in state-to-state ties, which have grown stronger over time, reinforced by normal high visits. Both nations have shown their admiration for each other's meaning and worth on various occasions, describing their relationship as "special." India and Nepal formed their unique relationship with the 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship and supporting letters, which specified security relations between the two countries and a framework controlling both mutual business and trade through Indian soil. "Neither government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor," the treaty and letters stated, and both sides were required to "inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighboring state likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations existing between the two governments”.

They further mention,

“These agreements established a "special relationship" between India and Nepal, providing Nepalese in India with the same economic and educational prospects as Indian residents. The Indo-Nepal border is open; Nepalese and Indian citizens can easily cross the border without requiring passports or visas and can live and work in any country. The 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship established a close partnership between the two South Asian neighbors. On July 31, 1950, the treaty was signed. The treaty permits the free movement of persons and commerce between the two countries, as well as a strong partnership and cooperation in defense and foreign affairs”.

In an interview with the researcher, Nepal's veteran politician Madhav Nepal says,

“The Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty constitutes an open border between the two countries, allowing free and open movement of people and products, as well as equal rights for both countries' citizens seeking to immigrate. Both countries pledge to respect each other's territorial integrity and independence. By mandating both nations to confer on problems of regional security, the Treaty allowed for major strategic coordination. In the 1950s, Nepal embraced close links with India; but, as the numbers of Nepalese working and living in India increased, India's economic engagement in Nepal rose in the 1960s, and the Nepalese displeasure with the special relationship intensified. Tensions rose in the mid-1970s while Nepal demanded significant changes to the commerce and transit deal in its favor and openly denounced India's takeover of Sikkim as that of an Indian state. King Birendra suggested in 1975 that Nepal be known globally as a zone of peace, and China and Pakistan backed him up. If the King's plan did not contravene the 1950 pact and was just an extension of non-alignment- alignment, it was needless in New Delhi's opinion; if it was a rejection of the unique relationship, it posed a potential security threat to India, and could not be approved”.

Similarly, Nepal's veteran politician as well as social-political Thinker Nilamber Acharya, in an interview with the research expresses,

“Nepal made the request again in 1984, but India did not respond. Nepal continued to pursue the plan in international venues, with Chinese help; by 1990, 112 countries had signed on. Surprisingly, India decided to distinct transit trade treaties in 1978. Fulfilling a long-standing Nepalese demand.

When the two treaties came due for renewal in 1980s. India demanded a unified trade and transit pact after Nepal refused to satisfy India's desires on the transit treaty. Following that, Nepal adopted a tough stance, resulting in a significant problem in India-Nepal relations. Both treaties terminated on March 23, 1989, after two extensions, resulting in a quasi-Indian economic embargo on Nepal that continued till late April 1990. India linked security to economic relations and urged a comprehensive review of India-Nepal relations. Nepal was obliged to back down as worsening economic situations pushed the king to install a parliamentary system. The new government wanted to restore friendly relations with India as soon as possible (Kavitha, 2016, p. 11). The special security connections between Nepal and India were re-established during a meeting in June 1990. During Nepali Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala's trip to India in December 1991, the two countries inked new trade and transit treaties as well as other economic agreements aimed at boosting Nepal's economy. While Nepali Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikary paid a visit to New Delhi in April 1995, he wanted a full revision of the 1950 peace and friendship pact”.

In this context, Rameshnath Pandey, one of the prominent foreign relation experts Nepal states,

“Adhikari fought for increased financial independence for his tiny nation while aiming to strengthen links with China, despite favorable declarations about the pact from his Indian hosts. The Mahakali River Basin Treaty, signed in 1996 between India and Nepal, called for the building of barrages to raise the level of movement of people and goods from one side to another. With the signing of the Mahakali Treaty, a new age of mutual trust has begun. The deal

permitted Nepal to trade through Bangladesh's Chittagong region. Similarly, transit routes lowered transportation expenses while allowing India to monitor and manage the actions of ISI operatives operating out of Nepal. The intra-regional trade between India and its neighbors was boosted much further by this transit route. In 1990, India backed Nepal's entry into the United Nations. In the twenty-first century, Nepal remains impoverished and destitute, but India has risen to a central position in the globe with a rapid rate of development”.

It is observed that the relation between Nepal and India, to some extent, cooled down when the King Gyanendra took the executive power in 2004. After that then prime minister of Nepal (Prachanda) visited India in September 2008. During his visit he talked to India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh as well as the Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee and requested them to assist Nepal by improving bilateral relations. He also urged them to assist in the process of making new constitution, infrastructure development along with tourism development. This visit of Prachanda resulted to improve Nepal India relations.

According to Suryanath Upadhyaya, in an interview with the researcher states,

“Nepal-India Working Group on Water Resources met and resolved to begin repairing the ruptured Koshi embankment once the water level drops, according to Nepalese Water Resources Secretary Shanker Prasad Koirala. Both Prime Ministers acknowledged their joy in their countries' lengthy strong, friendly, and wide-ranging ties during the Nepal Prime Minister's arrival in New Delhi in September, as well as their assistance and participation in expanding the relationship. The two issued a 22-point statement in which they emphasized the significance of examining, revising, and amending the

1950 Friendship treaty Accord, as well as other contracts. In 2010, India provided a \$250 million line of credit as well as 80,000 tons of agricultural grains. Furthermore, a free-tier framework will be established at the ministerial, secretary, and technical levels to advance bilateral negotiations on the development of water resources. In terms of politics, India expressed a desire to support Nepalese peace initiatives. Pranab Mukherjee, India's then-external affairs minister, pledged Nepali Prime Minister Prachanda that he would provide all feasible assistance for peace and development”.

Since, Nepal and more specifically the Nepalese people, have the sense or belief that India has defrauded them in all water accords, treaties on water resources, and other situations, the Nepalese people view any Indian operation with suspicion.

Sibbal (2021) argues,

“The deal was formed at a time when Nepal was weaker and unable to articulate its goals, according to the Nepalese government. The treaty was renegotiated and revised in response to Nepal's opposition. Nepalese items can now be transported into Indian without having to pay the standard import duty. Indian cigarette companies too advantage of the situation and opened outlets in Nepal. The uncertainty in the relationship has been worsened by India's constant focus on the agreement, or India's determination to institutionalize the unfair 1950 treaty despite Nepalese aspirations. The Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship was signed seventy years ago. The treaty with Nepal was signed during the time of Chandreshwar Prasad Singh, India's former ambassador to Nepal, and Mohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, then Maharaja. Governed by 10 Articles, the countries entered into the Treaty with

the desire to strengthen and develop existing ties and to perpetuate peace between the two countries”.

He further adds as following:

“As per the Agreement, the two governments promised to accept reciprocal benefits in the areas of residence, involvement in trade, and business to residents of each country in the areas of the other. This allows Nepalese and Indians to freely cross the border without the need for a passport or permission, work and live in either country, own property, or conduct business. Many Nepalese consider the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship to be unfair because Nepalese law prohibits an open border, and Indians should not be able to own land or conduct business in Nepal in their names. They say that Nepal's undemocratic authorities signed the 1950 treaty. Although initially supported by both the Rana rulers and India, the treaty became the subject of increased resentment in Nepal, which saw it as an encroachment on its sovereignty and an unwelcome extension of Indian influence”.

The large population of Nepal is not satisfied with the Gandaki, Koshi, and Mahakali water deals with India. They have strong arguments that Nepal has been deceived in these deals badly because India derives larger benefits from the water resource.

Many Nepali politicians, especially those who stand in the left front, strongly argue that in addition to the Friendship Treaty of 1950 must be revisited so that the benefits to both countries must be ensured equal to both countries. Nepali Prime Minister Prachanda clearly put this issue to the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in 2008. However, there is no progress regarding the issue till date.

Nepali diplomat Rishikesh Shah writes,

“The treaty was signed with a Rana Prime Minister who was not chosen by the public and hence does not represent Nepal's political consensus. They also use the signatories' unequal standing as an illustration of the treaty's built-in inequality. As a result, uneven diplomatic accords and accords are other impediments to Nepal-India relationships. Second, the pact is seen as a British imperial legacy”.

Nepali diplomat Dinesh Bhattarai, in an interview with the researcher talked as,

“India and Nepal's relations had to be restarted on a new level of heightened philosophical passions for democracy from 1947 AD onward. Even though the two nations were prepared to write their political history, the relevant accords, and customs that had been in place since the British occupation remained in place. The 1949 Standstill Agreement recognized all previously signed treaties as valid until new treaties and accords could be inked. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 was based on the Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded in 1923, but with amendments to reflect the political climate of the moment. Six decades have passed, but the continuation of British policy is still mentioned in the general public's opinion of India-Nepal relations, and it continues to plague the Nepalese elite. Although Nepal had solid working ties with the British, it has become a gauge by which to judge India's policies. Left-wing parties in Nepal, like the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist), the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), the Nepal Workers Party, and the Peasant Party, have frequently criticized India's relations with Nepal as imperialism and hegemonic, accusing India of signing bilateral agreements with Nepal. The inflow of Indian workers into Nepal has caused law opportunity of employment to the Nepali citizens, Time and again,

grievances as “It is difficult for a tiny country's population of 27 million to provide national treatment to India's population of over 1 billion people. As a result Nepal has established legislation prohibiting foreign nationals, especially Indians, from owning land in the country. Because Nepal borders some of India's poorer regions, there is indeed a constant influx of Indian immigrants or workers looking for work. This creates an unnecessary strain on Nepal and provides India with an unwarranted say in the country's internal affairs. This treaty, it is said, has never gained validity”.

Some Nepali academicians argue as,

“The 1950 treaty is not only unequal but also as an attack on Nepal's sovereignty, because the circumstances under which the deal was signed have changed, rendering the treaty obsolete”.

5.9.3 Blockade

Since Nepal is surrounded by India from east, west and south. So it can be said that Nepal is not only land-locked but India locked too. Misusing the Nepal's land locked situation, India created economic blockades for Nepal, in 1970, 1989, and 2015, It aroused strong anti-India sentiment in Nepali people. Furthermore, it forced Nepal to search other avenues of trade deal with other neighbors. Thus China appeared on the ways.

According to Baral and Pyakurel,

“India obstructed the transit of goods into Nepal after the building of the Araniko Motorway linking Kathmandu and China and the establishment of Tatopani as a trade route well with its northern neighbors in 1970”.

Shakya and Bhattarai (2016) highlighting the losses borne due to blockade is mentioned as following:

“Due to a smaller group large number of mobile vehicles, prevalent conventional methods of timber cooking, and a fewer group and degree of organizations (such as banks, school systems, and numerous other services providers) and interlink-age among them; a smaller number as well as the degree of organizations (such as financial institutions, schools, as well as various other services providers) and interlink-age among them; due to such a smaller number and extent of organizations (such as banks, school systems, and numerous other services providers) and interlink-age among people”.

NDTV (2015 Nov 15) writes in this contest as following:

“The succession of the Late King Birendra to the throne, the division of Pakistan, and the acquisition of Sikkim were all key events in the early to mid-1970s. Following these incidents, a proposal was made to rename Nepal a "Zone of Peace," but India refused. The Financial Blockade was a barbarous act that India will eventually regret. Indian and Nepalese fundamental rights have been infringed, and the amazing thing is that no court action is taken yet. India's behavior raises worries about the country's capability of being a good neighbor time and time again. The 2015 Nepal blockade, which began on 23 September 2015, was an economic and humanitarian crisis that severely affected Nepal and its economy. Nepal accused India of imposing an undeclared blockade triggered by Indian concern about changes to the Nepali constitution, violent ethnic conflict, and Nepal's increasing cooperation with China”.

Shakya and Bhattarai further mention as following:

“Invoking the Panchsheel principles, Nepalese Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli called on India to "immediately lift the undeclared blockade" imposed on Nepal that would help boost bilateral ties amid the recent political crisis over the country's new constitution. "Nepal wants to maintain relations with its neighbors based on the principles of Panchsheel,"oli said. The Panchsheel doctrine is a set of principles to govern relations between states. Their first formal codification in treaty form was an agreement between China and India in 1954. The blockade spanned Nepal's southern border with India, taking in the Madhes or Terai region. The movement of goods and fuel into Nepal was hindered at border posts. As a result, Nepal faced one of the region's worst humanitarian and geopolitical crises, with the country unable to purchase fuel, medicines, and other basic commodities from India SAHR, 2016). It has heightened anti-Indian feelings in Nepal tremendously. The blockade was a radical means of resistance with far-reaching consequences, including considerable harm to Nepal's weakest as well as poorest residents as well as the alienation of groups with whom demonstrators should have been working. However, rejecting it as a tactic should not be used to avoid a full investigation of what is a Tarai social movement Giri and Neupane, 2019). It is a political matter rather than a Tarai issue. The continuous blockade of India has had a direct effect on education, causing schools to close. The fuel crisis impacted millions of students, including over one million in the Valley only”.

