

NEPAL-INDIA POLITICAL RELATIONS

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By

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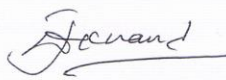
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May 2022

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that this dissertation entitled "Nepal-India Political Relations 2006-2016" was prepared by Keshav Raj Suwedy under our guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final examinations by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science**.

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APPROVAL LETTER

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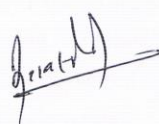
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I hereby declare that this dissertation is my work and that it contains no materials previously published. I have not used its materials for the award of any kind and any other degree. Where other author sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged. Interpretation and presentation of facts are entire of my own and I alone am responsible for any mistake or human and mechanical errors.

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ABSTRACT

Nepal is a land-locked country situated between two emerging world powers-China and India. Since their existence, Nepal and India have close neighbors in South Asia and are bound by geography, history, population, economy, religion, socio-culture, and people-to-people relations. There are continuous ups and downs in the relationship between the two countries. The central questions posed in this study were: what are the status and foundations of Nepal-India relations from the beginning to the present; what are the major challenges of Nepal-India political relations and what could be the solution measures to foster the bilateral relationship between the two countries? The objectives of this research were to critically explore and analyze the status and foundations of Nepal-India relations; identify the major barriers to Nepal-India relations and examine the appropriate solution measures to improve and foster the relations in the future. A descriptive research design was adopted in this study. Qualitative data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources of data were collected from direct observations, interpersonal communications, informal discussions, and key informant interviews (KIIs). The secondary sources of data were collected through literature review, library survey, and electronic searches.

The data analysis part answered the basic questions raised in the problem statement. The detailed analysis of Nepal-India Political Relations was analyzed, discussed, compared contrasted, and synthesized. The qualitative data analysis method was used for the triangulation of the qualitative data and information gathered. Nepal-India relations at the government level have always had ups and downs along with twists and turns due to geography, population, religion, philosophy, culture, politics, economics, military, history, science and technological development, and mass media. Nepal and India have volatile relations; sometimes hostile, although Nepal always wants to have a stable relationship with India. But people-to-people relations have always been based on mutual understanding, friendship, and cooperation. Over the last seven decades, there has been a history of political/ economical setbacks approximately every ten years. These unique upheavals in politics triggered the ups and downs in bilateral relations. The religious, cultural, and economic ties between Nepal and India are, without doubt, the backbone on which the political relationship is

built. Many factors play a significant role in pulling the two countries apart, like border disputes, unequal diplomatic treaties, and agreements, India's growing interest in the micro-management of Nepal's politics, and other internal affairs.

Border disputes, 1950 treaty, unequal diplomatic treaties and agreements, India's growing interest in the micro-management of Nepal's politics and other internal affairs, "big brother" behavior of India, imposition of official/unofficial blockades, India's claim over the birthplace of Buddha, water, migration and citizenship issues are revealed to be the major hindrances of Nepal-India relations. Due to the unique geographical location of the country, the rulers have remained cautious from the very beginning regarding relations with foreigners, particularly the two immediate. Nepal remained in isolation for many years. The fundamental objective of Nepal's foreign policy is to enhance the dignity of the nation by safeguarding sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence, and promoting the economic well-being and prosperity of Nepal. Nepal should strive to adopt an independent foreign policy and the foreign policy decision-making should be proactive rather than reactive. A fresh look is required to find a new win-win template of inter-state relations on the base of two equal sovereign countries thereby implying soft power and sound diplomacy to strengthen the bilateral relations. It is recommended to carry out research studies on areas like demographic, social, economic, and cultural dimensions of Nepal –India relations; revisiting the 1950s India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship; anti-Indianism sentiments, and the role of states and diplomats in fostering the the political relations between Nepal and India in the future.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACCUT	Agreement of Cooperation to Control Unauthorized Trade
ACP	All India Nepali Congress Party
AD	Anno Domini
PDF	Armed Police Force
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BBIN	Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, and Nepal
BC	Before Christ
BCE	Before Christ Era
BDCCs	Border District Coordination Committees
BDCCs	Border District Coordination Committees
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BIPPA	Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement
BJP	Bhartiya Janata Party
BNI	Investment Board of Nepal
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
BSF	Border Security Force
BWG	Boundary Working Group
CA	Constituent Assembly
CCEA	Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs
CCS	Convention on the Continental Shelf
CDO	Chief District Officer
COAS	Chief of the Army Staff
COVID	Corona Virus Disease
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPN	Communist Party of Nepal
CPN-UML	Communist Party of Nepal-Unified Marxist and Leninist

CW	Cold War
DFHRI	Discount and Finance House of India Ltd.
EIC	East India Company
EPG	Eminent Persons Group
EPT	Electric Power Trade
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOW	First Opium War
WWI	World War I
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoI	Government of India
GoN	Government of Nepal
GT	Global Times
Hac	Hectare
HMG	His Majesty's Government
IBN	Investment Board of Nepal
ICAN	Indian Citizens Association of Nepal
ICCR	Indian Council of Cultural Relations
ICNR	International Conference on Nepal's Reconstruction
IGC	Inter-Governmental Committee
IGSC	Intergovernmental Sub-Committee
IMEA	Indian Ministry of External Affairs
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSEC	Informal Sector Service Center
IR	International Relations
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate
PFC	Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JCIFM	Joint Committee on Inundation and Flood Management
JCWR	Joint Committee on Water Resources
JMCWR	Joint Ministerial Commission for Water Resources

JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
JSC	Joint Steering Committee
JSTC	Joint Standing Technical Committee
JTBC	Joint Technical Level Boundary Committee
JTC	Joint Technical Committee
JTT	Joint Technical Team
JWG	Joint Working Group
JWGBM	Joint Working Group of Border Management
LoC	Line of Credit
LOCA	Line of Credit Agreement
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
n.d.	No Date
NA	Nepalese Army
NAM	Non-alignment Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCA	Nepalese Citizenship Act
NCC	Nepal Chamber of Commerce
NCP	Nepali Congress Party
NCTA	Nepal Cable Television Association
NDRF	National Disaster Response Force
NDU	National Defense University
NEA	Nepal Electricity Authority
NGS	Nepali Gurkha Soldiers
NITLJBWG	Nepal-India Technical Level Joint Boundary Working Group
NRB	Nepal Rastra Bank
NTPC	Nepal Vidyut Vyapar Nigam
NWPP	Nepal-workers and Peasants Party

OBOR	One Belt One Road
OHCHR	United Nations Human Rights Office
PAT	Peace and Amity Treaty
PCS	Proforma Clearance System
PDA	Power Development Agreement
PFT	Peace and Friendship Treaty
PNS	Prithivi Narayan Shah
PRC	People's Republic of China
PTA	Power Trade Agreement
PTI	Press Trust of India
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
RNA	Royal Nepalese Army
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Area
SAHR	South Asians for Human Rights
SASEC	South Asia Subregional Economic Cooperation
SPA	Seven Party Alliance
SSB	Sashastra Seema Bal
SSF	Special Security Force
WWII	World War II
THT	The Himalayan Times
TKP	The Kathmandu Post
TTC	Treaty of Trade and Commerce
TU	Tribhuvan University
TV	Television
UF	United Front
UK	United Kingdom
UML	United Marxist Leninist Party
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention for the Law of the Sea
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Social and Cultural Organization

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

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950, as well as accompanying secret letters that outlined the two nations' security relations and an arrangement covering both bilateral commerce and trade crossing Indian territory, lay the groundwork for India-Nepal relations. Nepal-India relations have had several ups and downs in recent years (Timalsina, 2019, p.729). These agreements solidified Nepal and India's "special friendship." The pact also gave Nepalese citizens the same economic and educational prospects as Indian citizens in India, while giving Indian citizens and businesses preferential treatment in Nepal over other nations. The Indo-Nepal border is open; Indians and Nepali citizens can freely traverse it without a passport or visa, and live and work in either country. Indians, on the other hand, are not allowed to own land or work in government institutions in Nepal, however, Nepalese citizens are allowed to employ in Indian institutions (Sood, 2014, p.65).

In Terai of Nepal, the number of Indians living and working grew in the 1960s and beyond, and India's political involvement in Nepal intensified, and so did Nepal's displeasure with the unique relationship. India's impact on Nepal rose during the 1950s. The Citizenship Act of Nepal, 1952 made it exceedingly easy for Indians to move to Nepal and get citizenship, causing significant resentment in Nepal. This policy was the same as previously made until Nepal's constitution was amended in 1962, which include several limited clauses. The relationship between Kathmandu and New Delhi warmed dramatically after the Sino-Indian border war in 1962. India has withdrawn its assistance to Nepalese opposition groups located in India (Savada,1991, pp.72-78).

Although the pact was not annulled, In 1970, India removed its military checkpoints and 23-man liaison group from Nepal. Tensions reached a peak in the mid-1970s when Nepal demanded significant revisions to the trade and transit pact and openly denounced India's acquisition of Sikkim in 1975. In 1975, King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev proposed that Nepal be designated as a 'Zone of Peace,' with military competition prohibited. Pakistan and China instantly supported Nepal's plan, while India did not. The Indo-Nepal border is open; Nepalese and Indian nationals can

freely cross without a passport or visa, and they can work and live in both countries (Singh,2009, p.29).

History, geography, economic cooperation, socio-cultural links, military ties, and people-to-people relations define the two countries' relationship. Despite their intimate linguistic, marital, religious, and cultural ties on a personal level, Nepal and India's relations have been strained by political difficulties and border conflicts. Political movements, philosophies, and key events in India have always had an impact on Nepal. When the British departed India in 1947 and the ruling power passed to Congress, the Rana monarchs of Nepal became orphans. This conflict arose not only as a result of power shifts in India but also as a result of developments in Nepal and demands by Nepalese political parties and citizens for a leadership change and betterment (Timalsina, 2019, p. 729).

Pandit Nehru once warned that if everything changes at once, it will only exacerbate Nepal's problems (Shah, 1968, p. 65). To pacify India, Mohan Shumsher visited the Indian capital for discussions. Nehru warned the Indian parliament that the Indian government could not tolerate any invasion of Nepal from anywhere, although the two nations had no military alliance. Any prospective invasion of Nepal would surely jeopardize India's security (Upadhyaya, 2018, p. 67). However, Mohan Shumsher tried to attract Indian support for his dictatorship by portraying the Rana System as a bulwark against communist takeover from the north. Following the follow-up talks, New Delhi and Kathmandu signed treaties of peace and friendship, as well as trade and commerce, on July 31, 1950, to solidify their new alliance (Rose, 1970, p. 186). Because the treaty of 1950 was not to Nepal's advantage, the idea of revisiting or repealing it has long been a contentious issue in Nepal.

Relations, however, began in 1950 and were governed by two treaties. Under the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, which was ratified in July 1950, each government agreed to recognize and respect the other's independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty; update diplomatic relations, and provide nationals of the other residing in its territory rights equal to those of its citizens. "The Anglo-Nepali War (1814-16) was a devastating tragedy for Nepal," according to the history of Nepal-India ties. Nepal lost Sikkim, the areas west of the Kali River (Kumaon and Garhwal), and most of its possessions in the Tarai as a result of the Treaty of Sugauli, which was signed in 1816.

Any single story can be dangerous and create a contested environment. It gives rise to stereotypes. Stereotypes are problematic not because they are false, but because they are incomplete (Adichie, 2009). A 'paradox' between closeness and separation has been an equally important aspect of Nepal-India ties (Tripathi, 2019, pp.186-200). Scholars have noted that Nehruvian values and his daughter Indira Gandhi's 'hard realism' drive Indian foreign policy (Malone,2012, p.75). Nehru is widely considered the architect of India's independence, and his foreign policy goal at the time was to establish a democratic environment (Muni,2009 p. 69). Asia is still dealing with the consequences of its failure (Bloomfield, 2014, p. 160). However, his secularism and strong anti-imperialist stance have advocated separatists on the 'Kashmir question.' According to Bloomfield (2014), Nehru was trapped in an ideational tri-lemma caused by competing commitments to fundamental components of India's identity. Unfortunately, the ramifications of South Asia's failure are still being felt (Bloomfield, 2014, p. 160).

India's foreign policy in the post-Nehruvian era was centered on its neighbors, with market policies that adapted to the shifting global political landscape. Indira Gandhi took advantage of her political position to influence Indian foreign policy (Chattopadhyay, 2011, p. 95). India's foreign policy focuses its significant role on becoming a superpower or, at the very least, an uncontested dominance in the region' in South Asia while focusing on its national interests. Under Jawaharlal Nehru, India's foreign policy was based on three assumptions: a) India had to assume the region's tasks and importance; b) India would lead anti-colonial activities and assist in the establishment of a buffer of 'Developing World' governments; and c) India and China will further work together to keep Asia free of major powers competition (Chattopadhyay, 2011, p. 104).

India continued its pre-colonial foreign policy in South Asia, despite expectations that it would exorcise the colonial legacy after independence from British colonialists in 1947. India's neighborhood strategy is still shaped by Nehru's ideals and Indira Gandhi's reality. Economic globalization and/or regionalism have had a considerable impact on India's foreign policy toward its regional neighbors, where it acts as an intervenor. Because of its economic strength, India is often seen as a rising power today. India's influence in Nepal's domestic policymaking and foreign policy is viewed as hegemonic, and not just because of paternalism. In *Rising Nepal*, Narad Bharadwaj, a history professor at Tribhuvan University, and former

ambassador read a portion of a letter given to Jawaharlal Nehru by Vallabhbhai J. Patel, India's first deputy prime minister and one of the nation's founding fathers (n.d.). the ion (Chattopadhyay, 2011, p. 104). Patel states in his letter (November 7, 1950) that Indian nationals have been victims of the Rana regime's inhumane treatment in Nepal, just as they have been in Hyderabad. To put an end to the atrocities and chaos, India should send its army to Nepal and seize control of the country, eventually making Nepal a part of the Indian Federation like Kashmir and Hyderabad.

During the restoration of multi-party democracy in Nepal following the Jana Andolan in 1990, the irritants in Indo-Nepal relations were contested not only in the media but also in public intellectual circles and the general public. Similarly, Jana Andolan II established a federal democratic republican structure. Political changes have resulted in the emergence of a free press, which has allowed for public debate on Nepal-India relations. The party leadership, on the other hand, has repeatedly proved their ineptness and immaturity in managing the country's foreign policy (Karki & KC, 2020, p. 87).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Deep social, cultural, strategic, political, and economic relations have existed between Nepal and India for millennia. Unfortunately, when exposed to the shifting fundamentals of time, ties wither. In Nepal, anti-India sentiment is on the rise.

Several decades of brainwashing, according to Nepali political veterans, developed a sense of uneasiness about India, which continues to affect political opinions to this day. Throughout the 1950s, India's influence on Nepal grew. The Citizenship Act of 1952 made it very easy for Indians to immigrate to Nepal and get Nepalese citizenship, causing significant animosity in Nepal. Nepalese were permitted to freely migrate to India, causing hostility in that country. This policy was not changed until 1962 when the Nepalese constitution was amended to include numerous restricted articles. In Nepal, an Indian military mission was also created in 1952. A contract was signed in 1954, establishing joint foreign policy cooperation and the construction of Indian security stations along Nepal's northern border. At the same time, Nepalese dissatisfaction with India's growing dominance erupted, prompting overtures to China as a counterbalance.

King Mahendra maintained the nonaligned stance initiated by Prithvi Narayan Shah during his reign. Nepal voted differently than India in the United Nations in the late

1950s and 1960s unless India's essential interests were at stake. In 1969, Nepal requested that the security checkpoints and liaison groups of India be removed from the current joint security agreement. Although the treaty was not abrogated, India reluctantly removed its military checkpoints and liaison group. In the 1970s, there were additional changes in Nepalese-Indian ties. India's regional power credibility has grown, while Nepal's vulnerability has grown. Nepal followed a cautious appeasement policy toward India, and King Birendra pushed for Nepal to be recognized as a peaceful zone devoid of military conflict.

Nepal's need for separate trade and transit treaties was incorporated into the 1978 agreements. Over the next decade, the two countries' relationship improved, albeit not consistently. India continued to back Nepal's resistance and refused to recognize Nepal as a peaceful zone. In 1987, India demanded that Nepali settlers be ejected from surrounding Indian states, and Nepal countered by instituting a work permit system for Indians working in Nepal. When Kathmandu signed a weapons purchase agreement with Beijing immediately after discovering that China had obtained a concession to build a road connecting China and Nepal in the western sector, relations between the two countries hit rock bottom. These events were interpreted by India as a deliberate attempt to compromise national security. India pushed for the development of a single consolidated treaty as well as an agreement on illegal trade after the 1978 trade and transit treaties expired in March 1989, which Nepal saw as a brazen attempt to strangle its economy.

India declared both accords invalid on March 23, 1989, and closed all but two border entry points. Fuel, cooking oil, food, salt and other basic commodities imported into India quickly became scarce. The thriving tourism industry has taken a hit. Nepal also claimed that the embargo had wreaked havoc on the environment by forcing citizens to rely on already reduced forest supplies for energy rather than gasoline and kerosene, which were mostly imported via India. Nepal began a strong diplomatic campaign to oppose Indian pressure on trade and transit issues (Crossette, 1989 April 11).

A joint Kathmandu-New Delhi communiqué was issued in June 1990, until a full agreement encompassing all elements of bilateral ties, including the re-establishment of trade connections is reached, and the formalization of mutual respect for security, as well as the re-opening of transit routes for Nepal. Kathmandu and New Delhi

would collaborate on industrial development, water harvesting for mutual benefit, and environmental preservation and management.

The Indian Army employs thousands of Nepalese Gurkha soldiers. Citizens of both countries can freely work and live on either side of the border on a civilian level. Even before India and Nepal were sovereign nations in South Asia, they formed a remarkable civilian tie. The overwhelming outpouring of sympathy from Nepali people on social media platforms for the recently deceased Bollywood star Sushant Singh Rajput demonstrated the deep cultural affinity. Kalapani 400 km² in Western Nepal and Susta 140 km² in Southern Nepal are two of India's territorial disputes. The Kali River is Nepal's western border with India, according to the Sugauli Treaty, which Nepal and British India signed on March 4, 1816. The source of the river differs between India and Nepal. Nepal is said to have presented a map from the British India Office from 1856 to back up its claim (IBC,2007 April 7).

Apart from border problems, the periodic unilateral embargo enforced by India, India's false claim to the birthplace of Lord Buddha, India's "big brother" demeanor toward Nepal, and uneven diplomatic accords has all been long-standing sources of Nepali hatred of India. Land-locked Nepal is known as "India-locked" because it shares boundaries with India on three sides: east, west, and south. Taking use of its geographical advantage, India has imposed three periodic trade blockades against Nepal, in 1975, 1989, and 2015, resulting in widespread anti-India sentiment among Nepalese citizens. Nepal was forced to sign a historic trade and transit agreement with its northern neighbor, China, after facing a crushing blockade in 2015, barely a month after a devastating earthquake devastated the country.

There are many diplomatic agreements between Nepal and India, and public perception holds that these are most beneficial to India. Unequal diplomatic agreements between Nepal and India are one of the main problems in increasing the anti-India sentiment in Nepal. Observers regard Nepal's assertiveness in recent years as a result of its growing ties with China, which may have been spurred by a reaction to the country's over-dependence on India. The 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship publicly recognized and made official the relationship between Nepal and India, notwithstanding its "ancient" origins. Because Nepal lacks access to the sea, the treaty's ramifications made Nepal increasingly reliant on India for trade, particularly for the transit of imports and exports from the sea. The Indo-Nepal Trade and Transit Treaty of 1960 reinforced this trade link by making the former kingdom of Nepal

completely reliant on India for all of its imports. This over-dependence was exposed decades later, in 1989, when India put an economic blockade on Nepal as a result of its displeasure with the country's growing ties with China (Shahid,2020 May 28).

With the victory of the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Hindutva has come to dominate political discourse in India, raising worries in Nepal that Hindu nationalist organizations with official support are attempting to push their ideological agenda beyond India's borders. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu nationalist organization intimately linked to India's ruling government, has maintained a Nepal chapter for a long time, has strong ties to the Hindu monarchy, and has historically backed a Hindu state in Nepal-Hindu parties in Nepal attempted to promote their agenda in 2015 by requesting that the word "secular" be deleted from the draft constitution, influenced by those in India. The fact that Indian Defense Minister Rajnath Singh has stated that he would back Nepal's return as a Hindu state has only added to these anxieties. This narrative appears to be supported by sections of the Indian media, which are embracing hyper-nationalist views at home and stirring up anti-Islam feelings in Nepal, which has a long history of religious tolerance.

The study of political relations of nations is important in understanding the unique relationships that exist between nations and cultures. These relationships can impact everything from international politics, law, and economics to security, diplomacy, and governance.

It is therefore important to identify the status and foundations and major hindrances of Nepal-India relations. A good understanding of the factors that are hindering in political relations of two countries today and, more importantly, those which will influence shortly is therefore essential in overcoming the hindrances and fostering the relations over time. Knowledge of the curbing factors likely to affect the political relations between two countries in the future and what could be done to foster the political relationships can be of importance to both states in making appropriate policy interventions and improving the mutual relations. This study, thus, examines the factors that are actually hindering the political relations between Nepal and India and thus be able to suggest some sustainable solution measures in fostering the mutual relations thereof. No scholars have undertaken a study on Nepal-India political relations in Nepal in the past that prefers the ground to study this. The central questions that have been posted under this study are as follows:

- a) What are the status and foundations of Nepal-India political relations from 2006-to 2016?
- b) Why do there exist persisting challenges in Nepal-India political relations?
- c) What could be the strategies and policies to foster the bilateral relationship between two countries?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study's overarching goal is to critically examine how the Nepal–India relationship has developed; nevertheless, the study's specific goals are as follows.

- a) To examine the status and foundations of Nepal-India political relations from 2006-to 2016;
- b) To analyze the major barriers to Nepal-India political relations and
- c) To explore the strategies/policies to improve and foster the relations in the future.

1.4 Significance of the Study

As adjacent neighbors, India and Nepal share a unique friendship and cooperation relationship characterized by open borders and extensive people-to-people relationships. Individuals freely going across borders to share familial ties and culture has long been a tradition. Nepal shares borders with five Indian states on the east, south, and west: Sikkim, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttarakhand. The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship is the cornerstone of India's special relationship with Nepal. As it observed that political ups and downs and drastic political changes during the last few decades, there are curiosities in digging out and exploring the determination of Nepal-India political relations because of the emergences of new political powers in Nepal and India, the manifestation of ethnic conflict in Nepal that transverses a cross border, Nepal's inclination to china and many other factors alike. Nepal-India political relations are the least investigated in Nepal. This study is related to Nepal-India relations. The outcome of this study is anticipated to significantly contribute to formulating and making good relations between two neighboring countries.

The present study will attempt to explore the current status and foundations, identify major barriers, and examine the appropriate solution measures. The outcome of this research study will also contribute to minimizing the threats to core values and national interests, and formulate national security concepts, policies, strategies, and

programs while addressing challenges and threats to good relations between the two countries in an institutionalized manner to strengthen Nepal-India political relations in days to come. The outcome of this research study is also envisaged to be instrumental in helping both countries improve their political relations by providing appropriate knowledge and tools to shape and effectively address the issues in terms of political relations between the two countries. The extent, to which the present study will be able to provide detailed documentary evidence. The knowledge and insights gained through this process were intended to complement existing assessments of Nepal-India relations and to help bridge the gap between knowledge and countrywide decision-making.

