

NEPALI CONGRESS'S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES
SINCE 1990

A Dissertation

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Rikesh Maharjan

2021 December 24

Letter of Recommendation

I certify that this dissertation entitled “Nepali Congress Foreign Policy Priorities Since 1990” has been prepared by Rikesh Maharjan under my supervision. I hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the research committee at the Department of International Relations and Diplomacy, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University in the fulfilment of the requirements for MIRD 526 Thesis for the Master’s Degree in International Relations and Diplomacy.

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Assistant Professor Prem Raj Khanal

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2021 December 24

Declaration

I hereby declare that the work has been done by myself and no portion of the work contained in this document has been published or submitted in support of any application for any other degree or qualification of this or any other university or institution of learning. In case of other author's information, ideas and argument, the sources have been duly cited and acknowledge as per the requirements. The copyright of this research work belongs to the author.

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2021 December 24

Approval Letter

Abstract

Nepali Congress one of the oldest party of Nepal is the subject of this research. The objective of this research is to have a better knowledge of the Nepali Congress's foreign policy's guiding principles and objectives. To obtain information from the materials accessible about the Nepali Congress, an archival research read method with a traditional methodology is used. The findings of this study show that the Nepali Congress' policy texts are founded on B.P. Koirala's ideas and are consistent in terms of guiding principles and foreign policy goals and objectives. The fundamental guiding concepts in their foreign policy have been world peace, neutrality, non-alignment, Panchasheel, UN Charter, international agreements, laws, human rights, and democracy. The core interest is to keep Nepal's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Other priorities of Nepali Congress foreign policy comprise economic development, friendly ties with neighbors and friendly countries, expanding diplomatic contacts, regional cooperation, promoting and safeguarding international norms and values, and expanding the party's international contact. The documents developed later are an extension in the scope based on the foundation laid by B.P. Koirala.

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List of Abbreviations

B.P.	:	Bisheshwor Prasad Koirala
BIMSTEC	:	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BJP	:	Bharatiya Janata Party
EU	:	European Union
FDI	:	Foreign Direct Investment
ICAPP	:	International Conference of Asian Political Parties
IMF	:	International Monetary Fund
NAM	:	Non Aligned Movement
SAARC	:	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SCO	:	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
U. K.	:	United Kingdom
UN	:	United Nations
U.S.A.	:	United States of America

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background

Foreign policy is one of the areas of study in international relations. Foreign policy is policies and strategies adopted by the government while establishing a relationship and interacting with other states, non-state actors in an international arena. It consists of the guiding principles, policies, and decisions that aim to achieve, protect and promote the national interest of any state. The complex interplay of multiple factors at different levels of a country determines such policies and strategies. These factors can be categorized into two, the domestic and the external. Domestic factors are those factors within the territorial boundary and under its control, these include the size of the state, geography, culture, and history, national capabilities based on economic capabilities, military preparedness, and technological development, political organization, the role of media. And, external factors are those beyond the state's territory often resulting from the external environment such as international power structures, international laws, and treaties, alliances, etc. Among these, political organization is one of the important factors in the conduct of international relations. The state is an abstract entity hence; state affairs are conducted by the government. The government is formed by the active involvement of political parties. The different states practice different political systems such as the Westminster, Presidential system, and mixed system. In the Westminster system, the people elect the representatives commonly known as Member of Parliament. The elected representatives elect the Head of the Government following the parliamentary processes. In countries like the United Kingdom (U.K), India, the Westminster system is practiced. In the Presidential system, the people directly elect the Head of the Government. It is practiced in the United States of America (U.S.A.). In the mixed system, the people elect the Head of the State and the Head of the State appoints the Prime Minister and Ministers. This is practiced in France. In context to state affairs, political parties play two different roles based on the people's mandates through the election process. Firstly, as a ruling party forming the government responsible for the conduct of the state affairs, and secondly, as an opposition involves in the check and balances of the ruling party activity. In legislative functioning political parties are responsible for the drafting of bills, discussion, the passing of the bills, and amendments. The individual affiliated with the parties is represented in the parliament

through the electoral system of the state. In the role of the ruling party, it provides leadership to the State's conduct. Parties carry out their plans and program promise to their people during the election mentioned in the election manifesto. The state conducts also depend on the ideology of the political party. In the context of Nepal, Nepal has the parliamentary system where people elect the Member of Parliament through the mixed electoral system (First Past to the Post and proportional representation system). The party with a majority of seats in the parliament forms the government and leads the country to perform the executive duties of the state. The conduct of foreign relations is among the executive duties of the state. In Nepal, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the chief body responsible for managing the foreign relations with foreign governments and representatives from the international institutions while safeguarding and promoting the national interest of Nepal. Political parties can be involved during the formulation of foreign policy, response to international events, conclusion of treaties through ratification by Parliament, appointment of an ambassador through parliamentary hearings, discussion in the parliamentary committee. Also, political parties can extend their relation through participation in international political forums, establishing a relationship with political parties of the other countries.

The political history of Nepal begins with the formation of political parties and the initiation of political movements against the oligarchic Rana system ruling in Nepal. The political movement aimed at establishing democracy and the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms by the people. During the process, *Praja Parishad* led by Tanka Prasad Acharya established in 1936 attracted public attention to the problems of democracy in Nepal (Nepali, 1952). This party desired to end the tyrannical order by the Rana rulers. On convict of the protest against the Rana regime, top-ranking leaders of the party were arrested during 1942-43. Among the arrested leaders *Shukraraj Shastri*, *Dharma Bhakta Mathema*, *Dashrath Chand*, and *Gangalal Shrestha* were given the death penalty while *Tanka Prasad Acharya* and *Ganesh Man Singh* were sentenced to jail (Gautam, 2055, p.2). On the southern plains of Nepal, the Quit India Movement was taking place which aimed at the independence of India. *Bisheshwor Prasad Koirala* (B.P.) along with his brother *Matrika Prasad Koirala* was a participant in the Quit India Movement. During the movement *B.P. Koirala* builds his contact with *Rajendra Prasad*, *Jawaharlal Nehru*, *Jaya Prakash Narayan* which later became the motivation to establish the political party (Gautam, 2055, p.4). Gautam (2055) furthers mention during the anti-Rana movement in

Nepal, there was external support to the movement from the Nepalese living in India. Nepali students studying at Banaras Hindu University had formed *Nepal Chatra Sangh*. Ganesh Man Singh flee to India following the historic jailbreak in 1944 (Dhamala, 2073, p.53) met the Nepali students in Banaras, and discussed the formation of a new political party (Gautam, 2055, p.48). After his release from *Hajari Bagh* jail in 1945 (Gautam, 2055, p.40) B.P. Koirala made a Nepal Appeal appealing to form a political party to abolish the Rana regime in Nepal which led to the establishment of *the Akhil Bharatiya Nepali Rashtriya Congress* in 1946 on foreign soil (Gautam, 2055, p.43). Later it was amended as Nepali Rashtriya Congress. In 1948, Nepal Prajatantra Congress was established by the Nepali people in India who were not affiliated with former institutions and addressed the fraction-led disintegration of the Nepali Rashtriya Congress (Gautam, 2055, Pp.167-168). On 9 April 1950, the unification between *Nepali Rashtriya Congress* (B.P. fraction) and *Nepal Prajatantra Congress* led to the formation of the *Nepali Congress* in Calcutta (Nepali Congress, 2018, p.1). Within the seven months of its establishment, the Nepali Congress-led an armed struggle against the Rana regime and controlled the areas under party administration. The increasing armed activities compelled the Rana to reach an agreement in Delhi in 1951 with a formation of joint government by Rana and Nepali Congress, establishing democracy in Nepal and return of King *Tribhuvan* to Nepal who flees to India after his asylum in Indian Embassy. With the political development, infant democracy was turned into the partyless *Panchayat* System by King *Mahendra* in 1960, accused parties of engaging in corruption and external influence in domestic politics with the arrest of democratically elected Prime Minister *B.P. Koirala* (Welphton, 2005, p.98). Nepali Congress continuously voiced against the *Panchayat* System. After his release, B.P. Koirala went into voluntary exile in India along with senior leader *Ganesh Man Singh*. Nepali Congress continued its activities against the *Panchayat* System from India (Welphton, 2005, p.105). Later, realizing the external threats with the nationalist feeling to resolve the dispute with King Mahendra, B.P Koirala returned to Nepal with his policy of *Rashtriya Ekta tatha Melmilap*. Nepali Congress launched civil disobedience in 1985 (Welphton, 2005, p.110) and the united movement for the restoration of democracy in 1990 (Welphton, 2005, p.113). Nepali Congress allied with the major political parties of Nepal in 2006 to voice against the Royal Take Over by King *Gyanendra* in 2005 which resulted in the establishment of the Democratic Republic Nepal ending 240 years' monarchy system.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Political parties receive a mandate from the people to form a government to conduct State affairs. The parties present their plan and policies related to the people based on their political ideology and objectives. It also includes the conduct of international relations encompassing the issue of national interest, national security. In foreign countries, there has been evidence of the change in the foreign policy priorities, changes in the foreign policy conduct with the change in the government. There are several research available on the foreign countries major political parties and their foreign policy and the major shifts. But, in the context of Nepal, the researcher is unable to access research works and publications related to Nepal's political parties and their foreign policy. This led to an identification of the research gap for the researcher.

The researcher chooses to focus on Nepali Congress among several other active political parties in Nepal as it is one of the oldest party in Nepal. It has played a significant role in the utmost political events of Nepal. Beginning from the movement against the Rana regime in 1950 to establish democracy, movement against party less Panchayat system in 1990 to restore democracy, the movement against the monarchy to establish the Democratic Republic Nepal in 2006. The successful signing of Comprehensive Peace Accord was signed between the Government and the Communist Party of Nepal Maoists in 2005 to end the decade-long insurgency. Also, Nepali Congress-led government 17 times under different personalities (Office of Prime minister of Nepal and Council of Ministers, 2020) and was elected as a major party in General Election in 1959 (Panta, 1959), General Election- 1991, 1999, Second Constituent Assembly Election 2013 and major opposition in General Election -1994, First Constituent Assembly Election 2008, and General Election - 2017 (Election Commission). The researcher figured it necessary to understand the Nepali Congress's foreign policy orientation seeking the answer of what are the foreign policy priorities of the Nepali Congress.

1.3 Research Questions

The primary research question of this research are:

- a) What are the Nepali Congress's foreign policy guiding principles from 1990 to 2020?
- b) What are the Nepali Congress's foreign policy priorities from 1990 to 2020?

1.4 Research Objectives

The main objective of this paper is to bring insights on the foreign policy practices and priorities of the Nepali Congress. This paper attempts to know about the guiding principles of foreign policy adopted by Nepali Congress and examines the priorities in Nepali Congress's foreign policy from 1990 to 2020.

1.5 Significance of the Research

Political parties are important domestic factors to shape the country's foreign policy. Government is a vital component that largely represents the state. The state executive and legislative functions are dependent on the political parties. Political parties either form a government or remains in opposition. As a ruling party, they lead the state to engage with different state and non-state actors to achieve, protect, and promote the national interest of the country. And, as an opposition, they tend to check and balance the government actions, policies to the foreign policy conduct. There have been several such studies related to the political parties and their foreign policy. However, in Nepal, the researcher has identified a major gap in terms of research work related to Nepal's political parties and foreign policy. The researcher believes this study will contribute to the knowledge production and supports as a reading to the study of the foreign policy of Nepal's major political parties under a course MIRD.513: Foreign Policy and Diplomacy of Nepal.

1.6 Chapter Organization

This paper has been divided into five chapters. Chapter One provides the basic information related to the topic, why the topic has been selected for the research work, and what are the objectives of the researcher along with explaining the significance of this research paper. Likewise, Chapter Two explains the existing literature related to the research topic and also the conceptual framework of this research paper. Following, Chapter Three makes the reader familiar with the research methodology used during the research. It explains the nature of this paper, methods of data collection, and methods of data analysis, ethical issues, and limitations of this paper. Chapter Four is related to the findings and analysis of this research paper which has two parts. Where the first part describes the information gathered during the research process. And, the obtained information is analyzed in the second part to conclude. Chapter Five is the final chapter which outlines the conclusion of this research paper. It explains the key findings and analysis of the finding to build a conclusion.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

2.1 Foreign Policy and Role of Political Parties

Alden and Aran (2017, p.80) have mentioned role played by political parties is the neglected element in foreign policy decision making. Whereas he has highlighted the role played by the political parties as agenda setters in foreign policy, through ideological discourses reflecting their distinctive political orientation, as agenda followers in foreign policy, and through their position as interest aggregators derived from the support within domestic society. They add on the state's foreign policy is the product of the decision and inputs at the political party level. For instance, the example of how French farmers exerted political pressure on the French government through the political organizations for the agricultural subsidies in international negotiations in the European Community and about the agricultural tariffs in world trade talk shows how the interested parties influence the foreign policy (Synder, Bruck, Sapin, Hudson, Chollet & Goldgeiger, 2002, p.13).