They further in this context as,

“The healthcare industry is another main target of the blockade. Due to a lack of oxygen, drugs, and blood, hospitals were eventually unable to deliver health

care services. The hospital administration had made it plain that they would be unable to operate facilities without such essential supplies. They further stated that if the current economic embargo continues, the dispensaries will be unable to provide life-saving drugs in the future. Due to the impossibility to transport winterization materials, earthquake victims were left to face the winter without energy or warm clothing. As a result, disaster victims became victims of both natural and man-made catastrophes”.

Pandey (2079) states,

“Thousands of individuals were pushed into persistent poverty of the blockade, in addition to those who were already poor due to the earthquakes. It also jeopardized the livelihoods of many people, which is useful for long productivity consequences. While the nation is vulnerable to shocks like the block, it also lacks the ability and economic strength to deal with numerous natural disasters. In such a situation, Nepal's focus should be on putting in place safety nets to safeguard the market if such catastrophes jeopardize the economy and, by extension, society's stability”.

Patel opines (2017) as,

“The geographical backgrounds of Nepal and India play an important role in shaping their interactions. They maintain not only a long and rich history but also a vast and open border. "Sphere of Indian Influence," "Special Relationship," "Equal Relationship with All," "Big Brother Role," "Dominating Power," "Zone of Peace," and "Panchayat Regime" were among the several kinds of ties between Nepal and India. Despite their closeness and pleasant relationships, they also had a lot of irritants. Nepal finally attained political stability, except for a few issues, on September 20, 2015, when it

adopted a constitution. This was something Nepal has yearned for a long time. As Prime Minister Narendra Modi mentioned during his two-day trip to Nepal on the 3rd and 4th of August 2014, now is the time for Nepal to consider all facets of its relations with India, because both nations can benefit from each other's development, and promise to take all appropriate measures to take relations to new heights. With these developments, it would be interesting to see what kind of relationship Nepal maintains with Delhi”.

Bhattarai (1990), Chaudhary and Ghosh (2016) argue as following:

“During India's blockade of Nepal, the bilateral relationship touched an all-time low. Culminating in complete chaos, full of accusations and diversions in a variety of forms. It was not the first occasion that the two countries' relations had worsened. India-Nepal relations have had a difficult history since 1950, despite long-standing historic, social, and cultural ties, a free movement of people, considerable commercial and transit links, and a firm foundation of ties in the shape of the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship. It was sometimes perplexing why, despite their multifaceted links, the two countries' relations had become increasingly strained”.

It an interview with the researcher Nilambar Acharya, says,

“The opportunists are one subgroup that New Delhi has missed in Nepal as a consequence of the anti-constitution movement. Meanwhile, New Delhi has acquired the confidence of a larger percentage of Nepal's population, which is a great achievement. To consolidate its advantages, New Delhi must counter misconceptions about Chinese ambitions in Nepal, particularly the deepening of China's rail system into Nepalese land, as being Nepal's greatest advantage. All Chinese efforts in Nepal are strategic, and they serve either Nepal's or

India's long-term objectives. The friendship between Nepal and India is worsening as a result of this. In this regard, other than high-level negotiations, neither country has made any genuine effort to resolve the matter. India's biggest diplomatic blunder is its failure to address its relationship deficit with Nepal”.

Stressing that neither of the country cannot ignore their centuries-old social and cultural links, as well as their geographic proximity Patel (2017) mentions,

“This is the one thing that is keeping them together and is the only reason that made their bad and good relationship. In an era of globalization, where each country has grown closer to obtaining greater profits, Nepal and India appear to be unable to maximize each other's potential. Because it has been operating in an undirected and neglected manner, India has failed to expand its soft power potential, although it can be achieved with minimal effort”. Pandey (2079) focuses, “The primary reason for the informal block is to safeguard pro-Indian leaders in Nepal who want the entire Tarai region proclaimed a province, posing a major threat to Nepalese sovereignty and security. Even though India declined to acknowledge the blockade as such, it remains an unofficial boycott. Modi's ‘neighboring first diplomacy’ failed in Nepal, and anti-Indian sentiment peaked for the first period in history”.

Accusing India’s evil interest to its neighbors, Suryanath Upadhyaya in an interview with the researcher states,

“The main aim behind the unofficial embargo is to rule South Asia like a big brother. With the help of newly arrived Indians, it placed a strain on the Nepalese government to enforce Indian rule in Tarai. However, this was a miscalculation, because Nepal has since chosen a communist government with

just an effortless complete majority. Because India has historically supported weak forces against strong ones, its approach in Nepal may be focused on the development of Hinduism and fundamentalism. Nepalese diplomacy appears to be lacking in putting out an agenda in Delhi to revise the Sugauli Treaty, the Treaty of 1950, and the concerns of Kalapani, Susta, and Lipulek. The unofficial blockade's major motivation is to govern South Asia as a big brother. It put pressure on the Nepalese government to impose Indian hegemony in Tarai with the support of newly arrived Indians. To reduce the influence of Chinese Communists, however, this was a mistake, and Nepal has elected a communist government with an easy complete majority. Because India has historically supported weak forces against strong ones, its approach in Nepal may be focused on the development of Hinduism and fundamentalism. In laying out an objective in Delhi to amend the Sugauli Accord, the Pact of 1950, and the issues of Kalapani, Susta, as well as Lipulek, Nepalese diplomacy seems to be lacking”.

5.9.4 Claim on Buddha's Birth Land

Regarding the birth place of Lord Buddha, Bidari mention's as following:

“According to an inscription on a stone erected by the Mauryan Emperor Asoka in 249 BC, the Lord Buddha was born in Lumbini in the Terai plains of southern Nepal in 623 BC. Lumbini is one of the holiest sites of one of the world's great faiths, and its ruins contain valuable information about the nature of Buddhist pilgrimage centers dating back to the third century BC. The Shakya Tank, the remains within the Maya Devi Temple consisting of brick structures in a cross-wall system dating from the 3rd century BC to the present century, and the sandstone Ashoka pillar with its Pali inscription in Brahmi

script are among the structures within the archaeological conservation area. There are also the excavated remnants of Buddhist vihars (monasteries) dating from the third century BC to the fifth century AD, as well as Buddhist stupas (memorial shrines) dating from the third century BC to the fifteenth century AD. The site is now being developed as a Buddhist pilgrimage center, with the archaeological remains linked with the Lord Buddha's birth serving as a focal point. The world's pilgrimage destination is the birthplace of the Shakya prince and the ultimate Buddha, the Enlightened One. This nativity scene has been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Buddhist literature of the 7th and 6th centuries BC defines it as *pradimakshya-van*, a *pradimakshya-van* graced with a flowering sal (*Shorea robusta*) woodland, a garden of exquisite flowers, and humming colorful bees”.

Quoting Shusma Swaraj, the Indian Foreign Minister, Tripathi (2023) mentions,

“Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj has referred to Nepalese Gautama Buddha, who was born in Lumbini, as a 'great Indian. " Mr. Nepal stated, "This amounts to misrepresentation and is reprehensible." "Lord Buddha was born in Nepal," Nepali Congress spokesperson Bishwa Prakash Sharma added. However, he was mentioned in Nepalese media as suggesting Buddha was an Indian. Anurag Srivastava, a spokesperson for the External Affairs Ministry in New Delhi, said the minister's words during the ceremony "related to our Buddhist ancestors. "There is no question that Gautam Buddha was born in Nepal's Lumbini," Srivastava stated. Mr. Jaishankar's remark was previously criticized by Nepal's Foreign Ministry, which stated that "it is a well-established and incontrovertible fact confirmed by historical evidence that Buddha was born in Lumbini, Nepal. "Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha and

the Buddhist fountain, is a UNESCO world heritage site, according to a Nepal Foreign Ministry official spokeswoman. There is no denying that Gautam Buddha, also known as Siddhartha Gautam, was born in Lumbini, Nepal, the birthplace of Buddhism”.

The Kathmandu Post (Daily) writes,

“During his visit to Nepal in 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi while addressing Nepal's Parliament said: "Nepal is the country where the apostle of peace in the world, Buddha, was born," recalled the Nepalese Foreign Ministry, "Buddhism spread from Nepal to other parts of the world in the subsequent period and the matter remains beyond doubt and controversy. The war of words about the Buddha has highlighted the Buddha diplomacy that both India and Nepal have been practicing for the last few years. While Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government has been highlighting India's Buddhist heritage since 2014, Nepal, with the help of international partners, including China, has invested in developing Lumbini as a major tourism destination”.

Sudhir Parajuli, the chairman of the Nepal Cable TV Association states as,

"Buddha was born in Lumbini, which lies in Nepal, so there is no controversy," she said in response to a question at a press conference (TET, 2013 Sep 15, "We respect all your sentiments, "the Indian Embassy said in a statement." Our recent post on Lord Buddha was to clear any doubts related to the birth of Lord Buddha, which is in Lumbini, Nepal and to express the feeling of the Government of India," it said in the statement on its official Facebook Page. Around 300 cable operators in Nepal had blocked the broadcast of the Zee TV program on Lord Buddha, following protests that it depicted the ancient sage as being born in India instead of the Himalayan

nation. "We were afraid that the content of the show might be disrespectful to the Nepali audience. In precaution, we decided to impose self-censorship on the show".

Various archeological and historical information clearly indicate that Lord Buddha was born in Lumbini, situated in the southern plains of Nepal in 623 BC. Therefore, India should not plead against false claim.

5.9.5 Big Brother Syndrome

Nepal is the oldest sovereign nation of the SAARC region. It is obvious that other SAARC nations were up to some decades back, were the colonies of Britain. After those countries got independence Nepal has proudly established its diplomatic relations with them when its regional. Nepal and the UK have had established friendship relation in 1816 when India was a colony of Britain. It is astonishing listening through some Indian media and politician as Nepal a younger brother of India. It is clear India is bigger than Nepal in relation to land area and population size. But India is named very later than Nepal. Therefore, it seems non-sense to say Nepal as a younger brother of India.

In an interview with the researcher, Dinesh Bhattarai says,

"Any country, regardless of its population or size, can be big or small. Nationality, on the other hand, cannot be reduced or enhanced. Every country should be able to establish its sovereignty on an equal footing." In this context Adhikari writes (2018) "India got independence from British colonialism, and Nepal-India relations were expected to restart on the concepts of equality, freedom, sovereignty, mutual respect, and cooperation".

Tripathi (2019) notes,

"India, which has a strong intention to keep control over Nepal, has rarely

upheld these objectives. It maintains its hegemony by interfering in Nepal's internal affairs, such as political, diplomatic, and military affairs. Critiquing Indian hegemonic external interference is not meant to degrade the two countries' special affinity and cooperation, which encompasses economic and political engagement as well as cultural, traditional, and religious links. There has been a frequent exchange of high-level visits, as well as various bilateral institutional dialogues/interactions, such as Nepal-India Joint Commission Meetings. These trips have aided in the promotion of goodwill, trust, and cooperation between the two nations”.

According to the various fiscal year's Economic Surveys Published by Ministry of Finance of Nepal,

“India has assisted Nepal's development initiatives, including infrastructure development in the areas of learning, health, watersheds, and defense, India has assisted Nepal in the construction of integrated posts along the Nepal-India boundary, such as at Jogbani-Biratnagar, Sunauli-Bhairahawa, Raxaul-Birganj, and Nepalganj Route. Rivers are a hot concern in bilateral ties because both countries' rivers can facilitate major water and irrigation sources. India and Nepal have had a Power Exchange Agreement in place since 1971 to meet their various power requirements by leveraging each other's transmission infrastructure. In the defense sector, there is another crucial bilateral cooperation. Both countries have established the Joint Taskforce on Border Management (JWG) and Border District Coordination Committees (BDCCs) to address one another's security concerns. The Boundary Working Group (BWG) was established in 2014 to take over technical activities related to the

Nepal-India boundary, such as the construction, maintenance, and restoration of border pillars, as well as surveillance of the border's no man's land”.