The findings of the study are also envisaged to be instrumental in contributing towards breaching the existing literature gap in understanding the Nepal-India political relations thereby expanding the body of literature in Nepal. Similarly, this study will also open the debate and pave the way for future researchers and readers who are interested in this field and it could serve as a guideline to future researchers who are willing to develop deeper insight into such issues. Recent studies in Nepal conclude that more information needs to be sought in a new way for building up the relations between the two countries. Paving ways to improve the Nepal-India relations, it is high time to grasp a fresh opportunity to conduct this Nepal-India political relations-based study. It proffers the ground and context for the proposed study. Likewise, there are no studies previously carried out by any scholars in Nepal relevant to this which justifies the need of carrying out this study at present.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

Although Nepal-India political relations entail several sectors, this dissertation has eliminated its scope on three aspects such as the current status and foundations, major challenges, and strategies/policies to be undertaken concerning Nepal-India ties. The geographic, resource, and time limitations resulted in a smaller number of respondents. The study was limited to social, economic, demographic, cultural, and political factors that influence bilateral relations. The time between 2006 to 2016 has been considered the crucial turning point in the history of bilateral relations between the two countries. The study area was mainly concentrated in Kathmandu, Nepal. Specifically, the natures of this research were descriptive and explanatory. This study used a qualitative approach to gather data, generate knowledge and answer the

research questions. The study, however, might have been affected by certain biases on my part and the research participants.

1.6 Outline of the Study

This dissertation represents an effort to raise and address important questions about the Nepal-India political relations that have thus far gone unexamined. The researcher hopes that even if the dissertation does not offer conclusive answers, it has at least endeavored to raise critical questions and the possible answers informed by the evidence. Chapter one, at the outset, lays out the background of the study followed by the statement of the problem, key research questions, study objectives and significance of the study, limitations, and outline of the study. Chapter two is related to the literature of review. Chapter three outlines the research methodology and methods used in this research. It gives an account of the study design, study area, sample size, sampling strategies, data collection methods and tools, the process of data collection, methodological issues and study constraints, and potential biases and limitations. Chapter four describes the present status and foundations of Nepal-India political relations. Chapter five is related to the major challenges of the relations between Nepal and India. Chapter six is about the strategies/policies for fostering bilateral relations between two countries. Chapter seven is about the summary, conclusion, and recommendation of the study

CHAPTER-II

LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of literature is considered an important aspect of research work as it helps understand specific problems and draws some hypotheses. Literature review itself is the process of systematic, meticulous, and critical summary of the published literature in the related field of research through which academicians can choose the topics in particular research subjects and can acquire the knowledge they require (Pant 2012, p.44). A comprehensive literature review is envisaged to be instrumental in providing the guidelines for the research in the context of theories and other research. In this connection, the review of available literature has been undertaken within this research study, particularly concerning the research objective.

This chapter presents key findings of the literature reviewed by the researcher. The literature review as a part of the present study mainly consists of an electronic research database and synthesized published and grey literature such as research articles, essays, reviews, and case reports, and manually published in peer and non-peer-reviewed electronic and print journals, magazines, newspapers, and reports. The main themes of the literature review include theoretical foundations of the study, general and empirical reviews, theoretical review, analytical framework, and finally research gaps. The themes presented in this chapter were generated based on the review of the literature and were relevant to address the research questions and study objectives.

2.1 Review of Theoretical Literature

The theory has several functions in international relations study. These functions throw more light on understanding the objectivity of the discussion justifiably. The theory, the researcher is going to use here is realism, liberalism, and constructivism which help to understand this collectively agreed phenomenon through systematically organizing the facts and evidence to support the arguments. International relation theory includes several different paradigms with different world views. The focus will be on realism and liberalism with its focus on the world as an anarchic place where survival, self-help, and statism are the main center point for the state. There are competing general theories or theoretical approaches in the field of international relations. These theories are outlined below.

2.1.1 Realism Theory

Realism, also called political realism, is an approach to international politics that emphasizes the system's competitive and conflictual features. Idealism or liberalism, which promotes collaboration, is frequently contrasted with it. Realists see nations as players in the globe, related to their security for national interests, and competing for domination. The emphasis on power and self-interest by realists has the unintended effect of their pessimism on the importance of ethical standards in international politics. They say that national politics is a world of authority and law, but international politics is a realm devoid of law and defined by current or potential state conflict. Not all realists, however, believe that ethics is irrelevant in international affairs. Classical realism should be separated from radical or extreme realism, as exemplified by twentieth-century theorists such as Reinhold Niebuhr and Hans Morgenthau. While classical realism places a strong emphasis on national interests, it is not the Machiavellian view that "anything is justifiable for the sake of the state" (Bull, 1995, pp. 181-211)

It also bans glorifying violence and warfare. In international politics, classical realists do not rule out the possibility of moral judgment. Rather than criticizing moralism, an abstract moral discourse that ignores political realities, they value successful political action based on prudence: the ability to appraise the appropriateness of a certain action among a variety of possibilities based on its expected political consequences. Theoretically, realism has a lengthy history and encompasses a wide range of perspectives. The most widely quoted founding fathers include Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Hobbes. Neorealism, a modern-day attempt to facilitate a more scientific view of the knowledge of international relations, has practically overtaken twentieth-century classical realism. Both classical realism and neorealism have been attacked by liberal, critical, and post-modern theorists. International relations (IR) realism is a school of thought that stresses the competitive and conflictual aspects of international affairs. Realism is considered to have its origins in some of history's earliest books, particularly Thucydides' narrative of the Peloponnesian War, which raged between 431 and 404 BCE. Because IR theory did not exist in a labeled form until the twentieth century, Thucydides was not a realist when he wrote over two thousand years ago.

However, theorists discovered many parallels between ancient and modern cognitive patterns and actions when looking back from a contemporary perspective. They then

used his and others' writings to support the argument that there existed a timeless theory that spanned all of recorded human history. 'Realism' was the label given to this theory (Antunes & Camisao, 2018, pp. 35-39). Realism is a philosophy that seeks to explain world politics in its entirety. It underlines the political restrictions imposed by humanity's egoistic character and the lack of a centralized authority above the state. The primary priority for realists is the state's existence, which explains why states' acts are judged by ethics of responsibility rather than moral precepts. Because of realism's prominence, there has been a considerable body of writing critically of its main assumptions. Despite the merits of the criticisms, which will be discussed further in this book, realism continues to provide useful insights and is an important analytical tool for any student of international affairs.

The primary actor in foreign affairs, according to realism's basic assumption, is the nation-state (often shortened to state). Individuals and organizations are examples of other bodies, although their influence is restricted. The state, on the other hand, is a unitary actor. National interests drive the state to speak and act in unison, especially during times of war. Third, decision-makers are rational actors in the sense that rational decision-making leads to national interest pursuit. It would be illogical to take acts that might weaken or expose your state. All leaders, regardless of political affiliation, should be aware of this as they strive to handle their state's affairs to thrive in a competitive climate, according to realism. Finally, states exist in an environment of anarchy, in which no one is in command worldwide. In a worldwide emergency, the analogy of "no one to call" is often used to emphasize this point. We usually have police forces, military, courts, and other institutions within our states. There is an assumption that these organizations will "do something" in the event of an emergency. There is no clear statement of anybody else 'doing something on a global scale because there is no defined hierarchy. As a result, governments can only rely upon themselves in the end.

Because realism typically uses historical instances, there is a strong focus on the idea that people are fundamentally held captive by their nature's repetitive patterns of conduct. The belief that humans are egoistic and seek power lies at the heart of that premise. Realists think that human egoism, desire for power, and reluctance to trust others result in predictable consequences. Perhaps this explains why war has become so prevalent throughout history. Human nature has an impact on state behavior since citizens are organized into states. Niccol Machiavelli emphasized how basic human

traits influence the state's security in this regard. And, at the time, most leaders were men, which influenced the realist view of politics. Machiavelli underlined in *The Prince* (1532) that a leader's first focus should be to increase national security. *The Prince* is a 16th-century political treatise written by Machiavelli, an Italian diplomat, and political theorist, as a guide for future princes and royals. *The Prince's* central premise is that princely goals – such as glory and survival – might excuse the use of immoral measures to accomplish those goals. (Strauss, 1987, pp. 55-58).

To succeed in this duty, the leader must be attentive and able to deal effectively with both internal and external dangers to his power; he must be both a lion and a fox. For the conduct of foreign policy, power (the Lion) and deception (the Fox) are essential weapons. According to Machiavelli, rulers should follow the "ethics of duty" rather than the "traditional religious morality" that leads the average citizen - that is, they should be nice when they can, but be willing to use force when required to ensure the state's existence.

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

Kenneth N. Waltz led the realist response, redefining pragmatism in international affairs in a distinctive way. In response to the liberal challenge, he published *The Theory of International Politics* in 1979, which aimed to overcome the weaknesses in Hans Morgenthau's social theory with a more rational approach known as structural realism or neorealism (Waltz, 1979). Unlike Morgenthau, who constructed his theory on the fight for power, which he related to human nature, Waltz ignored any philosophical analysis of human nature in favor of constructing a microeconomics-like explanation of international politics. He believes that states in the international system are similar to businesses in the home economy in that they all want to survive.

"On a global scale, the environment in which states act, or the structure of their system, is dictated by the fact that certain states prioritize survival over other short-term goals and act with relative efficiency to attain that goal."

Traditional liberals and classical realists, according to Waltz, make the same mistake by focusing on the individual state rather than ideological, moral, and economic considerations. They are unable to offer a serious explanation of the international system that is separate from the larger social context. Waltz recognizes that such abstract distorts reality and overlooks many of the things that made classical realism so appealing. It is difficult to look into specific foreign policy tendencies. However, it serves a function. It is quite helpful in comprehending the fundamentals of international politics. To be sure, Waltz's neorealist theory cannot be applied to internal politics. It cannot be used to assist governments in developing foreign or internal policies. His argument simply explains why, despite their diverse forms of government and political philosophies, states behave in similar ways, and why, despite their growing interdependence, the general picture of international relations is unlikely to alter. According to Waltz (1979), the unchanging attitude of countries across millennia can be explained by the limits on their behavior enforced by the global system's architecture (Waltz, 1979). The organizing principle initially determines a system's structure, then unit differentiation, and finally the distribution of capabilities (power) among units.

Waltz acknowledges non-state actors, but they are regarded as minor players. Because all states want to live, there is no divisions or functional division among them, and anarchy suggests a self-help system whereby each nation must fend on its own. Although they are practically equal, they are distinguished by their respective strengths (the power each one of them symbolizes) in doing the same task. As a result, Waltz's perspective on power and government behavior differs from that of the classical realists. Morgenthau viewed power as both a tool and an aim in and of itself, and rational actor acting was merely the best way to obtain the greatest amount of power. Neorealists, on the other hand, believe that each state's first concern is security, and hence place a strong emphasis on power distribution. Neorealism differs from classical realism in terms of methodological rigor and scientific self-concept (Guzzini, 1998, pp. 127-128).

The underlying principle of international affairs, anarchy, stays constant regardless of the distribution of powers across states. This has a long-term effect on state behavior

that has been indoctrinated into self-help logic. In an attempt to debunk neoliberal notions about the consequences of interconnection, Waltz outlines two reasons why the chaotic international system hinders cooperation: fear and unequal gains. Each state in anarchy is unsure of the motives of others and is concerned that the potential advantages of cooperation may advantage other countries more than it, making it dependent on others. "States do not choose to put themselves in positions where they are more reliant. Security issues subordinate economic gain to political interest in a self-help system." (Waltz, p. 107, 1979).

Neorealism has proven tremendously influential within the field of international relations due to its theoretical elegance and methodological rigor. Many researchers believe Morgenthau's realism has become archaic—" an intriguing and important episode in the history of thought on the topic, no doubt, but hardly to be seen as a fundamental contribution of the rigorously scientific theory" (Williams, 2007, p. 1).

In recent years, scholars have questioned prevailing narratives in the field of international relations about unambiguous theoretical traditions. Re-examinations of Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and other theorists have grown popular as a way of questioning how their legacies are now used in the discipline and investigating different lineages and orientations. Morgenthau has gone through a similar interpretive process. His ideas have been endorsed by several researchers as a source of change for the classic realist interpretation. Morgenthau's dedication to "speak truth to power" and "unmask authority's claims to truth and morality," as well as his proclivity to advocate different views at different periods, are highlighted by Cozette (Cozette, 2008, pp. 10-12).

We'd be able to explain major wars, long stretches of peace, and the fall and rise of international orders. Another option is to apply new scientific findings to sociology. Alexander Wendt's latest book, *Quantum Mind, and Social Science* provides evidence for this. Quantum theory's organic and holistic worldview, the concept of human evolution, and an increasing understanding of humans' role in the evolutionary process could all serve as foundations for a new realist approach to international politics (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017, pp. 77-79).

In this light, the 1970s neorealist revival may be considered a necessary corrective to liberal confidence in global cooperation and change as a result of interdependence that was overly optimistic. When realism becomes a fanatical endeavor, however, it loses its effectiveness. It becomes an ideology when it remains mired in a government and

overly simplified "worldview," such as neo-realism- realism, and excludes the likelihood of any change in relations. It can be used to justify aggression because of its focus on power dynamics and national interests. As a result, beliefs that better account for global politics' continuously altering image must be replaced. To its primarily negative, warning role, positive norms must be introduced. These concepts span from classical realists' emphasis on logic and prudence through the liberal and English School's emphasis on multilateralism, international law, and global society, to many of today's writers' cosmopolitanism and global solidarity.

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

2.1.2 Theory of Liberal International Relations

Liberalism is an international relations theory school founded on three interconnected doctrines: (i) a refusal of realpolitik as the only possible result of international affairs; (ii) a focus on mutual gain and collaborative partnerships; and (iii) with use of international bodies and non-governmental players to influence state priorities and choices (Shiraev, 2014, p. 78). This school of thought emphasizes three factors that encourage states to cooperate rather than compete. (1) international organizations, such as the Un, which provide a forum for nonviolent dispute resolution; (ii) international commerce, because established democracies do not go into conflict with one another, so interstate-state war will be less prevalent if there are more democratic countries; and (iii) the spread of democracy because established democracies do not go to conflict with one another, so interstate conflict will be less regular if there are more democratic nations. Liberals believe that international institutions are crucial to

inter-state cooperation. States can lessen conflict by putting in place the right international institutions and enhancing interdependence (including economic and cultural interactions) (Shirayev & Zubok, 2014, p. 88).

Liberals also say that international diplomacy can be a powerful tool for getting countries to communicate honestly and promote nonviolent solutions to problems (Shirayev & Zubok, 2014, p. 90). Liberals believe that states can work together to achieve prosperity with the right institutions and diplomacy while minimizing war. Liberalism is a significant school of international relations theory. Liberalism is derived from the Latin word *liber*, which signifies "freedom," and was previously known as the liberal ideology. Its origins can be traced back to Enlightenment-era liberal thinking. The problems of attaining permanent peace and cooperation in international relations, as well as the numerous strategies that could contribute to their success, are the primary subjects that it aims to address. The democratic peace theory and, more broadly, the effect of domestic political regime types and domestic politics on international relations are two important topics of research under liberal international relations theory (Placek, 2012).

Liberalism had profound scholarly and philosophical roots from its inception. Early influences can be detected in certain larger religious practices that share the same purpose as the theory's primary principle of worldwide cooperation and peace. Eventually, in the 17th and 18th centuries, political liberalism started taking on a form that targeted aristocratic and inherited inequality (Shirayev, 2014, pp. 78-87). Soon after, the Enlightenment began, with philosophers such as Voltaire, Locke, Smith, and German philosopher Immanuel Kant articulating liberal concepts in their writings. The Thirty Years' War and the Enlightenment impacted liberal intellectuals in part. The length and carnage of the Three Decades' War instilled a broad aversion to warfare throughout most of Europe. Thinkers like Locke and Kant penned works based on their observations of the world. They believed that war is inherently unattractive and that person is born with certain rights since the ending of the Three Decades' Struggle demonstrated these principles to them.

In *Two Treatises of Government* (Locke, 1689) published in 1689, John Locke explores several ideas that are now credited to liberalism. Locke makes observations on society and emphasizes the necessity of natural rights and laws in his second treaty. People are born as blank slates, according to Locke, with no preconceived beliefs or notions. This phase is characterized as the Natural order because it

represents individuals in their most barbaric form. As people grow older, their experiences shape their perspectives and actions. Until people may choose to leave or their barbarous nature is transformed, they are fundamentally in the Natural order. According to Locke, civil governance can bring order to chaos. When it comes to the Law of Nature, when there is a government in existence, individuals are more likely to act rationally since there are laws and punishments to follow. Civil government, according to Locke, can assist people in achieving their basic human rights of health, liberty, and possession. Governments that provide these rights and implement laws benefit the entire planet. During the French and American revolutionary movements, many of these views influenced leaders like the Founders and French revolutionaries. In Kant's *Perpetual Peace* (1795), the philosopher paved the path by laying forth parameters for developing a peace program that nations may follow (Kant, 1795). This approach would necessitate state cooperation as well as a shared goal of secure freedom and shared rewards (Marguerite, 2007, p. 782). One such concept was the Democratic Peace Theory. In *Perpetual Peace*, Kant argues that democracies do not wage war because their leaders are preoccupied with re-election. After having witnessed the efficacy of economic alliance in tying authorities together, liberal campaigners grew to assume that violence was not always an inevitable aspect of international relations. Kant thinks that because the conflict was unpopular in the first place, politicians would avoid upsetting voters with their expenditures (Shirayev, 2014, p. 80).

From there, support for liberal political theory grew much further. Neoliberals such as Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye have since altered Kant's democratic peace theory. These philosophers have witnessed democracies fighting wars. Due to capitalist links, democracies do not wage wars with other democracies. After seeing how effective economic coalitions were at pulling nations together, liberals began to feel that aggression was not always an inherent part of global affairs (Shirayev, 2014, p. 80). From there, support for liberal political theory grew much further. Neoliberals such as Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye have since altered Kant's democratic peace theory. These philosophers have witnessed democracies fighting wars. Due to capitalist links, democracies do not wage wars with other democracies.

The basic liberal claims about the essential social actors and their motivations, the relationship between the state and civil society, and the circumstances under which states develop strategies and make choices in international systems can all be

expressed as three assumptions in the liberal theory of world policies (Kenneth & Waltz, 1959, pp. 65-68). Many elements of the realist tradition have been suggested as grounds for its privileged status, including its longevity, parsimony, and appeal to politicians. The most important reason, however, is because it remains the only fully articulated theoretical approach (sometimes referred to as "paradigm") on the subject of international relations from a social scientific perspective (Dessler, 1970, pp. 91-96).

To be sure, realism has its detractors. Immanuel Kant, John Stuart Mill, Richard Cobden, Woodrow Wilson, Norman Angell, Joseph Schumpeter, and John Maynard Keynes are among the most persistent and powerful of these figures from the classical liberal tradition throughout the last two centuries. The following strands of classical-liberal thought have found their way into contemporary international relations theory: republican liberalism contends that liberal democracies are more pacific than other forms of government; pluralist liberalism contends that the misdistribution of social power or the existence of deep social cleavages creates incentives for peace and cooperation, and regulatory liberalism contends that international laxity creates incentives for peace and cooperation; and regulatory liberalism contends that international laxity creates incentives for (Keohne, 1991, pp. 165-194).

To begin with, liberalism provides a historical analysis of major changes in the international system. Liberalism can forecast the slow spread of a liberal capitalist zone of peace and the direction of abrupt changes in world political and economic alignments, such as the one that occurred in 1989. Second, liberalism extends beyond the explanation of aggregate levels of international cooperation and conflict. Unlike realism, it also forecasts the substantive substance of state policies—the specific issues that will be of interest in specific circumstances, as well as shifting goals—and prescribes how states should bargain over them (Ruggie, 1984, pp. 385-392). For example, the progressive movement in diplomatic emphasis from "high" to "low" politics is unexplained and irrelevant to realism; it is a logical consequence of liberal philosophy. Finally, liberalism combines systematic and diplomatic elements into a unified framework. Liberalism is more than just a unitary theory that asserts the "inevitable primacy of domestic politics over foreign policy"; it also has a systematic dimension. The representation of transnational interests to governments by domestic

society provides a causal mechanism that connects domestic and international politics, and therefore the study of international relations and competitive politics.

Liberalism is frequently regarded as the defining feature of modern Western political philosophy. Its core values – liberty, (human) rights, reason, progress, and tolerance – as well as constitutional and democratic standards, are profoundly ingrained in Western political culture. Nonetheless, international affairs professors and diplomats alike dismissed liberal conceptions of international relations as unrealistic until recently. The realism theory that the international milieu was necessarily subject to the harsh imperatives of power politics seemed to be vindicated by the two world wars and the Cold War. However, the globe has changed dramatically since the conclusion of the Cold War. There is no hostile power threatening liberal democracies; in fact, the big conflict has become unimaginable, since the international economy is governed by liberal market standards. Liberal internationalism has resurfaced as a viable option. Nepal's and India's political ties will be founded on this liberalism theory as well.

2.1.3 Constructivism

Constructivism's emergence in the field of international relations is frequently linked to the end of the Cold War, an event that classic theories like realism and liberalism failed to account for. Some of their key tenets, such as the belief that states are self-interested individuals competing for power and that the unequal power distribution among nations determines the balance of power between them, can be connected to their failure. Traditional theories have left little room for observing human agency due to their primary focus on the state. After all, it was the activities of regular people, not nations or international organizations, that brought the Cold War to an end. Constructivism explains this problem by claiming that the social reality is constructed (Onuf, 1989,p.32). Through their actions and interactions, actors (typically powerful individuals such as leaders and prominent citizens) form – and occasionally redefine – the fundamental structure of international relations (Adler, 2005, p. 88). In 1989, Nicholas Greenwood Onuf was the first theorist to use the term "constructivism" in International Relations theory, arguing that states, like individuals, live in a "world of our making," as the title of his famous book suggests, in which many entities such as "social facts" are created by human action, as opposed to "brute facts," which do not

rely on human action for their existence but are phenomena of the human condition (Searle, 2005, p. 49).

Constructivism began as a form of "reflectance" criticism of the scientific process to the analysis of social sciences, based upon the work of philosophers such as Ludwig Wittgenstein, Wilhelm Dilthey, and R. G. Collingwood (Chernoff, 2008, pp. 68, 132). As a result, according to Adler, the key issue over constructivism is about "the character of social science itself and, thus, the discipline of International Relations," rather than the theoretical confrontation between "science" and "literary interpretation or "tales." "In other words," he explains, "the issue confronts a naturalist definition of science, which is almost wholly founded on disputed philosophies of science and physical ideas and theories that physics has long since abandoned, versus a social science concept that is social." However, as a methodological disclaimer, Adler points out that classifying "constructivism, post-structuralism, and post-modernism" as all being variants of the same "reflectivity" approach is a "mistaken view."