Similarly, Rourke J. (2007) discussing the level of analysis and foreign policy criticizes about the least interest of the legislatures in making foreign policy but focusing much on the domestic politics thinking of the next election. Rourke discusses the executive rights of the President to negotiate treaties, to extend diplomatic recognition, to appoint diplomatic and military personnel, to use forces as commander in chief, and to take numerous actions with few or no checks by Congress or the courts. Here, one needs to understand Presidential Candidates belong to different political parties contesting for the Office of the President and carry out such executive functions while working as seating President. This can be supported by Huntington's say that a political party's role can dynamic as well as passive functions in the political system in terms of its interest (2009, p.402). Huntington further adds that Elections and Parliaments are instruments of representation, whereas parties are the instruments of mobilization. A state without parties is a state without the institutional means of generating change and of absorbing the impact of such change which limits the ability to modernize politically, economically, and socially (Huntington, 2009, p.404).

Fearon J. (1998) in *Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy and Theories of International Relations* explains how does domestic politics matter and how does it shape foreign policy. He gives a theoretical framework to analyze the political parties and through the democratic political explanation of foreign policy.

Jackobson and Maneul (2016) have mentioned the dual tracks (the Party track and the State track) of the foreign policymaking in China. Under the Party track, the major decision on crucial foreign policy issues is taken by the executive committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China called the Politburo Standing Committee (PSC). This paper shows the role of a political party is not only important in a democratic pluralistic society but also the states with control political association. Similarly, Patagundi and Rao (1981) have made an investigation into the content of the election manifesto of the Indian political parties, their foreign policy, and strategic concern. They have taken the election manifesto as the unit of the analysis. There Patagundi and Rao have discussed the Indian National Congress, the Communist Parties of India, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the Swatantra Party, the Socialist Parties, and the Janta Party.

Huntington highlighted the role of political parties as to the principal institutional means for organizing the expansion of political participation (2009, p.398). He adds an example of the role of Bolsheviks in 1923 which first aimed at the perfection of political organization to rule Russia which by 1930 could prosecute industrialization, collectivization, and war. A similar pattern was followed in China in the years after 1949. However, the Conservative sees the party as a challenge to the established hierarchy, and for administrators as a threat to rationalized rule. Washington eloquently stated warning the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, "Party serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public administration (Huntington, 2009, p.405)." Washington added that party agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one party against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection by opening the doors to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the Government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus, the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of the other. Ayub Khan said, "Parties divide and confuse the people (Huntington, 2009, p.405)." He further

adds party encourage political instability and political weakness. They lay the state open to influence from and penetration by external powers; if freedom is given to party development as one leader in a modernizing country, at least one party will become an instrument of the CIA.

2.2 Nepal's domestic polity and foreign policy

Rose and Joshi have noted the Nepali Congress government activities led by B.P. Koirala in 1959 in the realm of foreign policy along with the economic and administrative policies. They conclude the continuity in the dominant trends of the previous year's government and more realistic in planning and execution of policies than at any time in the past (1966, p.373). Further, they mentioned the Nepali Congress government chief concern was on the question of Nepali sovereignty and territorial integrity in the light of deteriorating Sino-Indian dispute in the Himalayas. Rose L. (1971) shed a light on foreign policy directions of Nepali Congress government from 1959-1960. There he had shed a light on the B.P.'s tactfull skill to resolve the Mt. Everest issue and the Mustang incident with China and successful conclusion of trade treaty with India in 1960 (p.230). The basis of Nepali Congress government's foreign policy is mentioned as absolute neutrality, non-alignment, and equal friendship (Rose, 1971, p.222).

Madhu Raman Acharya, former secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nepal states domestic policies, often articulated as national interest, constitute the most important variables in foreign policy (Acharya, 2019, p.94). While the domestic policies are aimed at achieving prosperity, foreign policy is aimed at achieving such prosperity in relation to other countries. In this sense, Nepal's foreign policy is a combination of its external security policies, outward-oriented economic policies, including economic diplomacy on foreign trade, foreign direct investment, tourism, foreign employment, and foreign aid. In the case of Nepal, the increasing involvement of foreign powers in domestic affairs has resulted in the foreign policy's bigger influence in domestic policies (Acharya, 2019, p.95). The internal political situation has been a major determinant of Nepal's foreign policy. Shambhu Ram Simkhada, Former Ambassador to UN in Geneva says, "Domestic Politics is the biggest problem in Nepal's foreign policy (Acharya, 2019)." The frequent blaming of each other for playing into the hands of foreign powers, especially Nepal's southern

neighbor has eroded the confidence and credibility of foreign policy which undermined Nepal's national interest (Acharya, 2019, p.95). Acharya mentions political instability as one among other factors which have been shadowing Nepal's foreign policy. Acharya claimed Panchayat Period (1960-1991) to be relatively politically stable and quite successful in projecting the foreign policy effectively on certain fronts as Nepal expanded the diplomatic relations and increased its international visibility (2019, p.95).

Rishikesh Shaha (1955) wrote about the Nepali Congress and its world view where B.P. Koirala has contributed the foreword has discussed the growth of Nepali Nationalism, factors in Nepal's foreign policy, Nepal's relation with India, China, Burma, U.S.A, France and Britain, and Malaya. Although being well articulated the publication has not touched on the political parties and their foreign policy decision and dimension whereas shed a light on how the international wave of democracy influences the domestic politics in Nepal.

Hachhethu (2002) states political party as the least developed area in the study of Nepali Politics. Most of the scholarly works concentrate on the description of political development and analysis of major events and trends in Nepali politics wherein political parties figure just as a part in the whole (p.14). Prem Raj Khanal and Indivar Poudel in their writing on Nepal's foreign policy since 1950 has mentioned about the significant role played by B.P Koirala in shaping the Nepali foreign policy. They termed the policy pursued by the government as an independent, balanced, and non-aligned. B.P Koirala proving himself a true statesman maintained a balanced relationship with both neighbours realising the importance of balance and non-aligned approach. Khanal and Poudel writing on democratic era (1990-2007) stated no difference among the liberal democratic or a communist party to power during the new democratic setup as the foreign policy was dictated by the constitution's directive, and the basic geo-economics and sociocultural reality of Nepal (p.74).

Kapil Man Shrestha (n.d.) in his M.A. dissertation entitled 'The Election Manifestoes of Four Major Political Parties' mentioned the Nepali Congress's foreign policy in the election manifesto of 1959 (2015 B.S.) which stands on the principle of friendship with all. It will not participate in any of the military pacts and utilize the

membership in the United Nations to attain peace. Also, seeks a genuine friendship with its great neighbors.

Geja Sharma Wagle, writing on the foreign policy of Nepal mentioned the contribution of *B.P. Koirala* and Nepali Congress. His article published on the Nepali Congress website highlights the importance of the need for national consensus among the political parties and gives anecdotes of the success of B.P.'s government in the conduct of international relations. This article only mentions the foreign policy of the Nepali Congress before 1960 does not present much after B. P.'s tenure.

There have been several studies about the political parties and their foreign policy decision in the United States, India, Poland, Europe, West Germany. However, the researcher finds a research gap in the study of Nepalese political parties and their foreign policy in specific.

Conceptual Framework

This research work is carried out based on the historical approach. K.P. Mishra in the All India Seminar on Foreign Policies of South Asian States iterated the foreign policy of South Asian states needs to be studied using traditional approaches (Verma & Misra, 1969:82). Traditional approaches include the historical approach involves the tracing of a given phenomenon through time instead of treating the subject with abstract elements, a descriptive approach, and an effort to gather and classify facts and to describe foreign policy institutions and processes. This would prepare the ground for an analytical approach to analyze data, concepts, and policy more easily and effectively.

There are other approaches developed as new approaches such as the Behavioural approach. It is focused on the study of political personality or individuals to arrive at meaningful conclusions. Hence, the Traditional approach seems much for significant for this research.

In process of the study, the researcher tries to explore the party documents based on variables that are a) motivation factors b) conditional factors c) objectives. These variables are borrowed from S.D. Muni's work writing his dissertation "The Role of Political

Institution in Foreign Policy Decision-Making" was later revised to turn in Foreign Policy of Nepal. Borrowing George Liska's motives may be termed security, stability, and status. Later, Muni extended security as security with political connotation countering external political pressure and influence, security for the preservation of territorial integrity and stability with domestic power stability and stability through economic development. The conditional factors include geography.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This research work is explorative in nature which attempts to understand the foreign policy of the Nepali Congress. This paper looks into the guiding principle and foreign policy priorities of the Nepali Congress. The researcher has adopted the archival research method to carry out this research work. This research uses archival materials related to Nepali Congress and the read method is used to gain insights, make discoveries, and generate information. This paper has followed a qualitative approach to conclude.

3.2 Data Collection Methods

The researcher has taken the facts and information related to international relations from the party official documents such as Party's Constitution, Directives, Party's Policy, and Program document and election manifesto of 1991, 1994, 1999, 2008, 2013, 2017. The data and information gathered are primary. The collected data and information are presented in the chapter four findings section. And also, to support the research researcher interviewed political analysts, and advisors to the former prime minister of the Nepali Congress.

3.3 Data Analysis Methods:

The collected information in findings has been cross-analyzed. What are the new things added to the election manifesto than the previous manifesto related to international relations has been observed? Also, the information has the party documents based on variables that are a) motivation factors b) conditional factors c) objectives.

3.4 Ethical Issues:

The researcher has abided by the basic ground rules of research work. The researcher has avoided plagiarism and has given credit for other works. No one was hurt during this research work. There was voluntary participation of respondents during the research work.

3.5 Limitations of the Study

This research work also tends to fulfill the academic requirement of the Masters in International Relations and Diplomacy at Tribhuvan University. This research is based on the Nepali Congress party documents, the Nepali Congress election manifesto, party leader's statements, and biography, available resources related to the Nepali Congress, and key informant interviews. The researcher aims to focus largely after the end of the party-less Panchayat system. Due to the time-bound of three months, this paper does not make a cross-party comparison. Also, during the research period, there was due process of unification and merger of other major political parties (Communist Party of Nepal- Unified Marxist Leninist, Communist Party of Nepal- Maoist Centre as Nepal Communist Party and Rashtriya Janata Party and Samajwadi Party Nepal as Janta Samajwadi Party).

Chapter Four: Data Presentation, Data Analysis and Findings

Nepali Congress established on April 9, 1950, calls itself the democratic socialist party (Nepali Congress, 207, p.6). It has outlined Nationalism, Democracy, and Socialism as the party's guiding principles. Nationalism as a guiding principle has been followed since the day of its inception. Founding Leader B.P. Koirala iterated people as the core element of the nationalism, which as a feeling emerges with the cordial relations between the diverse group of people living in mountain, hill, and Terai region belonging to different caste group, ethnic group, speaking different language who enjoys the ownership over the state, and the political system. Further, adding place of birth, culture is the element describing the nationality. Democracy, the second principle of the party, believes people as a source of sovereign power. In addition, the promotion of nationalism, protection of human rights as world norms, periodic election, parliamentary democratic political system, rule of law, equitable justice, freedom of expression, free press, and freedom from fairness, discrimination, right to private property as the elements within the definition of the democracy. Thirdly, Nepali Congress adopted Democratic Socialism as its principle in 1955, Sixth National Convention held in Birgunj (Nepali Congress, 2077, p.16). It aims at building a socialist society with peace and enjoyment of democratic rights. It favors the socialist-oriented economic system differentiating from the state-controlled, single-party-oriented political system based on democratic pluralism and creating opportunities for the equitable distribution of the resources, end of discrimination, the prosperity of farmers, and economic security of the working group of people. B.P. Koirala stated if the party failed to adopt socialism then third world countries shall face the injustice and domination of military dictatorship, or communist hegemony, or religious fundamentalist (Thapa, 2072, p. 640).

Nepali Congress has been recognized as the democratic socialist party by the international community. The resolution of democratic socialism adopted by the Nepali Congress in 1955 was heartily welcomed by many socialist leaders in India, Burma, Indonesia, and other parts of Asia (Pokharel, 2020). Also, B.P. Koirala was one of the founding members of the Asian Socialist Conference (ASC) established in 1953 which Nepali Congress passed in 1955 and participated in the Second Asian Socialist Conference in 1956. (Pokharel, 2020). According to Ram Chandra Pokharel, (2020), a former member

of parliament representing Nepali Congress the conference held two significances for Nepali Congress first being recognized as the socialist party awarded with full membership, and second, it proposed to host the bureau meeting in Kathmandu in 1957. The Central Intelligence Agency's declassified document mentions the member parties to the conference's neutral position in sense of pursuing an independent foreign policy while stressing the cause of peace, defending human rights and human dignity, and supporting the United Nations. The socialist conference held on March 26-28, 1957 was hosted for three days and is the first international conference held in Nepal attended by international delegates from Burma (Myanmar), Japan, India, Indonesia, Israel, Pakistan, Vietnam, and West Africa (Pokharel, 2020).