It is notable here to present the views of Ghimire (2015) as,

“For both countries, the bilateral agreement on "trade, transit, and investment" is critical. India has long been Nepal's most important commercial partner, and bilateral trade between the two countries has grown significantly over the years. Since 1951, Indian support has helped Nepal implement 552 big, middle, and small-scale projects worth a total of 77 billion Nepalese rupees. The two-month-long blockade imposed by India on Nepal in 2015 was a terrible and painful event in Nepal-India relations, comparable to what the young generation of Nepalis went through in 1989-90 when India penalized Nepal for getting weapons from China. By cutting off supplies of medication, gasoline, and other necessities. India imposed an informal economic blockade on Nepal. Although numerous socio-political organizations in Nepal's southern region objected to some provisions of the new constitution, Nepal's democratically chosen Constituent Assembly ratified it with a majority (more than 90% of CA members) in September 2015. India backed these enraged southern forces because it did not approve of Nepal's new constitution. When Madesh-centric parties began to show their teeth in opposing parties to the draft constitution, India's Foreign Secretary S. Jaishankar came to Nepal to put pressure on Nepal's current elite and prevent the constitution's approval. At the moment, the Constituent Assembly had been on the point of promulgating it”.

Garver (1991) writes on the relationship between Nepal and India as,

“In retaliation, India, which proclaims to be the largest global democracy, refused to recognize the Nepali people's choice and imposed the blockade.

Such flagrant involvement in the domestic matters of an independent sovereign nation like Nepal could be attributed to India's imperial hubris. India enforced an economic blockade on Nepal to force changes to the new constitution. When Nepal decided to buy arms from China in 1989, India employed a similar tactic to put pressure on Nepal by closing 13 of the 15 transit points along its boundary to Nepal”.

5.9.6 Citizenship Issue

The citizen issue has got high focus amongst Nepali citizen. In Nepal, the importance of citizen is beyond description. It is the fundamental document which must be produced in obtaining Job, martial relationship certification land transaction getting entrance for higher level education receiving grants from the government getting registration of building and so many purposes. A large number of Nepalese nationals have failed to get citizenship documents, due to fundamental proofs.

According to the feminists in Nepal,

“The law to be gender discriminating and regressive. This is because males and females are subject to different laws. Foreign women married to Nepalese men will then have to wait seven years for the naturalized citizenship certificate, while foreign men wedded to Nepalese women will only be qualified for naturalization after 15 years in Nepal, according to the amendment bill. India, such as the United States, is claimed to have a requirement requiring foreigners wedded to Indians to reside in India consistently for seven years before applying for citizenship. Unlike in Nepal, where citizenship laws for Nepalese men married to foreign women differ from those for Nepalese women married to foreign men, thus a rule should apply to both men as well as women in the United States”.

Resham Bahadur Pandey (2022) writes,

“According to the citizenship (amendment) bill, foreign women married to Nepalese men might operate a business and earn money, use and sell moveable assets, and participate in industrial, commercial, and trade transactions until they obtained citizenship rights. They may also maintain track of significant life events including births, deaths, weddings, divorces, and migration. They might even be accepted into academia. Economic, social, and cultural rights may also be available to them. It is unclear, however, what will happen to foreign women who marry Nepalese men and become widows before earning naturalized citizenship. Apart from enjoying other economic and social privileges, such women may find it increasingly difficult to obtain a portion of their husbands' property. Foreign women who marry Nepalese men will receive an identity card before obtaining naturalized citizenship, but no identity card can be used to replace a citizenship certificate in Nepal”.

5.9.7 Complex Dynamics of the Relation

Mingst (2004, Pp 35-38) states,

“Neither realism nor liberal conceptual approaches are capable of reflecting the complex dynamics of Nepal-India ties from their genesis to the present. India's policies with Nepal are divided between liberal theory and it's full of contradictions. Individuals are grouped into states, each one of which functions as a single entity to achieve its own national goals”.

According to Carr (1971, P 7),

“The realistic premise is that the state is the most significant actor in international politics and that genuine international relations are based on state-to-state connections. Realists see states as separate entities that engage in

international politics purely for their benefit and the pursuit of power. Because "moral can only be relevant, not general," such an approach recognizes no place in interstate relations for principle discourse".

Galston (2101, P. 388) opines,

"It is critical to consider the ideological underpinnings of political realism and neo-colonialism to better understand the bilateral relationship. Political realism, according to certain political scientists and theorists, covers approaches that offer more autonomy to various political ideas. The political domain's sovereignty is drilled through judgment, which is undermined by economic, legal, military, and moral standards. Acceptable standards of judgment come from within politics rather than from an external moral norm in political realism".

According to Warner (2006, P.3),

"The leadership by a single stronger partner of several less powerful, but autonomous partners, conducted for the mutual benefit of all parties concerned".

From a global perspective, Wallerstein (1983, pp. 100-108), conceptualizes,

"A capitalist world when a state has powerful military, financial, political, and cultural might, it mobilizes its troops and coordinates peripheral elites to establish and uphold economic laws. Through ideological or institutional mechanisms, India is often regarded to have dominance and hegemonic aspirations in Nepal. India, as a hegemon, uses its economic and military might to pursue a neocolonial goal of maintaining political supremacy over Nepal".

Upreti (2016, Pp. 107-113) opines,

“When a state possesses significant military, economic, political, and cultural power, the author argues that it mobilizes its forces and coordinates outer elites to develop and enforce economic laws. A neo-colony is forced to conduct economic transactions and trade with imperialist powers rather than having the freedom to trade goods on international marketplaces. In such a condition, the neo-colony is stripped of its ability to shape its destiny. Long after the empire has ended, the activities and effects of some colonial leftover traits and agents can be found in a given civilization”.

5.9.8 Issues Related on Water Resources

Water is recognized as a valuable commodity and is vital for human survival. In Nepal resource has become a strategic issue in Nepal and India. Water has become a resource of both disagreement and collaboration in the modern world. In the case of India and Nepal, groundwater is becoming a major source of contention between the two countries. It is assumed that future disagreements over water will be a major cause of conflict between these two neighbors. Much water flows from Nepal to India, has raised many debates between these two countries. However, Nepal's has strong benefit as its strategic dominance over Nepali big rivers, allows her to balance India on a variety of issues.

5.10 Chapter Summary

Nepal and India are two neighboring nations. They are very close friends. The friendly relationship between them was as old as the history of the two countries. Including the diplomatic relation, they have also strong cultural, social and economic relations. Moreover, they have open border from three sides. Most of the religious places of the both countries are common. However, there are some hardships existing

between the social and cultural relations between them. Sometimes, such hardships hide and the status seems normal, some time they become complex. Although the people-to-people relations are always seem harmonious, sometime official or political relations seem less encouraging. When political relations are somewhat disturbed, it is quite natural that it directly or indirectly causes disturbance in social and cultural relations.

Although open border system between them has many benefits to the people of both sides, due to the ineffective management of border administrations of both sides cause human trafficking, smuggling, terrorism, illegal entry/exit of criminals and drugs. Likewise, the impractical behavior or misunderstanding of the political leaders also cause some problems like blockade, encroachment, delay in the renewal of trade and commerce treaties etc.

Chapter- Six

Measures for Improving the Socio-cultural Relation

6.1 Introduction to the Chapter

The relations between Nepal and India is formal in official term but unofficially the relation seems more lively and conducive in people to people level. However due to some misunderstanding between the governments of the two countries, some while there seems some sort of coldness to some extent between the relations both sides. Such situations should be improved diplomatically from the both sides. It will make them stand in win-win situation. Some measures to improve the socio-cultural relations between Nepal and India are analytically discussed below:

6.2 Resolution of Border Disputes

According to Muni (2009),

“Boundaries are expressions of a country's identity. Although that has limited relevance, the demarcation of a border in treaties is an important first phase of the process of defining boundaries. Borderland communities rarely appreciate boundaries until they can be practically identified, and it may be only after a border has been physically designated that it can start to work well. Many of the country's international boundaries have never been designated on the grounds, and those that were designated have vanished due to poor maintenance. Most countries' archives hold a plethora of information about international borders, much of which might be useful in deciphering border and territory disputes. However, due to the vastness and complexities of many archives, obtaining important data and constructing a clear image of the fundamental issues is rarely straightforward. Boundary management is a

method for strengthening the safety of national boundaries and regulating authorized cross-border movements of goods and people to fulfill the nation's various needs through cross-border economic, social, and significant impacts on the business”.

Regarding the border management between Nepal and India, he further states,

“It involves organizing and joint institutional arrangements, border area development initiatives, implementation of unified check posts in customs, a joint border task force, a joint mechanism for resolving border disputes, and security force mobilization, among other things. Integrated planning ensures the security of borders, the welfare of border residents and their integration into the accessing network, the prompt resolution of boundary problems, and the maintenance of cordial bilateral relations between the two countries, and this will necessitate some diplomatic acumen on the part of border defending force commanders, as well as a clear-cut mutually agreeable framework for resolving issues”. Nepal is surrounded on three sides by India. The border problem is worsening day after day because of irregularity in border areas. The Southern side 8 Nepal’s border land has been more encroached. It began to rise gradually after the Sugauli Treaty. There began the serious occurrence of border territorial disputes between Nepal and India after 1947 AD. The local entities in Nepal side has strong grievance as, “Mechi River's source, the Antu Hill region, Ramnagar's territory, the north side of Chure Mountain to the south side, the jungle, and other regions are considered contested border locations”. “According to Lokendra Bahadur Chand, a prominent politician, “The encroaching dispute in the Dashgaja sector likewise has arisen as a result of demographic growth in India, the destruction of Nepal's four-sided forest or

bush by Indians, and the invasion of Nepal's land. Susta, Arra, Nala, Tal Bagonda, and other disputed border locations are devoid of boundary pillars”.

Pokharal States,

“After 2007 BS, encroachment in the Kalapani-Limpiyadhura and Susta areas began to increase. The Indian people continued to trespass on Nepalese land by cutting down trees in the jungle after the ballot in 2036 BS. Susta's invasion of other dwelling places grew in lockstep with Susta's. Even after the restoration of democracy in 2046 BS, land encroachment continued in various locations. Every year during the rainy season's large flood, Nepalese territories have been sinking in various spots due to these walls and embankments”.

In this context, it is noteworthy to states Shrestha’s view (2018) as,

“Land invasion increased in places like Shreeantu Guphatal in Ilam, Someshwor in Chitwan, Jhitkaiya in Bara, the 10 yards Dashgaja) zone of Koilawas in Dang, Khaba check post, and Gurung check post when Nepal became a republic in 2065 BS. The invasion of the borderland is still going on. The incursion will persist for two reasons: the first is Nepal's political turmoil, and the second is political parties' slowness in forming and reforming governments. Major parties are not giving serious attention to this issue. Because of the Himalayan Range, Nepal does not have a border issue with China, but it has a boundary dispute with India due to its vast and flat plains of Nepal's 26 districts that share a border with India, 21 districts, in 54 locations, are experiencing Indian territorial violations. The Indian Army has encroached on the 372 square kilometers between Kalapani and Limpiyadhura. Many Nepalese voices were heard in support of it, but those voices seem to have

vanished into the sky. Those who are concerned about nationality, on the other hand, are aware of the problem”.

Pokharel further mentions, (2020),

“The Kali (Mahakali) River is the border between the two countries, according to the Sugauli Treaty. The source of the Mahakali River has yet to be discovered. And it is for this reason that there is a disagreement about it. The Kali River's origin is still a topic of contention. The three spots that have yet to be discovered are Limpiyadhura, Lipulek, and Kali temple, which are the origin of the Kali River. The Kali River originates at Limpiyadhura, according to historical maps and chronicles. It is the largest area of land that India has encroached upon in 2065 BS Mangsir 10, then-External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukharjee paid a visit to Nepal. During his visit, he stated that the border conflict between Kalapani and Susta should be resolved through negotiation to persuade India, the Kalapani controversy can be resolved by reviewing old records and papers. When the Narayani River gets a new course and cuts Nepal's land to the west due to the heavy rains during the monsoon season, GoI has claimed the land behind the river as it's on and keeps the new flow of water as the boundary. The main example of land invasion as a result of this cause is the border dispute at Susta. The Indian side has encroached on Bhendivari, Dhanaiya, and the region between the river's jerk at Susta. The invasion in the Susta region is spreading to the Susta residents. The ground at Susta has been encroached upon approximately for 4,000 years, from 1902 BC to the present. Similarly, the Naravani River appears to be a threat in Driven VDC ward 4 to solve the Susta problem, the Narayani River's path should be determined, and Junge pillars should be placed on both banks of the river. This

problem has emerged as a consequence of India's border dam and embankment construction".