The fact that constructivism arose as a meta-theory about how social sciences in general operate appears to have been the primary reason why constructivism's application in IR garnered so much criticism at first. "Constructivism produced little in the way of substantial knowledge, or even hypotheses, concerning the behavior of states or state systems," critics said (Chenoff, 2008, p. 68). In the mid-1990s, alternative publications by various IR theorists helped to create and portray the constructivist approach as a substantial theory of international conduct. With the conclusion of the Cold War, the constructivist school of thought in IR rose to prominence, causing a significant remolding of discussions within the dominant discourse of international relations theory. Such key notions as "discourses," "norms," "identification," and "socialization" are central to constructivist arguments, and are regularly employed in modern conversations over a variety of international concerns, including "globalization," "international human rights," "security policy," and more.

Some major developments compelled such a hypothetical event: leading rationalists challenge critical theorists to move beyond meta-theoretical criticism of pragmatism and produce factual theories of international affairs; (ii) neorealists' and neoliberals fail to forecast the end of the Cold War and the eventual results challenge to the explanatory and analytical capabilities of their concepts; (iii) the emerging as a new generation of international relations (Reus-Smit, 2005, pp. 195-196).

Constructivism has been regarded by some theorists as belonging to or being an "outgrowth" of the critical discourse of international relations theory, as "many of its pioneers explicitly sought to employ the insights of that theory to illuminate diverse aspects of world politics," while owing much to sociological and theorizations and debates. Despite claims by some scholars that constructivism is now forming "a new mainstream" in international relations theory, it can still be viewed as "an oppositional movement within IR theory" and "a genuinely radical alternative" (Brown & Ainley, 2005, pp. 48-49).

In comparison to realism, which emphasizes international actors' interdependence and operation within restrictions, and liberal globalism, which emphasizes international actors' interdependency and operation within restrictions, constructivism sees global affairs as a sphere of interplay constituted by actors' personalities and practices and inspired by continually shifting normative spheres. Rather than seeing international actors as in itself pre-social "atomistic egoists" whose preferences are created "before interaction" and who participate in such interplay solely for material wealth as well as "strategic purposes," constructivists view them as inherently "social" beings whose meanings and interests are "the products of cross social systems" (Reus-Smit, 2005, p. 193).

By trying to argue that international affairs structures are "socially conditioned" and that "these formations shape actors' characteristics and preferences rather than just their behavior," connectivism, which has different types and subsets and has thus been subtitled an "approach" to the assessment of global politics by some, hurdles the materialist and pragmatist underlying principles of the old mainstream IR theory. The primary difference between the neorealist and constructivist arguments stems from their differing perspectives on the nature of structure; in other words, whereas neorealists believe that systemic structures are "only made of the distribution of material capabilities," constructivists believe that they are "also made of social relationships," which are built by three elements: "shared knowledge, material resources, and practices." This is why constructivist theorists urge "sociological structuralism rather than microeconomic structuralism." "An interaction between actors (individuals, states, non-state entities) and the structures of their wider context," or "mutual building" between "agents and structures," is what they mean by global politics' social "construction." While "anarchism" is a defining characteristic of a global order for neorealists, it makes no logical sense for constructivists as it can

bring about a predefined state of affairs amongst state players on its own, making the international system more conflictual than the calm environment. Rather, constructivists believe that different cooperative and conflictual social structures and arrangements can be formed and defined in anarchy based on actors' social identities and, as a result, the way they build their national interests and implement relevant means to safeguard them (Griffiths, O'Callaghan, & Roachm 2008, p. 52).

Constructivists condemn natural scientific IR theorists for neglecting societal areas of international politics, trying to claim that the existence of the international system is inextricably linked to "life form conceptions" of it and that the socio-cultural aspects of global politics are just as essential as the security and economic dimensions. According to constructivism, social structures that are not constant or unchangeable determine the identity and preferences of transnational players. As constructivism evolved during the 1990s, it was divided into three types: "systemic," "unit-level," and "holistic" constructivism. Unit-level constructivist theory, as exemplified by Peter Katzenstein's ideas, is the "inverse" of systematic constructivism, focusing on the domestic political domain of states. Finally, holistic constructivists operate at the crossroads of systematic and unit-level constructivism, attempting to explain how state identity and interests originate by bridging the "international-domestic" gap (Reus-Smit, 2005, p. 201).

Wendt articulates the core concepts of constructivism in his groundbreaking *Social Theory of International Politics* (1999), building on the philosophical beliefs of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Immanuel Kant to theorize three cultures of anarchy characterized by "enmity," "rivalry," and "friendship." He refers to his "moderate" constructivist theory as "thin constructivism," because it "gives crucial points to materialist and individualist viewpoints [of neorealism] and supports a scientific approach to social research." It is a "cultural" theory of international politics that questions the "ontological atomism" and "epistemological positivism" that both neorealism and neoliberalism as classic theories of IR share in principle (Griffiths, 1999, p. 53).

Constructivism, as a social theory, opposes materialism by hypothesizing human association structures as "primarily cultural rather than material phenomena," and rationalism by arguing for their function as not only behavior-regulating but also identity- and interest-constructing, though it admits that "material forces" "still matter," and "people" "are still intentional actors."

The fact that Wendtian constructivism is widely recognized as a systematic philosophy is probably the most fundamental explanation for this.

Moreover, Richard Ned Lebow's constructivist theorizations necessitate a close consideration of the numerous strands of constructivism that examine international relations from different perspectives and hence maintain diverse foci. Ned Lebow develops a "cultural theory of international friendships" based on theoretical formulations derived from human motives and identification underpinnings – "appetite," "spirit," "reason," and "fear," as he characterizes them – and provides a "paradigm of politics" that attempts to explain various modes of political structure and governance over time, from ancient times, based on theoretical compositions of primary human real motivations and identity foundations – " (Lebow,2008, pp .65-66).

However, the events of September 11, 2001, had little impact on constructivism's discussions and innovations, and the international environment that arose in response to them as "an imaginative constructivist approach to the post-9/11 world" went mostly unrecognized. Many of the "big" and challenging questions that the IR community is now confronted with, such as "the nature of power," "the relationship between international and world society," and "the relevance of culture in world politics," "play to constructivism's strength," according to some academics (Reus-Smit, 2005, pp. 209-11).

Constructivism avoids the determinism trap that some classic IR theories fall into by focusing on nations' agential powers in shaping and determining the international system's course. It also serves as a "bridge" between neorealist and neoliberal ideas by focusing on the character of international anarchy as a result of countries' own decisions and actions. "Constructivism has something for everyone," Weber continues. This isn't to say that the constructivist concept of global relations doesn't have flaws (Weber, 2010, pp. 68-81).

2.2 Review of Empirical Literature

Timalsina researched Nepal-India ties to revise a pact signed in the 1950s. The goal of this study was to highlight bilateral relations between Nepal and India, with a focus on Nepal's aspirations to revise or abrogate the 1950s peace and friendship treaty. The influence of the 1950s peace and amity treaty between weakening Rana rulers and newly emancipated India was heavily emphasized. The document also emphasized the Eminent Persons Group's (EPG) efforts to examine the treaties between the two

ancient allies of South Asia, who have a long socio-cultural bond as well as an open border. Nepal has been victimized as a result of an unequal and dominating treaty, which has been compared to the Versailles Treaty, and Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikari had raised his voice against this treaty for the first time even while in office, sparking an open debate about it, which led to the formation of EPG to study unequal treaties between Nepal and India (Timalsina,2019, pp. 54-56).

The EPG was founded in January 2016 by the Governments of Nepal and India to resolve longstanding bilateral difficulties between the two countries. Its mandate was to review all disputed elements of Nepal-India relations and revise bilateral agreements and treaties. The joint mechanism, which included specialists and intellectuals from Nepal and India, as well as four members from each country, made every effort to produce acceptable reports. They were given the task of reviewing several elements of bilateral ties, including the 1950 Nepal-India Friendship Treaty, and making recommendations on how to improve bilateral relations between the two countries. The Nepali side had provided facts and figures at a previous EPG conference regarding the necessity to review the Nepal-India Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 and amend it as time and circumstances demanded. Some excellent old books (by MC Regmi, András Höfer, Eugene B Mihaly, Lionel Caplan) have recently been reissued. The most current is Bhuwan Lal Joshi and Leo E Rose's *Democratic Innovations in Nepal: A Case Study of Political Acculturation* (Joshi & Rose, 1966, pp.85-91).

Democratic Innovations is a detailed political history of a vital transitional and formative time in Nepal's history (1950-64) as the authors properly state. The book presents a detailed overview of political evolution in the post-Rana era, as well as an insightful analysis of events. The intra-party and inter-party infighting, as well as government infighting, are all thoroughly explained. Every government formed during the research period is also examined in terms of policy (administrative, economic, and foreign). This 566-page book could be considered a 'classic' of Nepali political history, despite the absence of any thinking. There has been a rise in regional cooperative initiatives all around the world since the 1980s. Regional cooperation is based on the assumption that governments in a shared geographical space work together to achieve goals that are beyond the reach of individual countries. In South Asia, regional cooperation gradually found a home. As a result, in 1985, the South

Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was formed, and the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) agreement was signed in 2006.

Regardless of these tools, regional collaboration has remained limited. This predicament is caused by both economic and non-economic forces. Tariff and non-tariff barriers to physical connectivity, as well as asymmetric power relationships and security concerns, have all functioned as roadblocks to regional cooperation in South Asia. South Asian states must preserve flexibility in dealing with highly political issues to allow for regional progress and economic development (Gill,2020. pp 42-51). His advice is also unwavering when it comes to improving Nepal-India relations.

The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, according to Manhas and Sharma (2014), is a foundation of the India-Nepal special relationship. Despite having doubts about the treaty and engaging in political posturing, Nepal has not withdrawn from it. On numerous occasions, Nepal has made steps to counter India's undue influence. To counterbalance India, it has played the China card. It implemented a work permit system for Indian laborers in 1988, as well as a slew of other discriminatory policies towards Indians, all in contravention of the treaty's spirit. Surprisingly, despite objections from both countries on some topics, the pact has persisted to this day. Furthermore, there is currently an agreement that the treaty has to be revised in light of the changing international and regional landscape. Given the geographical realities, Nepal will continue to be dependent on India. India will also have to recognize Nepal's historical ties and the strategic relevance of forging multifaceted cooperation in the future. To tackle increasing risks from non-state actors, India must take a liberal approach to provide Nepal with trade and transit facilities, as well as closely coordinate its security policy. Borders should ideally be kept open with cooperative regulatory systems, given the tight socio-cultural ties and proclivity of individuals in bordering regions to connect. All of these considerations must be taken into account in the new treaty, which will usher in new cooperation between the two countries (Manhas & Sharma, 2014, pp. 1-5).

2.3 Review of the Related Research Problem

The following subsections describe my research problem relating to Nepal-India relations.

2.3.1 Conceptualizing Foreign Policy

Different actors make up the international system. The many actors in the global system are constantly interacting to safeguard and advance their interests. Every actor's actions are guided by a fundamental instinct, namely, national interest. The way an actor deals with another actor, or the pattern of interaction between them, is largely determined by the core idea of national interest. Every actor is led by a certain policy when this fact is considered. Foreign policy is the approach taken by a country while interacting with another country. Several academics and intellectuals have independently defined foreign policy. It refers to how sovereign states' central governments interact with one another and with the global system to attain various aims or purposes (Jaiswal, 2016, p. 2). "Foreign policy, as opposed to domestic policy," said Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen, "is the management of nation-states' exterior relations and activities" (Robert & Sorensen, 2013, p. 252).

Foreign policy consists of "National governments conduct international relations with each other, with international organizations, and with non-governmental actors using goals, strategies, measures, procedures, guidelines, directives, understandings, and agreements, among other things. "Foreign policy," Schleicher claims "refers to acts (including words) taken by government authorities to influence human behavior outside of their state's jurisdiction. "In a broader sense, foreign policy refers to a country's external goals, tactics, and actions" (Malhotra, 2014, p. 156).

Foreign policy, in general, can be described as a tool for advancing national interests. It is a country's foreign policy while engaging with the international community. It is the set of principles by which a country conducts its foreign affairs and acts on the world stage. Foreign policy analysis, in addition to the aforementioned description, is based on a broader background of academic knowledge. Several hypotheses help to define the concept. Though theory and policy may not always lead to a single clear policy alternative, there will almost always be numerous options. Even yet, the theory that policymakers use to perceive the world is likely to influence the policy they choose. However, there are two basic philosophies, realism, and liberalism, that emphasize differing ideals in policy formulation. The school of thinking known as realism analyses international relations in terms of power (Goldstein & Pevelous, 2009, p. 43). It is founded on a pessimistic understanding of human nature. Humans are egoistic and self-centered. Relations are tense and prone to confrontation, and foreign policy decisions are determined by the importance of national security and

state existence. Realism is founded on the assumption that people are essentially selfish and power-hungry. Individuals are organized into states, each of which operates as a single entity to pursue its national interests. As a result, foreign officials' primary focus is to manage their insecurity.

The liberal perspective, on the other hand, highlights modern civil society's and capitalism's enormous potential for human growth, both of which can thrive in nations that protect individual liberty. The key values of this school of thought's relationships are freedom and democracy. Liberals are more optimistic about the prospects for peace, and they see international law as evolving and maybe becoming much more harmonious across periods (Goldstein and Pevelous, 2009, p. 84).

Without a doubt, a country's foreign policy is shaped by its diverse national interests and aims. General, internal, and external causes all have a role in this, resulting in varied terminology and shapes for foreign policy in different countries. The perspective of policymakers on a country's approach to the outside globe is likely to impact policy decisions. Isolation, special relations, equal proximity, relative distance, zone of peace, nonalignment, and similar distance policies have all remained important foreign policy choices for Nepal.

2.3.2 Foreign Policy of Nepal

Nepal is a landlocked country with no access to the sea. It is sandwiched between the two world's most powerful economies, India and China. Nepal's northern, largely hilly, the border is shared with China, while the southern (mainly flat), eastern, and western boundaries are shared with India. The Nepalese Constitution (2015) establishes the country's foreign policy principles, policies, and obligations. The Nepalese Constitution of 2015 states that the country's freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity, nationality, independence, and dignity, as well as the Nepalese people's rights, border security, economic well-being, and prosperity, are all essential elements of the country's national interest (Constitution of Nepal, 2015).

According to the guiding principles of our foreign policy, Nepal's foreign policy is guided by an unwavering faith in the United Nations and a policy of non-alignment, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual equality, non-aggression, peaceful settlement of disputes, and cooperation for mutual benefit (Shrestha, 2018, Jan 1). Although Nepal and India only formed diplomatic relations on June 13, 1947 (MoFA, 2017), they have a long history of friendship. Nepal's foreign ties with India have changed over

time as a result of various events, stages, and periods. As a result, Nepal has a wide range of relationships with India, including social, cultural, religious, geopolitical, economic, and diplomatic ties. These relationships have evolved from simple, linear relationships to complex, strange relationships as a result of several ups and downs.

Nepal's relationship with India must be reinterpreted and reformed in light of the changing circumstances, and it is certain to take on new dimensions following the approval of a new constitution and the institution of federalism. Geographic location, size, natural assets, demographic, and other physical environmental elements all influence a country's political, strategic, economical, and cultural qualities (Bhattarai, 2005, p.87).

In essence, Nepal-India relations are much more than the sum of the two nations' treaties and agreements. The frequent high-level visits by the leaders of the two countries at various points in time, as well as the exchanges, are the hallmarks of their ties. Furthermore, such trips have injected new vigor into the age-old and multi-faceted bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation, helping to promote goodwill, trust, understanding, and cooperation between the two countries and putting them on a more mature and pragmatic basis. Due to its geographical closeness to and historical connections with India, Nepal's foreign policy was mainly focused on maintaining strong and amicable relations with India, and also ensuring its internal security and independence. To succeed in the 2nd pro-democracy campaign, the government must assess its foreign affairs behavior in light of developments and develop and implement foreign policy accordingly. In the previous two years, Nepal has taken concrete steps to cultivate friendship and strong socioeconomic relations with all its neighbors. Nationalist sentiments in all of these nations, which are frequently directed towards India as the region's dominant force, will, however, remain a major challenge (Jaishankar, 2016). By evaluating previous treaties, Nepal has to join into treaties and accords based on equality and mutual benefit.

In the previous six decades, Nepalese-Indian international ties have drawn a slew of accusations. Its diversity has been reflected in critics' and scholars' multi-perspective critique, which has shed light on a variety of topics. As a result, I have endeavored to review as much literature as possible related to my topic area in my work, taking into account both arguments for and against my dissertation's identification. Surya Prasad Subedi, a renowned professor, has endorsed India's realist foreign policy approach. "The Indian government appears to have adopted the opinion that Nepal's attempts to

pursue an independent and impartial policy contravene the 1950 treaty and damage the unique relationship," he said (Subedi, 2004, p. 24).

The pact is regarded as an unequal contract struck between the governments of India and Nepal following India's disintegration from the British colonial empire. This viewpoint is perennial and prevalent across political parties, and it reaches its pinnacle during Nepalese election seasons. Furthermore, Nepalese policy planners, academics, and critics have acknowledged that India's dealings with Nepal are not fair or reciprocal enough to embrace the basic components of independence and sovereignty established by the Westphalian Treaty of 1648. The misuse of domestic politics in Nepal has been a major source of Indian intervention in the country.

When two states interact, they must be on an equal footing; nevertheless, Nepal has long been influenced by India due to unstable political situations and domestic inter- and intra-party strife. When King Tribhuvan fled to India, escalating the revolt led by the Nepali Congress Party (NCP) against the Rana oligarchy, India brokered an agreement that recognized the monarchy's role, legalized political parties, and established a constitutional monarchy, as well as allowed India to play a role in Nepalese politics. Non-alignment, sovereignty, dignity, isolation, and independence are all important aspects of Nepal's foreign policy against India. It was a policy used during the British Empire's colonial rule of India. The rulers of Nepal at the time attempted to maintain independence by isolating the country from the British Empire and China. Following WWII, Asia and Africa experienced an influx of independent states.

India and Pakistan were the first Asian countries to gain independence. In 1950, India gained independence and signed a treaty with Nepal, but Nepal was a huge loser due to the lack of foresight of the then Nepalese rulers and an unfortunate lack of unanimity among Nepalese rulers and intelligentsia. It was unable to articulate any ambitious aspirations to gain benefits from India, and instead simply signed the treaty document that India had offered and required. If the witless rulers and elites had been more aware of national interests rather than the "will to power," different guiding principles of foreign relations with India would have been followed instead of the one that has been followed for a long time for the sake of India's security and economic interests.

2.3.3 Background of Nepalese Foreign Relations

Nepal maintains formal diplomatic ties with 168 countries worldwide. A closer examination of the map reveals Nepal's geopolitical significance to India and China. Simply said, Nepal serves as a buffer zone for both of its neighbors and shows its security concentration. The two neighbors, who have two different and opposing political systems, have always been wary of leveraging Nepal's territory for their objectives. Since King Prithivi Narayan Shah ruled Nepal, he has isolated the country to prevent foreign influences, even at the expense of economic hardships, for the sake of his reign's security (Rose, 1970, p. 145).

The victory of Communism in China pushed Nepal and India closer together, and treaties were rapidly signed in 1950, with Nepal adopting nonalignment and peaceful cohabitation as ideals. These foreign policy principles were devised by Indian Prime Minister Nehru for India, but they were also embraced by Nepal. Two causes led to this decision. The first is that these terminologies clarified Nepal's traditional foreign policy, and the second is that they reflect some Indian influence. Since 1950, these ties have revolved around the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, which offers India substantial economic and security leverage over Nepal.

If India can assist Nepal and its other neighbors in becoming more peaceful, democratic, and prosperous, this can only enhance India's global image; otherwise, the Indian character will never be able to continue in metaphorical expression. Realists think that politics has its roots in human nature and that humans are the ones who exercise it. Nehru's views are consistent with this belief. It suggests that the trigger for interactions with Nepal is mankind or Indian governments and that Indian governments are not fundamentally loving and altruistic, but rather self-centered, egotistical, and competitive.

According to the Indian perspective, politics and human nature are selfish, self-centered, and conflictive, yet no state may prosper until there is an appropriate condition to come to terms with collaboration or alliance. However, realism is embodied in Nepalese-Indian ties, whether through the treaty of 1950 or other agreements reached since India's independence. Nepal has always been oppressed, submissive, and defeated, whereas India has always been dominant, courageous, and victorious. Nepal has long exercised to distance itself from Indian influence in response to Indian approaches to Nepal, but the obstacles have been so strong that it

has not been able to achieve the desired ends because "Landlocked countries like Nepal and Bhutan can hardly survive economically without India's cooperation" (Kapoor, 1994, p. 89).

Nepal has tried several cowardly attempts to break free from the patterns of relations with India imposed by the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of July 1950, but to no success, because Nepalese kings and ministers have little or no expertise in how to deal with such a serious matters. They have always scratched such grave concerns and tossed them into the trashcan for wielding power for so long because India has been like a papal Pope who used to crown kings in Europe during the Middle Ages after 1950. It may raise the question of why Nepal wants to break free from India's dominance. The answer is universal: a natural desire to become more self-sufficient and eliminate the dangers of over-involvement and over-dependence on India. The people of Nepal, for the most part, have recently recognized what it means to be an independent Nepali rather than a Nepali of a failing state. However, India is not only to blame for Nepal's descent into chaos; internal tensions between elites and political parties, Maoist insurgency, and recently resurrected conflicts and deadlocks are all contributing causes to India's larger role in Nepal.

'Geography is the mother of strategy,' says one expert. Isolationism arose partly as a result of the country's relative freedom from external influence and dominance. The Anglo-Nepal War arose out of a battle between Nepal and the British East India Company for control of the princely kingdoms that bordered Nepal and India (1814-1816). This battle drove Nepal to sign the Treaty of Sugauli in 1816, which forced Nepal to relinquish substantial territory to keep her independence. Even after India was decolonized and gained independence from Britain in 1947, Indo-Nepal relations were still founded on the Treaty of Sugauli, which was signed on the 2nd of December 1815 in Sugauli with the government of British India at that e time, the Treaty of Sugauli was completely in favor of the East India Company. The treaty was foolishly constructed to keep the East India Company and the Rajah of Nepal in peace and friendship at the cost of one-third of the country's total land area.

In other words, it was an utterly biased, incomplete, and unequal treaty of colonialism and imperialism signed by the then British authority, which humiliatingly constrained Nepal's ability to conduct free and independent foreign policy inside its small area (Pandey, 2011, p. 25).

Following its decolonization in 1950, India signed a new treaty with Nepal. It was the first bilateral treaty of its kind signed by India after it was freed from British colonial rule, but it was not signed as it was supposed to be. Given Nepal's uncertain politics and political upheavals, India's security worries were used to push the final Rana dynasty ruler to sign the Treaty of 1950, which India had tabled without any reservations from the Nepalese side. As Huntington has written: "Second, a brief wave of liberalization from 1943 to 1962," Indian authorities and politicians saw that a tsunami of decolonization was sweeping Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the 1950s (Huntington, 1991, p. 16) And because the tsunami of democratization was about to dislodge the oligarch-Ranarchy from Nepal as well, it was simple for them to grasp what they had wanted because space and time were on India's side in terms of influence.