Nepali Congress also became a member of Socialist International in 1999 (Socialist International, n.d.). A delegation of Mahesh Acharya and Sher Bahadur Deuba participated in the XVIII Congress of Socialist International under the status of a consultative member held in Stockholm, 1989, and admitted to the organization (Socialist International, n.d.). Later, Nepal Congress's upgraded its status as a full member in the 1999 XXI Congress of Social International held in Paris (Socialist International, n.d.).

4.1 Party's Constitution

In 1950 after the establishment of the Nepali Congress, it published a party declaration to clarify party objectives and policy. In the party declaration, the political and economic objectives were mentioned followed by the foreign policy of the Nepali Congress (Gautam, 2055, Pp.300-301). The primary objective of the foreign policy of the Nepali Congress in the declaration of 1950 was to protect the independence and sovereignty of Nepal. Nepali Congress supports extending diplomatic relations with other countries while safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of Nepal. It favors the cordial relations with India acknowledging the existing religious, cultural, political, and economic dimensions. Nepali Congress considers itself to be aware of the Indian security interests and realizes the need for cordial relations. It believes India to be a well-wisher of Nepal. And, accepts the signed treaties with India by Rana's unless it poses a threat to Nepal's independence and pride, keeping the possibility to amend it by the democratic government considering the mutual benefit of India and Nepal. Also, it mentions Nepal's foreign relation with others countries to be as of the Indian policy. It supports the new

government formed in China from the people's revolution accepting Nepal's old ties with China. Nepali Congress strongly condemns foreign intervention in Nepal's domestic affairs and conduct of international relations. Nepal Congress had cheered for its membership in the United Nations Organization and supports Nepal membership to any international organization promoting world peace. It claims the word peace as the foundation for its foreign policy.

The Party Manual, 2001 has provisioned International Relations Department (*Antarashtriya Sambandha Bibhag*) which study the party's international relation and coordinates with the party-affiliated Nepalese organizations on foreign soil. The preamble of the party constitution 1960 with Eight Amendment in 2015, clearly mentions the protection and promotion of nationality and democracy to establish Nepal as a disciplined, happy and prosperous country and aims at achieving social, political, and economic development. Article 14 has a provision for the establishment of public relations committee with Nepalese nationals abroad. Article 37 has a provision for the International Relations Department (*Antarashtriya Sambandha Bibhag*), *Nepali JanaSamparka Samiti Samannoya Bibhag*, Foreign Employment Area Coordination Department (*Baideshik Rojagar Kshetra Samanwoya Bibhag*) established under the chairmanship of Central committee member where an active member of the Nepali Congress is eligible to be a member. The party constitution of the Nepal Congress was drafted in 1960 (Nepali Congress Constitution). It has nine amendments till the date starting from 1994, 1997, 2000, 2005, 2007,2009, 2012, 2015, 2018 (Nepali Congress Constitution, p.1). The same provision for the public relations committee with Nepalese nationals abroad has been continued. While, Central Policy, Investigation and Training Academy of Nepali Congress provisioned in Article 36 under the chair of the vice president of the party has highlighted assistance to foreign policy decision making analyzing the contemporary political development as one of the responsibilities of the academy. Article 37 (2) provisioned for the International Relations Department (*Antarashtriya Sambandha Bibhag*) with duties and responsibilities of carrying research works, formulation of the foreign policy of Nepali Congress, building contacts and extending the relationship with the political parties across the world and diplomatic mission here in Nepal and, organizing seminar, workshop, and interaction program in coordination with international institutions. Article 37 (18) provisioned for the Public Relation coordination, Foreign Employment and Diaspora Department (*JanaSamparka Samnwoya, Baideshik Rojkar tatha Aaprawaasan Bibhag*).

The article outlines the duties and the responsibilities of the department as building contacts and coordination with Nepalese abroad, conducting research to understand positive and negative impacts of foreign migration and assisting to build policy, facilitating the policy for safe migration, effective relations with Non Residential Nepalese organization, facilitating to initiate remittance investment in the productive sector, assisting Nepalese labor migrants in abroad. Also, the department aims to establish a voting facility for the Nepalese labor migrants coordinating with the Election Commission of Nepal. Some other department's provision in Article 37 Constitutional law and Parliamentary Affairs Department is responsible for legal suggestion related to national and international law, and evaluating the Human Rights situation in the country with a necessary suggestion to the party central committee. And Women, Gender Equity, Social Security and Welfare Department is responsible to coordinate with national and international organizations working in the areas of women empowerment, gender equity, social security, and welfare.

4.2 Party's Policy and Programme

In 8th National Convention of Nepali Congress (1991) held in Jhapa (Thapa, 2072, p.361). The document appreciated the successful signing of the trade and transit treaty separately concluded by Girija Prasad Koirala. Also, favor the one door industrial policy to promote domestic and foreign investment. To support the foreign exchange earning Nepali Congress established Tea Board to facilitate the tea plantation having prospects for export. Along with this, the convention passed a few international agenda which welcome the installment of democratic government by the people in eastern Europe and share the greetings for state's democratic stability and prosperity, appealed the developed states for the implementation of UN agenda allocation of 1 percent of their GDP as the development assistance to the least developed countries, proposed for the establishment of the permanent institution of Socialist states within the Asia and Pacific region, welcomed the new world order by the end of the cold war, and expressed party's moral support to Myanmar for their ongoing movement for the establishment of democracy and human rights and appeal for the release of Ang Sang Suki along with other detained people by the Military council. The document presented Non-alignment, expanding diplomatic relations with all the countries based on the norms of world peace and equality, independence, non-intervention, strengthening UN, moral support to the people's movement aim towards the establishment of a democratic regime, stand against racism, and building cooperation,

understanding, and trust among SAARC countries as the major basis of the foreign policy which has been adopted by Nepali Congress since its early days.

The 9th National Convention of Nepali Congress (1996) held in Kathmandu has passed a proposal related to foreign policy (Thapa, 2072, p.466). The proposal states presenting Nepal as a democratic and sovereign country in the globe was the major achievement of the 1950's people movement. Nepali Congress presents it as the seed for the adaptation of Nepal's independent foreign policy practices. Nepali Congress states the declaration made by the party for the conduct of international relations based on independence, protection of sovereignty, expanding the diplomatic relations with countries, non-intervention, and world peace as the guiding principle of its foreign policy has been the foundation of Nepal's foreign policy. It adds on UN charter values, disarmament, human rights, economic development as the guiding principles of Nepal's foreign policy. Besides these, it mentions the relationship with neighboring countries India and China. Nepali Congress has analyzed Nepal's geographical location and landlocked has made Nepal's foreign policy and relation more sensitive and challenging. Nepali Congress believes in the conduct of Nepal's relation with India and China based on sovereign equality and cooperation. It acknowledges the efforts displayed by India and China to continue a cordial bilateral relationship between them. Nepali Congress mentions Nepal's active participation in the efforts to establish world peace, presenting Nepal as the good neighbor with acknowledgment of Nepal's geographical situation, social structure, and economic development as the parameter for successful foreign policy conduct. Nepali Congress appreciates the SAARC Charter values to strengthen, modernize and develop the South Asian region. Nepali Congress seeks to promote cooperation, understanding within the SAARC states leadings towards balance development, an aide to the development of least developed SAARC countries. Nepali Congress also projects SAARC to initiate economic integration. It believes in South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) to aid economic development (Nepali Congress, 9th Convention). Also, extending the cooperation among SAARC countries in the field of natural heritage, transportation, financial and technical sectors. It acknowledges the relevancy of the non-alignment principle and favors the forum such as non-alignment which fosters the values of sovereign equity, interdependence, non-alignment, non-intervention. Nepali Congress remarks on the role of the United Nations with the successful completion of 50 years of its establishment and cheers for the strengthening United Nations in changing world scenario,

accepting the necessity of institutions such as UN and hints for the reform of UN for the promoting commitment its member states. Nepali Congress stands for the democratic rule and protection of democratic values, protection, and promotion of human rights since its inception. It is grateful towards the international support received during the 1990's people's movement. It also extends its support to democratic and peaceful movements across the world. In the document passed during 9th national convention Nepali Congress has presented the Bhutanese refugee issues as the violence of human rights of Bhutanese people. It stands for the respectful return of the Bhutanese people residing in the eastern part of Nepal as a refugee to their homeland. It appeals to the Government of India and Bhutan the resolve the Bhutanese refugee problem as soon as possible. Nepali Congress appeals to the world community for the process of disarmament to establish world peace. It believes in the establishment of world peace through the displacement of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and, it appeals to stop the upgrading the military capacity and development of new technologies. Nepali Congress has mentioned the increasing value of economic diplomacy in the new world order with the end of the cold war. It believes in the economic interest of the prevailing over all the issues and has been the new prospects to establish and extend the international relations. Nepali Congress has identified foreign assistance as the important means to foster the economic development of the country assisting in infrastructure development, educational, shelter, and employment sectors. Nepali Congress presents strengthening democracy through economic development as the goal of economic diplomacy.

The 10th national convention of the Nepali Congress was held in 2000 in Pokhara (Thapa, 2072, p.542). The policy and program passed during the 10th convention have a subsection named international relations. The document mentions protection and promotion of national interest, protection of sovereignty, enhancing Nepal's dignity in the international arena, and empowerment of the national economy as the major objectives. It adds to Congress's commitment towards the principle of the UN Charter, the principle of non-alignment, and regional cooperation. The document mentions the trustworthy relationship between the neighboring countries taking them (India and China) in confidence with the realization that Nepal is their trustworthy friendly country and partner determines the success of Nepal's foreign policy. It accepts economic cooperation and trade relations as the major component of foreign relations and prioritizes the role of economic diplomacy. Nepali Congress supports the democratic and human rights

movement across the globe and rejects the ethnic and religious fundamentalism movement. It believes in the disarmament process to establish world peace with a belief that the nuclear race has been the challenge to world peace.

The 10th national convention document in relation to India, Nepali Congress stands for the review of the 1950's Treaty of Peace and Friendship and establishes a new base for the bilateral relationship with India according to then, present context. Along with this, Congress favors the bilateral diplomatic talks to resolve the Kalapani territorial dispute, the Bhutanese refugee problem. In terms of foreign assistance, Nepali Congress stands for assistance based on the national need and priority, and feasibility rather than the donor-based. It advocates for transparency within the functioning of non-governmental organizations accepting foreign grants and aids. Foreign loans shall be taken analyzing the terms and conditions and risk analysis and shall be used in the sectors having high returns. Agriculture, Irrigation, Hydroelectricity, River Management, Forestry, Human Resources and Social Development, Infrastructure Development, and Education have been prioritized for the mobilization of foreign assistance in the document passed on 10th national convention.

In 2002, the Nepali Congress party split among which Nepali Congress was led by Girija Prasad Koirala and Nepal Congress (Democratic) was led by Sher Bahadur Deuba. The two splitting forces carried the national convention separately. Nepali Congress held its 11th national convention in Kathmandu (Thapa, 2072, p.614). The passed resolution highlighted control of terrorism and protection of democracy as the major international agenda. It praises the international support received by Nepal for the ongoing movement. The U.S, Europe, India extended their support to the ongoing movement for the restoration of democracy after the royal coup by then King Gyanendra. Countries seized their military support to Nepal. Nepali Congress extends its regards to supporting countries and stands on the conduct of the diplomatic relations with all the countries based principle of non-alignment and good neighborhood. It believed in the important role of the United Nations to promote world peace and expand the role of the UN for the purpose of world peace. Whereas, Nepali Congress (Democratic) passed a resolution from the 11th national convention mentioning the deteriorating image of Nepal in the international arena in the track of isolationism. The direct royal rule was termed as a complete failure from both

domestic and international perspectives. It mentions foreign policy supporting the multidimensional and strengthens the role of the United Nations.

In 2010, Nepali Congress organized its 12th convention in Kathmandu (Thapa, 2072, p.719). In the policy and program document presented in the convention, Congress has shown a deep concern on deteriorating international credibility of Nepal due to the delay in the peace process and promulgation of the Constitution. Nepali Congress aimed to build a constitution and conclude the peace process based on the national consensus among the political parties. It believes the formation of a trustworthy government based on national consensus will only lead Nepal to receive support from neighboring countries and international institutions.

The 13th national convention of the Nepali Congress held on March 3, 2016, in Kathmandu passed the party's policy and program (Nepali Congress, 2072). The policy and program document have a sub-section of foreign policy. Nepali Congress claims their policy to be based on the fundamentals of the universally accepted norms of democracy, empowerment, inclusion, human rights, and fundamental freedoms, practices of social security for the senior citizens, single women, differently-abled, marginalized caste groups, women, and children. Nepali Congress also aims at the judicial reconciliation of the issues of the decade-long insurgency considering the international legal norms and treaties. Nepali Congress has highlighted the importance of Nepalese diaspora in a foreign land and has aimed to capitalize their skills, experience, and knowledge for the national development of the country. In specific the party has identified the diaspora population as a source of economic and intellectual power. Also, it foresees to enlarge the rights and facilities of the Nepalese diaspora in coordination with the foreign government through the effective use of diplomacy channels and negotiations.