6.3 Revisiting the Unequal Treaties and Agreement

Security and solidarity Treaty between Nepal and British ruled India earlier than 1950 has largely influenced Nepal-India relation. Overlooking the relation between these two nations from 1845 to 1950 we can see much more pessimism while there was Rana rule in Nepal, it followed foreign strategy as made by Prithivi Narayan Shah. The British India signed a treaty with Nepal in 1923 despite Nepal's sovereignty this treaty limited independence in regarding international affairs and defense. Further, the 1950s treaty put Nepal under India's security management India time and again tries to make negative influence on Nepal's autonomy.

Shaha (1968, pp.53-56), describes the situation as following:

“This tension arose not just as a result of power shifts in India, but also as a result of developments in Kathmandu and the need for reform and betterment in governance by? Nepalese major parties and the general public. The open border policy of India toward Nepal was inspired by its political view, experiences, and expectations, but the hidden part was to steer Nepali politics in the direction they prefer. During the 1950s, a significant demand for democratic reforms arose in Nepal, and as a result, the country's leadership consented to make some changes. India welcomed reforms and wanted them to happen according to democracy's rules, but it never sought to overhaul the entire system at once. Pandit Nehru once warned that if everything changes at once, it will only exacerbate Nepal's problems”.

He further states,

“The bilateral treaty signed in 1950 by both Nepal and India was aimed at

establishing a desired and favored relationship. The Ranas were waning and needed Indian backing to stay in power, thus this pact was made. Unfortunately, the treaty was broken after three months, and Ranarchy was swept out. The contract was frequently likened to the Treaty of Versailles since the signatories were not of comparable standing; one was CPN SINGH, the Indian ambassador to Nepal, and the other was Prime Minister Mohan Shumser of Nepal. Civilians have been drawn into anti-Indian actions by the unilateral, controlling, and humiliating provision of Nepali sovereign independence. Articles i, iv, v, vi, and vii, in general, are punishable. According to Articles 6 and 7 of such treaty, the two states agree to offer, on a shared basis, the same rights and protections in matters of household, ownership of assets, involvement in trade and business, mobility, and other special rights of similar nature to residents of one nation in territories of the other. This allows Nepali and Indian citizens to freely cross borders without requiring passports or visas, work and live in either country, own property, and engage in commerce or trade-in with either country. As a result of the treaty, there are a substantial number of Nepalese residing, holding property, working, or doing business. In Nepal, numerous Indians live, acquire property, and conduct business. The pact's positive feature is that it recognizes Nepalese sovereignty, and the latest debate on the 1950s Nepal-India Peace and Friendship Treaty began, marking the first time India and Nepal formally debated the treaty article by article. Nepal's request for a review of Articles 2, 5, 6, and 7 of the treaty is greatly appreciated, as the treaty's provisions have harmed Nepal's sovereignty and put it at a disadvantage in terms of trade, economic development, and people moving between the two countries. The

fact that Nepal has expressed reservations about the treaty's clauses gives India the upper hand in dictating Nepalese international security policy”.

Shrestha (2018) argues,

“The 1950 Treaty was signed by a Rana Prime Minister who was not elected by the people and therefore does not represent the Nepali political consensus. They also refer to the unequal status of the signatories. Likewise, the treaty is concluded as a legacy of British imperialism. After 1947, the relations between India and Nepal had to start on a new scale of heightened ideological passions for democracy. Even though the two countries were ready to write their opinion during the British rule were not done away with it. The standstill agreement signed in 1949 accepted all the previous treaties signed as valid till new treaties and agreements could be signed. The treaty of Peace and Amity of 1950 was a reflection of the treaty of Peace and Friendship signed in 1923 but with changes made to suit the political context of the time. Six and half decades have gone by the reference to the general perception of Nepal-India relations and continue to haunt the Nepalese elites. It has become a yardstick to critically measure the policies with India even though Nepal had good working relations with the British”.

Pokharel (2020) views as following,

“Indian annexation of Sikkim (1975) reflected Indian intervention policy towards shall nations. It is also argued that this treaty of Peace and Friendship is an outmoded treaty and derogations from it are commonplace. Since both countries have led many of their provisions to fall into disuse in the last 50 years, the time has come to review the treaty and replace it with a new one. Nepal has a fear psychology that India had forced Nepalese to leave North-

eastern states i.e. Assam and Meghalaya in the late 1980s. That's why; Nepal argues that India should not expect Nepal to conform to a treaty to which India itself is unable to confirm. Another argument of Nepal is about the influx of Indian Labor into Nepal. The small country cannot bear the Indians' flow in Nepal. Likewise, this treaty is described not only as unequal but as an attack on Nepal's sovereignty on the ground that the circumstances in which the treaty was signed have changed and therefore, there is no relevance of this treaty anymore. The next but vital criticism of this treaty is surrounded by the politico-strategic aspects of the same. It is alleged that India has been more concerned about its strategic and security interests in the Himalayas and has ignored Nepal's sovereignty (article 5). Likewise, Nepal has reservations about clause 6 which allows the citizens to participate in the industrial and national development in each other's country, and clause 7, which grants the citizen the right to reside, own property, participate in trade and commerce and enjoy other privileges in one another's country. The demand of India for reciprocal 'National treatment for its citizens in Nepalese territory and access to all of Nepal's Natural resources, while Nepalese citizens are being discriminated against while acquiring property in India is inconsistent with India's exercise of full sovereignty over the years, there have been many instances when India has ignored the provisions of the treaty. If we see article 2, also shows serious conditions targeting checking Chinese security or possible entrance into Nepal. But the Indian eyes on the provisions of the treaty are opposite to Nepal". India still wants to continue this treaty standstill. But due to the high pressure on Nepal and Nepali people, India become ready to have negotiations bilaterally and EPG was formed (Bhesh Bahadur Thapa, Nilambar Acharya,

Surya Nath Upadhyaya Rajan Bhattarai from Nepali side and Bhagat Singh Koshiyari, BC Upreti MP Lama and Jayanta Prasad from Indian side) whereas prime minister Man Mohanari, the president of the CPN (UML), had formally raised the voice for the timely revision of the treaty.

The Maoists Party of Nepal also raised voice for the amendment of the treaty before it went for insurgency. This party had forty points demand. The relationship between Nepal and China during the first and present Oli's primer time is rapidly increasing which has been taken psychological threat to India. But the Madhesi parties believe that border management is an inevitable corollary to revision with devastating the special relationship between the people of Terai of Nepal and Bihar as well as Uttar Pradesh of India. The traditional ties of Roti-Beti in the region cannot be ignored by those proposing revision. India has expressed its readiness to 'review' the treaty, the discourse on the revision of the 1950's treaty in the decade resulted in EPG and it worked seriously through its two years tenure with nine bilateral meetings.

The notion of revision of the treaty got speedy pace during the time of KP Odis premiership and both the Government- appointed Eminent Persons Group (EPG) with the mandate (following the meeting between Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli and Prime Minister Narendra Modi on 20 February 2016 included taking a serious look at a possible review of the friendship treaty which was concluded decades ago) to make rigorous discussions. Dr. Bhesh Bahadur Thapa, coordinator of the Nepali team to the EPG urged for the betterment of border policing and effective regulation of the movement of people, the border between the two sides is already delineated and the border posts are already in place but many of these marks are damaged indicating poor maintenance. Mr.

Thapa explained that the India-Nepal boundary needs to be updated with new security measures to stop cross-border crimes and ensure a regulated flow of people. The EPG was formed on February 20, 2016, during Mr. K.P. Sharma Oli's travel to India, to mark the end of the Madhesi agitators' blockade along Nepal's southern border”.

Nilambar Acharya, in an interview with the researcher says,

“The EPG will be made up of eight members, four from each side, according to the agreement. The EPG's first meeting was held in Kathmandu in July 2016. According to the mission, the two sides would meet every three months and write and present a joint paper to their governments after their two-year term. Kathmandu, 4 July: The EPG's inaugural meeting has begun in the capital. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamal Thapa expressed optimism that the conference will help to deepen the country's long-standing bilateral ties. He went on to say that Nepal has begun its path to prosperity after adopting a democratic constitution and that bilateral ties should be expanded for both nations' progress and prosperity. Similarly, India's EPG coordinator, Bharat Singh Koshiyari, Chief Minister of Uttaranchal Pradesh, India, stated that bilateral ties will be reviewed and strengthened in the coming days. Nepal, according to Koshiyari, is a good neighbor of India. Similarly, Dr. Bhekh Bahadur Thapa, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and coordinator of the Nepali EPG stated that the conference will help to bring bilateral relations to a new level, adding that they will jointly analyze past bilateral treaties and accords”.

He further sates,

“The first meeting is supposed to be focused on planning the meeting's

procedure and format. The second EPG conference took place in New Delhi in October 2016. The first meeting, which took place in Kathmandu in July, was purely preliminary. It identified five topics for debate and recommendations: political issues, government-to-government ties, cultural issues, trade, and connectivity. The EPG's principal priority is to evaluate the 1950 Accord and other trade and transit arrangements. The Indian party has requested that Nepal present a clear stance on how to address the 'unequal' situation "Accord. According to a member, the Nepali side believes that rather than one side trying to present its position, a bilateral discussion should take place. The necessity for India's authorization for Nepal to buy defensive gear, recruiting of Gorkha troops, and priority for Delhi in the growth of Nepal's resources are among the important clauses Nepal seeks to change." "Many aspects of the treaty are not unnecessary" (Based on the interview with Rajan Bhattarai, member of UPG from Nepal side)".

Nepali diplomat Bhattarai, in an interviews with the researcher states,

"A large number of international and regional accords made after 1950 should be considered. "He further said, "This is not only reviewing the past agreements, treaties, and understandings, we will also suggest a new framework of relationship that should be adopted between the two countries in the 21st century." The Indian party has recognized the need to revise the treaty. The Indian delegation has stated that it is willing to accept any suggestion put forward by Nepal at the meeting.

The meeting is focused on analyzing or re-evaluating the treaties, contracts, and frameworks between the two countries, making out a roadmap of the bilateral relationship that is marked by social, economic, religious, and

cultural elements, of bilateral ties. Nepal has presented to review and reframe the Nepal-India Friendship Treaty, which can be the bedrock of contemporary between both south Asian nations, i.e. Nepal and India”.

In an interview with the research, Bhesh Bahadur Thapa, expresses,

“The EPG was founded in January 2016 by the governments of Nepal and India to resolve longstanding bilateral difficulties between the two countries. Its mandate was to review all disputed elements of Nepal-India relations and update bilateral agreements and treaties. The joint mechanism, which included specialists and scholars from Nepal and India, as well as four representatives from each country, made every effort to provide an acceptable report. They were given the task of reviewing several elements of bilateral relations, including the 1950 Nepal-India Friendship Treaty and making recommendations on how to improve bilateral ties. The Nepali side had provided facts and figures at a previous EPG conference regarding the necessity to evaluate the Nepal-India Peace and Friendship Accord of 1950 and amend it as time and circumstances demanded. The pact is a bilateral agreement between Nepal and India aiming at forging a strong strategic partnership between the two South Asian countries. It was hosted by Nepalese Prime Minister Mohan Shamsher Jung Bahadur. Rana and then-Indian Ambassador to Nepal Chandreshwor Prashad Narayan Singh on July 31, 1950, in Kathmandu. The pack contains ten articles that allow free movement of persons and commerce between the two countries, as well as close cooperation and defense cooperation (Based on the interview with Nilambar Acharya, member of UPG from Nepal side)”.

Nepal has questioned India's self-interest led behavior with Nepal several times. It used the China card, carried as permit system for Indian human resource in Nepal, made same unwanted policies for Indian in Nepal.

In this context Ramesh Nath Pandey, in an interview with the researcher, shares his views as,

“India has made effort to secure Nepalese compliance in a variety of ways, which the Nepalese have described as coercive and heavy-handed. Surprisingly, despite objections from both nations on some topics, the pact has persisted to this day. Furthermore, there is currently an agreement that the treaty has to be revised in light of the changing regional and international landscape. According to the facts, Nepal will remain reliant on India. India will also have to acknowledge the historical linkages with Nepal and the strategic importance of developing a multi-faceted partnership in the future. India has to adopt a liberal approach toward providing trade and transit facilities for Nepal and closely coordinate its security policies to counter emerging threats from non-state actors. Given the close socio-cultural linkages and the propensity of the people in the bordering regions to connect, the borders should ideally be kept open with joint regulatory mechanisms. The new treaty needs to factor in all these perspectives and usher in a new partnership between the two countries in course of fostering the political relations between two countries”.