2.3.4 History of Nepal-India Relations

Nepal and India have a long and symbiotic relationship. Given their physical proximity, India and Nepal have a long-shared past, which explains many of their cultural similarities. Nepal shares India's eastern, western, and southern borders, as well as China's northern border. Several treaties, border policies, and political movements have been developed and exchanged between Nepal and India. Culturally, the two countries have a lot in common. Marriage and religion are two major aspects that characterize these similarities. Marriage and religion are two major aspects that characterize these similarities. Although Hinduism has long been practiced in Nepal, the high-caste Hindus who fled the Muslim invasion of India in 1175 laid the foundation for many of the nation's social, economic, and political structures. Upper-caste Hindus wield tremendous power, according to Leo Rose, a well-known Western Nepal researcher, since they "produce ruling elite wherever they inhabit and have usually dominated political structures at the central level" (Rose, 1970, p.7).

As arranged marriages ensured the continuation of cordial and professional links between elite families across the border, these elite societies and relationships between Nepal and India became more essential. For example, Nepal's numerous governing dynasties have intermarried with Indian families of equal caste standing as a matter of policy, resulting in a large exchange of elites of fundamental social, cultural, and political importance." The establishment of these family and economic ties brought together Indian and Nepalese households, resulting in the formation of

crucial social linkages. Inter-marriage, according to the Journal of Asian Studies, aids in adapting to changes in affinities and the economy. When people of different castes and ethnic groups marry, new commerce and cultural activities emerge, resulting in social transformation. In addition, as seen in the case of India and Nepal, inter-marriage reduces any negative, preconceived beliefs about another community. This resulted in improved working relations between the two countries. Due to ethnic mixing, Nepal and India now have a population that is unusually diversified in terms of ethnicity, language (English, Hindu, and Nepali), and religion (Levine, 2014, pp. 72-74).

Despite this diversity, Hinduism is Nepal's and India's leading religion. It strengthens family bonds and promotes international understanding. This is critical for the countries' relations as Nepal is an officially Hindu nation and India is the world's most populated Hindu country. "Religion is undoubtedly the most essential component and has a predominant role in shaping the cultural links between these two countries," according to Nepal's embassy's country history brief (Embassy of Nepal, 2014 Aug 1). Pilgrimages by Nepali and Indian politicians are frequently used as a form of political diplomacy. When ties are strained, official visits convey goodwill and respect for each other's countries (Shrestha 2003, p.57).

As previously noted, most of India and Nepal's current relations are based on their common past. The open border facilitates the exchange of goods and services, as well as cultural customs. War and colonialism have historically influenced established treaties and government changes, as well as defining many crucial facets of their connections. Leaders' decisions during times of conflict, for example, have an impact on the political and economic contacts between the two countries, as well as present border management methods. The open border & long-standing historical ties have influenced and continue to affect these ties.

India has a stronger and unnatural influence on Nepal's internal affairs, which the Nepalese do not accept. All past discriminating treaties, such as the 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, have been agreed to be rewritten, but they have not yet been finalized. There are two distinct relationships between Nepal and India. Government-to-government interactions are quite volatile and have many rises and falls, but people-to-people relations are always pleasant and solid. In both Nepal and India, various border difficulties make the border unpleasant regularly. Despite such

circumstances, Nepal is in a position to maintain friendly relations with India while respecting each other's sovereignty, integrity, and freedom.

After the approval of the draft constitution, the scenario in Nepal changed, and the left coalition established the governments from the center to the most local levels. As a result, Nepal and India have both amicable and adversarial relations. In the previous six decades, Nepalese-Indian foreign relations have provoked a slew of critiques. Its diversity has been reflected in critics' and scholars' multi-perspective critique, which has shed light on a variety of topics. The Indian administration appears to believe that Nepal's attempts to pursue an independent and impartial policy violate the 1950 treaty and jeopardize the special relationship between the two countries (Subedi, 2004, p. 24).

According to India's government, Nepal should consult India before enacting measures based on the 1950 Treaty's principles and stipulations. After India was dissolved from the web of British colonialism, the treaty was signed on an unequal footing between the Indian and Nepalese governments. This point of view is perennial and common among political parties in Nepal, and it reaches its pinnacle during election seasons. Furthermore, Nepalese policy planners, scholars, and critics have affirmed that India's dealings with Nepal are not fair and reciprocal enough to embrace the basic components of independence and sovereignty established by the 1648 Westphalian Treaty. Nepal's internal politics have been a major source of contention.

2.3.5 Nepal's India Policy

The phrase "foreign policy" refers to the principles by which one actor interacts with another to resolve that actor's vested interests. The fundamental issues of foreign policy, according to Macridis (1992), are "interaction among nations and their overall impact on such matters as the distribution of power in our globe, defense, economic cooperation, conflict, and, of course, regional and collective security." When two states interact, they must be on an equal footing; nevertheless, Nepal has long been influenced by India due to unstable political situations and domestic inter-and intra-party strife. When King Tribhuvan fled to India, escalating the revolt led by the Nepali Congress against the Rana oligarchy, India brokered an agreement that recognized the monarchy's role, legalized political parties, and established a constitutional monarchy, as well as allowed India to play a role in the Nepali

politics. Non-alignment, sovereignty, dignity, isolation, and independence are all important aspects of Nepal's foreign policy against India. It was a policy used during the British Empire's colonial rule of India.

The rulers of Nepal at the time attempted to maintain independence by isolating the country from the British Empire and China. Following WWII, Asia and Africa experienced an influx of independent states. India and Pakistan were the first Asian countries to gain independence. Dutt (1984) has similar sentiments but claims that the relationship between India and Nepal is analogous to the interaction between the lips and the teeth. "There are few places other than India and Nepal where the analogy of lips and teeth applies so demonstrably and accurately," he says. The unavoidable intimacy of their relationship is brought home by a glance at the map" (Dutt, 1984, p. 252).

The Himalayas, which enclose Nepal on three sides, are the natural border, leaving only the continuous territory with India as an outlet." His point of view, while similar to Professor Subedi's, fundamentally differs in that Professor Subedi confirms the existence of a separate and sovereign state Nepal, whereas Professor Dutt appears to be claiming that India's territory does not end where Nepal begins, but rather extends to the Himalayas. This latter viewpoint grants India absolute rights to intervene in Nepal's internal and external affairs, whereas this thesis asserts that India has no right to intervene in Nepal's internal and foreign affairs. Because India and Nepal are both states with independent deals with their affairs, no state should meddle with others and obey the spirit of the United Nations Charter, the SAARC Charter, and the Treaty of Westphalia. Indian interference in Nepal is not the result of India's realist approach because the country's internal and domestic political concerns have widened the scope of Indian intervention. Harish Kapoor asserts that India's attitude toward Nepal is entirely motivated by fundamental national and territorial security considerations. "India's approach toward the Nepalese situation was just another example of India's national security concerns," he claims (Kapoor, 1994, p. 55).

This viewpoint differs from the previous two in that Nepal is a separate, independent, and sovereign state, but India monitors Nepal's behavior and foreign ties with other countries, particularly in the interest of India's national security. His opinion does not justify India's obligation to interfere, but India is doing so because it is necessary for Indian territorial and national security. In the name of security, India cannot overlook Nepal's sovereign existence. Because sovereign states should not violate the rights of

other sovereign states in the name of common security, India has always attempted to pursue Nepal. "The state has become a husk, to be taken by whichever party wins elections under a Westminster-style winner-takes-all system that does little to encourage consensus building or cross-party cooperation," according to Hachette (Gallener, 2007, p. 15).

For at least the previous six decades, the state has been riven by ideological divisions, resulting in unstable domestic politics in which rulers and leaders have rushed to seize power using all possible methods, including Indian support while welcoming Indian involvement and dominance.

2.3.6 Determinant of Nepal-India Relation

Interstate relations are affected by several elements that combine to determine a country's options and opportunities when interacting with others (Bandhyopadhyaya, 1980, p. 29). Nepal is strategically located in the Himalayas (Panikkar, 1957, p. 47). It separates the Tibetan plateau from the Indian subcontinent by running along the southern slopes of the big Himalayan ranges (Caroe, 1960, p. 229). Following China's conquest of Tibet, Nepal's northern border has come into close contact with China. Nepal's northern boundary has come into close touch with China since China's takeover of Tibet. This barrier, albeit natural and dangerous, is not hard to cross through Himalayan passes (Upreti, 2016, pp.107-113). By building critical highways for military transportation, China has acquired direct access up to Nepal's border fact that China's mainland is far from the Nepalese border is a plus for them. In the south, east, and west, Nepal shares a border with India. The Nepal-India border is open, artificial, and simple to cross for Nepalese and Indian citizens alike (Bajpai, 1970, p. 16).

There are heavily inhabited, industrialized, and rich agricultural districts on both sides of the border, as well as large urban centers. Because of their geographical location, India and Nepal have developed a unique interaction pattern. Despite its location as a buffer state, Nepal has certain severe difficulties in playing the function of a buffer state (Dutt, 1984, p.61). Tibet was designated as a buffer state by the British monarchs (Feer, 1953, 137-141). Nepal lacks geographical viability, as well as the military and economic might, to serve as a buffer. As a result, relying solely on Nepal to protect India's border against a Chinese attack is challenging. This sort of threat was particularly serious during the 1950s when China had annexed Tibet and Nepal and

India had no proper relations with China. China's designs in the north alarmed both countries. Tibet was designated as a buffer state by the British monarchs (Feer, 1953, 137-141).

Furthermore, the boundary between India and Nepal is shaped in such a way that India may be unable to protect its borders against any invasion from the north. India cannot afford to ignore these geostrategic realities as a result. As a result, Nepal's strategic importance to India is enormous (Bhasin, 1970, p. 23). True, Nepal is sensitive about this topic, and it has irritated relations between the two countries on numerous occasions. Nepal does not want this factor to be overemphasized. This is one of the reasons Nepal wants to reform the 1950 Treaty of Friendship and Peace with India. However, it is also clear that India, and particularly Nepal, cannot ignore the Himalayan topographical realities. It isn't as significant as was in the 1950s, but it isn't irrelevant either, at least for now. As a result, topography has a significant impact on Indo-Nepal relations.

Except in exceptional situations, when the border between India and Nepal is temporarily blocked, the border between the two nations is open and citizens from both countries have free travel through it. Historically, the border between the two countries has remained open. For the citizens of the two countries, it has now become a way of life. It has resulted in the two countries developing a distinct pattern of social and economic connections. An open border has far-reaching consequences. While the free movement of people has brought the two nations close together, it has also served as a source of friction and a cloud over bilateral relations at times. In terms of size, population, resources, levels of development, capacities, technical advances, and so on, there is a huge disparity between the two countries. Nepal considers itself to be dwarfed in comparison to India's vastness. In the minds of the Nepalese, it has created a sense of inferiority. The security worries of India in Nepal, as well as Nepal's undue reliance on India, have exacerbated this inferiority mentality. As a result, Nepal has frequently misinterpreted India's approach toward Nepal as hegemony or "big brother" behavior. In dealing with Nepal, Indian diplomacy has been forceful at times and has behaved hurriedly at other times. However, Nepal's sense of Indian hegemony has been shaped by its inferiority complex in the face of India's massive dominance, as well as the region's Indo-centric orientation.

Nepal has tried to demonstrate its uniqueness and autonomy by going versus India, although India is crucial to it in so many ways, oblivious to the fact that this has

frequently shown to be self-defeating. Nepal has endeavored to develop a strong nationalism based on anti-Indian sentiment. As a result of Nepal's poor position in India, the country has developed a fear psychosis, as well as the assumption that India baiting may be used to alleviate this fear psychosis (Upreti, 2003, p. 259). Nepal's landlocked location, as well as its low and backward socioeconomic conditions, have made it heavily reliant on foreign aid. Only India offers Nepal transit services for its international trade. India has provided Nepal with 22 transit sites in addition to port facilities at Kolkata, Kandla, and Mumbai, recognizing Nepal's poor internal infrastructure. India is Nepal's single major trading partner. The two countries' relationship has been molded by trade and transportation issues.

Since 1978, India has mixed the two concerns, whilst Nepal has kept them distinct. Nepal does present investment prospects for Indians. It also serves as a marketplace for Indian goods. In the sphere of river water resource development, both countries might collaborate for mutual benefit (Nehru, 1961, p. 258). This is one area where India's business and public sectors could collaborate on a significant scale. In this aspect, the two countries have an unspoken agreement. However, not enough effort has been put into putting the accords into effect. Water issues have been politicized throughout time, to the detriment of both Nepal and India. Nonetheless, the two countries have a lot of potential for economic collaboration. In terms of society and culture, there are few differences between India and Nepal. There are so many parallels. Nepal is a Hindu-majority country. For Indians, the kingdom holds tremendous religious significance, and India holds equal religious significance for Nepal.

For example, other than the priests, the King of Nepal has the sole permission to enter the innermost sanctum of the Lord Jagannath temple in Puri to give adoration. Language, religion, culture, lifestyle, set of beliefs, and festivals all have a lot in common. Because of its linkages with the political leadership in India, Nepal's older political leadership owes a great deal to India. The entire Nepalese democratic movement began on Indian soil. People from Nepal joined the Indian political revolution and an All-India Nepali Congress Party in India, (Mojumdar, 1975, pp. 32-35). As a result, the Indian national movement served as a political training ground for them. Because of their acquaintance with Indian politicians and the British liberal democratic model, Nepalese political leaders aspire to a parliamentary democratic system. Political leaders such as B.P. Koirala, Ganesh Man Singh, and others who

worked closely with Indian leaders such as Jayprakash Narain and Ram Manohar Lohia adhered to the democratic socialist doctrine. Closer connections with their Indian counterparts changed Nepalese political leaders' perceptions and attitudes toward India. The younger generation of Nepal's current elite does not share the older generation's emotional attachment to India. Sociopolitical compatibility and systemic integrity, on the other hand, play a significant role in their perception of India, as a result of which the two nations have a closer relationship when Nepal has democratic administration (Upreti, 2016, pp. 107-113).

It's Nepal's domestic political compulsions also have a considerable impact on India-Nepal ties. The Nepalese ruling elite, whether monarchy or democratic leadership, constantly turns to India for the continuation of their reign. The indifference of India has resulted in anti-Indian sentiment among Nepalese governments. Anti-Indianism is the most viable vehicle for political mobilization for opposing political groupings. At the international level, factors released by post-Cold War globalization and liberalization have influenced India and Nepal, as well as many other developing countries. Despite the many negative consequences, both countries are compelled to embrace globalization, liberalization, and privatization. Globalization and liberalization trends have also aided in transforming the two countries' mutual perspectives of each other (Bahadur & Lama, 1995, pp. 138-162). Based on the foregoing discussion, it can be stated that a range of factors influences India-Nepal ties. These factors have a big impact on whether the two countries get closer or get further away.

2.4 Review Summary (Research Gap)

Professor Jitendra Dhoj Khand carried out his Ph.D. dissertation on Nepal- India relations from 1970-to 1980. Bahadur and Lama (1995) carried out a study on new perspectives in Indo-Nepal relations. Bajpai (1970) has written about the northern frontier of India, and Banerjee's (2002) studies Nepal: new flashpoint. Baral (2072 BS) about the foreign policy of Nepal. Baral and Pyakurel studied on Nepal-India open borders: Problems and prospects Bhasin (1970) documented Nepal's relations with India and China. Bhattarai and Khatiwada (1993) studied on Nepal-India. Bhattarai (2020) studied on Nepal-India border dispute. Bhattarai (2005) investigated Nepal's geopolitical uniqueness and the international approach to conflict resolution. Bhattarai (2015) investigated how people remembered the 1989 blockade. In a diplomatic bind, Bhusan (2017) researched Buddha. Bhushan (2017) looked into

India's colossal policy blunder in Nepal. Bista (2012) looked into Nepal's foreign policy issues.

Brown and Ainley (2005) have written about international relations. Chernoff (2008) studied theory and metatheory in international relations. Choudhary and Ghosh (2016) studied about Indo-Nepal economic cooperation. Dabhade & Pant (2004) studied coping with challenges to sovereignty: Sino-India rivalry and Nepal's foreign policy. Dougherty and Pflatzgraff (1981c) studied contending theories of international relations. Dutt (1984) studied India's foreign policy. Gupta (2020) reported on India's ties with Nepal were set for a deep freeze after Kathmandu's decisive step on a new map. Guzzini (1998) studied realism in international relations and international political economy. Jaishankar (2016) studied India's five policy goals. Jaiswal (2016) investigated Nepal's foreign policy and strategic importance to the country's neighbors. Jayapalan (2001) investigated India's foreign policy. Jha (2010) looked at Nepal's relations with India and China along its borders. Kapoor (1994) was a researcher who focused on India's foreign policy.

Karki and KC (2020) investigated Nepalese-Indian relations. In Nepalese Foreign And domestic policy at a Crossroads, Khanal (2009) looked at the donors and Nepal's foreign policy. Khatri (2012) investigated Nepalese foreign policy in light of the country's changing circumstances. Koirala (2016) studied Nepal and its neighbors. Based on the review of previous studies, there lack studies on Nepal-India relations. In Nepal, the political relations between Nepal and India are lacking. Most Nepal-India-related research in Nepal in the past has focused exclusively on the bilateral and international relations lines. At this juncture, the present study goes beyond this to examine the Nepal-India political relations. The present study differs in its objectives and methods from those of previous studies carried out on the ground that it concerns Nepal-India political relations.

CHAPTER-III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A comprehensive, theoretical analysis of the procedures used in a field of research is known as methodology. It entails a theoretical examination of a body of methods and principles related to a field of study. The process by which researchers perform their research is known as the research methodology. It displays the researchers' approach to defining their problem and purpose, as well as how they present their conclusions based on the data obtained during the research period. This research design and methods chapter also demonstrates how the research outcome will be reached under the study's goal. It usually includes terms like paradigm, theoretical model, stages, and quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Irny & Rose, 2005).

As a result, the research methodologies employed during the research process are discussed in this chapter. It contains the study's research methodology. This chapter contains information about the researcher's research strategy, research design, research approach, and study area, as well as data sources such as primary and secondary data. Primary data collection methods include desk reviews, expert opinions, secondary data collection methods, data analysis methods like data analysis software, qualitative data analysis, validity analysis, data reliability, inclusion criteria ethical consideration, ion, and secondary data collection methods. A qualitative research approach is advised in general to satisfy the study's objectives.

3.1 Conceptual Framework

The currents of realism and liberalism have been used for the understanding of Indo-Nepal relations. Domestic political struggles among Nepal's primary political interest groups, as well as their India-tilting character for retaining power, have given rise to the Indian realism approach, according to the study. As a result, the researcher will construct an analysis foundation based on realism to examine India's broad dominance. It would, on the other hand, use components of liberalism to support my proposals to policymakers for stronger, cordial, cooperative connections that validate modern state norms and international relations. Furthermore, this study uses Kenneth N. Waltz's reasoning from his book *Man, the State, and War*. According to Waltz, changes in international relations can be affected by changing systems. In his book, he presents three hypotheses or visions of man. First, war is caused by human nature;

second, war is caused by states; and third, war is caused by the international system since the nature of the system influences the conduct of the state.

This study begins with the assumption that Nepal's foreign relations with India have many issues; it accepts the realist view that the causes of war lie within the international system, so the Indian approach to Nepal is a realist perspective that the political parties in Nepal hold and ignite the issue over time. However, the study departs from this point by focusing on the second picture complex, which suggests that the sources of tension are found within states. It argues that domestic political abuse is the real cause of Nepal's poor performance in foreign relations and widespread foreign interference, and concludes by arguing that because human nature is the source of war or tension, it must be changed along with the system because "war could be eliminated if only men could be changed" (Waltz, 1979, p. 24) for future better performance in foreign relations while maintaining independence and sovereignty.

Because it reflects the struggle of a state under real situations, realism is one of the most dominant theories of foreign relations. It goes beyond the notions of a war-prone nature and the state's nurturing of self-power. It appears to show the picture of states from the dawn of time till the present day, and it reflects the self-seeking nature of states at the expense of others. It also implies that the nations are perpetually at war, with the centrally organized research program serving that aim. Simply stated, realism has been the prevailing paradigm in foreign policy and international relations for centuries. Realism holds that states, particularly major powers, are the primary actors in international politics; second, states look forward to pursuing their national interests, the most important of which is national security; third, the most dominant resources in pursuit of national interests are material capabilities, particularly military capabilities; and fourth, international politics is distinct from domestic politics because international politics is always anarchic and a state can intervene at any time; and finally, international politics is distinct from domestic politics because international politics is always anarchic and a state can intervene at (Dougherty & pflatzgraff, 1981c, pp. 65-68).

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

reasonable to assume that India is pursuing realism in its interactions with Nepal. In all of the treaties signed between the two countries, India has had the upper hand, believing that Nepal cannot reject Indian hegemonic realities. As a result, the connection between India and Nepal stems from Thucydides' depiction of power politics.

Since the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), city-states have been viewed as sovereign nations, and states have been acknowledged as the primary actors in international politics; as a result, a state-centric vision of realism has emerged to serve the interests of individual states. On the one hand, this definition supports the existence of sovereign and independent states, while on the other, it supports the existence of anarchy beyond and between state borders. This establishes and supports the thesis that the international system is anarchic and that there is a gulf of power between states in their relations with one another

It has been hesitant to adopt UN and international law resolutions, particularly in the area of landlocked states' rights. And these rights constitute the bedrock of Indian overt power in Nepal, even though most realists recognize that the current anarchy is not synonymous with disorder or lawlessness. Instead, it refers to the absence of centralized authority in the international domain to determine who is the hunter and who is the hunted, given those diverse situations and substances exist, according to this dissertation, this is the cutting edge, where international or bi-national politics dramatize themselves to the fullest extent possible in favor of powerful ones at the expense of powerless ones because one state's standing and capabilities are compared and determined by its geographic, demographic, military, and economic strength. A state can play a dominant role in the decision-making process from the international community to the United Nations system to the implementation of Indo-Nepal ties if it is geographically fortunate, demographically dense, militarily strong, and economically sound. As a result, this dissertation will apply Morgenthau's description of "international politics, like all politics, is a fight for power" to India's approach to Nepal. The current bi-relationships between India and Nepal are the result of a power struggle between the two countries, with Nepal serving as a scapegoat for both countries' security issues. The three most major (Morgenthau, 1948/60, p. 25) realism issues in India are statism, self-help, and security (Beylis & Smith, 1997, p. 43).