It also stands for the cooperation between the developed and developing countries (North-South cooperation) for the economic development of Nepal. It has highlighted the need for investment, increase in productivity, employment, and opportunities of self-employment as the areas of improvement for economic prosperity and development. Nepali Congress aimed at the graduation of Nepal from the status of least developed countries to a middle-income country. The stability in the market, human development, physical capital development, diversification of international trade, effective mobilization

of remittance for the investment and employment as the set priority for economic prosperity and development. Agriculture, Tourism, Energy, and Human Development have been identified as the key priority areas for economic prosperity.

To facilitate the trade and supplies, Nepali Congress has focused on the linkages and connectivity building the road networks, voice for the successful completion of the mega road projects and establishing special economic zones, building dry ports for trade facilitation. While the party aims to engage the active working manpower in the economic activities creating employment opportunities to end the unemployment situation and work for safe foreign employment.

The party document has identified world politics in a complex situation. The world has witness transformation in the field of capital, technology, human capital which has been highlighted as the major drivers of the world system. There has been also the emergence of extremist groups that have to threaten peace, increasing terrorist activities and religious fundamentalism, pseudo nationalism in world politics. The party has observed the end of the ideological contestation on one hand whereas on the other there has been a serious concern for the economic, social, and cultural identity in world politics. The growth of India and China as the emerging actors of global politics has increased the geopolitical importance of Nepal. With this geopolitical realization, Nepali Congress iterates for building the cordial, trustworthy, cooperative, and supportive relationship with both the neighbours India and China at the same time redefining and re-empowering with the need of time. To prioritize Nepal's trustful, friendly, cooperative relations with India and China has been one of the foreign policies of the Nepali Congress. Similarly, the relationship with the United States of America (U.S.A), the United Kingdom (U.K), Japan, and European Union has also been given importance by the Nepali Congress in the document. Such a relationship is established and conducted based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Receiving financial aid and assistance for socio-economic development from a foreign government and international organization has exemplified the success of the foreign policy conduct of the Nepali Congress. Nepal's participation in United Nations Peace Keeping Mission has been taken as one of the factors enhancing Nepal's identity and dignity in the comity of states. Nepali Congress believes to build a national consensus with the major political parties of Nepal on fundamental issues related to national interest and foreign policy of Nepal. It is concerned to prevent the threats such

as national security, international relations, and foreign policy arising from the domestic competition between the parties.

Nepali Congress has acknowledged the principle of nonalignment and accepts its rationale to the present day for the promotion of cooperation, mutual benefits, and friendly relationships among the developing countries. It extends solidarity to the nonaligned movement, peaceful coexistence of states, participation of Nepal in international and regional forums for peace and development. It believes in expanding Nepal's roles in the promotion of regional organizations like the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Also, building good bilateral ties with the member countries. It seeks for opportunities of regional investment, tourism promotion, export promotion, and trade diversification in such regional forums. 13th national convention passed policy and programs document prioritizes the roles of international institutions, aid agencies including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Trade Organization for securing their assistance in fields of poverty, sustainable development, infrastructure development, and overall economic and social development programs of Nepal.

To extend its relations and contact with the international political parties and their sister organization having the similar principle of Nepali congress has been one of the foreign policy goals of Nepali Congress. It aims at the exchange of delegates, participation in the International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAPP) which aims at promoting regional cooperation through a channel of political parties (ICAPP, 2020) and organization socialist parties in Asia such as SocDem Asia which promotes the values and practices of social democracy and seeks alternative to the elitist and neo-liberal capitalist economic organization (SocDem Asia).

The plans and policy document of the Nepali Congress published in 2019 has extended foreign policy dimensions. Nepali Congress has highlighted the integrated world economic system. The globalization and interdependence prevailing in the field of world trade, foreign exchange market, price of petroleum products, demand-supply, and pricing of the imported goods impact the Nepalese economy directly. It has identified foreign direct investment (FDI's) and development partners as the major source of capital

formation. The FDI's shall be directed in the construction of hydroelectricity production which fosters the possibility of reduction in imports and dependence of petroleum products to reduce the deficit trade, promoting the use of electricity, establishing a cross border transmission line for power trade. Also, it envisions Nepal to be Low Carbon Emitting country adopting eco-friendly technologies and policies for development. Easy access to the sea, ensuring the transit routes, access to the international and regional market via sea and land routes of neighboring countries has been the objective of economic diplomacy outlined by the Nepali Congress.

Developing more integrated foreign policy Nepali Congress has identified protection and promotion of national unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, panchasheel (five principles of peaceful coexistence), United Nations Charter, Principle of nonalignment as the directive principles of its foreign policy. The relationship with India encompassing socio-cultural, economic, religious, diplomatic dimensions and sensing the sensitiveness of Nepal's open border, geopolitical and geostrategic location has been highly prioritized defining the relationship as special relations. It aims to deepen bilateral ties and engagement building a cordial relation. The relationship with China has been mentioned as warm and friendly. Nepali Congress aims to establish a diplomatic relationship with the international community analyzing the political development in the regional and global sphere. The relationship of Nepal with the international community along with its neighbor shall be based on mutual benefits, cooperation, and equity ensuring national unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, and promotion of national interest. Nepali Congress prioritizes the practices of pluralism, parliamentary democratic system, rule of law, human rights, and democratic values and norms while the conduct of diplomacy. It acknowledges international conventions, protocols, treaties, and parties to those conventions, protocols, and treaties as its fundamental principles. Nepali Congress believes to be benefitted from the multipolar world order. It highly appreciates Nepal's contribution to the UN Peace Keeping Mission for the establishment of world peace along with the Nepalese contribution in the major world wars. It stands for fair, respectful, and equal treatment by the British government to Gurkha soldiers. Nepali Congress identifies terrorism, ultra-nationalism, religious fundamentalism, violent activities as threats to world peace, and harmonious religious and social environment. To establish world peace and minimize such threats Nepal needs to play an effective role in United Nations.

4.3 Election Manifestos

The next source of information to look into the foreign policy of the Nepali Congress is the Election Manifesto presented by the party while contesting in a different national election. Nepali Congress had participated in the first general election of 1959 after the establishment of the democracy in 1950. Nepali Congress emerged as the largest party in the election with securing 74 seats out of 108 seats in the House of Representatives (Gupta, 1993 p.146) and B.P. Koirala leader of the Nepali Congress is sworn as the first elected Prime minister of Nepal. The political course of Nepal changed with the royal takeover by King Mahendra in 1960 citing the failure of the government to maintain law and order, encouragement of anti-national elements, and corruption (Welphoton, 2005, p.98). Taking full control of the executive duties King Mahendra built a political system popularly known as Panchayat democracy enshrined in the 1962 Constitution. The Panchayat system came to an end only during King Birendra's (Son of King Mahendra) regime. During the 30 years of practice of the Panchayat System, Nepali Congress opposed it as the undemocratic system against the will of the people's sovereignty. Senior leaders of Nepali Congress B.P. Koirala, Ganesh Man Singh, and Krishna Prasad Bhattarai were detained, and after the 8 years of detention B.P. Koirala and Ganesh Man Singh were released. Subarna Shumsher who successfully escaped the arrest led the party activities launching an armed struggle against the Panchayat system from India. After his release B.P. Koirala sought voluntary exile with a danger of being arrested in 1969 (Welphoton, 2005, p.105). In the backdrop of the international events annexation of Sikkim in 1974, formation of Bangladesh with Indian engagement, B.P. returned to Nepal. B.P. claimed he wished to contribute to national solidarity against danger to Nepal's independence (Welphoton, 2005, p.105) which famously has been marked as *Rashtriya Ekata tatha Melmilap Niti* by congressmen. On the domestic front, there were enormous movements for reform in the Panchayat System. In 1985, Nepali Congress launched *SatayaGraha* (civil disobedience campaign) for the restoration of full rights for political parties but suspended with the bomb blast in Kathmandu. Later, an alliance was formed with United Left Front and the Movement for Restoration of Democracy was launched which successfully concluded a talk with King Birendra to end the ban of political parties. Krishna Prasad Bhattarai was appointed as the Prime minister and a coalition government was formed. The interim government of Krishna Prasad Bhattarai was tasked to run the

government until the elections. Also, a Constitutional Commission was set up for the Constitution of 1990 which successfully drafted the constitution.

Election Manifesto of 1991

In the preamble of the manifesto presented by the Nepali Congress appealing to people the protection of national independence, sovereignty, and democracy to promote nationality as the major objective of the Nepali Congress. Providing an anecdote to its foreign policy conduct as a ruling party in 1959, Nepal's relations with neighbouring countries were based on enhancing Nepal's respect, pride, and practicality. Also, it was successful to establish a resident mission in the U.S.A., China, and diplomatic relations with Israel, Pakistan, and Australia. In the manifesto, Congress declared for the national development with social reconstruction based on the democratic socialism model of development implementing the mixed economic system and people access to education, health facilities, and food ending the hunger, poverty, illness, illiteracy focusing on the increase in productivity and equitable distribution. To achieve this goal, it aims to receive foreign assistance and the honest mobilization of such assistance can help to eradicate hunger, poverty, illiteracy which has been a barrier to the development of Nepal. Repeating its slogan of *Gau Tira Jau, Gau lai Hera* of 1959, it aimed for the rural development of the country, where foreign assistance and involvement of international nongovernmental organization has been aimed to be mobilized to establish small-scale industry, an agro-based industry which aim to generate employment and income for the rural population. To facilitate the agricultural development foreign assistance for capital and technology in irrigation projected has been expected. In the economic dimension, Nepali Congress outlines the protectionist policy for promoting the private sector, protecting their investment also promoting them to replace the imports and promote export-oriented industries. To increase the national production in emphasis on the investment from national and foreign nations. It claims to restrict the import of luxurious goods and promote exports to rebalance the trade deficit. The export of raw materials, labor-intensive production-based goods has been prioritized by Congress. To facilitate international trade Nepali Congress declares to ease the process of licensing and restrict the quota for limited goods and services. It expects foreign assistance in the field of national priorities determined by the government rather than the will of the donor countries. Agriculture, education, health, population control, and protection of environment-related projects had been identified as

the priority area for the assistance. Nepali Congress also desire foreign assistance from countries having friendly relation with Nepal and international organizations for utilization of Nepal's potentials for hydroelectricity production. It shall seek to promote power trade. The foreign loan shall have invested in the productive sector and sectors that result in generating foreign currency. Nepali Congress focused on the effective utilization of foreign aid begin cautious for the negative impact of foreign assistance on the national savings and investment, excessive dependency. Hence it aims to reduce the dependency on foreign assistance (loan and grants) by mobilizing internal instruments for capital formations. Rather it expects to foster bilateral, multilateral, and private foreign investment resulting in capital formation and technological transfer.

A separate section of the foreign policy concept had been mentioned in the manifesto. It iterates the foreign policy of the Nepali Congress to be based on the principle of equality and friendship with all the countries across the globe. Explaining the need for rigorous engagement, it aims to build a cordial, trustworthy, and helpful relation with neighboring countries. Nepali Congress also states to capitalize on Nepal's membership in United Nations to establish and promote world peace. It presents its commitment to democracy, human rights, and values of world peace. It aspires to extend strong and cordial relations of Nepal with the democratic countries across the world. It extends its support to protect the independence, national integrity of any country, and solidarity to peace movement for the institutionalization of democracy, and human rights. It stands for the peaceful resolution of disputes among the states. The Government of Nepali Congress shall promote the significant role of the non-alignment movement (NAM) and the United Nations Organization in the changing world politics. It is committed to world peace standing against the acquisition of nuclear weapons and their development and transfer. It finds it important to promote the bilateral relations among the countries of South Asia and promote regional relation development and cooperation with effective mobilization of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). It denies the foreign interference in foreign relations conducted with neighboring states and other friendly countries of Nepal. In the end, Nepali Congress identified strengthening the bilateral relations of India and Nepal with clear understanding and trust as the major task for the government.

Election Manifesto of 1994 Mid-Term Election

Nepali Congress was elected as the largest party in the election of 1991, Girija Prasad Koirala was the Prime minister. Due to the internal clash within the party and the failure to pass the government plans and policy by the parliament. Prime minister Girija Prasad Koirala recommended the dissolution of parliament and headed the country for the mid-term election in 1994. In the manifesto, it has appealed to the people repeating the protection of Nepal's independence, people sovereignty, and democracy to promote nationality as its major goal. It has also identified growing extremism as a threat to national security. Adding to the discussion of security it further adds the protection of Nepal's territory, sovereignty, natural resources, and people's sovereignty and security as fundamental elements to its belief. It promotes Nepal's bilateral relationship based on the principle of sovereign equality and mutual respect. It rejects the practice of favoritism, support, and protest of any specific country on the grounds of nationalism.