6.4 Reciprocal Endeavour for the Avoidance of Blockades

Bhim Rawal, a veteran politician of Nepal, in an interview with the researcher states,

“The unofficial or undeclared blockade of India was a bad move. It was a diplomatic gesture on the part of India. Nepal serves as a crossroads for trade

between China and India. Nepal is catching the world's attention from Mt. Everest, the world's highest peak, and Lumbini, the Buddha's Eye, which is monitoring the globe with love and compassion. In Nepal, the Hindu population is 80 percent and the Buddhist population is 10 percent. From a socio-cultural standpoint, Nepal is quite near to India; nevertheless, China is physically, linguistically, and in terms of Tibet issues, it is very far away. Many communist leaders want China to join the mainstream in the same way that India has, but China is uninterested in internal matters. Nepal serves as a haven for both of them. India has a strong presence in Nepal, and China is wary of Nepalese diplomacy”.

He further argues as following:

“Although India is socially, culturally, geographically, politically, and linguistically near to Nepal, it has repeatedly imposed barriers. India has placed a border blockade on Pakistan four times in history (1962, 1971, 1989, and 2015), resulting in a bilateral relationship crisis each time. The goal is being kicked by the close ally. The importance of game theory, as well as conspiracy theories in achieving the blocked game, as well as conspiracy theories in winning the blocked game, can be seen in India's relations with Nepal. Nepal is a landlocked country on the Indian subcontinent situated between India and China. With the Himalayas separating it from China, Nepal shares many cultural, political, and historic similarities with its Indian neighbor. Both countries, for example, have Hindu majorities and use the Devanagari script to write Nepali and Hindi. The 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship publicly recognized and made official the relationship between Nepal and India, notwithstanding its "ancient" origins”.

Shrestha observes as following:

“The treaty was signed by Nepal's then-Prime Minister, Mohan Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana, and India's Ambassador to Nepal, Chandreshwar Narayan Singh, with the goal of "strengthening and developing ties and perpetuating the peace between the two countries." For nationals of both countries, freedom of movement was created, allowing them to live, work, and study in each other's countries. Nonetheless, because Nepal lacks access to the sea, the treaty's ramifications kept Nepal increasingly reliant on India for commerce, particularly for the passage of seaborne imports and exports. The Indo-Nepal Trade and Transit Treaty of 1960 strengthened this trade link even more, as the former kingdom of Nepal became completely reliant on India for all of its needs. This over-dependence was exposed decades later in 1989 when India put an economic blockade on Nepal as a result of its displeasure with the country's growing ties with China. The 1950s Peace and Friendship Treaty made it impossible for Nepal to import armaments from any country other than India. India replied by imposing a new blockade after Nepal ordered small arms and anti-aircraft guns from China without informing India slapped an additional 50% tax on Indian exports, and cut the charge on Chinese goods by 10%. These military agreements could be a response by the Nepalese government to Indian security experts' claims that "Nepal, like Belgium, is unable to maintain its security and thus militarily becomes a porous border between India and China." Although India saw the embargo as retaliation for Nepal's noncompliance with the treaty, it served as a reminder to Nepal of its relative powerlessness that its sovereignty was a favor conferred by the Indian government rather than a right”.

He further notes as following:

“In 2015, another blockade was set, this time by Nepal's Terai indigenous tribes, who have a long history of trade with India. Following Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Nepal in 2014, the country adopted a new constitution that included measures that disadvantage the Madhesi people of the Terai area, which borders India, such as lesser representation in parliament. The Madhesi retaliated by putting an unofficial embargo on any products traveling between Nepal and India. The Indian central government's reluctance to lift the blockade proved their sympathy for the Madhesi people, forcing Nepal's parliament to give more attention to this oppressed minority population and resulting in several months of severe fuel and medicine shortages. Nepal understands the situation, but it is unable to persuade China of the repercussions. India has done it, but it is still not accepted”.

Patel (2017) writes,

“Bangladesh's Commerce Minister, Tofail Ahmed, a friend of India's South Asian trade deals, called for an end to the embargo, claiming that such blockades undermine agreements like the BBIN. According to Jean Lambert, MEP and head of the European Parliament Commission to South Asia, the informal blockade' at the Nepali borders only helps to harm Nepali citizens who are still suffering from the devastating earthquakes. The unofficial economic blockade imposed by India has worsened the country's economic growth forecast, which was already hampered by strikes in the country's southern regions. The ban on the import of basic goods including medicines, food grains, and fuel items has made life difficult for the general populace.

The same can be said for development initiatives that have been halted due to a lack of fuel and other raw materials.

As a result of the disruption, the lives of Nepalese people have been made difficult. Due to the lack of public transit, which is unable to function regularly due to fuel shortages, students, and office employees were unable to finish their work. Due to a lack of medicine, patients are unable to receive medical treatment. People that live near Panitanki can arrange for their daily needs, although at a higher price. People in the most remote parts of the Jhapa district and neighboring districts, on the other hand, are in dire straits. In this section of Nepal, there have been no reports of violence or political protests. The Nepali authorities are baffled as to why the Indian government's administration decided to either suspend or slow down vehicle travel. Nepal's and India's geographical contexts have a significant role in determining their relations. Nepal and India share not only a vast and open border but also a long and rich cultural history. "Sphere of Indian Influence," "Special Relationship," "Equal Relationship with All," "Big Brother Role," "Dominating Power," "Zone of Peace," and "Panchayat Regime" were among the several kinds of ties between Nepal and India. Despite their closeness and pleasant relationships, they also had a lot of irritants. Nepal finally attained political stability, except for a few issues, on September 20, 2015, when it adopted a constitution. This was something Nepal has yearned for a long time. As Prime Minister Narendra Modi mentioned during his two-day trip to Nepal on the 3rd and 4th of August 2014, now is the time for Nepal to consider all facets of its relations with India, because both nations can benefit from each other's development, and promise to take all appropriate measures to take

relations to new heights. With these events, it would be intriguing to watch what kind of connection Nepal will keep with India. India-Nepal ties have struck rock bottom in the last year, resulting in a state of complete confusion, full of accusations and diversion in a variety of ways. It was not the first occasion that relations between the two countries deteriorated. India-Nepal relations have had a difficult history since 1950, despite lengthy historical, social, and cultural similarities, an open border, substantial commercial and transit links, and a firm foundation of relationships in the shape of the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship”.

Some Nepali diplomats mention,

“When political parties, such as KP Oli, focus on India's problems during elections, the discomfort of being blocked is overlooked in the interest of improving bilateral relations. India has not taken the matter seriously because of the socio-economic implications for health, education, transport, energy, fuel, commerce, and the economy. Even though the earthquake destroyed 10,000 people and damaged millions, India decided to play the game by inventing conspiracy theories. Leaders may neglect, but people do not, and India must regret its treatment of Nepal's people and embrace the 2015 constitution several-ranking Chinese officials toured Kathmandu in the run-up to September 20, 2016. Similarly, numerous key Nepalese politicians, including Dahal, had visited China. India was wary about this. In India's opinion, the suspicion of developing links between Nepal and China was confirmed when the three major parties decided to proclaim the constitution without informing India. A few on the Indian side believe that without China's support, Nepali leadership would have not acted as openly”.

Baral (2016) says,

“In a not-so-subtle insult to India, major party leaders began claiming that they had overcome huge challenges to bring the constitution to fruition. However, New Delhi's reaction to Kathmandu and Beijing's perceived proximity was misguided. Even in the best of times, Nepal-China relations cannot compare to the broad linkages that exist between Nepal and India, not only between the authorities but also between the two peoples. And one need only look at the political map of Nepal to see that Nepal has no choice but to be friendly with India, with all of its territory entirely immersed in the Indian landmass and just its border area abutting Tibet”.

He further states as following:

“India's concern over the place of the Madhesi people in the new constitution is understandable; so are some of its strategic concerns. But given the enormous leverage, New Delhi has in Kathmandu, these agendas are best pursued behind the scenes. The recent history of Nepal is a testament to the fact that if India wants something in Nepal, it usually gets its way, and though far less coercive means. If India wants to maintain its preeminent role in Nepal in the long run, it must learn to treat Nepal as a sovereign country that is capable of dealing with its problems. Otherwise, the Chinese rail is set to come up to Nepal's border by 2022. All the nine road links between Nepal and Tibet are now being upgraded following the Indian embargo. The prospect of regular trade between Nepal and China through the Tibetan plateau is no longer fanciful. The choice is for India to make. The Nepali political establishment understands that in the long run economics triumphs. It will always cost Nepal less to import goods from the plains of India than to have

them transported through the rugged terrain of Tibet. But the recent surge in anti-India sentiments in Nepal also means that most Nepalese won't mind paying a little more if it means they will no longer have to rely on the whims and fancies of Indian leaders for their bread and butter”.

Bhattarai views,

“The feeling in Kathmandu is that though late, there has been a realization in New Delhi that the embargo was counterproductive. This is why India quickly capitalized on the face-saver offered by Kathmandu: the amendment of the constitution to accommodate some demands of the agitating Madheshi parties. But after five months of unmitigated hardship, the pressure from ordinary Nepalese on their politicians to 'diversify' Nepal away from India has never been higher. In 1989, the Rajiv Gandhi-led government imposed an economic blockade against Nepal because of a dispute over transit treaties and its uneasiness over Nepal's growing closeness with China. As the Minister of Commerce and Supply, Nar Bahadur Budhathoki was responsible for ensuring the smooth management of supplies. "Coincidentally, the 1989 blockade also took place after an earthquake," said Budhathoki. Rather than kowtowing to India, the Panchayat government led by Marich Man Shrestha prepared to bring in fuel from other nations when the transit treaty came close to its expiration. "The government decided to import oil through the private sector. Soon after, India announced an official blockade”.

Bhattarai further explains,

“The government then started planning ways to end the blockade. Firewood was distributed at a subsidized price, and so were electric rice cookers and electricity. The government made sure that the black market didn't thrive.

Within 45 days, Nepal drew the international community's attention to the problem. "We brought in fuel from Bangladesh and planned to bring in more from Tibet," said Budhathoki. India refused to send supplies, deciding not to relent to international pressure. It did, however, agree to let fuel be brought from Singapore but made sure that the process was difficult. Budhathoki himself went to fetch the oil from Calcutta. The government prepared to import 50 percent of the fuel from a third country and initiated the establishment of a stock tank in Panchkhal. World Bank and other donor agencies agreed to provide loans at a minimal interest rate".

Sharma and Magar (2015) state as following:

"The plan was to bring the pipeline to Xigatse in the first phase, Lhasa in the second phase, and Panchkhal in the third phase. "We kept it a secret so that India wouldn't get a chance to sabotage the plan. Only the King, Prime Minister, and I knew about it," said Budhathoki. After India discovered Nepal's plan, it proposed to build a pipeline till Amlekhgunj, but the government rejected the offer. According to him, Rajiv Gandhi had tried to contact the King but the latter was on a hunting trip. Realizing that Nepal wouldn't give in, Indian leaders including the former Indian Prime Minister came to Nepal and pressed Nepali leaders to overthrow the Panchayat system. Nepalis did overthrow the Panchayat system. When Krishna Prasad Bhattarai's government decided that India's fuel stock was Nepal's stock, we lost the battle," said Budhathoki. "If the democracy movement had been delayed by six months, we would not have been in this situation now," he added. Budhathoki added that leaders should not compromise the country's sovereignty. "Internal matters should be taken care of within the country. If

people are not satisfied, India will get a chance to play games again," he said. On 23 September 2015 demonstrators in Kathmandu shouted anti-India slogans to protest the fuel shortage. Nepal began rationing fuel on Monday to cope with a worsening shortage brought on by continuing unrest over the country's new Constitution and a dispute with neighboring India. The country imports all of its fuel from India, but tanker trucks carrying fresh supplies have been blocked from crossing the border since late last week. "Things are completely out of order," said Deepak Baral, a spokesman for the state-run Nepal Oil Corporation. "What we are doing now is just to continue emergency-only services." Mr. Baral said strict limits would be imposed on the sale of fuel to taxis, school buses, private cars, motorcycles, and scooters. "Despite all these austerity measures, we will run out of fuel within the next 10 days," he said. Nepali officials blamed India for the shortage, saying it had ordered its border officials not to let the fuel trucks cross. But Indian officials said the disruption had been caused by mass protests in Nepal against the Constitution".