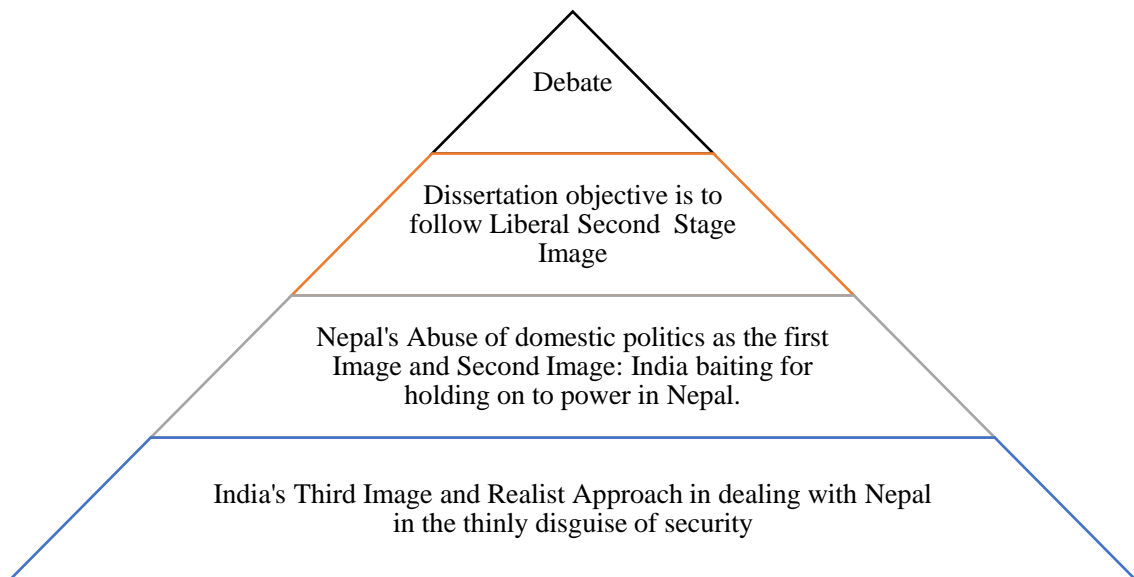
India is always at war with China to attain the above-mentioned three dominant components, just as all states are always at war with each other. For example, during

the First World War, the Second World War, or since the Peloponnesian Wars until the attack on Afghanistan and Iraq, governments have been at odds with one another, with big powers fighting minor or powerless states. This perspective favors describing India's position in Nepal as psychological hegemony before 1947 when the East India Company ruled, and after 1947, when the Indian government became independent.

Since many prominent Indian officials have regularly stated their security concerns, particularly with China and others, India has worked hard to keep Nepal isolated not only from China but also from all other foreign countries save Except, in containing security concerns. India has always said that Nepal is an independent country, but they have never stated that Nepal is an independent country capable of conducting its foreign policy towards its neighbors and others. Moreover, Nepal has not raised any objections to India's conduct of foreign policy toward its neighbors or its connections with other countries throughout the world, nor has it demanded any witnesses of such acts. India considers Nepal is a small buffer state with a power mania among its political leaders, thus it can't move forward without India's help, therefore it has always pressured Nepal to act for its gain as a self-seeking and security concern of realism. At the same time, it criticizes Nepal's abuse of domestic politics, which has resulted in significant international and Indian intervention, stating that "the internal structure of states affects not only the form but also the external behavior" (Waltz, 1954, p. 125).

It has attempted to prove that India follows the third image; the domestic politics of Nepal lies in the mixture of the first image and second image but this is to be changed into the liberal second image for prospects of Nepal and India. The figure below gives a clear argument for analysis.

Figure 3.1: Argument of analysis



Source: Chandra Lal Pandey, 2009. (Some Ideas from Waltz, 1954).

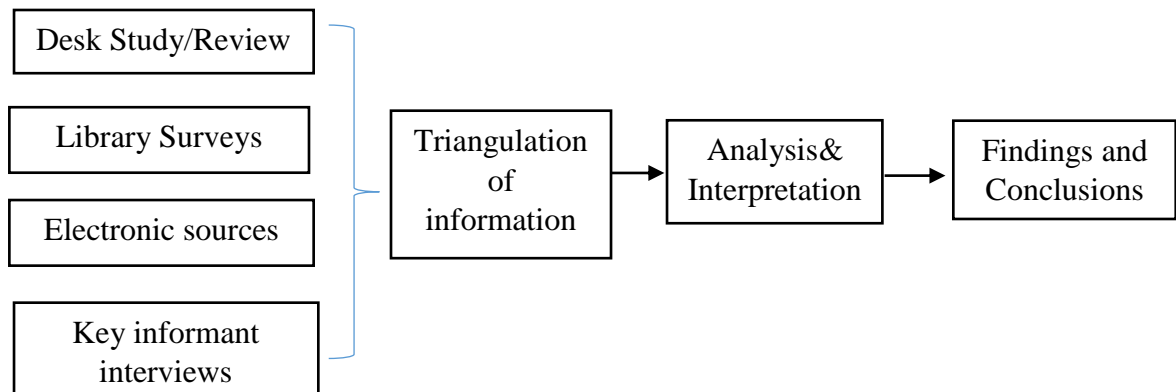
3.2 Research Design

The purpose of the research design is to offer a suitable framework for a study. The research strategy decision is a crucial one in the research design process because it affects how relevant information for a study will be gathered; yet, the research design process contains numerous interrelated decisions (Aaker, Kumar, & George, 2000, pp. 38-41). Descriptive research, according to Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009, pp. 87-89) and Miller (Miller, 1991, pp. 109-111), depicts an accurate profile of people, events, or circumstances. This design according to Bailey (1998) is useful for descriptive purposes as well as for the determination of the relationship between and among variables at a particular point in time (Bailey, 1998, pp. 53-56) According to Matthews and Ross (2010), a descriptive research design is cost-effective and allows the inclusion of participants or groups of people from whom a comparison can be made (Matthew & Rose, 2010, pp. 27-29)

From an individual, organizational, and political standpoint, this design provides researchers with a profile of described relevant characteristics of the phenomena of interest. As a result of this descriptive study methodology, the researcher was able to collect data on Nepal-India political ties from a variety of sources, including desk reviews/studies, library surveys, and electronic sources. And this helped in analyzing the information obtained on the status and foundations of Nepal-India relations, major

hindrances of friendly relations, and possible solution measures in fostering the relations between the two countries.

Figure 3.2: Research methods and processes (Researcher's design)



3.3 Research Methodology

This study used a qualitative approach and a mix of primary and secondary sources to address the research's main goals. The data was triangulated, compared, and analyzed from both primary and secondary sources. The data and textual information acquired were evaluated using the content analysis method. Based on Nepal's and other relevant countries' experiences, as well as the researcher's own experience in this field, their validity and relevance were examined. The qualitative data analysis and outcomes were aided by the qualitative data. This part covered the research topic, data sources, and data and information collection procedures.

3.3.1 Study Area

Population refers to the entire group of persons (subjects or events) with common features in which the researcher is interested, according to Fraenkel and Warren (Fraenkel & Warren, 2002, pp. 33-35). Desk study/review, library questionnaires, and electronic sources were used to gather the necessary data and information. From March 2016 to December 10, 2016, data was gathered from a desk review, numerous libraries, and electronic sources.

3.3.2 Data Sources

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

its broadest sense, reflects the fact that some underlying knowledge and information is represented or codified in a way that makes it easier to use or process (Mesly, 2015, pp. 127-129).

3.3.2.1 Primary Source of Data

As the name suggests, primary data is collected for the first time by the researcher while secondary data is the data already collected or produced by others. The information gathered from the primary source is unique. Primary data are more dependable and have a higher level of decision-making confidence, thanks to trusted analysis that is directly linked to the occurrence of events. Official papers, direct communication with individual specialists and government officials, pertinent reports, and reports from the Nepal-India Eminent Person Group (EPG) that could help identify answers to the study questions were employed as primary sources for data collecting.

3.3.2.2 Secondary Source of Data

Secondary data is information that has previously been acquired or created by others. The interpretation of initial data is known as secondary data. Secondary data is information that has already been gathered by investigatory authorities and organizations. The secondary sources that were used for data collection were books, periodicals, articles, journal articles, news reports, e-books, internal records, theses, periodic bytes of political leaders, reports issued by both countries in terms of relationships between two countries, contemporary magazines, newsletters, newspapers websites, policies and so forth.

3.3.3 Sampling Methods

Since this research is qualitative, it required one sampling technique i.e. qualitative. Qualitative inquiries typically focus on relatively small samples. Researchers use purposive sampling for qualitative inquiry. A purposive sampling procedure will be employed. According to Matthews and Ross (2010), purposive sampling is generally associated with small, in-depth studies with research designs that are based on the gathering of qualitative data and focus on the exploration and interpretation of experience and perception. A representative sample size of 20 key informants was purposively used in this study. The key informants included political leaders, diplomats, social activists, former ambassadors, journalists, and others.

3.3.4 Field Procedure

a. Pre-testing or Pilot Study

A pilot study is necessary for testing the appropriateness of the methods and tools of a study. Following the preparation of the checklist for the KIIs, it was pilot-tested. The pilot testing for tools and methods was done on the 5th and 6th February 2021 which helped to develop and test the adequacy of a research instrument. The main aim of piloting was to ensure the feasibility and appropriateness of the method and tools designed for the study and to establish its trustworthiness in the study context. Piloting took place in the Kathmandu district. Participants for piloting were identified in consultation with the research guide and with pioneers and experts. The checklist was tested on five anonymous persons. The study tools were revised by incorporating the findings and feedback gathered through the piloting. The tools were refined in terms of clarity of words, coherence of the questions, and adequacy and tentative time required for the interviews.

b. Field Work

The fieldwork for the study was conducted from March to April 2021. The KIIs were solely undertaken by the researcher. Fieldwork (data collection) was started immediately after the pre-testing of the checklist for the key informant interviews (KIIs).

3.3.5 Data Collection Methods

Data collection plays a very crucial role in the analysis. In research, there are different methods used to gather information, all of which fall into two categories, i.e. primary and secondary data (Douglas, 2015, pp. 35-37). The following fundamental procedures were utilized to acquire data. As outlined in the previous section, these included primary and secondary data collections focusing on quantitative data. The data gathering tools were created and produced according to protocol. The term "secondary data" refers to information gathered by someone other than the user. This data source provides insight into the present state-of-the-art method's research area. It also creates some form of research gap that the researcher must fill. Internal and external data sources of information could make up these primary and secondary data sources, which could cover a wide range of topics.

a. Primary Data Collection Method

Qualitative data sources were used as primary data sources. Observation, personal conversation, and informal dialogues were used as qualitative sources. The parts that follow go into how the primary data was gathered from sources.

(i) Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in the community. The purpose of key informant interviews is to collect information from a wide range of people—including community leaders, professionals, or residents—who have first-hand knowledge. In this regard, 20 key informants were interviewed with the prime aim of collecting the data and information relevant to the study. They included: political leaders, diplomats, professionals, and others.

(ii) Observations

Observation is the process of tracking behavior over some time. Through meaningful and detailed documentation, one can be able to see patterns and plan appropriate activities, gain insight, and provide opportunities to change the environment to promote growth and development. The researcher observed the situations of political relations between Nepal and India from the beginning to date. The data observed and collected were triangulated, analyzed, and interpreted while writing this dissertation.

(iii) Interpersonal communication

It is the process of two or more individuals exchanging information, ideas, and feelings using spoken or nonverbal ways. It frequently entails a face-to-face exchange of information, expressed through the use of speech, facial expressions, body language, and gestures. While gathering essential information for the study aims, a number and series of interpersonal communications with government officials, diplomats, pioneers, key informants of Nepal-India relations, and specialists, among others, were conducted.

(iv) Informal discussions

Informal discussion is one of the prime means of gathering information on a particular topic. At this juncture, numbers and a series of informal discussions were held with experts, pioneers, and others while collecting first-hand information regarding the study's purposes. Informal discussions were held to retrieve substantive experience

and information from the personnel associated with political and foreign affairs, sectors, etc thereby visiting various government offices and meeting individuals.

b. Secondary Data Collection Method

Secondary data sources were also qualitative. The qualitative sources were literature/desk review, library surveys, and electronic searches. The parts that follow go through how the secondary data was gathered from secondary sources.

(i) Literature Review

By collecting, organizing, and synthesizing accessible information, the literature review is a crucial aspect of the assessment. It assists the researcher in gaining a better grasp of the context, priorities, and trends, as well as identifying holes to be addressed during the study process. Scanning the literature, assessing secondary data, and compiling a reference list are all part of the desk review process to keep all materials structured and accessible. The researcher did several document reviews and reports in both online and offline formats to meet the dissertation's objectives. From a methodological approach, literature reviews were viewed as content analysis, with qualitative features triangulated to analyze structural (descriptive) as well as content criteria.

Unrelated documents, reports, and articles to the research model and aims were excluded after screening. The researcher studied various papers, websites, reports, and other relevant documents before the screening to determine whether they should be included for further review or dismissed. Before the primary collection of papers was reviewed, any discrepancies were thoroughly found and rectified. Following the exclusion of publications based on title, keywords, and abstract, the remaining articles were thoroughly read, and data was retrieved from the instrument used to measure the dimension of research interest. Within each study target or objective, a complete list of things was compiled and examined to detect any missing elements.

(ii) Library Surveys

Academic libraries have been called the "heart" of the learning community because they provide a space for students and professors to do research and develop their knowledge. An academic library is the epicenter of academic life in the educational system. Pertinent books, papers, academic journals, relevant theses, and other materials were examined during library surveys. Libraries are an important aspect of

the higher education system since they provide support services for formal educational programs as well as research and knowledge-generating capabilities. Any information worker working in academic or other libraries should be aware of the users' true needs. Over the last two decades, library user surveys have grown commonplace in academic libraries. During the last decade, rapid changes in library services and operations, the desire for internal institutional accountability, and external accrediting agency assessment requirements have all led to the further development and deployment of user surveys inside academic libraries (Hiller, 2001, pp. 234-248)

For the library surveys, various libraries located in and outside the country were visited. During this research study, the researcher visited the library of the Central Department of the Political Science, Central Library of Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, the New York Public library in the USA, the library of National Defense University (NDU), Washington DC, Library of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, and library of Indian Embassy to Nepal in Kathmandu in gathering the required information from the secondary sources. Efforts were also made to refer to books and professional magazines in foreign libraries, particularly that information not available in the home country libraries.

(iii). Electronic searches

To gather the required data and information, numbers and series of electronic searches like websites, electronic academic journals, articles, books, reports, periodicals, proceedings, magazines, newsletters, newspapers, policies, strategies, etc were made. The information gathered from the electronic searches was triangulated with the information collected from other primary and secondary sources.

3.3.6 Data Analysis Method

There is a lack of specific data analysis methods in qualitative studies. The researcher applied different processes in analyzing the qualitative data. The data analysis approach follows the steps outlined in the sections below. The data analysis section provided answers to the fundamental questions posed in the problem description. The political connections between Nepal and India were thoroughly examined, discussed, compared and contrasted, and synthesized. The qualitative data and information acquired were triangulated using the qualitative data analysis approach. The analysis has been incorporated with the discussion results. The collected qualitative

information was analyzed descriptively. A draft report was initially prepared. To verify the findings, the draft report was shared and discussed with the research guides. After verification of the draft report, the final editing and layout of the report were agreed upon. The final report was then produced and submitted to the dean's office for internal and external reviews.

3.4 Ethical Issues

One of the seven benchmark indications of research, according to Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), is upholding research ethics through informed consent (Ford, Mills, Zachariah, & Upshur, 2009, p. 7). Keeping in view the sensitivity of the information on security-related issues, the confidentiality of the information providers was maintained, when necessary. This study duly respected the research ethics while conducting, analyzing, and disseminating the study. Throughout the study, every precaution was taken to safeguard the right, dignity, and welfare of all respondents. Ethical clearance was obtained from the office of DEAN, Tribhuvan University, and University. Official letters were written from the office of DEAN, TU to the respective authorities.

Verbal consent and permission were taken before collecting the data and information from them. This research is beset with ethical standards for decisions planned, conducted, and reported the result of the research studies. The practical ethical principles, such as truthfulness, thoroughness, objectivity, and relevance that shape morality was adopted in this research. All results and findings regarding this study have guaranteed that the participants who were connected during this study have not been physically harmed or emotionally distressed.

CHAPTER-IV

NEPAL-INDIA RELATIONS: EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Nepal as a modern state was established only in 1768, and it has subsequently employed several survival tactics in response to shifting international, regional, and local power dynamics. Nepal and India have a strong bilateral relationship. These linkages are close, extensive, and multifaceted, and they are especially visible in political, cultural, social, religious, and commercial factors. They are based on the long-standing link between background, culture, history, and religion. Nepal was named the Gorkha Emperor during its early years (1768-1814), and it adopted a broad policy of sub-regional dominance while keeping an eye on the bigger powers in the north and south. After losing the Anglo-Nepal War in 1816, Nepal transitioned from imperial grand strategy to small power diplomacy (1814-16). Nepal began to firmly identify itself with the British colonialists in India after Jung Bahadur came to power in 1848. Following that, Nepal attempted non-alignment, balancing, balking, neutrality, equidistance, EU proximity, and trilateral cooperation policies with its neighbors, all of which were impacted by changes in local, regional, and worldwide politics.

The two countries established diplomatic relations on June 17, 1947, to provide a formal tone to such historic links. Our bilateral relations have become stronger because of our unshakable dedication to the values of peaceful coexistence, sovereign equality, mutual respect ambitions, and sensibilities. Nepal's sincere desire to create and maintain cordial and amicable connections with its neighbors is shown in its long-standing attitude of not allowing elements antagonistic to India to use its territory, and Nepal expects reciprocity and commitments from India. The open border between Nepal and India continues to be a distinguishing aspect of our ties. Frontier freedom has tremendously allowed our people to freely move to each other's areas and improve interactions. This chapter discusses Nepal's foreign policies, international relations, and Nepal-India relations, as well as the historical context of Nepal-India relations, the evolution of Nepalese foreign policy after 1816, and recent developments in Nepal-India relations.

4.1 Foreign Policy: Concept and Context

Foreign policy is a set of broad goals that influence a country's operations and relationships with other countries. Domestic considerations, other governments' policies or behavior, and aspirations to advance specific geopolitical designs all influence the evolution of foreign policy. In constructing foreign policy, Leopold von Ranke prioritized geography and external challenges, whereas following writers emphasized home considerations. War, alliances, and international trade may all be forms of diplomacy, which is a weapon of foreign policy. Foreign policy is divided into five sections. Trade, diplomacy, sanctions, military/defense, intelligence, foreign aid, and global environmental policy are examples of these sorts. The techniques a state employs to preserve its international and domestic interests and how it interacts with other states and non-state entities make up its foreign policy. Foreign policy's main goal is to protect a country's national interests, which can be done in nonviolent or violent methods.

The six main vehicles of current American foreign policy are diplomacy, the United Nations, the international monetary system, economic aid, collective security, and military deterrence. Foreign policy, for example, is defined as "the sum of formal exterior interactions done by an autonomous actor (usually a state) in international relations" in many international relations research (Hill, 2003, p. 3).

Such a notion has also been deemed historically commonsensical in much scholarly work. The idea of foreign policy is always changing leads to a unique necessity for secrecy in its implementation. In the literature, there are two reasons for the need for secrecy. To begin with, public opinion is erratic and inconsistent, making it untrustworthy. Second, open debate allows for internal disagreement, which weakens the state's position in international relations. The key assumptions are that governments have always had foreign policies and that the fundamentally different nature of foreign policy necessitates concealment. Over the last thirty years, scholars disputing the categorical and normalized divide between the inside and outside of the state have questioned this understanding of foreign policy. Instead, they've focused on the historical activities that gave rise to this division, examining identity and borders (Walker, 1993).

Foreign policy should be viewed as "a particular kind of boundary-creating political performance." The basic assumptions in this literature are that foreign policy became possible around 1600 with the spatial demarcation between inside and outside, that

foreign policy proper arose around 1650 from the analysis of interests, i.e., state reason, and that foreign policy has always been concerned with identity and difference (Doty, 1993, pp. 297-320).

Identity has displaced history in this critical literature, and politicizing the concept of identity has resulted in the reification of the concept of foreign policy. Foreign is preferred above "policy" in a move that relies on the numerous connotations of "foreign" in the English language, and foreign policy is considered to have been about identity politics since it became possible to identify within from outside. In an ironic twist, the critical definition of foreign policy reflects the traditional conception of the phenomenon as an intellectual rather than a practical idea. The move to its logical conclusion is the attempt to make the conception of foreign policy as boundary-drawing into an expressly defined analytical concept (Hellmann, Fahrmer, & Vec, 2016).

Foreign policy encompasses all of a country's interactions with other countries. Because of the interdependence of states, it is especially relevant in the twenty-first century as a result of globalization. Foreign policy consequences for each nation-state have grown significantly since the advent of international society and globalization. As a result, the study of foreign policy has become increasingly crucial. Foreign policy is a topic that is significant to everyone and is not limited to any one school of social science. This research is particularly relevant in international relations since foreign policies are the foundation for international interactions between states. In the twenty-first century, decisions made by one state have an impact on more than simply the countries involved. Scholars, policy experts, and even the general public have a greater interest to understand foreign policy judgments and what motivates the president in making foreign policy decisions. Scholarly study on leadership and foreign policy decision-making reveals a significantly more detailed and complex picture of the problem than most popular media portrayals. Because it is easier to criticize one person than a group or a system, the popular press likes to point the finger at the person who makes foreign policy decisions. The scholarly study, on the other hand, reveals the reasoning behind the executor's foreign policy decisions.

Foreign policies are devised by the head of state to attain complex domestic and international objectives. It usually includes several processes, with domestic politics playing a crucial role. I shall critically evaluate the role of a country's head of government in foreign policy decision-making, as well as how domestic politics

influences him, in this paper. Coalitions of domestic and international individuals and groups shape the majority of foreign policies. When examining the head of government, or, in other words, the executor of foreign policies, many driving elements can be identified to explain the rationale behind decisions made.

4.2 Foreign Policy of Nepal

Nepal, as a tiny nation, is strategically located between China and India, two of Asia's biggest strong and large countries. Because of the country's unique geographic location, its rulers have always been cautious of strangers, especially its two immediate neighbors. Prithvi Narayan Shah's instruction illustrates this extremely well (Divya Upadesh). In the second half of the eighteenth century, the daring, ambitious, and patriot king Prithvi Narayan Shah formed the basis of Nepal's geopolitical policies, as well as helped to form the country's worldview (Khanal, 2009, p. 96). He compared Nepal to a yam trapped between two stones. He went on to say that the Chinese emperor should be treated with tremendous respect. Friendship with the southern seas (the British) should likewise be preserved (Aryal, Subedi, & Thapa, 2011, p. 15).

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

When it turned to the British there in the South, though, he urged maintaining friendship while also warning of their cunning. Prithvi Narayan advises maintaining a friendship treaty with China's rulers in terms of regional neighbors. He also emphasizes the need of establishing a good relationship with the Monarch of the Southern Ocean (the British Company in Hindustan) (Adhikari, 2015 March 6). He was adamant that Nepal not take military action over either of them. Its availability should be restricted to defensive operations only.

Monarch Prithvi Narayan Shah was a great warrior and a visionary leader who recognized Nepal's strategic sensitivity and adopted non-aligned international affairs. He also noted that the county's good bond with these two huge neighbors was vital.