Nepali Congress tries to mould itself to adapt to the changing world economic system. In the economic dimension, it aims to promote foreign investment in industry, trade, and tourism development. It also seeks to protect domestic industries to balance imports and export. It promotes privatization. To eradicate poverty, it identifies foreign employment opportunities and declares to provide a training program, and develops systematic foreign employment. Nepali Congress believed to build an energy transmission line to meet electricity demand in the country. It has continued the policy of exporting raw materials, producing the daily consumed goods and services, and building high-tech industries through foreign investment and private sector engagement. It aims to decrease the volume of trade deficit by promoting the export of goods and services having comparative advantages and having high value for imports. Tourism had been identified as the major sector and declared promoting Nepal as the meeting point of South Asia, increasing the private and foreign investment in the field of hotels, restaurants, and resorts. Build the infrastructure facilitating tourism development. Regarding foreign assistance, Nepali Congress seeks it based on the national needs, usefulness, and priorities. It expects to increase foreign assistance on the productive key sectors. It has adopted the concept of foreign direct investment to minimize risk aroused by the decrease in grants and aids and the increase in foreign loans.

Discussing foreign policy, the principle of equality and goodwill shall be implemented in foreign relations conducted with all the states. It continues the rigorous engagement with neighboring countries to foster the relationship. It presents the idea to build Nepal's image as a peace-loving, democratic, and independent UN member state and extend its relations. It continues the policy of support to the peaceful movement for democracy and human rights and stands for the national integrity and independence of every nation. It supports the peaceful resolution of disputes. It favors the increasing role of the United Nations and non-alignment in the changing world politics. It promotes Nepal's trustworthy friendly relations with neighboring countries India and China. Based on the geographic location of Nepal it seeks to redefine, revitalize the multidimensional relation with India. Nepali Congress promotes regional cooperation and the need for a bilateral relationship among the South Asian countries. And, aims to resolve the issue of Bhutanese refugees creating an environment for their return to reach a mutual understanding with Bhutan.

Election Manifesto of 1999

Nepali Congress had claimed itself a leading party believing in socialism, democracy, and nationalism. Adding, it mentions the party's commitment to protect and promote people's independence, national sovereignty and unity, democratic pluralism, parliamentary democracy, and people's fundamental human rights. Nepali Congress praised the earned credibility in the international arena during their tenure as a ruling party. It heavily criticized the Communist Party of Nepal- Unified Marxist Leninist (UML) for the failure of the Arun III project. Congress blames it as the result of the UML party's interest, negligence towards the national interest of Nepal, government delaying the reasons to terminate the project. The economic policies adopted by Congress deteriorated which resulted in a loss the international credibility and a decrease in capital formation as an investment. Nepali Congress aimed towards exporting electricity and identified it as a major source of foreign earning. It mentions about completion of a detailed study of Karnali, Pancheshwor, and West Seti Project while American company Anron investment in Karnali. The project has been successfully carried out an agreement had been signed by an Australian company for West Seti Project by the Congress government. Along with this, the Congress government signed an agreement with the Japanese government to construct the Dhulikhel-Sindhuli-Bardibas highway as visioned by B.P. Koirala to connect

Kathmandu with East Nepal. Nepali Congress begin the implementation of the Melamchi Project with the assistance of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), Norway, Nordic Fund, Japan, and World Bank. The government also succeed to manage the financial assistance for the construction of 22 bridges along the Mahendra Highway in the Far Western region.

The document identified Industry, Tourism, and Commerce as the backbone of the Nepalese economy. It adopted a policy to protect small and domestic industries, handicraft industry. While promoting the foreign investment in modern technology with comparative advantages. The foreign mission shall be mobilized to promote tourism and commerce. Along with concluding the necessary trade and commerce-related treaties facilitating Nepali products in the foreign market. Tea, Coffee, Cardamon, Silk, Mushroom, Saffron, Medicinal herbs have been listed as major exporting products of Nepal and to facilitate the trade and improve transit facilities Nepali Congress planned for the construction of dry ports in different nearby custom offices.

The document acknowledges the difficulty in capital formation is highly dependent on internal revenue. Hence, it stands for foreign assistance, investment, and technology transfer as per the need of the Nation. However, it is aware of the negative impact of such foreign assistance towards mobilization of domestic instruments, increasing dependency. Nepali Congress favors foreign grants in primary and acceptance of foreign loans with minimal interest in the secondary. Such foreign assistance shall be mobilizing in the productive sector.

Nepali Congress is positive towards the regional cooperation to eliminate the poverty in South Asian region and attain economic gain in the era of globalization and competitive world marker through the collective efforts of the states within the region. Congress prioritize the implementation of the SAARC Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA).

These documents as highlighted the promotion of national interest, national security as primary interests along with commitment towards world peace and UN charter promoting democracy and human rights as the fundamental of the foreign policy of Nepal. Nepali Congress believes to extend Nepal's diplomatic relations with all peace-loving states around the world.

It prioritizes special relations with neighboring countries India and China. It stands for the pragmatic approach with mutual interest, trust to resolve the differences rejecting the penetration of aggression, emotions, and propaganda to problems. It out rightly mentions the diplomatic talks to resolve the existing disputes related to the return of forces from Kalapani, implementation of the Mahakali Treaty, review of the 1950's Treaty. Nepali Congress adopts the principle of good neighborhood based on the principle of sovereign equality, mutual respect, and support, non-interference in domestic affairs, peaceful coexistence. It welcomes the improving relationship between India and China and also, expects this to continue between India and Pakistan resulting South Asian region to be region free from political clashes and tensions. It highlighted peace and disarmament as the rock beds for social development mentioning the assistance of developed states in technology transfer rather than the export of arms and ammunitions. It mentions the right of Bhutanese refugees residing in Nepal to return to their homeland with dignity.

Election Manifesto of 2008

In the preamble Nepali Congress appreciated and express its gratitude to United Nations, countries having a friendly relationship with Nepal, and international organizations and institutions engaged in the peace-building process in Nepal. The major objective for the election in 2007 was to draft the constitution of the country by the people's elected representative which had been imagined by B.P. Koirala in 1950 through a constituent assembly. Nepali Congress claimed Constituent Assembly to be a factor for extending international relations which enhance Nepal's dignity, and economic prosperity. Nepali Congress identified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, humanitarian law, international treaties, conventions, and protocols where Nepal has been a party as the fundamentals, and guiding principle for drafting the constitution.

Analyzing the economic growth of neighboring countries Nepali Congress aimed to learn from their experience and capitalize on the advantages of their growth. Also, foster foreign assistance and foreign direct investment in the sector of national priorities. The construction of infrastructures in education, health, drinking water projects, irrigation, and poverty alleviation-related programs has been identified as the national priority by Nepali Congress. It declares to promote international trade and promote the industries producing goods and services with comparative advantages. *Pokhara* and *Bhairwaha* international

airport are planned to construct with help of foreign investment. Agriculture, Tourism, and Energy had been identified as the key sectors for development. Nepali Congress has highlighted the significance of foreign employment and sought to manage the foreign employment developing skills of foreign employment seekers, protecting their labor rights based on Core Labour Standard/International Labour Organization (ILO). Nepali congress also plans to build a mechanism to capitalize the capital and skills of the migrant workers and Non-Residential Nepalese (NRN) in process of state-building. It sets a target of the 1 million tourists arriving in Nepal and believes to create employment opportunities. Building national consensus on water resources development promotes private and foreign investment. Power Trade has been identified as the source of foreign income and a major factor to rebalance the deficit trade. Nepali Congress also favors the open market system minimizing the impacts of globalization.

The protection and promotion of national interest, the national identity of Nepal, and its independence on the world stage as the major objective of Nepali Congress foreign policy. It also believes in Nepal's role to promote harmony and prosperity for world peace. United Nations Charter, Principle of Panchasheel, Non-alignment, national interests as the fundamentals of the foreign policy of Nepali Congress. The foreign relations among the states shall be based on mutual respect, harmony, and equality. Nepali Congress seeks to promote Nepal's dignity as a peace-loving, democratic, and independent UN member in international forums. It aspires for the constructive transformation of SAARC for regional development and partnership. Nepali Congress supports the rights of Bhutanese refugees to return to their homeland. It aims at promoting the rights and safety of Nepalese migrant workers with effective mobilization of Nepal's diplomatic missions, promoting international trade, tourism, and foreign direct investment in Nepal, and the rights of NRN. Nepali Congress stretches for the full implementation of special rights and provisions allocated by the World Trade Organization (WTO). It guarantees national ownership during the process of foreign assistance.

Election Manifesto of 2013

As the first constituent assembly failed to deliver the constitution. State moves into an election for the formation second constituent assembly. Nepali Congress presented the new constitution to be the base for the national unity and democratic identity of Nepal. It

focused on the arms management of Maoists, the peace-building process, and democratic norms and values. Expressing its views Nepali Congress commits to protect national unity, sovereignty, and integrity. It follows the Universal Declaration on Human Rights-1948, International Humanitarian Law, Comprehensive Peace Accord, International treaties, conventions, and protocols as the directives to the constitution draft. Nepali Congress states to provide citizenship to Non-Residential Nepalese (NRN) and make the arrangement for the Nepalese abroad as students, migrant workers. Nepali Congress presents the vision of *Samriddha Nepal Sampanna Nepali* (Prosperous Nepal, Prosperous Nepali), and agriculture, tourism development, and energy development have been identified as the key sector for the socio-economic development of Nepal. To achieve 8-10 percent economic growth and graduating to a middle-income country within 20 years, resolving the issues of transitional justice, and establishing Nepal's identity as a capable and dignified state in the international community of states building national consensus among the political parties of Nepal. It also seeks to be benefited from the economic development of neighboring countries and the world economic activities. This (economic benefit) shall be a major directive idea for the conduct of relationships with neighboring countries, international economic policy, and international programs. Nepali Congress aims to build a competitive economic system taking advantage of the world economy and sustainable development. Nepali Congress had planned to decrease the volume of foreign employment creating opportunities within the countries. It plans to sign a labor agreement with the destination countries of foreign employment guaranteeing Nepalese migrant workers' rights, wages, social security benefits, and safety. It also plans to appoint a labor attaché in Nepali mission in countries having more than five thousand Nepali migrant workers and also establish a separate help desk in an embassy for Nepalese in difficulties. A special provision is plan to be developed for Nepali migrant women's rights and security. Nepali Congress aims at decreasing the service charge cost, providing minimum interest loans. Nepal shall also ratify the UN Protocol on Human Trafficking, and the International Convention on Protection of rights of all migrant workers and their families, and amend national law related to labor exploitation to include human trafficking.

Assessing the importance of domestic and foreign investment to increase productivity and employment opportunities it seeks to create a favorable investment environment in Nepal. It targets 2.5 million tourists visiting Nepal within 10 years having the scope of sports tourism, health tourism, and film development tourism identifying

tourism as major area fostering economic development. Nepal is projected as the major destination of spiritual, mountaineering, and adventure tourism activities. Tourism promotion is planned to be conducted in countries with common cultures such as Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, South India. It also plans to decrease the foreign assistance in capital formation and increase the culture of tax payment in Nepal. The foreign assistance shall be directed toward national priorities and economic infrastructure development. Nepali Congress if elected, identifies export promotion as its main goal related to the industry. To facilitate the export plans to establish dry ports inside the industrial areas and at least one industrial area within on province. Exporting drinking water to gulf countries has been also presented in the plan. Within the plan of transport development, Nepali Congress has a plan to develop railways facilitating Nepal as the transit bridge between India and China and reducing the cost of transport. Energy export shall be prioritized to earn foreign currency. Nepal Congress government if elected visualizes to coordinate with the scientist and technicians of Nepali national and coordinate with them to establish scientific research institutions in Nepal and fund their research projects. In the sector of information and communication technology, it seeks to develop regional and international technical and financial assistance strategies. Nepali Congress has prioritized the protection of national integrity, sovereignty, and life of its citizens. Issues of human security encompassing food security, population, health, and environment have been taken as the important dimension of security. Under the theme, once Nepali is always a Nepali it plans to develop policy, program, and legal procedure to engage NRN in Nepal. It plans for citizenship to NRN with economic, social, and cultural rights. Also, provision of rights to own tangible and intangible property in Nepal.

Regarding the conduct of International relations, enhancing Nepal's dignity on the world stage is the primary goal. The foreign relation shall be directed by the principle of UN Charter, Panchasheel, non-alignment, national interest and security, and world peace. Nepali Congress favors Nepal's friendship with all the countries based on mutual respect, goodwill, and equality. The relation with neighboring countries shall be conducted on equality, freedom, and regional integrity and the norms and values of international relations. The security and sensitiveness of neighboring countries shall be considered and prohibiting the use of Nepal's territory for activities against any state's interest. The need for transformation of SAARC has been realized to build regional cooperation, partnership for development. Effective use of economic diplomacy has been outlined as means to

achieve benefits for international trade, technological transfer, and foreign investment, tourism development, identifying foreign employment opportunities in the era of globalization, interdependence, communication, and social media. The ultimate objective of economic diplomacy is to foster the economic growth of Nepal with the economic prosperity of the Nepalese. To promote international trade Nepali Congress government shall commit to preserve national interest in bilateral, multilateral, and regional trade agreements and sign new bilateral economic partnership agreements as per the need of Nepal. Also, provides subsidies to foster agro-based products.