BBC (2015 sept 2017) broadcasts,

"Nepal Cable Television Association blocked 42 Indian channels in protest against the unofficial blockade of the country. Scores of trucks carrying supplies are stranded on the India-Nepal border, amid protests in south Nepal over the country's newly adopted constitution. India has been critical of Nepal's new constitution. But it denies enforcing a blockade, saying goods are being held up due to security reasons. The move comes after a former Maoist splinter party started a campaign against Indian movies and TV channels in Nepal. The president of the Nepal Cable Television Association told BBC

Nepali the "black-out will be indefinite". Sudhir Parajuli said they decided to shut down the broadcast of the Indian channels as "India has been intruding in the national sovereignty of Nepal," the PTI agency said. A Kathmandu movie theatre stopped showing Indian movies two days ago, an employee said (BBC, 2015 Sep 29).

Indian television channels are popular among viewers in Kathmandu and other cities in Nepal. However, there has been growing anger at what is being seen as Indian attempts to willfully obstruct the supply of essential goods into Nepal and interference with the internal affairs of a sovereign nation. India expressed concern over the new constitution after its adoption spurred protests by minority ethnic groups in the south of Nepal. At least 40 people have been killed in the violence. Demonstrators in the region have since blocked two of the main border crossings from India, shutting off vital supply lines. With several hundred trucks stuck at the frontier, supplies including sugar, salt, and cooking gas cylinders are being affected. Nepal is heavily dependent on supplies from neighboring India. Indian envoy Ranjit Rae was called in by the Acting Nepalese Foreign Minister Khaga Raj last week and the issue of "obstruction" in the supply of essential goods coming in from the Indian side was raised with him, the PTI news agency reported. However, it said Mr. Rae had clarified that there was no obstruction from the Indian side on the movement of goods and the problem was due to unrest, protests, and demonstrations in Nepal. Sukh Deo Muni, an Indian academic, correctly describes Nepal and India as "world's closest neighbors." The same can be seen in several diplomatic and civic contacts. Nepal's army head, for example, is an honorary general of the Indian Army, and vice versa. The Indian Army

employs thousands of Nepalese Gurkha soldiers. People of both nations can easily work and live along both sides of the border on a civilian level. Before India and Nepal became independent nations in South Asia, they formed an amazing civic link because they share similar historical foundations and cultural affinities. The Nepalese outpouring of grief for the recently departed Starrer Sushant Singh Rajput on social media sites revealed the deep cultural affinity. Those letters arrived just one day after Nepal's parliament passed a new political map that contains the India-controlled areas of Lipulekh, Kalapani, and Limpiyadhura, escalating a tense diplomatic standoff between the two countries. Indeed, public dissatisfaction exists, notably in Nepal, despite the close cultural ties”.

Many of the Nepali newspaper write,

“The impacts of the blockade were seen in the political, social, and economic aspects of the country. Blockade influenced policymaking and the external relation of the country. Not only in the household, educational and medical sectors, were the impacts of blockade seen in agriculture, environment, and social psychology as well. Most awkward impacts were seen in the economy of the country. When the state mechanism was about to cease to function, the black market flourished, and many business industries were closed. The economic growth was lowered beyond expectation. The production, consumption, and distribution process of the economy became chaotic because of the blockade. These impacts show that Nepal must have been oppressed during this blockade.

As India had undergone a British colony almost for 200 years, the impacts of the blockade reflect that India seems to have translated the colonizer's

oppressive culture in the 2015 blockade in Nepal. The leaders of the political parties of Nepal need to learn a lesson from this blockade. Nepal must find an alternative for India to import fuel and other commodities to end the heavy dependence. As in history, Nepal gave space to India to micromanage Nepalese politics, today's leaders should have one voice to protect national interests and safeguard sovereignty. The issues of different political parties and marginalized groups should be settled within the country rather than asking for help from others. As India was colonized for many years in the past, it should understand the sufferings of the oppressed and respect the sovereignty of other countries endowing the land-locked country's rights of trade and transit. A dangerous trend is taking hold in India. Since the promulgation of the new Nepali constitution in 2015 and the ensuing victory of the communist coalition under KP Oli, just about any important development in Nepal is now conveniently linked to China”.

6.5 Movement of Realization for the Avoidance of False Claims

The Spofline writes,

“According to an inscription on a stone erected by the Mauryan Emperor Asoka in 249 BC, the Lord Buddha was born in Lumbini in the Terai plains of southern Nepal in 623 BC. Lumbini is one of the holiest sites of one of the world's great faiths, and its ruins contain valuable information about the nature of Buddhist pilgrimage centers dating back to the third century BC. The Shakya Tank, the remains within the Maya Devi Temple consisting of brick structures in a cross-wall system dating from the 3rd century BC to the present century, and the sandstone Ashoka pillar with its Pali inscription in Brahmi script are among the structures within the archaeological conservation area.

There are also the excavated remnants of Buddhist viharas (monasteries) dating from the third century BC to the fifth century AD, as well as Buddhist stupas (memorial shrines) dating from the third century BC to the fifteenth century AD. The site is now being developed as a Buddhist pilgrimage center, with the archaeological remains linked with the Lord Buddha's birth serving as a focal point. The sacred region at Lumbini is one of the holiest and most significant places for one of the world's great faiths, as evidenced by the inscription on the Asoka pillar, as the birthplace of the Lord Buddha.

Lumbini's integrity has been preserved by maintaining the archaeological remains within the property border, which contribute to the site's Outstanding Universal Value. The property's most important features and traits have been retained. The buffer zone adds another degree of security to the property. For the property's integrity, more excavations of possible archaeological sites and effective care of the archaeological remains are a top priority. The archaeological site is not entirely contained inside the property line, and sections of it can be located in the buffer zone. Because the entire site, including the buffer zone, is owned by the Nepalese government and administered by the Lumbini Development Trust, there is little risk of development or neglect. The consequences of industrial expansion in the area, on the other hand, have been noted as a threat to the property's integrity”.

According to Nepal's foreign ministry,

“Controlling the influence of tourists, as well as natural impacts such as humidity and industrial expansion in the region, are long-term problems for the property's protection and management. A Management Plan is being established to ensure the long-term preservation of the property's

archaeological relics while allowing pilgrims and tourists from all over the world to visit. There is no denying that Gautam Buddha, also known as Siddhartha Gautam, was born in Lumbini, Nepal, the birthplace of Buddhism”.

During his address to the 74th session of the United Nations General Assembly, Narendra Modi, Prime minister of India said,

“Buddha's message of peace." This was heavily attacked on Nepalese social media sites, fueling anti-India sentiment. India has downplayed the debate about Gautam Buddha's birthplace, claiming that External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar's comments on him were about "our shared Buddhist legacy" and that there is "no doubt" that the founder of Buddhism was born in Lumbini, Nepal. Mr. Jaishankar's remark was previously criticized by Nepal's Foreign Ministry, which stated that it is a well-established and incontrovertible fact confirmed by historical evidence that Buddha was born in Lumbini, Nepal." Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha and the Buddhist fountain, is a UNESCO world heritage site, according to a Nepal Foreign Ministry official spokeswoman. "Nepal is the nation where the apostle of peace in the world, Buddha, was born," Prime Minister Narendra Modi stated during his visit to Nepal in 2014”.

Most academics think that Buddha was born in Lumbini, in the plains of southern Nepal, in the year 623 B.C. It is documented by an inscription on a pillar constructed by the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka in 249 B.C. Despite this, the misunderstanding remains. Fareed Zakaria, the host of CNN's flagship global affairs show and editor-at-large at Time magazine, caused demonstrations in Nepal in 2010 after claiming in a book that the Buddha was Indian.

Shrestha (2019) writes,

“It is enough to enrage Nepali people when someone writes about Gautam Buddha's birthplace and claims he was not born in Nepal. Lord Gautama Buddha was born in India, according to Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in 2015."We are from the country where Buddha and Gandhi were born," he remarked in a speech to the Indian community in California. Nepalese from all over the world were outraged by the statement. In a speech to Nepal's parliament in 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi complimented the country and claimed that Buddha was born there. At the time, he received a standing ovation. The birthplace of Siddhartha Gautam is a point of contention, as some Indian school textbooks claim he was born in India. The United Nations, on the other hand, is unequivocal about Buddha's birthplace. According to the United Nations, the sacred region in Lumbini is one of the holiest and most significant places for one of the world's main faiths, as the birthplace of the Lord Buddha as attested by the inscription on the Ashoka Pillar.

On the one hand, several websites contain misleading claims that Buddha was born in India; on the other hand, Nepalese hold campaigns opposing this false claim. They are attempting to disseminate the truth in the face of misleading allegations. A few years ago, all Nepalese citizens, including all social service organizations and the Nepalese diaspora, organized a drive to gather roughly 1 million signatures from each individual to submit to the United Nations in support of the claim that Buddha was born in Nepal. Prem Guragain started a signature campaign in 2012 called "Please Promote: Buddha was born in Nepal and Mt. Everest is in Nepal" to educate the world's people and raise public awareness. In 2014, one million signatures were collected both online

and offline and submitted to the United Nations. False claims campaigns in Nepal are still ongoing. To strengthen the relationship between Nepal and India, India should abandon its claim to being the birthplace of Lord Buddha”.

6.6 Zero Tolerance against India’s Big Brother Syndrome

According to Patel (2017),

“The Even before the conceptual journey of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) began in 1983, the enabling and restricting capabilities of India in terms of encouraging regional cooperation in South Asia were explored. In the South Asian region, India holds a unique position. India assumes a natural leadership role in the region due to its size, geography, and economic potential. However, the overbearing presence of a neighbor with global leadership ambitions has caused concern among the other South Asian countries. As a result, the challenge of understanding India's perceived and actual position as a stepping stone or stumbling barrier for regional initiatives has hijacked South Asian countries' cooperation efforts. India claims to be the world's most powerful country, while its South Asian neighbors accuse her of hegemony. To gain a reasonable understanding of India's position and role in the area, the concepts of leadership and hegemony must be dismantled, and India's policies and neighbors' views must be reviewed in light of the conclusions" reached. In a community of nations, a state's power is quantified either by quantifying elements of national authority or assessing the state's relationships with other units in the system. In the first approach, power resources include concrete elements such as national population, GDP, military spending, and technological capabilities, as well as intangible elements such as national morale and leadership quality”.

Regarding the relational aspect of power Schmidt (2005, P529) states,

“The relational aspect of power is determined by the policies that a state develops based on these resources. Simply put, the resources represent latent or prospective power that is transformed into actual power by the state's policies. The degree of influence exercised by the state in achieving the desired goal is known as actual power. Robert Gilpin believes that power can be defined as an actor's ability to enforce his or her will despite opposition (Sheehan, 1996, p. 7). For a complete study of power, a combined discourse on power and prestige must be re-established. Several ideas discuss the relationship between perceptions and power. In the examination of power, neoclassical realism considers unit-level issues such as statesmen's personalities and perceptions, state-society interaction, and state interests. Foreign policy decisions are decided by genuine political leaders and elites, and it is their perceptions of relative strength that matter, not simply relative numbers of physical resources or forces in being, Gideon Rose adds”.

Moreover, Schyns and Meind, (2005, P XII) opine as,

“The fit between perceiver prototypes (India's South Asian neighbors) and the traits of potential leaders is used to determine leadership perception (India). Leadership perception, according to this viewpoint, was a dyadic level of processes involving both perceiver and leader impacts”.

Anadkad, (1990, p.76) states,

“Leadership role can be regarded as providing a more cohesive and systematic worldview that can be used as an organizing principle for the region's social and economic institutions. Leadership reflects the shared interest of a collection of states in the global system not just one country's national interest.

In such cases, the core is concerned with establishing a regulated system in which a zone of consent is fully expanded and political conflict is reduced”.

He further states, Power is used to:

- a. encourage maximum involvement and participation;
- b. diffuse responsibility;
- c. reinforce inter-personal contacts;
- d. initiate new ideas, and
- e. defend and advance common group interests,
- f. it is viewed as leadership.