He went slowly and deliberately, keeping a safe distance and maintaining his equilibrium in light of the delicate circumstance. Following that, Nepal's foreign policy has been volatile; extreme allegiance to the southern neighbor was maintained, and a pro-northern stance emerged as a result. With the emergence of an elected government and the publication of the new constitution, Nepal's foreign policy has undergone a significant transformation, with the diversification of Nepal's trade and transit routes to China. Foreign policy is the prime state instrument to promote its national interests at the regional and global level when interacting with the international community, it is the policy undertaken by a state. It is the set of principles by which a country conducts its foreign affairs and acts on the world stage. Internal factors such as geography, history, economy, and political and socio-cultural traditions are the major determinants of Nepal's foreign policy. The other dimensions of Nepal's foreign policy are security, stability, and status. The notion of security implies autonomy in decision-making and the assurance of territorial integrity against external aggression. Moreover, Nepal's foreign policy principles are guided by its adherence to Panchasheel and non-alignment and faith in United Nations Charter. The foreign policies adopted by Nepal are described hereunder.

4.2.1 Independent Foreign Policy

Prithvi Narayan Shah seemed fully aware of Nepal's geo-strategic condition and advised his followers to pursue an autonomous foreign policy. In his 'Dibya Upadesh,' this spirit is visible. However, Nepal's successive rulers were unable to sustain the country's independent and non-aligned foreign policy when, in 1792 and 1814, it was involved in wars with Tibet and British India, respectively (Khanal, 2009, p. 100). As a result, Nepal's border was essentially set. Nepal's exterior connections were hampered by the Sugauli Treaty (1816), and British India remained the country's sole priority. From the Sugauli Treaty onwards, the foreign policy dilemma and its implications could be witnessed. The long political transition in Nepal has come to an end with the successful completion of local, provincial, and federal elections. A new phase of history beckons Nepal as it has adopted federalism under the new constitution promulgated in 2015. The achievement of economic prosperity has now been prioritized as the prime national agenda.

Years of political volatility and instability have clouded Nepal's position in international events, owing to the decade-long Maoist insurgency that began in 1996 and a decade of political change that followed. Foreign influence in Nepal's internal affairs has expanded dramatically in the recent decade as a result of the fragile condition of affairs. During the Cold War, Nepal established a reputation as a country that pursued an autonomous foreign policy with significant international clout while handling a volatile geopolitical environment. Nepal was twice chosen as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council as a result of this. Nepal has also made an outstanding contribution to world peace by participating in UN peacekeeping missions. Nepal has struggled to exercise geopolitical influence in the international arena as a small country wedged between two huge neighbors, India and China. Nepal adheres to the Panchsheel and non-alignment ideals and is proud of its independence throughout its history (Thapa, 2018).

South Asia has long been considered India's sphere of influence. China's proactive foreign policy and diplomacy in South Asia, however, has recently challenged the established quo. To India's chagrin, the majority of South Asian countries have joined China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Nepal's strategic geopolitical location necessitates the continuation of an autonomous foreign policy to safeguard and advance the country's national interests. In an anarchic international order, a state's primary responsibilities are to protect its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence. Small states are vulnerable to external attacks, thus their foreign policy maneuverings must be well-directed to ensure survival. The Left Alliance's electoral win, riding on a wave of nationalist agendas, is likely to result in a stable administration, which has eluded the country for years. KP Sharma Oli, Nepal's new Prime Minister, has stated that the country would strive for an autonomous foreign policy and balanced handling of external relations based on the slogan "Amity with all and animosity with none." With China's political and economic might in the area growing, India needs to rethink its foreign policy to gain the trust of its neighbors. Nepalese foreign policy prioritizes maintaining balanced and amicable relations with India and China. Nepal does not seek advantages from one of its neighbors at the expense of another.

Similarly, India accounts for the majority of Nepal's international commerce. However, given that Nepal and China have already agreed to strengthen existing connectivity via the Rasuwagadhi-Kerung border, it is envisaged that asymmetric

reliance on India would be considerably decreased in the coming days. India, being the largest country and economy in South Asia, can make a significant contribution to the development of its neighbors rather than interfering in their domestic affairs. Following the promulgation of the constitution in 2015, Nepal was subjected to a months-long economic blockade by India for failing to address its concerns during the drafting process. The Nepalese people's nationalist stance against such coercive diplomacy eventually forced India to withdraw from the blockade and reconsider its policies toward Nepal. Because Nepal and India have such long-standing links, a single calamity cannot jeopardize the general health of the bilateral relationship

As Nepal embarks on a new path toward political stability and economic progress, it must overcome the small-state syndrome and forge a distinct international identity, as it has done in the past. Nepal should seek to have an autonomous foreign policy and make proactive rather than reactive foreign policy decisions. As a result, rather than mindlessly following the posture of world powers or adjacent nations, judgments of international events and situations should be made in an unbiased and independent manner. Nepal desires the world community's goodwill and collaboration to attain its objective of economic success.

4.2.2 Isolationist Policy

The Rana period started in Nepal following Jung Bahadur Rana's ascension to power in 1846. Jung Bahadur Rana was Nepal's first Premier with complete control, demoting the Shah Monarch to a ceremonial role. He began a 104-year rule of Rana Prime Ministers, which was hereditary. In terms of foreign policy, the Rana period was one of isolation. Rana's foreign policy was dominated by British India. In 1850, Nepal's first Prime Minister, Jung Bahadur, visited the United Kingdom. He was well aware that Britain ruled the entire region at the time, and China's authority was waning. As a result, he pursued a policy centered on Britain and India (Rose, 1971, p. 106).

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

out of the Himalayas, about which Beijing wished Nepal to remain a weak buffer between China and British-India to avoid a fight with the British. In terms of Nepal's foreign policy, Jung Bahadur made some significant decisions.

To begin with, he decided that Nepal would remain secluded from the rest of the world. Second, he chose to overlook China because it was a waning power, and third, he cemented his ties with the British by assisting in the suppression of the Sepoy insurrection in Lucknow in 1857 (Lohani, 2011, p. 3).

Because a pragmatic leader like Jung Bahadur saw that Chinese power was declining and that Beijing was no longer able or willing to challenge British authority inside the Himalayan range, he chose a British-centric foreign policy. The fundamental purpose of the Rana prime ministers, especially Jung Bahadur's, was to make alliances with the U.k. Nepal, as a result, saw the world from the perspective of the British for just a moment. Nepalese foreign policy benefited from Jung Bahadur's visit to England, as the trip confirmed his opinion that British authority in India would not be simply overthrown and that fighting the British is like playing with fire. The two countries became closer after Nepal assisted the British administration in defeating the Sepoy Rebellion in 1857(Rose,2071, p.106).

The Nepalese army's participation in global wars in favor of Britain, and also Jung Bahadur's visit to Europe via England, contributed to deepening the alliance. For all of these reasons, Nepal was cut off from the rest of the world. Indeed, the isolating policy would be beneficial to the Rana regime's existence as well as the nation's protection against British takeover in the long run (Sharma, 2011, p. 15). Finally, Nepal was separated from world opinion under the Rana era, and provincial conservatism, skepticism, and doubt weighed heavily on the nation's international policy in the past. Foreign policy is responsible for determining the condition of international relations and guiding diplomatic negotiations. Every country in today's globalized world has a foreign policy to safeguard its national interests. Isolationism in foreign policy does not exist in a world of digital convergence. In one way or another, all countries have formed alliances and partnerships to achieve the common objective of shared progress and prosperity. Nepal cannot continue to be isolated.

In terms of formulating and carrying out foreign policy during the democratic era, there was a petty interest. The phenomenon of southern intervention in Nepal's domestic affairs and the northern neighbor's counter-strategy is constantly visible. The path to a "Happy Nepali, Prosperous Nepal" has been laid out in the new republican

constitution. The administration has openly urged India and China to invest in Nepal through its balanced foreign policy. A neighborhood policy has been established, and mutually beneficial relationships have been established expansion of domestic policy is referred to as foreign policy. Foreign policy should reflect the country's long-term political stability. Nepalese political parties and other interested parties should be formally prepared to develop a common foreign policy. Identification of national interest is required for this to happen. It is also necessary to have a policy to limit foreign influence and involvement in the country.

4.2.3 Policy of Special Relations

In the early 1950s, a democratic movement overthrew the Ranas. King Tribhuvan was restored as the country's Executive Head soon after the Rana dynasty was deposed. Nepal was the first country in the world to implement a democratic system under the leadership of King Tribhuvan. However, the Indian government dominated and directed Nepal's foreign policy. In actuality, there was no organized Nepalese foreign policy during the reign of King Tribhuvan. "From 1951 to 1955, Nepal had no foreign policy, and Delhi represented Nepal in international forums" (Rose 1970, p. 60). Finally, throughout the Rana era, Nepal was cut off from world opinion, and province conservatism, skepticism, and uncertainty weighed heavily on the country's foreign policy. Every detail about Nepal was passed on to India first. During Tribhuvan's four years in power, India colonized Nepal, enforcing the decisions of New Delhi on Nepal. Even at the time, the Indian Ambassador was influential, and he used to direct the King to meet Indian aspirations.

Diversification was not abandoned during the Tribhuvan period, although it was greatly hampered by Nepal's explicit connection with India. Not only has King Mahendra revitalized diversification, but he has also enlarged its scope and relevance in the framework of Nepali foreign policy as a whole. The four years following the revolution were marked by India's disproportionate influence on both the internal and foreign fronts of Nepal. During this time, there was a unique bond with Nepal (Adhikari, 2018. p. 27). The 104-year-old Rana oligarch's reign came to an end with the 1950 political upheaval. The newly established democratic government created a way for a new approach to foreign affairs. During the reign of King Tribhuvan, however, India dominated Nepal's foreign affairs. The two countries had a "special relationship," according to the report. This friendship was primarily limited to our

southern neighbor. Nepal's relationship with China is rarely discussed. The "Special Relations" between Nepal and India are due to several factors. During the reign of the Ranas, a special relationship existed between them and British India. There were no significant changes in the situation when the British left the subcontinent.

Finally, throughout the Rana era, Nepal was cut off from world opinion, and province conservatism, skepticism, and uncertainty weighed heavily on the country's foreign policy.

4.2.4 Non-aligned Foreign Policy

Another step in Nepal's foreign affairs was the declaration of the country as a non-aligned nation. King Birendra has declared Nepal a Peace Zone. The non-alignment motto of "equal friendliness for everyone," announced in 1956, was later taken to indicate equal goodwill with India and China. This culminated in a Sino-Indian rivalry declaration of non-alignment, essentially negating Nepal (Rose, 1970, p. 282).

Nepal attempted to maintain its policy of equidistance between China and India throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. While China recognized India's influence in Nepal, it also sought to counteract it by supporting Nepal's independence and asking for international non-interference. However, India rejected King Birendra's suggestion, although China and Pakistan did so instantly. "Friendship with everyone, hostility with none," was the guiding principle of King Birendra's foreign policy. The fundamental goal of proclaiming Nepal a "Zone of Peace" was to keep Nepal neutral in external and regional crises while also ensuring domestic political stability and economic prosperity (Rose, 1970, p. 282).

India was enlisted to help remove the King's rule. Monarch and multiparty politics have replaced the absolute monarchy. In April 1990, the Panchayat Form was substituted with a multi-party system of governance. As a consequence of their hegemony and personality cult, Gandhi, as well as the Shah dynasty of Nepal, eloped this twin pole - the monarch as the titular head and the multi-party-party system. Nepali politicians, on the other hand, placed democracy at the top of their priority list. India's political leaders have pledged their support for Nepal's democratic forces. The new Indian government has made it a priority to develop relations with Nepal. India took a permissive stance toward Nepal's interim administration and began the normalization process (Upreti, 2009, p. 20).

Although Nepal recognized a multiparty system and China stayed a communist state at this time, Nepal-China ties remained close, warm, friendly, and cooperative. Nepal maintained this position throughout the republican movement. Throughout the republican period, Nepal's foreign policy appeared to be increasingly India-centric. This was the reign of King Tribhuvan, and it featured a reproduction of the first Delhi agreement. "The second Delhi accord, also known as the 12-point deal, was signed in New Delhi between Nepal's seven Party Alliances (SPA) and the warring Maoists" (Khanal, 2009, p. 347). Despite Nepali authorities' denials that India's establishment played a part in facilitating the 12-point agreement, it was only feasible because of India's covert support. As a result of India's extensive micromanagement of Nepal's everyday operations, the tenure of the Nepali Prime Minister was a moving target.

The catastrophic Second World War ushered in a new era in global politics. Just after the postwar international relations, prewar friends began to create alliances. A new chapter in Nepal's foreign policy was also written. The accession of King Mahendra to power was a significant political event that contributed to the new situation. Following King Mahendra's succession to the throne on March 13, 1955, two significant events occurred: Nepal's admittance to the United Nations and the opening of diplomatic relations with the communist Chinese government (Rose, 1970, p. 208). The year 1955 would prove to be pivotal in Nepal's foreign policy. Nepal's involvement in the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference laid the path for the country's non-aligned foreign policy. In the shape of Panchasheel principles, the Bandung Conference laid the groundwork for the nonalignment movement.

During the reign of Prithivi Narayan Shah, Nepal maintained a non-alignment policy with its neighbors, which proved effective in preserving the country's sovereignty and integrity. As a result, Nepal is under no obligation to take sides in the current Kashmir dispute; nevertheless, as the current chair of SAARC, it can voice its worry and urge peace if the conflict intensifies. Nepal, as a member of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), must also play a constructive role in shaping regional (and worldwide) relations in a variety of ways. And, because Nepal is currently in a system-impacting position, Nepal must equally use all of the powers by preserving its interactions through inclusive political interaction, partnership, and cooperation, or balancing and strategic hedging (Acharya,2019 Aug 25).

Nonetheless, during the first nuclear tests conducted by both the USSR and China, during the Doklam issue, in Indo-Pak hostilities (save during the premiership of KI Singh), and in the Malaysia-Indonesia standoff, Nepal adopted "quiet neutrality" (where Gorkha troops were deployed under the British Army). Similarly, during the Vietnam War, Nepal embraced "strategic neutrality," balancing relations with the United States, China, and the Soviet Union (all of which were close allies), but noting outside intervention but not labeling the United States as an aggressor. Gorkha forces, on the other hand, were active in the Kashmir dispute of 1947-48. Despite having close ties with the United Kingdom, Nepal has previously campaigned for a peaceful resolution of the German, Cyprus, and Cuban conflicts, as well as condemning the 1956 Suez Canal invasion. Perhaps in the name of peace, friendship, and historical links, Nepal adopted "hushed neutrality" on the Lipulekh case and its hardships in 1962, as well as the forceful block imposed by India in 1989 and 2015. Even Nepal's neutrality does not preclude it from joining UN forces, voting in (or out of) BIMSTEC military drills, campaigning for the Venezuelan crisis, or taking part in joint military exercises with China or the US.

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

4.2.5 Policy of Zone of Peace

Nepal's most influential contemporary strategic policy to project its growing security was the concept of a Zone of Peace. When King Birendra came to power in Nepal, he

established a new foreign affairs effort by calling the country a "Zone of Peace." In 1973, at the non-aligned conference in Algiers, the notion was initially offered. On February 25, 1975, at King Birendra's crowning in Kathmandu, it was formally transmitted (Sharma, 2006, p.239).

The fundamental goal of proclaiming Nepal a "Zone of Peace" was to keep the country impartial in any potential regional crises while also ensuring domestic political stability and economic prosperity. The security of nations was compromised, and the global political situation was also jeopardized, as a result of events in the region. Nepal devised a new plan to proclaim Nepal a "Zone of Peace" following India's assumption of its requirements for its shift in policy toward the Soviet Union in 1971, its appropriate role in the split of Pakistan, and the rise of new Bangladesh, the accession of Sikkim, a small Himalayan state close Nepal, and nuclear tests. Nepal also had difficulties during these years on account of the Khampa event as well as other domestic problems (Baral, 2072 BS). The plan was primarily founded on the principles of Panchasheel and the spirit of nonalignment. As a result, it got widespread support from 116 countries, but India has yet to embrace it, claiming that Nepal has other goals (Srivastav, 2016, p. 41).

The decade of the 1980s saw significant changes in the area, including the start of India's border discussions with China, as well as the militarization and armament build-up of the subcontinent in the aftermath of the Afghan war. However, by the end of the 1980s, India's relations with Nepal had suffered a significant blow. It all began when India declined to renew Nepal's trade and transit agreements. The Rajiv Gandhi government claimed that Nepal was being ungrateful by forcing work permits on Indian workers in Nepal, charging tariffs on commodities imported from India, and, most importantly, purchasing military equipment from China without India's authorization, allegedly in breach of the 1950 Treaty. Nepali politics began to take several twists and turns, finally leading to the end of constitutional monarchy and the rise of democratic forces. The nature of India-Nepal ties has also changed, with Nepalese political groups requesting a revision of the 1950 Treaty and more concessions from India. There were also some setbacks in bilateral relations. This was also the time when Nepal began to consider the possibility of improving relations with China. It was justified in doing so. India's relations with China have also improved (apart from the boundary issue), and bilateral trade between the two countries has increased since 2001.

Over the years, China has made rapid progress in Nepal to become its most important neighbor, even surpassing India's long-held position. Naturally, there is growing skepticism and concern about Nepal's developing ties with China. Many Indians were concerned that Kathmandu had "gone a little too far and too fast" in bolstering ties with Beijing. Nepal is important to China for geopolitical and geoeconomic reasons. The strengthening of ties between Nepal and China can be attributed to a variety of factors. First, Nepal has been through two significant episodes of economic blockade by India, in 1989 and 2015, and it cannot afford to go through another given the current social and economic situation. Nepal's landlocked condition, particularly its geopolitics with India, prompted the ruling regime to diversify commerce even more than before. Nepal is likewise interested in China's "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) Initiative, which the country's rulers see as crucial to the country's long-term growth. Following the 2015 embargo, Nepal drew closer to China, signing a transit trade contract with China on March 22, 2016, together with nine other pacts. Economic development, transportation connectivity, trade connectivity (economic zone, industrial park, and dry port development), financial integration through the opening of a Chinese bank branch, and people-to-people contact through visits and media are the five broad areas of the OBOR pact between Nepal and China.

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

4.2.6 Policy of Equidistance/ Equi-proximity

The term "balancing relationship" means "relative balance," not "absolute balance." It used to be interpreted as equidistance, but it was later changed to equal closeness. More than a policy, the balanced partnership is a matter of geopolitical importance. Throughout Nepal's history, its administration has maintained a cautious balance. Oli was elected Prime Minister for the second time after the first election under this constitution. When he initially became Prime Minister, he was the president of the Nepal Communist Party, which was Marxist and Leninist. When he was elected To

Power for the second time, he was the head of the Nepal Communist Party. His second innings, unlike his first, were convenient. He gave a foreign policy speech in which he officially introduced the 'Neighborhood Policy,' in which the balanced relationship with both neighbors was mentioned. Both India and China greeted him warmly. Prime Minister Oli first traveled to India, then to China. During both visits, the Prime Minister prioritized the national interest by attempting to preserve a positive relationship with them. Normalcy in relations was restored with India. Nepal and India have inked a railroad deal. The railway agreement was signed with China. The conclusion of the Joint Declaration on Rail Connectivity Cooperation was met with joy by both sides. They welcomed this as the most major move forward in bilateral collaboration, anticipating that this will usher in an era of interconnectivity. Prime Minister Oli's strategy of balancing ties was further illustrated when he accepted with India to build a train link between the two countries. During Prime Minister Oli's state trip to India, he and Prime Minister Narendra Modi decided to sign railway linkages. Since ancient times, Nepal's foreign policy has been guided by the principle of equidistance. Nepal is bordered on three sides by India: in the south, west, and east, and in the north by China. Nepal's international policy has remained a difficult, serious, and sensitive matter due to its economic and geopolitical underdevelopment. While regarding foreign policy, Nepal's geopolitical and strategic situation has obliged it to pursue a balancing of international affairs with its closest neighbors. Nepalese international relations were influenced by India till the mid-1950s. Nepal had access to the global environment after joining the United Nations in 1955. The then-king Mahendra embraced the policy of preserving equal relationships between India and China. Despite India's objections, the one-sided relationship is now beginning to balance with the development of the Araniko Highway. In formulating Nepalese foreign policy, the concept of a "balanced partnership" is also significant. Many Indian foreign planners underlined India's special relationship with Nepal and became vocal critics of Nepal's balancing relationship approach, emphasizing cultural, economic, geographical, and societal linkages between the two countries (Singh & Shah, 2016, p. 56).

The problem of a balanced relationship has always been a point of contention. Foreign policy formulation based on political party lines has resulted in more basic concerns. The leftist government is frequently accused of having a "pro-Chinese policy," while the rightist or centrist government has a "pro-India strategy." However,

there is a geopolitical necessity for any Nepalese government to be neither pro-Chinese nor pro-Indian. As a result, when engaging with our near neighbors, we should maintain equi-proximity. Nepal, on the other side, has stayed neutral in the conflict between India and China. In June 2017, Nepal indicated that it will stay neutral in the continuing India-China standoff and that it wishes the Doklam dispute to be resolved peacefully. In the 1962 Indo-China war, Nepal likewise remained neutral. Diplomatic relations should be balanced accordingly to context and balanced doesn't mean absolute 'equal'. Ideologically, equidistance is a Cold War strategy implemented by small countries in the then bipolar world, But in today's multi-polar world, equidistance seems an outdated idea. "Still, Nepal continues to express its commitment to the equidistance policy, through different mediums, including the proposal of trilateralism" (Bhattarai, 2005).

When analyzing the trilateral relationship between India and China, many of our leaders, seduced by the romantic idea, utilize terminology like "Equi-distance" or "Equi-proximity." Our leaders must realize that neither Nepal nor China can maintain an equal relationship with India, nor can Beijing replace New Delhi's multi-sartorial proximity. The recent Prime Ministerial visit to India, on the other hand, marked the beginning of a reframes of Indo-Nepalese relations. Both countries will have to make amends for previous failures to open up new bilateral opportunities. Furthermore, Kathmandu must avoid playing the 'Equi-distance game,' and India must refrain from meddling in Nepal's domestic politics.

4.2.7 Nepal and Trilateral Cooperation

Although globalization has created interconnectedness and countries can no longer survive or thrive in isolation, power and hegemony politics continue to prevent minor powers from contending on an equal basis. The rivalry, collaboration, and competitiveness between India and China have had a direct impact on Nepal. Their relationship is a combination of animosity, cooperation, and competition when it comes to boundaries, trade, and strategic considerations. The recent case of Lipulekh has raised questions regarding our position. At Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's May 2015 visit to Beijing, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Modi claimed to have agreed to use this corridor for mutual advantage. So, the important question is whether the three countries can have a balanced trilateral relationship. However, due to political, strategic, and geopolitical circumstances, tri-literalism is an unavoidable

requirement for Nepal, China, and India. Both India's and China's governments have focused on growth and economic prosperity in recent years. They've also made huge strides in terms of road, rail, and maritime connectivity. The grandiose OBOR project of Xi Jinping aims to connect around 60 Asian, African, and European countries. President Obama's vision of forming a "community of common destiny" through the "Go West" and "Peripheral Strategy" has resulted in India's substantial growth in science and technology, and its "Neighborhood First" policy can be beneficial to our economy. The concept of trilateralism can be realized if these policies are faithfully implemented. However, this does not imply that our near neighbors will set their security concerns aside. China is always wary of the possibility of Nepali land being used for anti-China activities.