Election Manifesto of 2017

After the promulgation of the Constitution in 2015, Nepal went in a joint election for the House of Representatives and Provincial Assembly. Nepali Congress mentioned the protection of national integrity, independence, and sovereignty, the conduct of cordial foreign relations with neighboring countries, countries having friendly relations, and international institutions, the conclusion of international treaties, establishment of diplomatic relations, custom tax, and excise tax under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Nepali Congress presented inclusive democracy and human rights, economic growth program, spiritual and cultural glory, youth manpower and modern Nepal, Water, Medicinal Herb and Biodiversity (*Jal, Jatibuti, Jaibik bibidhata*), the international identity of Nepal through tourism development and cooperative and respectful relationship with neighboring countries as seven dimensions of national revisionism. Nepali Congress aims to promote Nepal's image as a democratic state preserving its historical and cultural identity. With the cordial and respectful relations with neighboring countries Nepali Congress expects expanding the trade relations, investment without barriers of transport, and communication.

Nepali Congress explaining its international relations outrightly rejects the idea of compromise in issues related to national integrity, independence, respect, and national interest of Nepal. It looks forward to building a national consensus on a foreign policy of Nepal with a common single voice and vision. Also, prioritizes strict adoption of diplomatic manners, etiquette, and protocol by concerned parties. The cultural debates arising across the globe have been identified as the threat and to prevent Nepal from such threat has been kept at priority. The balanced relationship with neighboring countries has

been continued. It believes in the principle of pluralism for internal politics and multi-polar world order in the context of the world system. Principle of *Panchasheel*, United Nations Charter, Non-alignment, world peace, international laws, democracy, and human rights are the basis of foreign policy for Nepali Congress. It aims to enhance the dignity of Nepal on the international stage as a country contributing to world peace and prosperity. It seeks to take the economic benefits from the neighboring countries and prioritizes the multi-dimensional relations practiced based on mutual equality, independence, national dignity, and territorial integrity. Nepali Congress also considers the security concern and sensitiveness of neighboring countries, prohibits the use of Nepal's territory against the national interest of any states, and also tries to ensure the prohibition of violent acts from foreign land against Nepal's peace and security and national interest. It expects the relation with countries having friendly relations with Nepal, international organizations, and institutions to be based on mutual respect, understanding, goodwill, and equality in areas of political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions. It shall attempt to enhance Nepal's image as a peace-loving, democratic, and independent state through the forum of the United Nations and continue its contribution to the organization. It promotes regional cooperation, understanding among the member states of regional organizations like SAARC, BIMSTEC based on equitable benefits enhancing Nepal's effective role. Nepali Congress also strengthens Nepal's role in the bilateral, regional, and international forum for rights and interests of least developed and landlocked countries ensuring the transit rights of landlocked states. It seeks to foster South-South cooperation and build domestic capability for the cooperation.

4.4 Data Analysis

Among the available documents, Nepali Congress's constitution and manual do not talk much about foreign conduct. These documents only mention the internal department with the responsibilities related to foreign conduct. The foreign policy objectives, goals, and principles are found in the party's policy, program documents, and election manifestos. The goals, objectives, and principles are placed in the same heading, the heading is mentioned as international relation and foreign policy, international relation, and common views whereas in some documents it is mentioned as simply international relation.

Guiding Principles

The guiding principles for the conduct of international relations of the Nepali Congress are the principle of Non-alignment, world peace, Panchasheel (five principles of peaceful coexistence), United Nations Charter, international conventions, laws, human rights, and democracy. World Peace has been a major guiding principle for foreign conduct which Nepali Congress mention in the 1949 Declaration by B.P. Koirala (Thapa, 2072, p.763). Later, in 1952, B.P. Koirala reiterated the values and norms of world peace adding Nepal against the war and Nepali Congress pledge for the international engagement between the states based on cordial relations, peaceful resolution of disputes, respect to an international institution such as the UN, and end of imperialism and colonialism (Thapa, 2072, p.763). Nepali Congress abides by the principle of disarmament, calling the arms race, the nuclear race between the states as the greatest threat to world peace. The values of world peace have been mentioned in every document since then as the guiding principle of foreign policy.

Nepali Congress stated Nepal shall use its membership in United Nations for world peace. Nepal attained UN membership in 1955, however, Nepali Congress strongly believed in Nepal's membership in the UN and every international institution to establish peace. Nepali Congress extends its full commitment towards the UN Charter, active participation in UN programs especially in areas of Peace and Development. Nepali Congress supports the idea of reforming the UN to enhance institution trust and commitment for peace. Although it does not specifically mention the reform in particular. In 1951, Nepali Congress mention the neutral policy and maintaining limited contact. From the 6th national convention, it passed a resolution for Asian Socialist Conference membership adopting Socialism as the party's principle. Nepali Congress stand against colonialism and extended support for the independence movement. The neutral policy was explained as the issue-based support. This has enhanced Nepal's dignity in the international arena. (Thapa, 2072, p.150). Towering personality of Nepali Congress B.P. Koirala addressed UN General Assembly in October 1960, "My country is fiercely proud of its independence which we never wholly lost.... Like other countries now represented here, we prefer to estimate the strengths and weaknesses of other social systems and to choose our own. We do not wish to be battered by propaganda or to have our minds made up for us or to reach our decision in an atmosphere of suspicion and hatred. We do not want to be

absorbed into the cold war or to become a toll of any power bloc. (Muni, 1973, p.47)". The word "nonalignment" was first used in a resolution agreed by the Central Committee meeting on foreign policy in 1991. Highlighting the significance of non-alignment in the present world order Nepali Congress defines it as peace coexistence among the states, independence, freedom to take decisions based on national interest and cordial, mutual understanding, and assistance between the developing countries (Thapa, 2072, p.765). Panchasheel has been mentioned as the guiding principle of its foreign conduct in election manifestos for the Constituent Assembly in 2008. Although, Nepali Congress had been mentioning the peaceful coexistence, peaceful resolution of disputes, non-interference, and independence since the early days of the party.

Motivational Factors

Looking at the motivational factors of Nepali Congress's policy for Nepal's foreign conduct. The policies sought for political security avoiding interference in domestic politics free from external pressure, making decisions independently, and protection of protection and promotion of national integrity and national interest of Nepal. While territorial security through the preservation of territorial integrity. Nepali Congress stand against the use of Nepal's land against any of its friendly countries and showed high concern for India and China's security interest to take them in confidence. Nepali Congress adopted a neutral policy extending support based on the issue rather than becoming an all-time ally. Nepali Congress's major objectives at its inception were to establish democracy in Nepal, later its primary objective became to safeguard the democracy in Nepal. During the Panchayat regime, Royal Coup Nepali Congress sought international support to restore democracy in Nepal. Along with political stability, Nepali Congress also aimed towards economic stability. Nepali Congress adopted a policy of liberalization, privatization and sought assistance from neighborhood countries, developed countries, and international financial institutions in different forms of assistance such as grants, loans, and technological transfer. Nepali Congress explicitly mentions the success of the 1950 movement for the establishment of democracy in Nepal with the end of the Rana oligarchic system under its leadership as the major breakthrough movement to introduce Nepal as a sovereign, independent and democratic country to the international community. This has been continued thoroughly in the policies related to foreign conduct by the Nepali

Congress stating as to protect and promote Nepal's national integrity, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national interest of Nepal.

Conditioning factors:

Nepal's geographical location between India and China has been taken into the consideration. Nepal as a landlocked country lying between giant neighbors India and China, Nepali Congress expects to capitalize on the economic benefits from the two rising world economies on the one hand and on the other, Nepali Congress believes the same geo-location of Nepal has increased its strategic importance in the world politics. Dinesh Bhattraai mentions it as Nepal falling on the global strategic radar and Nepal's need to tackle the intersection of conflicting and competing interests (2021, personal interview). There has been an open border with India and the security interests and sensitiveness of the neighboring countries has been one of the foreign policy bases. Nepali Congress's 10th convention document mentions the trustworthy relationship between the neighboring countries taking them (India and China) in confidence with the realization that Nepal is their trustworthy friendly country and partner determines the success of Nepal's foreign policy. Hence, Nepali Congress mentions building a cordial, trustworthy relationship with both neighboring countries India and China, and peaceful resolution of disputes through diplomatic talks. Looking at the available documents neighboring countries are given high importance compare to other countries having diplomatic relations with Nepal.

From 1950-1960 Nepali Congress was engaged in building its contact with the socialist parties and was mostly guided by B.P. Koirala. During the Panchyat period, from 1960 to 1990, the Nepali Congress was a prohibited political force, and it had a shaky foreign presence. The contact was limited just with the Socialist International (Acharya, 2021). Whereas from 1990 the socialist relationship shifted to adopt the international wave of liberalization, privatization. However, the leadership could not tap the benefits from the shift (Acharya, 2021).

Foreign Policy Objectives:

Nepali Congress's available document has mentioned the promotion and protection of national unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, and ensuring national

security as the primary interest of Nepal. Besides these promotion of trade, tourism, creating foreign employment opportunities, acquiring foreign assistance and foreign direct investment for socio-economic development are other interests that Nepal seeks to achieve. Along with this, safeguarding the life and rights of Nepalese nationals abroad, enhancing Nepal's dignity in the international forum and world stage are other primary goals and objectives.

Economic Development

Nepal is a developing country hence it requires huge capital formation and assistance for economic development and prosperity. To seek assistance for economic development through diplomatic contacts has been the objective of the Nepali Congress's foreign policy. From an economic standpoint, the fundamental goal of the Nepali Congress in conducting foreign relations is to promote investment, job opportunities, Nepal's transition from a low-income country to a middle-income one, and successful assistance, loan, and remittance mobilization (Thapa, 2072, p.766). For the economic transformation agriculture, energy, tourism, and human development has been identified as the key sectors. Nepali Congress plans and policies have highlighted the importance of the Nepalese diaspora in the foreign land and have aimed to use their skills, experience, and knowledge for national development.

Regarding foreign assistance Nepali Congress believed in the effective utilization rather than the volume of the foreign assistance in 1991 and focused much on the use of it for the programs for eradicating hunger, poverty, illiteracy. During 1991 Nepali Congress focused much on foreign assistance whereas in 1994 it aimed at the attainment of foreign investment in industry, trade, and tourism development.

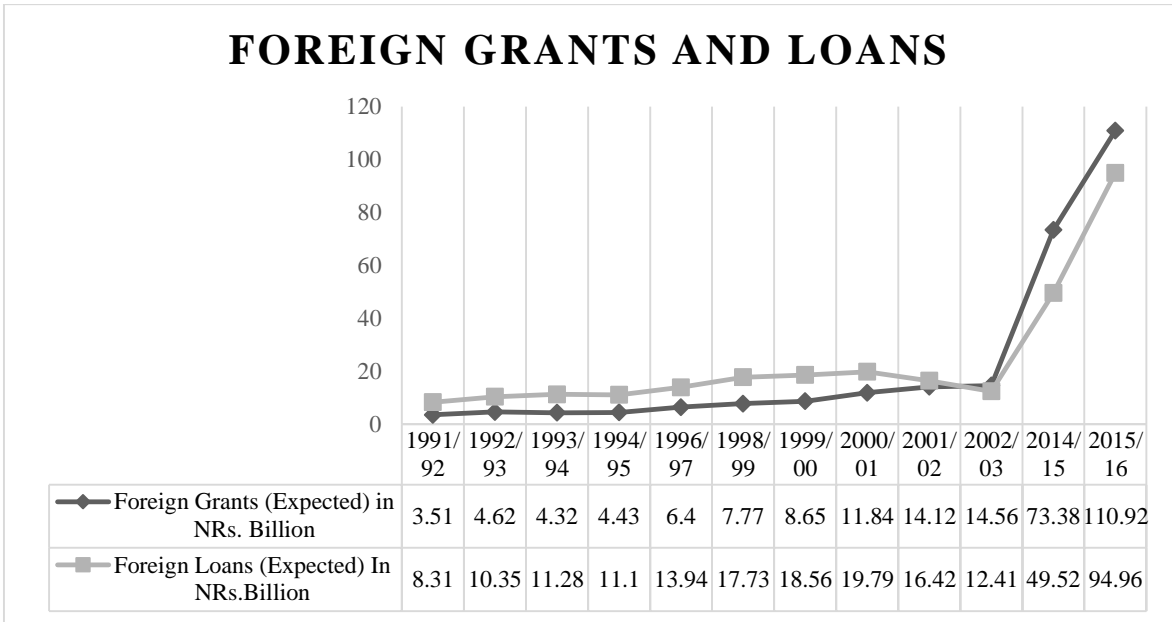


Figure 1: Expected Foreign Grants and Loans in Budget Speech presented by Nepali Congress

Source: Ministry of Finance, Budget Speech

Theoretically, Nepali Congress has mentioned reducing the foreign assistance in its election manifesto, however, if we look at the budgets of Congressmen, we can see that the tendency of foreign assistance has been increasing year after year., only in the fiscal year 2014/15 and 2015/16 the estimated foreign grants is higher than foreign loans. In the preceding years, the loan amount exceeds the grants and it is taken to balance the estimated capital expenditure during the fiscal year.