It is noteworthy to mention the view of Bernstein (2003) in this regard as,

“The context in which the relationship exists is always important. A blend of historical experiences, national priorities, regional compulsions, and ingrained beliefs shape India's power in the region. Exploring the counterpoints of this setting will show the true character of India's regional leadership and hegemony. After determining the structural characteristics of India's centrality in South Asian politics, it is necessary to analyze regional policies and perceptions to determine the type and degree of power projection used by India. Hegemony does not result from a simple variation in the degree and kind of power variables. Hegemony is the exclusive exercise of power at the expense of other governments' interests. Numerous bilateral disagreements characterize India's relations with its South Asian neighbors. For addressing these concerns, India prefers a bilateral conversation, whilst the neighbors prefer a multilateral regional strategy”.

Prof. Dr. Kamal Kumar, in an interview with the researcher, states,

“The "special relationship" between India and Nepal benefits India at the

expense of Nepal. Many Nepalese believe that Nepal's reliance on India for guns, ammunition, imports, and connectivity to the outside world prevents the country from being treated equally in treaties. The history of blockades, as well as the ongoing conflict over the Kalapani region, show how geopolitical considerations weaken the cultural ties between the two countries. Nepal's developing ties with China, which is a key source of concern for India, are merely a result of this. This balancing is not unique to Nepal; Bangladesh, the Maldives, and Sri Lanka are among the smaller South Asian countries that practice it. To maintain a friendly relationship with Nepal and avoid future outbursts of anti-Indian sentiment like the Back off India hashtag, New Delhi needs to consult more with Kathmandu and reassure its smaller sibling that policies aimed at strengthening ties between the two neighbors-such as the construction of the link road- benefit citizens of both countries rather than harm Nepalese citizens”.

6.7 Equi-distance Diplomacy

The equidistance principle, is also called the principle of equidistance, according to Hendrickson, (2002, pp. 437-466),

“It is a legal idea that a nation's marine boundaries shall correspond to a median line equidistant from the coastlines of adjacent nation-states in maritime boundary claims. This concept was born out of the need to resolve disputes involving nearby nations' borders on a contiguous continental shelf. The idea of equidistance is a part of customary as history. Equidistance is a concept in international law; normativity in marine delimitation is based on the idea of equidistance, which is specified in Article 6 of the 1958 Continental Shelf Convention and repeated in Article 15 of the 1982 UNCLOS. "The median line,

each point of which is equidistant from the nearest points of the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea of the two States is measured," according to the definition. "Global and local politics are still divided by the phenomena of distance, although they are linked now by globalization processes".

Mazumdar (1975) opines as,

“The open border symbolizes their close friendship and trust (Sharma, Mishra, & Gorla, 2011, pp. 35-42). Following the creation of diplomatic connections as a neighboring country linked by socio-cultural and geographical circumstances, the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 solidified the bond between the two countries while also bridging the gap. Since then, India has regarded Nepal as a crucial geostrategic anchor for addressing its security issues”.

In Gallener's view (2007),

“China, on the other hand, has been attempting to create a harmonious relationship with Nepal out of safety concerns, and has always shown a greater interest in Nepal and functioned as Nepal's card against Indian influence. Despite having extensive ties with India, China was unable to establish direct contact with Nepal until 1959. However, geopolitical and geostrategic shifts in the region have prompted China to warm up to Nepal”.

Levi (1957, Pp. 236-238), mentions as following:

“Foreign policy and diplomatic behavior in Nepal during the pre-unification period were divided into two broad categories: connections with principalities within what was formerly a unified Nepal and relationships with Tibet, China, and Indian principalities. On the one hand, the relationship and diplomatic relations with Nepalese states were conditioned by suspicion and rivalry; on the other hand, the

relationship with India, China, and Tibet was based on a survival strategy, which primarily aimed to maintain regional control and safeguard trade, particularly with Tibet. Tibet's trade was the main source of income, and each state fought tooth and nail to keep control of it. The power that controlled Tibet's commerce route also had control over its revenue”.

Especially for trade and commerce, Nepal has various conflicts with Tibet. According to Kumar (1963, pp. 70-93),

“As a result, several conflicts were fought with Tibet over some time, primarily for commercial reasons. During the unification phase, Nepal's diplomacy was mostly guided by military ideals. During the unification period, Nepal was focused on military diplomacy and had limited time for other parts of diplomacy such as economics, trade, and foreign relations. Prithvi Narayan Shah's philosophy of 'yam and 'equidistance' was diplomacy based on military policy, which was important during the period when Nepal was a military state. Even today, Nepalese diplomacy is guided by the concept of "Nepal as yam between two states and requirement of Equidistance, "although this concept has limited significance in the democratic world of the twenty-first century”.

6.8 Focus on Liberalism

Print (2021), states,

“Liberalism is frequently regarded as the defining feature of modern Western political philosophy. Its core values – liberty, (human) rights, reason, progress, and tolerance—as well as constitutional and democratic standards, are profoundly ingrained in Western political culture. Nonetheless, international affairs professors and diplomats alike dismissed liberal conceptions of

international relations as unrealistic until recently. The realism theory that the international milieu was necessarily subject to the harsh imperatives of power politics seemed to be vindicated by the two world wars and the Cold War. However, the globe has changed dramatically since the conclusion of the Cold War. There is no hostile power threatening liberal democracies; in fact, the big conflict has become unimaginable, since the international economy is governed by liberal market standards. Liberal internationalism has resurfaced as a viable option. Nepal's and India's political ties will be founded on this liberalism theory as well”.

This study shows that we could not examine the socio-cultural relations in isolation because society and culture are dynamic elements. They are changeable with the space of time. Such change may be caused by various factors, such as geography, politics, economy, people's aspirations and contacts, traditions, reciprocal honesty and integrity of the concerning countries, etc. Therefore, in order to improve the existing relations between India and Nepal, the governments, political parties, academics, social organizations of both countries must focus on the elements shown in the Figure-2 as following:

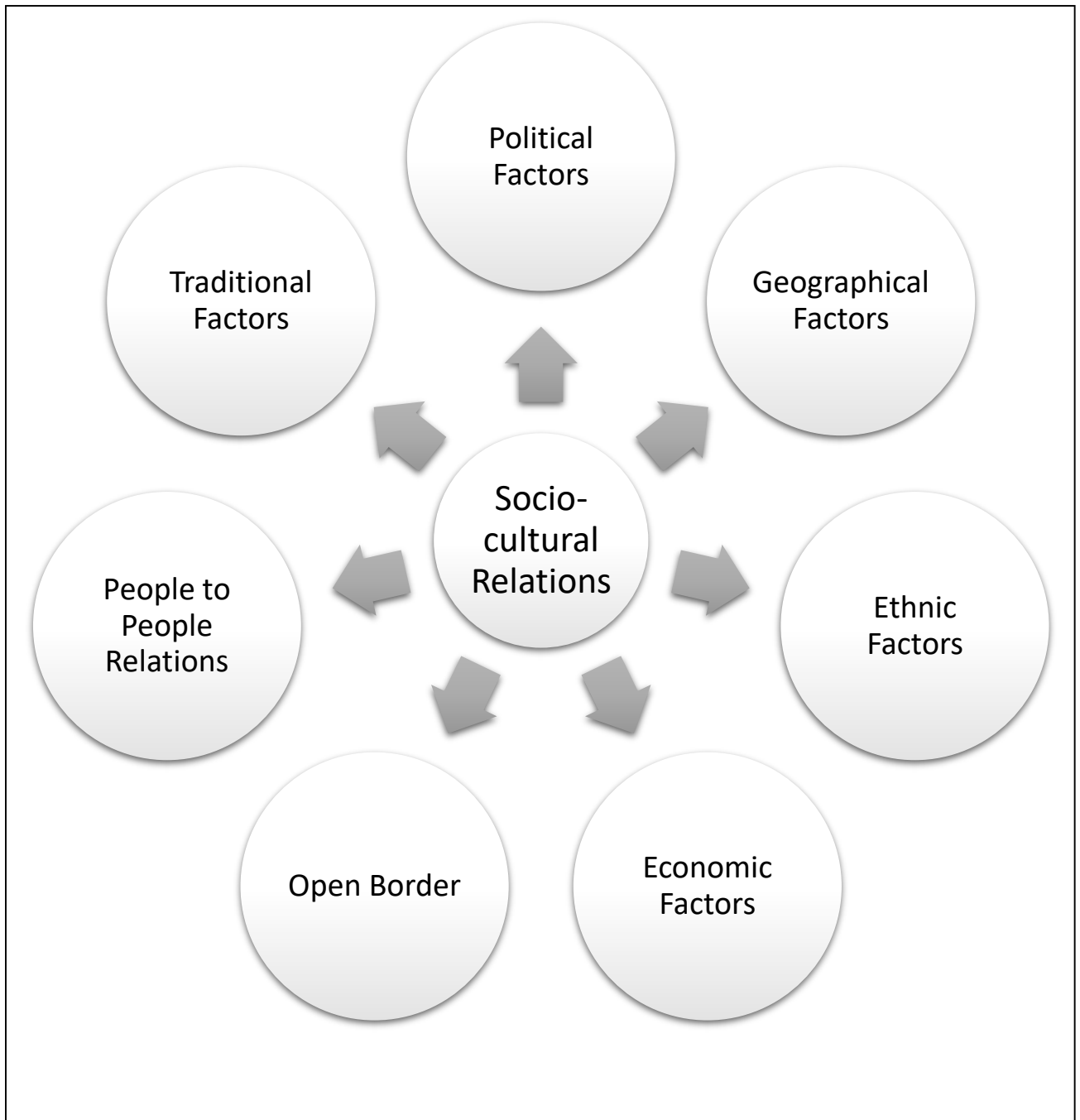


Figure- 2: Major factors affecting the socio-cultural relations between Nepal and India

6.9 Chapter Summary

An unauthorized entry of the security forces of the both the countries in another country is not good any country. In order to resist such event either side of India or Nepal, local level monitoring terms must be mobilized with the central level

commitments of sides. Mutual trust, coordination and cooperation between security agencies of both sides along the border solve the prevailing issue.

Political stability and effective governance are vital for maintaining peace, development and security. Nepal has very hot of tourist attractions in the country. Due to inadequate infrastructure and enough Publicity it is still unable to reap the harvest.

In order to make people better understand the nature of Nepal-India social and cultural relations needs strengthen the academic institutions, civil societies and non-formal education system.

Existing unequal diplomatic agreements between Nepal and India must be timely revised. India should provide Nepal easy access to sea as per the Vienna convention. Since a large portion of Nepal's foreign trade even exists with India. Therefore, India should always exercise harmonious relations with Nepal in this regard.

Finally, it is urged for two-way harvest dealing either in people's level or government level. Commitments once done must be sincerely obeyed by the both nations. In every aspect, both the countries need to work with the spirit of "win-win policy"

Chapter- Seven

Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Summary

The study of socio-cultural relations with neighboring countries is highly contributive for the understanding of the peculiarities of relations among them. It also makes a significant contribution to strengthen other dimensions of relationships.

The major objective of the present is critically to assess the way the Nepal–India socio-cultural relationship evolved. The specific objectives of the study are:

- a) to examine the status and foundations of Nepal-India socio-cultural relations, to analyze the major hindrances to Nepal-India socio-cultural relations, and
- b) to find out the measures to improve and foster the socio-cultural relations between these countries in coming days.

A mix of primary and secondary sources have been used in this study to focus the research questions along with the research objectives. The research work followed the library study besides, some information and data were collected through physical contact with forty dignitaries related to international relations especially, the prominent figures concerning to Nepal India relations. All the data were triangulated, compared, and analyzed from both primary and secondary sources. The data and textual information acquired were evaluated using the content analysis method.

The social and cultural relation between Nepal and India is as old as the establishment of these two countries. The foundation of such relation is the people to people relation of the both countries. The religions, social beliefs, values, norms, social structure, pilgrimages, temples, open border, marital relations, etc. have strengthened the socio-cultural relations. Because of some political causes, sometimes the formal relation

between them seldom cooled down. However, the people-to-people relation between them has always remained sound. Despite the political social, economic and academic status, most people frequently visit to the popular pilgrimages in India. Likewise, the Indian people whole heartedly visit the Muktinath temple, Janaki temple, Pashupatinath temple, Swargadwari temple, Pathibhara temple and Lumbini, the birth place of Lord Buddha.

Social and cultural relations have been existed between Nepal and India since time immemorial. Even then, because of several unsolved problems, anti-India sentiment is growing in Nepal. This situated is backed by the various treaties and pacts held between these two countries which almost favor more government of India and government of Nepal.