When it comes to dealing with Nepal, China is more concerned about the Tibet issue. The conflict, the Tibetan refugee issue, and China's strategic link with Pakistan remain tensions in Sino-Indian relations. India is likewise concerned about China's expanding political clout in Nepal. China's funding of Nepal's infrastructure and power has angered India. Aside from these difficulties, open border-borne issues like counterfeit currency proliferation, an increase in criminal activities, a rise in terrorist attacks, unlawful commerce, and drug, and people trafficking are always producing tension between the two countries. More challenges have arisen as a result of the growing anti-Indian sentiment in Nepal. Nepal, on the other hand, is devoted to assuaging its neighbors' security fears by refusing to allow the use of Nepalese land for anti-government operations.

Only when the two key players, China and India, have reached a minimal degree of agreement on Nepal is strategic convergence conceivable. Their differences on borders or in other areas should not be linked to Nepal, because making Nepal a no-competition zone would help protect both their and Nepal's wider interests. China and India's policy toward Nepal must undergo significant changes to reach strategic convergence. The core ingredients of deep and broad links between Nepal and India should be preserved, but the strong security linkages that are seen as a threat to national independence and sovereignty should be regulated at the same time. Strategic convergence should be viewed as a constructive development of trilateral relations, such that growing Chinese investment and involvement in infrastructure development is not perceived as a threat to India's interests.

Nepal's physical condition prevents China and India from using it to counterbalance each other's influence. The developing strategic Chinese ties with Nepal should not cross the line established by the strategic convergence components. If India tries to be a little more pragmatic and sensible in dealing with Nepal's issues, there will be less misunderstanding. Nepal is not anti-Indian, as the Modi visit in 2014 demonstrated. The occasional snares, the ingrained Nepali perception that India has always been overbearing, and India's concerns that Nepal is promoting Chinese interests have all been sources of misunderstanding. Huge power-small power syndrome is a term used to describe how a smaller neighbor considers a larger neighbor as arrogant, demanding, and bullish, while big powers mistrust their little neighbors for being chronically hostile or even working against big powers' interests.

By promoting the idea of cooperative ties between the three neighbors, a strategic convergence approach will attempt to rectify mental and practical cleavages. Big neighbors are expected to understand Nepal's goals in this situation. The maintenance of national unity, territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty, which are the fundamental foundations of an independent nation-state, are at the heart of such aspirations. If some treaties and agreements signed over time are seen to be incompatible with these principles, the two neighbors should seek out suitable alternatives to bolster cooperative relations. As a result, strategy convergence should be considered as background preparation for harmonizing emergent geopolitical trends and dynamics. Only when the three countries (China, India, and Nepal) share strategic convergence as an understanding of each other's ambitions based on a cooperation and friendship agenda can strategic equilibrium be achieved.

The term "strategic equilibrium" is not used here to refer to a traditional strategic balance as it is understood and applied in international politics. In this scenario, equilibrium formulation means that Nepal should be left alone to conduct its internal affairs and that in the event of internal instability or hostile activities, the two neighbors can assist with the positive aim of keeping Nepal stable and peaceful. It means that no country should consider Nepal to be under their influence sphere. New realities, which demand prudence and creative approaches to strengthening trilateral relations, are expected to influence Nepal's large neighbors. The strategic depth approach pursues difficult options, with the two major neighbors attempting to consolidate their positions in Nepal, and so has negative implications in the given situation.

India's favorable strategic depth position cannot be overlooked, but it also has the potential to provoke if the traditional tactic of pitting one neighbor against the other is continued. Furthermore, if the traditional power struggle continues unabated, Nepal's important interests will be jeopardized. As a result, strategic depth would only mean that foreign powers' actions in Nepal would increase. However, competitor powers are unlikely to attain such strategic depth since their position prevents them from crossing the Rubicon; nor will Nepal be persuaded to become a battleground for its neighbors. It is critical to persuade Nepal's two neighbors that new thinking and a constructive attitude are required to ensure that their important interests are not jeopardized. If the two neighbors show some empathy for Nepal, their development efforts will not be in vain, because a stable, peaceful, and successful Nepal will benefit them both. The equidistance policy advocated by some party officials and academics in Nepal is neither logical nor practicable.

A policy of increased proximity to both neighbors, on the other hand, should be strengthened. Such proximity should be used to benefit Nepal's development as well as to dispel mistrust between the three countries. The time of elected administration following the promulgation of the new constitution was a significant departure in Nepal's foreign policy and relations. Oli was elected Prime Minister for the first time in 2016 and again in 2018. His first premiership was riddled with foes. The fourth blockade on Nepal had been enforced by India. The administration of the time battled India's blockade while keeping the national interest in mind. The signing of a Trade and Transit Agreement with China was indicative of a dramatic shift in foreign policy. In addition, during that time, various understandings were established. The actions are opening up new channels to China's northern borders, as well as transmission lines, which might have a long-term influence on Nepal's bilateral and multilateral relations. Beginning with the implementation of the accords struck in 2016, the government improved relations with China. Protocols had been prepared. Now that all of the foundations are in place, the agreement can be put into effect.

4.2.8 Constitutional Provision

Nepal's foreign policy has as its primary goal the enhancement of the nation's dignity through the protection of the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence, as well as the promotion of the country's economic well-being and prosperity. It also has the goal of promoting global peace, harmony, and security.

Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-interference in each other's domestic matters; mutual equality; non-aggression and peaceful resolution of conflicts; cooperation; abiding belief in the United Nations Charter; the value of world peace; and other basic principles guide Nepal's foreign policy. The constitution of Nepal, 2015 AD states independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, nationality, autonomy, self-respect, protection of rights and interests of Nepali people, protection of boundaries, and economic progress and prosperity as the fundamental subjects to safeguard Nepal's national interest (Constitution of Nepal, 2015, Article 5.1).

The constitution is the primary governing document for the nation's overall affairs. The Constitution of Nepal 2072 (2015 AD), as the highest law, has provided specific regulations regarding Nepalese foreign policy. In terms of foreign policy, the new constitution makes no significant modifications. The constitution further states that the government would adopt a strategy of reviewing previous treaties and concluding new treaties and accords based on equality and mutual interest (The constitution of Nepal, 2015 AD, Article 51.2). There have been various modifications in foreign policy rules that are nearly identical. The changing environment necessitates a rethinking of Nepalese foreign policy. Nepal's general population and political parties have called for a rethinking of the country's relationship with its southern neighbor.

4.2.9 Formation of Eminent Persons Group (EPG)

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

4.2.10 Nepal and the World Community

Nepal is a sovereign country in South Asia that is officially known as the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. It is mostly in the Himalayas, although areas of the Indo-Gangetic Plain are included as well. It is the 49th most populous country in the world and the 93rd largest in terms of land area. It is landlocked, bordering Tibet to the north and India to the south, east, and west, with Bangladesh only 27 kilometers (17 miles) away on the southeastern tip, and Bhutan separated by the Indian state of Sikkim. Nepal's landscape is diversified, with fertile plains, subalpine wooded hills, and eight of the world's ten tallest mountains, including Mount Everest, the world's highest peak. The capital and largest city of Nepal is Kathmandu. Nepal is a multiethnic country with a diverse population. The word "Nepal" first appears in documents from the Indian subcontinent's Vedic period, the period in ancient India when Hinduism, the country's major religion, was created. Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was born in Lumbini, Nepal, around the middle of the first millennium BCE. Parts of northern Nepal were influenced by Tibetan culture. The Indo-Aryan civilization is entwined with Kathmandu Valley's culture, and it was the seat of the rich Newar confederacy known as Nepal Mandala. The valley's traders dominated the Himalayan branch of the ancient Silk Road. Traditional art and architecture developed in the cosmopolitan region.

The Gorkha Kingdom was responsible for the unification of Nepal by the 18th century. Under the Rana dynasty of premiers, the Shah dynasty formed the Kingdom of Nepal, which subsequently joined the British Empire. It was never conquered and instead functioned as a buffer between Imperial China and British India. Parliamentary democracy was established in 1951, but Nepalese rulers suspended it twice, in 1960 and 2005. The civil war in Nepal in the 1990s and early 2000s concluded in the foundation of a secular republic in 2008, putting an end to the world's last Hindu monarchy. Nepal's Constitution, established in 2015, establishes the country as a secular federal parliamentary republic with seven provinces. It is still the world's only multi-party, fully democratic country ruled by a communist party. Nepal was admitted to the United Nations in 1955, and friendship treaties with India and the People's Republic of China were linked in 1950 and 1960, respectively. The permanent secretariat of SAARC, of which Nepal is a founding member, is located in Nepal.

Nepal's formal admission into the international community began only after it joined the United Nations in 1955. Nepal has also served on the United Nations Security Council as a temporary member on two different occasions (1969-1970 and 1988-1989). Nepal was one of the first members of the NAM, which has been founded in 1961. The founding of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985, and the construction of the SAARC Secretariat in Kathmandu, increased Nepal's profile. Nepal's membership in BIMSTEC, which started on July 31, 2004, has strengthened Nepal's worldwide standing. Although Nepal now heads SAARC and BIMSIIEC, its inability to hold summits has raised questions about the country's ability to handle foreign affairs.

4.3 Foreign Relations of Nepal

Nepal maintains bilateral ties with 168 countries and is a member of the European Union (EU) (MoFA, n.d.). As a landlocked country sandwiched between two far larger and far stronger powers, Nepal has worked hard to preserve good relations with both its counterparts, the People's Republic of China as well as the Republic of India (NDTV, 2016 March 24). However, in recent years, its relationship with India, which wields stronger hegemony over Nepal, has undergone tremendous ups and downs. During the 2015 Nepal blockade, the two countries' connection was severely hindered. The Nepalese government accused India of imposing the blockade, which India categorically rejected, claiming that the blockade was imposed by Madheshi demonstrators.

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

Nepal was a key player in the founding of the SAARC, which is focused on economic growth and hosts its secretariat. Nepal has a nonaligned foreign policy and frequently votes with the NAM at the United Nations. Nepal is a member of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Colombo Plan, and the Asian Development Bank, as

well as various UN specialized bodies. The National Human Rights Panel, a government-appointed commission tasked with investigating human-rights infractions, was created in 2000. The Commission has looked into 51 complaints so far. Although freedom of expression is generally exercised as a constitutional right, certain small issues have been recorded in the country. The National Economic Development Association (NEDA) is a non-profit organization that promotes women's trafficking and child labor continues to be an important issue. Small contested areas of the border with India are still being worked on by a joint border panel. Nepal has boundary conflicts with India in Lipulekh and Kalapani, between Darchula and Uttarakhand, and Susta, Nawalpur district, as of 2017. (Stephen, 2014 Sep 22).

In 2018, the EPG (Eminent Persons Group), a joint committee of Nepal and India, completed a report on the two countries' disputed areas. The study has yet to be presented to the leaders of both countries' governments. Since September 11, 2003, Nepal has been a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (WTO, 2003 Sep 11).

4.4 Nepal-India Relations

India and Nepal have a unique friendship and cooperation relationship marked by open borders and deep-rooted people-to-people ties as near neighbors. There has long been a tradition of individuals freely moving across boundaries to share family ties and culture. In the east, south, and west, Nepal shares a border with five Indian states: Sikkim, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttarakhand. The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship is the cornerstone of India's special relationship with Nepal. Nepali citizens have received some benefits in India as a result of the Treaty's terms, including equal access to facilities and opportunities as Indian nationals. In India, around 6 million Nepalese people live and work.

The two countries established diplomatic relations on June 17, 1947, to provide a formal tone to such historic links. Our bilateral relations have become stronger because of our unshakable dedication to the values of peaceful coexistence, sovereign equality, mutual respect ambitions, and sensibilities. Nepal's sincere desire to create and foster cordial and amicable connections with its neighbors is shown in her long-standing policy of not allowing elements hostile to India to use its territory, and Nepal expects reciprocity and assurance from India. The two countries' open border remains

a distinctive characteristic of our relationship. Frontier freedom has tremendously allowed our people to freely move to each other's areas and improve interactions.

4.4.1 Political Relations 2006-2016

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

In Nepal, there are several joint venture ventures involving Indian capital. Trade, business, and economic cooperation have grown in tandem with other areas of the bilateral relationship as a result of geographical proximity, socio-cultural ties, and more exchanges between the two peoples. On the economic front, India and Nepal have collaborated on many initiatives, particularly in the areas of infrastructure, health, education, and other technical domains. Other initiatives are beneficial to both countries. Some initiatives are in the works, including those involving cross-border connectivity. Nepal's infrastructure, communication, and technological capacities are improving, allowing the two countries to benefit from commercial, economic, and technical collaboration. The steady economic growth and development of India can energize the economies of surrounding countries such as Nepal. Because of their tight economic ties, the developing Indian economy can provide a boost to Nepal's efforts

to accelerate its economic growth. It would also open up a lot of possibilities for cooperation between the two countries.

This dissertation looks at the political relationship between Nepal and India from 2006 to 2016, as well as Nepal's domestic politics and how it has managed its asymmetric relationship with India, all while taking into account the causative impact of international forces. This dissertation finds that changing threats to new political development and domestic practices of Nepal exert a robust causal influence on the degree to which Nepal's leaders place a premium on Nepal's autonomy and sovereignty, based on a case study of the 'Nepal-India political relationship 2006-2016.' Analyzing Nepal-India political interactions under both monarchial authoritarian and democratic republic governance forms, also indicates that this causal relationship exists across two different regime types.

King Gyanendra grew to be more complex. His takeover of power in 2002 was unpopular with Nepal's political parties, and the failure of additional discussions with the Maoists, as well as continuous bloodshed, prompted the parties to put pressure on King Gyanendra to restore civilian rule. King Gyanendra announced a state of emergency in Nepal on February 1, 2005, taking emergency powers and restoring the absolute monarchy. In doing so, King Gyanendra increased the internal danger to his reign, prompting Nepal's political groups to relocate to India and form alliances with one another for the sake of restoring Nepali democracy.

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

New Delhi's 'imperialists,' employing rhetoric that we would expect from the India-warm Nepali congress.

Why is it that in 2008, Prachanda talks about how important of an ally India is to Nepal, although the Nepali Congress and the Maoist have such opposed viewpoints? Domestic factors are unimportant, as the significance of the Nepal-India political relationship – regardless of the political parties' preferences – makes it impossible to minimize or reject the relationship entirely. As a result, the two parties face similar geopolitical circumstances and, as a result, adopt similar foreign policy positions when in power. This argument appears to be powerful at first look. Nepal is both geographically and politically significantly smaller than India. In the twin realms of security and economy, it is likewise reliant on India. Why should any political party be able to be truly disruptive to Nepal's political relations with India in these circumstances? But what if we assume that any political party's ultimate goal when it gains office is to maintain its power? It would appear that the leadership's goal toward India would be to limit dangers to its authority while also attempting to build a base of support to keep it in place.

Furthermore, it appears that Nepal's attitude toward India, as well as its overall foreign policy, has fluctuated throughout its history. In the late 1980s, for example, Nepal became so adamant about its independence and sovereignty that it prompted India to take strong steps to force the current leadership to acquiesce to Indian interests. It was exhausting implementing a work permit system for Indian nationals who had enjoyed untested access to the Nepali market for decades. As a sovereign nation, it began purchasing massive weaponry and weapons, with China threatening to double the size of its military. Nepal appears to be solidly acquiescent to Indian interests and eager to enmesh itself in deep dependency on its southern neighbor at other times. The 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship with India, as well as a trade treaty, effectively established Nepal as a satellite state of India, committing Nepal to a future of military support, alliance, foreign exchange, and commerce dependence on India. At times, Nepali officials appear to place a great value on the country's autonomy and sovereignty, while at other times, they appear to place a far lower value on it. It is not possible to dismiss the significance of international forces in deciding the outcome of a tiny country's foreign policy. Instead, it tries to figure out how domestic and foreign forces interact with one another.

The key two independent variables are the threat to regime security and the type of regime, whereas the dependent variables are premium, strategic autonomy, and sovereignty. When it comes to the level of priority, the leadership prioritizes the state's independence and freedom from external influence and policy supremacy. It's useful to consider how Nepal differs from other tiny governments that have to deal with asymmetric relationships. How Nepal manages its political connection with India since this has historically been Nepal's considerably more robust relationship in every essential dimension: political, military, economic, cultural, geographic, and religious. Furthermore, Nepal's relationship with India is marked not just by a vast power disparity, but also by India's strong influence over Nepal's internal affairs—another aspect that may set this asymmetric relationship apart from others. The Comprehensive Peace Accord of 2006 marked the conclusion of the Nepal civil war and the Unified Communist Party of Nepal's return to formal domestic politics (Maoists). The Maoists' election victory in August 2008 culminated in the appointment of Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda) as Prime Minister, raising questions regarding Nepal's future India policy. Nepal had been perplexing during the Maoist insurgency, moving from initial support to antagonism. It appears that strategic autonomy and sovereignty were not seriously prioritized until 2015 and 2016 when Nepal responded to a lucrative unofficial embargo at its Indian border. Nonetheless, the history of contemporary democratic politics suggests that Nepal's leaders are stuck in a middle ground, unable to sustainably place too high or too low a value on strategic autonomy and sovereignty. India is referred to be an "expansionist power" in Maoist philosophy and rhetoric in Nepal and is discussed in enemy-like terms. Nepal's political and economic reliance on India is viewed through an imperialist prism, merging nationalism and anti-imperialism. However, as compared to their Indian counterparts, one of the most distinguishing characteristics of Maoists in Nepal has been their "flexible situational choice" and sensitive sense of public feelings and mobilization (Nayak, 2008 p. 467).

However, there was immediate evidence of increasing diplomatic clout. When Prachanda called for the withdrawal and revision of the 1950 Treaty between Nepal and India – a long-standing Maoist goal – New Delhi expressed an interest in reviewing the treaty and possibly renegotiating it. However, Prachanda faced pressures as leader of the Maoist party, including the fact that the party had a more

ideologically ardent side that he would have to placate to continue in power. The absorption of the Maoists into the NA was one of the most contentious problems at the time. Prachanda had previously declared in 2008 that political consensus was required before any meaningful action on the army could be taken. However, in late 2008 and early 2009, the Prachanda state decided to fire General Katawal, the Nepali army's Chief of Army Staff. Katwal had conflicted with the Maoists because of his vehement resistance to the Maoist rebels' quick absorption into the Nepali Army.

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

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

On September 20, 2015, Nepal promulgated a new Constitution with the signatures of 90 percent of the members of the Constituent Assembly (CA) II. They would congratulate Nepal on its achievement, but Nepal's ragi-roti-beti-nearest neighbor, India, delivered a frigid letter and a mind-numbing message. The following day, India informally conveyed a proposed 7-point Constitutional change supporting 10% of

Nepal's CA II, which has agitated Madhesi factions. Such modifications infringe on Nepal's sovereignty and internal affairs, yet the country's response was befuddling. Furthermore, India began clandestine transit trade warfare, effectively closing the Nepal-India border. All Nepalese lives are being frozen as a result of the border closures. Nepal was in desperate need of cooking and oxygen gas, as well as gasoline, medicine, and other basic humanitarian goods. Due to a paucity of medicines and oxygen gas, hospitals had to halt normal operations. Except for security personnel, no gasoline had been delivered to public or private vehicles. Worse, India's transit warfare took place during a period when Nepal's and China's borders were closed following the earthquake. India's planned constitutional modification for the Madhesi minority was a farce; clearly, India's myopic goal was to dominate Nepal's natural resources and reinstate the Hindu Kingdom.

"The winning of oil as a Prime Minister of Nepal is a loss of India," declared Ranjit Rae, India's Ambassador to Kathmandu, after collecting protesting Tarai-Madhes leaders into the Embassy soon before the Prime Minister's election. Rae further injures the Nepali by reporting from New Delhi in the manner of Goebbels. As a result, enraged citizens across the country are burning effigies of India and PM Modi in Tarai, Hill, and Mountain areas. In the views of Nepali and South Asian people, the great socialist leader Modi of the twenty-first century has become known as a bully leader, and his popularity is dwindling by the day. Surprisingly, the crisis occurred when India implemented three policies at once: first, to assist Kathmandu governing elites, second, to develop the Hindu Kingdom, and third, to control Madhesi, feudal leaders. As a result of India's full support for the Tarai-Madhes agitation and its demands, the big three parties were not as supportive as they should have been. The public's annoyance, emotion, and wrath grew as a result of New Delhi's alleged meddling in Nepal's domestic affairs.

"Madhesi protesters are in no man's land, blocking the road at custom posts, preventing loaded vehicles from delivering to Nepal," India said. However, this is not the case. True, India wishes to engage in genuine talks with its protected protestors to end the transit crisis in Nepal. This series of events demonstrates how a powerful state, acting as a "big brother," bullies and pushes its narrow interests on the weaker state, smothering people's voices, livelihoods, and rights to life, liberty, security, and dignity. India denied implementing a transit ban against Nepal internationally, but on

October 3, 2015, India's Ministry of External Affairs ordered its customs agents to transfer stranded cargos to Nepal from its border. Despite this, Nepal continues to face obstacles in importing petroleum products and other everyday necessities from India. The order came when Nepal's land route to China reopened, cleaning the road of post-earthquake debris.

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

German Foreign Minister Frank Walter Steinmeier applauded the new Constitution's promulgation. and said, "This is an important step toward reconciliation and further democracy. Nepal is entering a new chapter in its history. It is now a country with a democratic constitution". The French Foreign Ministry through a statement said, "France welcomes the promulgation of the new Constitution by Nepal, which therefore completes the political process initiated in 2008. The Constitution is a key step toward continuing national reconciliation, restoring political stability, and returning to the path of development. Similarly, the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, the Swiss Ambassador to Nepal Urs Harren, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Japan, the European Union, Denmark, and Norway, among others, had welcomed the new Constitution, expressing the hope that it would pave the way for long-term peace and sustainability. However, Tarai-Madhesi centric leaders of the Nepali Congress, then UML (now Unified with Maoist Party become CPN) and

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

India claims that Madhesis make up the bulk of the population of Jhapa, Morang, and Sunsari districts, but this is incorrect; there is 56 percent of Pahade, including Bahun (Report of National Statistics Beau, Nepal). India was incorrect for two reasons: first, they manipulated the facts to suit their narrow interests against Nepal, and second, they relied heavily on information from their biased sources, such as Ranjit Rae and Tarai-Madheshi leaders. India is referred to as an "expansionist power" in the doctrine and vocabulary of Nepal's Communist Parties and is described in enemy-like terms. Nepal's political and economic dependence on India is cast through an imperialist lens, thus fusing nationalism with anti-imperialism. The ruling communist party of Nepal, especially compared to their counterparts in India, has been their "flexible situational decisions" and an acute sense of mass sentiment and mobilization. When the Unofficial blockade took hold in 2015, India was met with a flurry of harsh criticism within Nepal. The Prime Minister of Nepal, Khadga Prasad Oli, and his officials blamed the Indian government for the unofficial blockade, saying that Indian security personnel was responsible for preventing the passage of cargo trucks into Nepal. In short, India was seen as supporting the Madhesi demands at the expense of the rest of Nepal, reinforcing and aggravating the anti-Indian sentiments already quite present in the society of Nepal. An editorial in the Kathmandu Post, for example, wrote that Delhi would do well not to be seen as crossing the red line to meet its objective. It could box itself in an awkward position and see it loses its diplomatic leverage against individual parties and sections of the polarized society.