The concept of foreign direct investment has been promoted to decrease the dependency on grants and aids. The concept of foreign direct investment has been continued in the manifestos for 2008, 2013, 2017 in the sectors of national priorities in areas of energy, tourism development.

Although, Nepali Congress supported the open economic system and free trade regime it preferred a protectionist policy for promoting the private sector, protecting their investment, and restrictions on luxurious goods in 1991. The tourism industry has been designated as a priority for economic transformation. A target has been set for tourist inflows from 2008 to be 1 million within five years, 2.5 million within ten years in 2013, and 3.2 million within ten years in 2017. In 2013's manifesto Nepali Congress sets the

target to the achieved economic growth rate of 8-10 percent and graduation of Nepal to middle-income countries by 2023. The same manifesto has visualized the self-sufficiency of Nepal in meat, fish, dairy products, fruits, honey, mushroom, tea leaves, coffee, ginger and be a major exporter of these products. The manifesto has also presented the plan to export drinking water to the gulf countries. The self-sufficiency in meats products, fish products, fruits, dairy products has been continued but has not been mentioned about the other products in the manifesto of 2017. The Manifesto of 2013 has stated economic benefits as one of the major objectives to achieve in the conduct of international relations and the economic diplomacy concept has been incorporated in the paper. To access the regional market and international market, access to the sea, enjoyment of transit rights is the main objective of economic diplomacy. Nepali Congress has sought to facilitate foreign employment through the training programs, protection of their rights, and use the capital and skills of NRN in the state-building process in the 2008 manifesto. And, in 2017 Nepali Congress planned to remove the tax on the foreign earned income of Nepalese brought to Nepal.

Regarding foreign assistance Nepali Congress adopts a policy that the foreign assistance should be feasible to national interest and priority of Nepal rather the donor-driven interest, strongly denies the unnecessary terms and conditions, and highlighted agriculture, irrigation, energy, river management, forestry, tourism development, human resource and social development as the priority sector for foreign assistance.

The cooperation between the developed and developing countries (North-South cooperation) for the economic development of Nepal. It has highlighted the need for investment, increase in productivity, employment, and opportunities of self-employment as the areas of improvement for economic prosperity and development. Nepali Congress aimed at the graduation of Nepal from the status of least developed countries to a middle-income country.

Maintaining cordial, trustworthy relationships with neighbouring countries

Nepal's neighbors India and China have emerged as a global economic power. With the undeniable fact of their growth, Nepali Congress has always sought to maintain a cordial, trustworthy relationship with both India and China based on the principle of

sovereign equality, mutual respect, mutual trust, mutual benefit, and peaceful resolutions of disputes. Nepali Congress document mentions maintaining Nepal's balanced relationship with India and China has been a foremost important and challenge in Nepal's foreign conduct. Former PM Sushil Koirala underlined Nepal's foreign policy first priority is neighbour. In his address on May 9, 2014 he said, "Nepal's proximity to two powerful ancient civilizations, the world fastest-growing economies and rising global powers gives the nation a great future ahead and vast opportunities to translate the rich potentials of hydropower, agriculture, tourism and diversity in the trans-Himalayan region into concrete advantages for the common benefit (Koirala, 2017, p.10)". The cordial relations with neighbors determine our survival and maintaining the relationship is of paramount importance. Nepal's relations with India and China is of survival interest (Bhattarai, 2021).

Relationship with India

In 2015, Nepal faced an unofficial trade embargo at the southern border. Nepali Congress was the ruling party during the unofficial trade embargo. None of the official documents of the party nor did the Congressmen as government representatives to the UN mention the difficulties faced by Nepal during the time. Nepali Congress was highly criticized for these actions and has self-acknowledged by the party central committee meeting as it being one of the reasons for the party's defeat in the 2017 General Election. To understand the Nepali Congress's views regarding the Nepal relationship with India one must be aware of the formation of the Nepali Congress. Nepali Congress was formed in India during the exile stay of the leaders of the Nepali Congress and the Nepalese students studying during the time in India. The seed of Nepali Congress at its present form was the formation of Akhil Bharatiya Nepali Rashtriya Congress which later transformed into Nepali Rashtriya Congress. B.P. Koirala in his biography has acknowledged the assist from the Indian socialist leaders for the scheduling call of assembly. Also, B.P. Koirala in his biography has mentioned the support received by the Nepali Congress for its political movement in different periods. India was the place of shelter for the Nepali Congress during the Rana period and Panchayat Era. Along with B.P. Koirala, the reputed figure of Nepali Congress Ganesh Man Singh, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, Girija Prasad Koirala, Sushil Koirala had a long stay in India. An appeal by Mahatma Gandhi for B.P. release on humanitarian grounds during Padma Shumsher Era (Sharma, 2055, p.50), Jaya Prakash Narayan suggestion to B.P. to participate in Asian socialist party conference (Sharma,

2055, p.40) which led to an extended relationship with Burma (Myanmar), Ram Manohar Lohia help for arms accumulation (Sharma, 2055, p.73), Nehru's diplomatic attempt for B.P. release and making arrangement for B.P.'s wife Sushila Koirala to visit Kathmandu (Sharma, 2055, p.101) this incident shows the confidence that B.P. Koirala gained from the Indian leaders which may have led him to write India as the reliable and trusted country in the party declaration regarding foreign policy in 1950.

Before the 1990 mass movement, the presence of Chandra Shekhar in a meeting held at Chaksibhari resident of Ganesh Man Singh shows the relationship between the Nepali Congress leader and Indian leaders. Nepali Congress has always prioritized the need for cordial and trusted bilateral relations with India which can be seen in the different party documents and leaders explicitly mentioned the return to natural ties after the crises resulting from the economic blockade of 1989. The relationship with India has been defined as special by the party policy and program document as there is multi-dimensional engagement (economic, social, religious, cultural) with India, open border system. Krishna Prasad Bhattarai as prime minister wanted to know India's thoughts regarding the meeting with Maoists during the insurgency shows the Nepali Congress's consideration of India (Sharma, 2070, p.47). Girija Prasad Koirala was assisted by Defense minister George Ferdinand to result the talks with Prachanda (Sharma, 2070, p.117) shows the relationship of the Nepali Congress with India. Nepali Congress throughout history has sought to maintain Nepal's good relationship with India, the personal relationship of Congress leaders, the political history of Nepali Congress must have fostered it.

However, Nepali Congress had been a factor as an irritant in the Indo-Nepal relations during the 1960s. The attempt of assassination of King Mahendra in Janakapur, armed struggle launched by Nepali Congress from India. Responding to such action home minister Vishwa Bandhu Thapa at a press conference stated if Nepali Congress leaders had no encouragement in India, Nepal would remain a friend of India all time (Parmanand, 1978, p.108).

Nepali Congress speaks about the close ties with India having geographical proximity, economic relations, social, religious, and cultural similarity. But, fails to speak on economic dependence with India, the increasing deficit trade, higher dependence. Nepali Congress stands for the resolution to the territorial disputes, review of 1950's treaty

through diplomatic talks of the high-level task force. But, the efforts have not been carried out effectively while in the government. Nepali Congress documents after disturbances in Nepal-India relations resulting due to the embargos (Blockades) have mentioned to resolve the disputes, normalize the relations and build a trustful relationship between two countries.

Relationship with China

The relationship with China has not been much discussed in the party documents. It has been limited to building a cordial, trustworthy relationship with China and gaining economic benefits. However, one needs to look into the history. Nepali Congress central committee passed a resolution in 1951 to establish diplomatic relations with China (Muni, 1973, p.83). Followed by a cold response from Nehru, Nepal was reluctant to recognize the People's Republic of China with a Communist government (Muni, 1973, p.83). Then, Prime minister and Foreign minister B.P. Koirala addressing the UN General Assembly on September 29, 1960, speak in favor of enrollment of the People's Republic of China as a UN member. Koirala added in a speech that the UN must enroll the People's Republic of China to function as a global institution, highlighting the UN as the institution representing the global voice (Basnet, 2073, p.547). It was unwise and unrealistic to keep such a great mass of people unrepresented in the world body, especially when China had acquired nuclear status (Muni, 1973, p.167). B.P. Koirala reiterated, "Nepal-China friendship is of paramount importance for the peace in Asia in the first instance and the world peace in the last analysis. Nepal would spare no effort to make our relations closer and stronger every day (Koirala, 2017, p.27)". Nepali Congress takes the credit to resolve the dispute on Mount Everest (Sagarmatha) which was resolved by the conversation between Mao and B.P. Koirala. During his state visit to China in 1960, Koirala claimed Mount Everest to be in Nepal's territory and denied Mao's proposal that Mount Everest was a Mutual Mountain (*Miteri Shikhar*) (Basnet, 2073, p.436). Mao expressed his readiness to follow the Nepalese maps, to accept the position that the northern half of the Everest belonged to China and the southern half to Nepal which was disclosed by Chou En-Lai in Kathmandu (Muni, 1973, p.107).

The documents point out considering the security interest of China, preventing the use of Nepalese land against China, and building trust and cordial relations between Nepal

and China, and working for mutual benefits. However, no official documents have been found regarding China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Yet, Sushil Koirala Government welcomed China's Belt and Road Initiative expressing its desire to work in close cooperation with China towards enhancing more connectivity and integration between nations and boost their infrastructure, trade, energy sector and tourism, which would ultimately contribute to regional harmony, peace and development (Koirala, 2017, p.13). Dinesh Bhattarai hints it as the acceptance of the economic component of BRI discarding the strategic component iterating connectivity as the lifeblood.

Under B.P.'s stint as Party President, there was a cordial relationship and exchange visits of party delegates with China, according to Krishna Khanal, which continued during Girija Prasad's tenure as Party President. He further notes that China has ideological solidarity with the Communist Parties of Nepal. However, there is no discriminatory policy of China toward Communist parties and the Nepali Congress (Khanal, 2021).

Priority towards India

The above-mentioned principles, goals, and policies have been coherent from 1990 to 2020. Analyzing more critically in the case of neighboring countries, the Nepali Congress election manifesto of 1991, 1994 explicitly mentioned strengthening the relationship with India, and has defined Nepal's relationship with India as multidimensional which needs to be redefined and re-energizes. These two manifestos are in the aftermath of an economic blockade in 1989. The party's plan and the program have defined the relationship with India as special relations considering the multi-dimensional engagement and sensitiveness of the open border and the geopolitical situation of Nepal. Whereas there is mention of China in the election manifesto of 1994 only along with India, and in rest of the relationship with China has been incorporated under the neighboring countries denoting both India and China. Only in the party's plan and programs of the 13th convention, the relationship with China is mentioned as warm and friendly. This can be evidence that Nepali Congress has relatively prioritized Nepal's relation with India in relation to China. None of the election manifestoes has mentioned Nepal's relation with the USA, UK, Japan, and European Union. Only the policy and programs have mentioned the importance in one single line. This gives another point to mark that relationship with India and China has been prioritized in comparison with the other countries. Professor Khanal

aggress on that Nepali Congress has shown some priority towards India. He stated that Nepali Congress has always prioritized the closeness with India while maintaining equal relations with other countries. In a personal interview, he indicated that closeness is not just the result of the relationship between the leaders but it is the result of ideological solidarity. According to Krishna Khanal, "India is a democratic country and is an open society. Congress is for democracy and an open society. The natural closeness has resulted from the political reason and secondly, from the existing massive social-cultural relation between India and Nepal (2021, Personal Interview)"

Nepali Congress makes no mention of trilateral cooperation between Nepal, India, and China. Krishna Khanal believes that the concept of Trilateralism is objectionable for India as it wishes to limit China in South Asia. China favors the idea of a trilateral as it seeks for the market in India. Hence, Nepal should not play a role as to carry the interest of a particular country. Hence, Nepali Congress has not prioritized the trilateral relationship but it does not completely object to the concept.

To build a cordial relation with developed countries and expand diplomatic relations with others: Nepali Congress mention the continuation of cordial relation with developed countries like the U.S.A, U.K., European Union, Germany, France, Demark, Netherland, Finland, Switzerland, Russia, Japan, Canada, Switzerland, Norway and Australia familiar as Nepal's old standing friendly country. And, seeks their support and assistance in the process of economic development of the country.

To build a cordial relation with labor destination countries.

To promote the bilateral relations among South Asian countries and promote regional cooperation for peace and development through effective mobilization of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation), and Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Exploring the areas of investment, promoting tourism, export, and diversification of Trade in the region.