7.2 Conclusion

The fundamental objective is analytically to evaluate the evolution of India socio-cultural relationship. In addition, the study's specific objectives are:

- a) to examine the status and foundations of Nepal-India socio-cultural relations;
- b) to analyze the major barriers to Nepal-India socio-cultural relation, and
- c) to explore the strategies/policies to improve and foster the socio-cultural relations between Nepal and India in the future.

This study has followed a descriptive research design. In order to collect qualitative information primary and secondary sources have been used. Direct observations, interpersonal exchanges, and person to person discussions with the prominent personalities related to international diplomatic relations from the two nations have stood as the primary sources of data. Reviews of the previous works, library surveys, and website visits were used to gather secondary data. This chapter of the dissertation

incorporated the answers to the fundamental questions presented as the research questions.

The description analysis on the foundation of the socio-cultural relationship between Nepal and India has been built while reviewing the literature. All the fundamental aspects of socio-cultural relations between Nepal and India have been absolutely assessed and synthesized through library work, discussing with the prominent personalities of the two countries (diplomats, academicians, professors). The qualitative data and information collected were the qualitatively analyses.

The bilateral relationships between these two countries have in different time periods. The border issues and blockade of border. Nepal is inferiority feelings and India's big brother syndrome has been the major causes of cooling. Nepal's policy toward India has been shaped by the limited power structure of government of Nepal. Both the two countries signed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1950 which foundation for Nepal-India relations. India holds the most powerful position among the SAARC nations. Thus it assumes a natural leadership role in the region due to its geography, population and natural resources potentials. The overbearing as a strong neighbor with global leadership ambitions has caused concerns among the other SAARC members. The challenge of understanding India's real position as a stepping stone has become a strong barrier for regional initiatives. It has handicapped cooperation efforts. Thus the SAARC member countries blame India as being hegemony. To establish harmonious relation with India it must leave the misconceptions of strong leadership and hegemony. Likewise, India's policies and neighbors' views must be overviewed.

The "special relationship" between these two countries favors much more to Indian interest. It is the perception of the Nepali people that Nepal's dependency India for guns, ammunition, imports, and connectivity to the outside world prevents the country

from the equal opportunities through treaties and pacts. The current conflict over the Kalapani region, has weakened the cultural ties between the two countries.

Nepal and India share special closeness and similarities by social life and cultural tradition separating these two nations in respect of social patterns behaviors, values, norms and culture is beyond imagination. Lord Ram and Krishna Goddess Sita and Lord Buddha have been the milestone of Nepal-India cultural and social relations.

The cultural links between Nepal and India have many facts, religion is the most important factors of socio cultural relation between the countries.

Cinemas, Music and Indian Movies are popular in Nepal while Nepalese music is popular in India. Language is another component of Nepal –India cultural affinity people in both country Hindi, Maithali, Bhojpuri, Awadhi Nepali Etc. Sanskrita is the root of many of those language ethnic of Nepal.

7.3 Topics Suggested for Further Research

The social and cultural relation between Nepal and India has been deep rooted. It is not only in the government level but it is in the people to people. Therefore, the following topics are suggested for further research:

1. Effect of the Indian social inclusion in Nepal
2. Comparative study between the status of Dalits in Nepal and India.

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Appendix- A

Questions for in-depth Interview

1. Are you satisfied with the current social and cultural relations between Nepal and India? Could you highlight some evidences regarding your view?
2. Majority of people from both sides seem harmonized with the ages-long social and cultural relations at the community level of the both countries. However, time and again, the relations between the two governments become cold. What may be the reason behind this?
3. Do you agree with the argument that the political changes either any of the two countries affect the social and cultural relations between these nations?
4. How can economic diplomacy, especially the grants and technical assistance to Nepal by the government of India, affect the social atmosphere in Nepal?
5. How can Nepal attract the Indian people to its religious places? Does the accessibility in the religious places help to strengthen the socio-cultural relation between these two countries?
6. Do you think Nepal's commitment to non-aligned foreign policy is necessary to keep social and cultural harmony between these two countries? Could you justify your opinion too?
7. Do you think the national policies of any side has had ever affected the social and cultural relations between Nepal and India?
8. How much the exchange of visits of the heads of nations or governments of both the countries has affected the social and cultural relations between them?
9. Could you justify the statement that India has been enormously contributing to the social and cultural development of Nepal? What are the positive effects of open border between Nepal and India?

10. What are the negative effects of open border between Nepal and India?
11. Do you think the 1950's treaty between the two countries has had the negative effects in Nepal's social and cultural development? Please justify your response.
13. Could you observe the possibilities of co-efforts by the two countries for tourism development can strengthen social harmony between these two countries? Please kindly mention such possibilities.
14. have had the social revolutions in either the country affected the social and cultural atmosphere in another country? If yes, mention such situation.
15. How have you observed the effects of non-violence doctrine of Mahatma Gandhi in Nepal and that of Gautam Buddha in India? 15. How much has the modernity or westernization affected the social and cultural relations between the two countries? Please, justify your answer with evidence.
16. How can we eliminate the border crimes and human trafficking to and from the two countries?
17. What are the current major issues and challenges in strengthening the social and cultural harmony between these two countries?
18. Please suggest the measures for the issues and challenges that you presented regarding the previous question.
19. What effects of the Sugauli Treaty have you observed in Nepal?
20. What effects have you observed of the informal trade, especially between the people of both border areas in economic, political, social and cultural aspects?
21. Nepal's Policies regarding the citizenship almost seem burdensome for Nepal itself. What may be the reasons behind this?

Appendix- B

List of the dignitaries participated in the In-depth Interview

1. Honorable Lokendra Bahadur Chand, Former Prime Minister of Nepal, 26 Kartik 2080
2. Hon. Dr Prakash Chandra Lohani, Former Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Mnister of Nepal, 27 Kartik 2080
3. Hon. Bimalenda Nidhi, Former Deputy Prime Minister and Home Ministry of Nepal, 29 Kartik 2080
4. Dr Shastra Datt Pant, A renowned academic and political/social thinker of Nepal, 29 Kartik 2080
5. Hon. Sharvendra Shukla, a politician and former Minister of Nepal, 01 Mansir 2080
6. Hon Dr Bhim Rawal, Former Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister of Nepal, 03 Mansir 2080
7. Hon. Madhav Kumar Nepal, Former Prime Minister of Nepal, 04 Mansir 2080
8. Prof Krishna Khanal, Former Professor of Political Scienc at Tribhuwan University, Nepal, 05 Mansir 2080
9. H.E. Dr Dinesh Kumar Bhattarai, Former Ambassador of Nepal, 06 Mansir 2080
10. Dr Shashikant, a senior official of the Foreign Affairs Department of Bharateeya Janata Party, 07 Mansir 2080
11. H.E. Shankar Sharma, Ambassador of Nepal for India, 10 Mansir 2080
12. Dr Bhesh Bahadur Thapa, a renowned diplomat, Former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nepal and leader of EPG from Nepal side, 14 Mansir 2080

13. Hon. Nilambar Acharya, Former Minister and a member of EPG from Nepal,
16 Mansir 2080
14. Hon Pashupati Shamsar JBR, Former Minister of Nepal, 17 Mansir 2080
15. Hon Narayan Bahadur Khadka, Former Minister for Foreign Ministry of
Nepal, 18 Mansir 2080
16. H.E. Rajan Bhattarai, member of EPG from Nepal side, 20 Mansir 2080
17. Hon. Bhagat Singh Koshyari, EPG leader from India side, 24 Mansir 2080
18. H.E. Deep Kumar Upadhyaya, Former Ambassador of Nepal for India, 01
Poush 2080
19. H.E. Madan Kumar Bhattarai, Former Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of Nepal, 03 Poush 2080
20. Prof. Neeta Bora Sharma, Kumaun University, Faculty of Political Science, 07
Poush 2080
21. Prof. Kalpana Agrahari, Kumaun University, Faculty of Political Science, 08
Poush 2080
22. Prof. P S Bisht, Kumaun University, Faculty of Political Science, 10 Poush
2080
23. Prof. Dr Sanjay Gupta, Lcknow University, Facultu of Political Science, 12
Poush 2080
24. Prof. Dr Kamal Kumar, Lucknow University, Faculty of Political Science, 14
Poush 2080
25. Prof. Dr. Raghvendra Pratap Singh, Lucknow University, Faculty of Political
Science, 15 Poush 2080
26. Prof Dr Gopal Guru, Jawaharlal University Centre for Political Studies, 16
Poush 2080

27. Prof Dr. Anupama Rey, Jawaharlal University, Centre for Political Studies, 16 Poush 2080
28. H.E. Suryanath Upadhyaya, member of EPG from Nepal side, 19 Poush 2080
29. Hon. Ajaya Bhatt, Member of Loksabha from Udham Singh Nagar, 22 Poush 2080
30. Hon. Ajay Tamata, Member of Loksabha from Almora, 23 Poush 2080
31. Hon. Tritha Singh Rawat, Member of Loksabha from Garwal, 24 Poush 2080
32. Hon. Ramesh Pokhriyal, Member of Loksabha from Haridwar, 25 Poush 2080
33. Hon. Dr Harshbardhan, Member of Loksabha from Chandanichock, Delhi, 27 Poush 2080
34. Hon. Raj Kumar Singh, Member of Loksabha from Aara (Bihar), 28 Poush 2080
35. Hon. Anuraj Thakur, Member of Loksabha from Hamirpur (Himanchal Pradesh), 29 Poush 2080
36. Hon Rameshor Teli, Member of Loksabha from Asam, 29 Magh 2080
37. Hon. Shushil Kumar Singh, Member of Loksabha from Bihar, 01 Falgun 2080
38. Hon. Rajendra Agrawal, Member of Loksabha from Meerut, 03 Falgun 2080
39. Hon. Aditya Yadav, Member of Loksabha from Sitapur, 04 Falgun 2080
40. Hon. Dr. Anand Gond, Member of Loksabha from Baharaich, 05 Falgun 2080

Appendix- C

Glossary

Analogy	A comparison between one thing and another, typically for the purpose of explanation or clarification, a correspondence or partial <u>similarity</u> , a thing which is comparable to something else in significant <u>respects</u> .
Annul	Declare invalid an official agreement/decision
Appeasement	The action or process of making less angry or hostile
Barbarous	Extremely brutal, uncivilized, primitive
Bilateral	Relating to two sides
Blockade	An act of sealing off a place to prevent goods or people from entering or leaving
Cohabitation	The state or fact of living or existing at the same time or in the same place.
Conservatism	Commitment to traditional values and ideas with opposition to change or innovation.
Constructivism	A theory that says learners construct knowledge rather just passively take in information
Elegance	The quality of being <u>pleasingly ingenious</u> and simple; <u>neatness</u> .
Empirical review	Systematic review/analysis
Equidistance	Equal distance
Equiproximity	Equal nearness or closeness
Ethics of duty	Duty based ethics claims that there are certain actions which are morally right and wrong regardless of the consequences they bring about.

Hyper nationalist	Extremely or unreasonably proud of own country
Instrumental	Serving as a means
Jeopardize	Put into a losing or harmful situation
Liberalism	Willingness to respect or accept behavior or opinions different from one's own
Paradigm	A pattern or model
Paradox	A seemingly absurd or contradictory proposition
Parsimony	Extreme <u>unwillingness</u> to spend money or use resources.
Patron-client	Set up a relationship between a politically and economically powerful patron, usually a landlord, and a weaker client.
Plethora	A large or excessive amount of something
Preferential	Constituting a favor, privilege
Prospective	Expected or expecting to be the specified thing in the future
Ramification	A complex or <u>unwelcome</u> consequence of an action or event.
Realism	The attitude or practice of accepting a situation as it is and prepared to deal with it accordingly
Relinquish	Voluntarily cease to keep or claim; give up
Resentment	Bitter indignation at having been treated unfairly
Rigor	The quality of being extremely thorough and careful.
Skepticism	Skeptical attitude; doubt as to the truth of something, theory that certain knowledge is impossible.
Symmetric	Made up of exactly similar parts facing each other or around an axis; <u>symmetrical</u>
Syndrome	A characteristic combination of opinions, emotions, or behavior.,

Trilateralism	The policy or practice of maintaining relations and cooperation between three groups, nations, or regions.
Volatile	Likely to change suddenly and unexpectedly, especially by getting worse