To promote relationships with international financial institutions and non-governmental organizations for the economic and social development of Nepal. Nepali

Congress highlights the importance of the international financial institution and NGOs for their contribution to infrastructure development and poverty alleviation programs.

To promote and protect international norms and values: The international norms and values such as human rights, world peace, democracy, rule of law, the periodic election is taken as the guiding principle by Nepali Congress in their foreign policy. Also, Nepali Congress adheres to values of the non-alignment movement, independence.

Incorporating International Conventions, Treaties, and Protocols: Nepali Congress has out rightly incorporated the policy of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Labour Standard, and implementation of privileges provisioned for the least developed landlocked countries. Also, aims at ratifying the international conventions that Nepal has not been part of.

To expand the party's international contact: Nepali Congress has been maintaining its international contact since its inception day. Nepali Congress has been a member of Socialist International, International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAPP), SocDem Asia. However, Nepali Congress itself has self-acknowledged the limited contacts with the international community, foreign political parties as a weak part of their foreign conduct in their 9th convention political report (Thapa, 2072, p.484). Nepali Congress has cordial relation with the Indian People Socialist Party, Labour Party of U.K., Socialist party of Germany, France, Israel, Japan. Nepali Congress didn't imagine the growth of BJP, the ties with socialist parties ended as the party extinct in India (Acharya, 2021) also, Indian National Congress held a weak position in Indian politics. For the first time in the history, Nepali Congress has sent a three-member delegation to India at the invitation of the BJP (Acharya, 2021). Girija Prasad Koirala addressing the 80th assembly of the Indian National Congress has been mentioned as evidence of the party's international contact with a foreign political party (Thapa, 2072, p.498). At the present Nepali Congress does not have any party to party relation (Khanal, 2021).

The 9th convention brings up the strengthening of the party's Foreign Affairs Department to regulate the international engagement with friendly states and well-wishers. However, the functioning of the foreign affairs department of the party has been the

question. Nepali Congress failed to establish the foreign affairs department after the 13th national convention. There are no publications from the department as well. This shows the party's least interest towards the foreign policy decision making, study of international events, research, and publications. Professor Krishna Khanal recognizes it as the greatest drawback of Nepali Congress not to own an international think-tank giving an official view, institutional briefings. This has resulted in Nepali Congress not having any official stand on the issues such as BRI, Indo Pacific, MCC (Khanal, 2021). Former diplomat Dinesh Bhattarai highlights the significance of the department for the predictable foreign policy of the party.

Issues as Foreign Policy Goals

Resolving Bhutanese Refugees issue: The manifesto of 1994 and 2008, policy documents of 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th national convention aims at resolving the Bhutanese Refugee issue, Nepali Congress supported the rights of the Bhutanese refugee to return to their home country and peaceful movement for their rights. After the formation of the democratic government headed by Girija Prasad Koirala, Nepal started to respond to the issue systematically. Krishna Khanal term the attempts to initiate dialogue with Bhutan as 'quiet diplomacy, he further claims that Nepal had sought the involvement of India forming the tripartite committee to resolve the problem of Bhutanese refugees but India suggested resolving the issue through bilateral talks (Khanal, 1998, p.153). During the SAARC summit held in Bangladesh in 1993, an agreement was reached between Nepal and Bhutan to form a joint committee to identify modalities to resolve the issue of the Bhutanese refugees (Khanal, 2021, p.32). A Ministerial Joint Committee with three members was established with a mandate of categorization of refugees and government position on the categorization. Bhutanese refugees were categorized as i) Bonafide Bhutanese who have been evicted forcibly, ii) Bhutanese who emigrated, iii) Non-Bhutanese people and iv) Bhutanese who had committed criminal acts (Khanal, 2021, p.34). Nepal took standpoint for the repartition of refugees under the categories i, ii, and iv in a dignified manner. Fifteen rounds of Ministerial Joint Committee were held within ten years from 1993 to 2003 to resolve the refugee issues, but due to the Bhutanese standpoint, it was limited to bilateral talks. The issue gradually got shadowed by the political changes of 2006 in Nepal.

To protect biodiversity and cope with the issue of climate change:

Nepal is rich in Himalayan biodiversity and the Himalayas are vulnerable to climate change. Coping with climate change has been identified as the major challenge of the time. Nepali Congress seeks to mobilize its diplomatic missions to attain support with climate change issues. It advocates for eradicating carbon emissions, preserving the forest, and receiving repatriation from carbon emitters known as polluters' pay.

Rights of Gurkha recruits for their demands on increasing facilities and pension. Nepali Congress is never against the Gurkha Recruitment policy (Khanal, 2021).

1950's Treaty of Peace and Friendship between India and Nepal: Nepali Congress is not against the 1950 treaty publically as other left political parties of Nepal. It also does not wholeheartedly defend the treaty. Professor Khanal mentions the Party's support of the treaty in 1951 as a goodwill gesture to receive the support for its support (2021, personal interview). There has been inconsistency on the stand of Nepali Congress before 1990 as in 1951 party accepted the treaty, in 1953 mentioned the review of the treaty, in 1954 mentioned as the historical treaty building a friendly relationship, and since 1990 stands on the review and revision of the treaty. Professor Khanal touch upon the agenda of the review and revision of the treaty as the political consumption and counters the radical groups voicing for the review and revision (2021).

Agendas in the Foreign Policy Documents

However, none of the available documents mentions the issues of border encroachment in Susta and other parts of the country except Kalapani, disputes, and debate over the resources sharing. Where, the Left parties heavily criticized Nepali Congress for Gandak Agreement, Tankapur Treaty. Krishna Prasad Bhattarai was criticized for his statement that "The rivers are common" citing it as surrender of control over Nepal's water resources (Welphton, 2012, p.118). Nepali Congress has mentioned resolving the Bhutanese refugee issue, however, has not mentioned the Tibetan refugee issue existing in Nepal.

Policy Comparison Prior to 1990

Comparing the party documents from 1990 to 2018, there is no significant difference in the foreign policy from the foreign policy mentioned in the first party declaration written by *B.P. Koirala*. Professor Krishna Khanal mentions that the idea of B.P Koirala shaped the foreign policy of the Nepali Congress (Khanal, 2021, Personal Interview). The primary objective has been the same to protect the independence and sovereignty of Nepal and extend the diplomatic relations while safeguarding sovereignty and independence of Nepal. B.P. had mentioned India to be a reliable and faithful country to Nepal whereas the documents report Nepal to have a special relation with India. All the documents are aware of the considering the Indian interests. Nothing much has been mentioned by B.P. regarding China just acknowledging Nepal's old ties with China. And supporting the new government formed in China. In the same way, the recent documents cite the trustworthy, cordial relation with China mentioned under the neighboring countries' title. B.P. had cheered for the membership to the UN and the recent foreign policy has identified the U.N charter and world peace as the guiding principles. In the 71 years of establishment, the foreign policy has extended the scope but has not been much different from its initial days.

Liberalist Policy

Nepali Congress does not identify the use of power and clashes of interest it rather seeks for the harmony of interest seeking for the mutual benefits, mutual equality, and goodwill among the state actors during their interaction and engagement. The protection and promotion of sovereignty, national unity, territorial integrity, and independence as the primary interests. Safeguarding the primary interest Nepali Congress seeks the economic benefits from its international conduct of acquiring aid and assistance, increasing foreign direct investment, and promoting tourism. It adheres to the principle of protection and promotion of human rights, democracy, rule of law, and beliefs in cooperation through participation in the international and regional organization. Under the Liberalist School of thought, it adheres more to the neo-liberal school of thought creation of institutions, interdependence. Nepali Congress has not mentioned the expansion of military power, and the use of instruments of balancing rather stands for the non-alignment, principle of sovereign equality, peaceful resolution of disputes adhering to international norms,

institutional principles, and world peace. It believes to promote south-south cooperation, takes the consideration the harmony of interest. However, Dinesh Bhattraï mentions Nepali Congress adopted the foreign policy as practical pragmatic, realistic based on the geographical reality.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Nepali Congress a democratic socialist party of Nepal has continuity in its foreign policy goals and priorities. The guiding principles of the foreign conduct adopted by the Nepali Congress are also coherent to its initial days. Although this paper tried to focus on the foreign policy conduct since 1990, while reading the party's available documents, interviewing the key person one needs cannot deny the role of B.P. Koirala to institutionalize the policy of the party regarding its foreign conduct. Nepali Congress presents the policy documents after 1990 to 2020 to be based on the foundation laid by B.P. Koirala and those documents can be regarded as the extension of the scope of its past foreign policy. World peace has been accepted as the bedrock of its principle. Along with this, disarmament, the principle of neutrality, non-alignment, Panchasheel, Principle of UN Charter, norms and values of democracy, human rights are the other guiding principle to party's foreign conduct. The foreign policy adopted by Nepali Congress has been motivated by political security, territorial security seeks the recognition of Nepal as an independent, democratic state. Along with this, through its contact with the international community, Nepali Congress sought international solidarity and support for its democratic movement of 1990, 2006. And, has also extended its gratitude for the support it received during the domestic political movements to reinstate democracy. Going through the available party documents one can conclude the Nepali Congress foreign policy objectives and goals as:

- The protection and promotion of national integrity, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national interest of Nepal.
- To safeguard the life and rights of Nepalese nationals abroad.
- To enhance the dignity of Nepal in the international forum and world stage.
- To receive financial aid and assistance for socio-economic development from the foreign government and international organizations.
- To promote international trade and the creation of foreign employment opportunities.
- To ensure full implementation of rights and privileges enjoyed by Nepal as the least developed landlocked country.

The policies that Nepali Congress adopts to achieve the above-mentioned objective and goals are:

- The relationship shall be established based on mutual respect, equality, benefits, goodwill, and cooperation.
- Promote the role of international institutions and aid agencies and secure assistance from them.
- Promoting regional and international cooperation through the political party's conferences for the promotion of social democracy.
- Supports the multipolar world order.
- Nepal's contribution to the UN for the establishment of world peace.
- Stands for fair, respectful, and equal treatment by the British Government to Gurkha Soldiers.
- Extending support to any state protecting their independence, national integrity.
- Solidarity to the peace movement for the institutionalization of democracy and human rights.
- Promote the bilateral relations among South Asian countries and promote regional cooperation for peace and development through effective mobilization of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation), and Shanghai Cooperation Organization.
- The relationship with neighbouring countries is based on equality, freedom, regional integrity considering their interest (security), and sensitivity.
- The signing of an agreement to ensure human and labour rights of Nepalese migrant workers and appoint a labour attaché to the country having more than 5000 Nepalese migrant workers.
- Building a national consensus on the foreign policy of Nepal among major political parties.

Nepali Congress's constitution has an International Relation Department with duties and responsibilities of carrying research works, formulation of the foreign policy of Nepali Congress, building contacts, and extending the relationship with the political parties across

the world and diplomatic mission here in Nepal. Also, organizing seminars, workshops, and interaction programs in coordination with international institutions. But, the department is found to be passive since the 13th national convention, the party lacks the periodic publication on international events, party's official stand on the particular issue. Nepali Congress being one of the oldest parties of Nepal needs to excel in the functioning of the international relations department. The researcher needs to track down the foreign policy matter from the larger document such as the policy and programs document passed during the national convention, from the election manifesto. The policy stated in those documents does not provide any explanation to the point. Usually, the policy is of single sentence readers need to interpret those sentences. Nepali Congress and its relation with India, Nepali Congress perception towards China can be some of the areas for further research.

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ANNEX

Questionnaire

1. What is the role of political parties in the formulation of foreign policy?
How should it be?
2. How are the views of major political parties of Nepal regarding their foreign policy?
3. Is the foreign policy of parties similar or different among the political parties?
4. How do the political parties reach their foreign policy decision?
5. How has Nepali Congress taken its foreign policy decision?
6. What are the guiding principles adopted by Nepali Congress for its foreign conduct?
7. Are there differences in the guiding principle with the change in leadership? (B.P. Koirala, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, Girija Prasad Koirala, Sushil Koirala, Sher Bahadur Deuba)
8. What are the national interests of Nepal viewed by Nepali Congress?
Are any changes observed regarding the national interest from 1990 to 2020?
9. Do you agree with the statement that Nepali Congress has prioritized Nepal's relations with neighboring countries than any other country?
Among India and China relationship with India has been prioritized?
10. How does Nepali Congress define Nepal India relation? What are the priorities?
11. Why has been Nepali Congress been silent on issues such as the 1950 treaty, border disputes, Blockade?
12. How does Nepali Congress define Nepal China relation? What are the priorities?

13. What is the Nepali Congress's opinion regarding the trilateral cooperation between Nepal, India, and China?
14. Which other countries does Nepal need to prioritize as per Nepali Congress?
15. How has the Nepali Congress viewed Economic Diplomacy?
16. Party views regarding foreign assistance?
17. What is Nepali Congress's stand on the Gurkha soldier's issue?
18. What is Nepali Congress's position on the Bhutanese refugee?
19. How has the Nepali Congress expanded its inter-party relation with foreign political parties, forum?