India's unspoken backing for the Madhesi had the unintended consequence of providing Nepal's rulers more room to maneuver in terms of strategic autonomy and

sovereignty. Simply said, rising patriotic and anti-Indian sentiments among Nepal's population allow the country's leaders to focus more on autonomy and sovereignty. In the aftermath of the 2015 blockade, Nepal made some actions in 2016 to improve its strategic autonomy and independence.

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

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

On October 11, 2015, CPM-UML Chairmen Khadga Prasad Sharma Oli was elected Prime Minister with 338 votes in the legislative house. With 249 votes, Oli defeated outgoing Prime Minister Sushil Koirala. In 2015, Koirala broke the gentlemen's agreement to back Oli for PM in a 16-point pact (Kathmandu Post, 2015). AB Mathur, the former head of India's Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), was despatched with 930 million Indian currency to defeat PM Oli's choice. On October 10, President Dr. Ram Baran Yadav, Prime Minister Sushil Koirala, former Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, Mathur, and Ambassador Rae convened a skull session (Consultative Meeting) to plot Koirala's triumphal, the Tarai-Madhesh agitation's skipper, remarked, "India has been a strong supporter of your Tarai-Madhesh movement. You wouldn't be able to maintain your neutrality. India's failure is Oli's

election as Nepal's Prime Minister. You must vote for Manisha Koirala. We will withdraw the blockage if you do not support him. (Ratopati, 2015) (Ratopati, 2015) (Ratopati, 2015 ". They voted for Koirala, but he lost by a significant margin. The fact that the Front leaders boycotted the CA II Constitution-making process while voting under the same Constitution is extraordinary. As a result, India has been lending spiritual, financial, and technological support to the Tarai-Madhesh agitation.

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

Nepal, according to Prachanda, is not India's yes-man. Sushil Koirala has reservations about India. In his Tudikhel speech on September 22, 2015, Prachanda expressed his dissatisfaction with Modi's special envoy S. Jaishank, claiming that Jayashanker had insulted and disrespected him. Is Nepal's special envoy's visit to India disrespectful to any former prime minister or major leader? It should be emphasized that all-important political reforms in Nepal, including the declaration of the Republic Federal State in 2008, were achieved with the active engagement, participation, and cooperation of the Indian people and government. The sole difference between the past and the present is that Nepali people of all dissertates previously traveled down the Indian road However, the existing Modi-led administration has two options: either unilaterally lift the transit blockade or further sully the long-standing amicable and harmonious relations between the two countries. Despite some humanitarian issues, Nepal should be compelled to pursue self-sufficiency in the future.

In addition, Nepal would gradually enhance alternate methods of subsistence and other humanitarian requirements, opening up supply routes from China. In the long run, India should pay a high price for the current transit struggle. People in general

look to China for its active participation in Nepal as a "warm-friendship" country, dismissing generation-old cold friendship diplomacy, silence-negotiation, cruel policy, and mute-procession continued silence could result in a security hazard from the Nepal-China border. Unless India abandons its expansionist hegemony or China actively participates in the SAARC, the SAARC is on the verge of collapsing. Rather than being a domestic problem, Nepal's current crisis has been imported from other countries, particularly India. All of the agitating Tarai-Madhesh leaders acknowledged that India is supporting them. That is why Nepalese citizens are urging the government not to bow down at India's port. There is a powerful voice calling for Ambassador Rae to take stern action. Anti-Indian emotions will only be quenched if India reduces its interference in Nepal's domestic affairs.

Liberating Nepali society from feudal dominated culture, as well as building consensus among political forces on major national issues such as Nepal-India political relations, which includes border interests and community participation, are likely to be among the major agendas for the new political order determined to establish true harmony with India. We may disagree on a variety of issues, but in the end, the results of our disagreements should lead to accords after extensive discussion and deliberation.

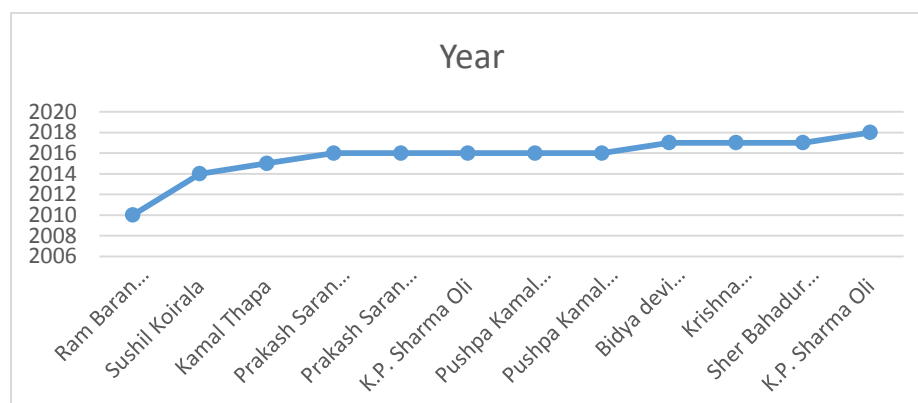
Exchange of Visits Between 2006-2016

From Nepal:

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

f) Mr. Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda,' Nepal's then-Prime Minister, paid an Official Visit to Delhi in September 2016 and returned in October 2016 to attend the BRICS-BIMSTEC Outreach Conference.

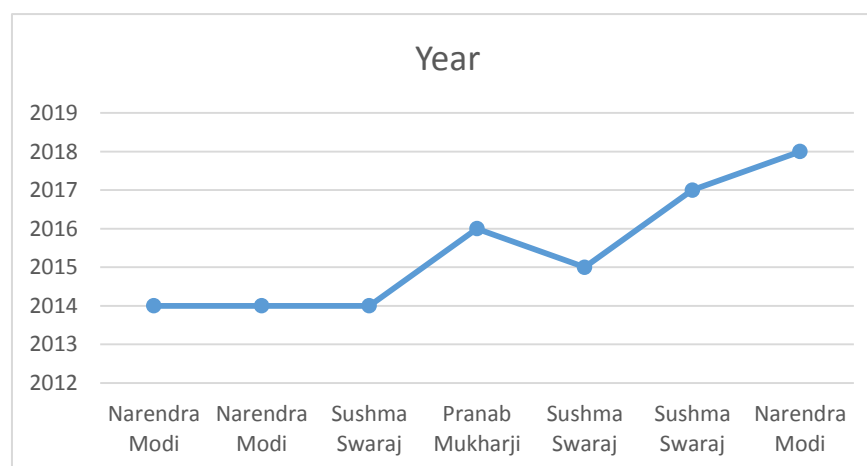
Table 4. 1: Higher level official visits of Nepal to India



From India:

- In August 2014, Prime Minister of India His Excellency Shri Narendra Modi conducted a state visit to Nepal at the invitation of then-Prime Minister Mr. Sushil Koirala.
- His Excellency Prime Minister Modi also visited Nepal in November 2014, to participate in the 18th SAARC Summit.
- In July 2014, India's External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj traveled to Nepal at the request of then-Foreign Minister Mr. Mahendra Bahadur Pandey to attend the planned meeting of the bilateral Joint Commission.
- In November 2016, India's then-President, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, conducted an Official Visit to Nepal.

Table 4. 2: High-level official visits of India to Nepal



Apart from adopting effective measures to carry out all previous agreements and understandings, the importance of reviving existing bilateral channels to foster a cooperative agenda across all fields has been emphasized. Both sides have decided to pursue a new agricultural relationship, build rail links connecting Kathmandu and Raxaul with India's financial assistance, and improve inland waterways for cargo traffic, providing Nepal with extra access to the sea. It was also decided to resolve unresolved issues within a set timeframe to improve collaboration in all areas.

Thousands of Nepali soldiers serve in India's Gurkha regiment and fight for the country. However, in recent years, calls in Nepal have grown louder for Kathmandu to cancel its bilateral peace and friendship pact with New Delhi and to stop recruiting Nepalis into the Indian army. China's developing relations with Nepal have also made New Delhi uncomfortable, according to Nischal Nath Pandey, director of the Kathmandu-based think tank Center for South Asian Studies. Nepal and China have inked many multibillion-dollar infrastructure projects in recent years, including a framework deal to construct highways, trains, and power transmission lines over the Himalayas. Smaller South Asian countries are no longer hesitant to invite the Chinese, whether for tourism, investment, or trade. Party-to-party links exist between the Nepalese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party. The Sino-Indian border has experienced a huge military buildup in recent months.

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

4.4.2 Economic Relations

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

Jayanagar Railway's East-West Highway, the B. P. Koirala Institute of Medical Sciences (MOF,2014).

Following the devastating earthquake in Nepal between April and May 2015, India offered immediate assistance. After a devastating 7.8 magnitude earthquake struck Nepal on April 25, 2015, the Indian government promptly dispatched National Disaster Response Force (NDRF) troops and special planes with rescue and relief supplies (followed by a severe aftershock of 7.4 magnitude on May 12, 2015). Within six hours of the earthquake, 16 NDRF teams and 39 IAF aircraft flights transported 571 tons of relief aid to Nepal, containing rescue equipment, medicine, meals, water, tents, quilts, and tarpaulin. Medical personnel from India have been dispatched to Nepal in various regions.

In the Kathmandu valley, India assisted in the restoration of three electricity substations. The overall amount of Indian relief aid to Nepal was estimated to be US\$ 67 million. India pledged US\$ 1 billion (including a US\$ 250 million donation as well as a US\$ 750 million concessional Line of Credit) to Nepal's post-earthquake reconstruction during the International Conference for Nepal's Reconstruction (ICNR) conducted in Kathmandu on June 25, 2015.

In 1952, Indian involvement began with the construction of an airstrip at Gaucharan. And since, India has mostly assisted Nepal in the development of infrastructural and human resource capability. Nepal's development efforts have benefited from India's assistance. In recent decades, India's economic assistance to Nepal has expanded considerably, particularly after the country's restoration to a multiparty system in 1990.

(A) Large and Intermediate Projects undertaken with India's economic assistance

- a) Some of the landmark projects completed and operationalized with Indian aid include the B.P. Koirala Institute of Health Sciences in Dharan, the Emergency and Trauma Centre at Bir Hospital in Kathmandu, and the Manmohan Memorial Polytechnic in Biratnagar.
- b) Integrated check-posts have been proposed at four points on the Indo-Nepal border namely (i) Raxaul-Birganj, (completed and operationalized from April 2018) (ii) Sunauli-Bhairahawa, (iii) Jogbani-Biratnagar, and (iv) Nepalganj Road-Nepalgunj. The construction of ICP in Biratnagar is ongoing, while procedures are underway for Bhairahawa and Nepalgunj. Likewise, as

envisaged by the MoU for the construction of Terai roads under phase I, the process of implementation has started.

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

(B) Cooperation in Water Resources

The water resource is considered the backbone of the Nepali economy. The issue of water resources has always been getting due prominence in the agenda of bilateral cooperation between Nepal and India for a long time. To optimize the benefits and address the problems, both Governments have set up three-tier mechanisms called Joint Ministerial Commission for Water Resources (JMCWR), Joint Committee on Water Resources (JCWR), and Joint Standing Technical Committee (JSTC) to implement agreements and treaties, and also address water-induced problems of flood and inundation. There is also an additional mechanism – the Joint Committee on Inundation and Flood Management (JCIFM) – which deals explicitly with the issues of inundation, embankments, and flood forecasting. An important Power Trade Agreement was signed between the two countries in 2014 paving the way for the power developers of the two countries to trade electricity across the border without restrictions. Private/public power developers from India have reached agreements with the Investment Board of Nepal to develop two mega hydropower projects – Upper Karnali and Arun III.

A three-tier framework set up in 2008 to discuss all bilateral problems connected to water resources and hydropower cooperation has proven to be effective regular on-site and off-site sessions are organized. In the domain of river education and embankment construction, the Indian government has been assisting Nepal in reinforcing and extending river banks all along Lalbakeya, Bagmati, as well as Kamala rivers. Since 2008, cumulative grant aid for embankment building along these rivers has been nearly NR 4.5 billion, including the current assistance. In September 2014, a Development Authority was established to oversee the Pancheshwar

Multipurpose Project. In November 2014, India's Satluj Jal Vidyut Nigam Limited and Nepal's Investment Board (IBN) signed a Power Development Agreement (PDA) for the 900 MW Arun-3 hydropower projects. In September 2014, IBN and M/s GMR agreed to a PDA for the 900 MW Upper Karnali hydroelectric project.

(C) Trade, Transit, and Investment

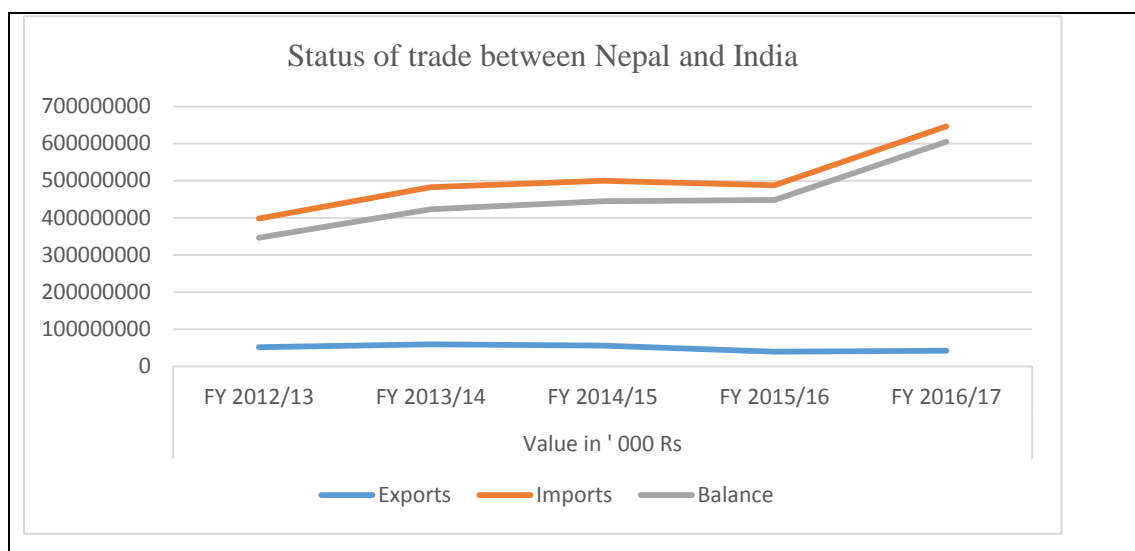
India is Nepal's main trading partner and source of foreign investment, as well as providing transit for nearly all of Nepal's third-country commerce. Over two-thirds of Nepal's merchandise trade, one-third of its services trade, 36 percent of foreign direct investments, and nearly all of its petroleum supplies come from India (Indian Embassy to Nepal, 2017). Indian companies are Nepal's largest investors, accounting for 38.3 percent of the country's total permitted foreign direct investments. In Nepal, over 150 Indian companies are active in the manufacturing, banking, insurance, dry port, education, telecommunications, power, and tourist industries. India has provided a transit facility to Nepal for the third-country trade. Both the public and private sectors of India have invested in Nepal. The trade statistics reveal a phenomenal increase in the volume of bilateral trade over the years between the two countries. However, Nepal has escalating trade deficit with India. Nepal and India have concluded a bilateral Treaty of Transit, Treaty of Trade, and the Agreement of Cooperation to Control Unauthorized Trade.

Table 4.1: Status of trade between Nepal and India

<i>Particular</i>	<i>Value in '000 Rs.</i>				
	F.Y.2012/13	F.Y.2013/14	F.Y.2014/15	F.Y.2015/16	F.Y.2016/17
Exports	51,788,459.87	59,458,375.46	55,859,252.78	39,695,134.06	41,500,843.94
Imports	397,957,920.27	482,345,299.99	500,044,484.09	487,597,306.52	646,019,016.95
Balance	346,169,460.40	422,886,924.52	444,185,231.31	447,902,172.45	604,518,173.01

Source: TEPC, 2017

Figure 4. 3: Status of trade between Nepal and India



According to the provision of the Treaty, to oversee the matters related to the implementation of the treaty, bilateral trade, transit, and investment issues, the Inter-Governmental Committee (IGC) and the Inter-Governmental Sub-Committee (IGSC) mechanisms have been set up at the level of Commerce Secretaries and Joint Both countries' secretaries, respectively. Over 40% of all approved foreign direct investments in Nepal are made by Indian enterprises. As of May 31, 2017, Indian enterprises have committed INR 5159.86 crores in FDI, while overall proposed FDI pledges to Nepal from all countries totaled INR 13178.15 crores. The Indian private sector and public sector entities would spend an additional US\$ 2.5 billion in Nepal for such construction of two major hydropower projects, Upper Karnali as well as Arun III, each with 900 megawatts of capacity. There are around 150 Indian enterprises operating in Nepal. They work in the industrial, service (finance, insurance, dry port, school, and telecommunications), power, and tourism industries.

(D) Security Cooperation and Boundary Management

Security-related issues are of prime concern to both countries. To address each other's security concerns, the two nations have created the Joint Working Group on Border Control (JWG) as well as Border District Coordination Committees, as well as Home Secretary-level meetings (BDCCs). The Nepal-India Joint Technical Committee, which was established in 1981, has made significant progress in scientifically charting the Nepal-India border. BWG has already mobilized joint teams in the field for carrying out works relating to construction, repair, and restoration of boundary pillars,

preparation of an inventory of encroachment of No Man's land and cross border occupation, and GPS observation of boundary pillars.

(E) Multilateral and Regional Fora

Both Nepal and India have a common approach to regional and multilateral institutions and hence, work in tandem in the United Nations, Non-aligned Movement, and other international fora on most of the important international issues. Furthermore, both countries have been deeply engaged in the regional and sub-regional frameworks of SAARC, BIMSTEC, and BBIN for enhancing cooperation for greater economic integration by harnessing collectively the potentials and complementarities available in the region.

4.4.3 Socio-cultural Relations

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

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

Hundreds of thousands of Nepalese pilgrims visit India each year. Almost all Hindus aspire to travel the Char Dham yatra (a pilgrimage to four Hindu shrines in India: Badrinath/Kedarnath in Uttarakhand, Jagannath (Puri) in Orissa, Rameshwaram in Tamilnadu, as well as Dwarka in Gujarat). Nepalese people see many other

destinations in India as sacred sites. Haridwar, Rishikesh, Banaras, Gaya, Vaishnodevi, and others are among them. Similarly, various religious places in Nepal are regarded as sacred and important and are popular with Indian tourists as "must-visit" religious locations.

(a) Indian Community in Nepal

These include businessmen and traders who have been living in Nepal for a long time, professionals (doctors, engineers, IT personnel), and laborers (including seasonal/migratory in the construction sector). An Indian Citizens' Association of Nepal (ICAN) was formed on 14 September 1990. ICANN is the only association of resident Indian citizens in Nepal with branches at Pokhara, Damak, and Bhairahawa, and provides a platform for discussion on matters about the legitimate interest of resident Indians in Nepal and works for the protection of such interests. Nepal and India have got open borders. There is a people-to-people relationship between the Indian and Nepalese people whether it is in the east or west brooder area.

(b) Education

One of the primary components of bilateral cooperation has been India's support for the development of Nepal's human resources over the years. Every year, the Indian government provides approximately 3000 scholarships to Nepalis for Ph.D./Masters as well as bachelor's level studies in India, and also bachelor and different levels in Nepal. These prizes encompass areas such as engineering, agriculture, pharmacology, animal sciences, computer software, business management, music, fine arts, and others. In India, self-financing places for MBBS/BDS, PG Medical, and Bachelor of Engineering programs, among others, are limited.

(c) Culture

The Government of India's efforts to build people-to-people interactions in the fields of art & culture, academics, and media includes cultural programs, symposia, and events created in collaboration with various local entities in Nepal, and also conferences and seminars in Hindi. Nepali journalists/editors can go to India for familiarization visits, and Nepali editors/journalists/experts/officials can go to India for short-term training in the fields of print and electronic media, as well as archaeology. The Nepal Academy and the Sahitya Kala Akademi (India) have already signed a Memorandum of Understanding.

In August 2007, an Indian Cultural Centre was established in Kathmandu to showcase the best of Indian culture in Nepali cities. The Indian Cultural Centre in Kathmandu

has earned a lot of respect for its prior cultural activities. The Nepal–Bharat Library was founded in Kathmandu in 1951. Its purpose is to enhance and strengthen cultural relations and sharing of information between India and Nepal. A Memorandum of Understanding between both the governments of India and Nepal resulted in the establishment of the B.P. Koirala India-Nepal Foundation in 1991. The Foundation's mission is to promote mutual understanding and collaboration between India and Nepal in the areas of education, culture, science, and technology by sharing information and professional talents in academic pursuits and technical specialties.

4.5 Historical Background of Nepal-India Political Relations

Nepal was not a single entity in the early eighteenth century as it is presently. Baisirajyas (22 mini-states) and chaubisirajyas (24 mini-states) in the west, and Kirat and Limbuwan in the east, split the Kathmandu valley. In the south, there were several tiny principalities. When King Prithvi Narayan Shah seized the Kathmandu valley in 1768, he began his quest for Nepal's unity. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, his descendants had extended Nepal from Kangra in the west through Tista in the east, extending the Gorkha Empire as far west as Kashmir Nepal's Royal Palace adopted an imperial grand strategy of becoming a formidable sub-regional power from the second half of the eighteenth century to the first decade of the nineteenth century. Instead of offending the Chinese empire in the north as well as British colonialists in the south, Prithvi Narayan Shah's ideology was to unite the rulers of the sub-petty region. The overarching aim of keeping great powers neutral while conquering small sub-regional mini into the Gorkha Empire, however, did not succeed in actuality. Nepal suddenly found itself at odds both with the north and south's great powers. Nepal launched a two-year conflict with the British from 1814- to 16, losing miserably. Nepal fought China for two years in 1792, permanently marking the nation's boundary (Adhikari, 2018m pp. 51-52).

During the Anglo-Nepal War, Nepal lost much more casualties (1814-16). The Sugauly Treaty, which saw Nepal yield a substantial chunk of its land to the British East Indian Company, put an end to it in 1816. Nepal made desperate attempts to solicit the support of China's emperor, the primary power to the north, during the British-Nepal war. The Chinese, on the other hand, saw the then-Nepalese authorities as untrustworthy and opportunistic and refused to assist them (Rose, 1970, p. 86). Punjab and Gwalior, two tiny Indian republics, aspired to form alliances with Nepal (Stiller, 2017, pp. 334-339). They also refused to work with Nepal, stating that the

Nepalese were the biggest threat to the sub-survival. the region's attempt to form alliances with important nations in the north to fight massive armies in the south failed. It also failed to form an anti-British alliance among the subcontinent's tiny rulers. Finally, Nepal was unable to resist the British strength and was forced to sign the Sugauly Treaty, effectively ending Nepal's imperial strategic vision. After that, Nepal had to make the shift from imperial overall strategy to small-state politics (Adhikari, 2018, p. 53).

4.6 Evolution of Nepalese Foreign Policy after 1816

The fundamental objective of Nepal's foreign policy is to enhance the dignity of the nation by safeguarding sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence, and promoting the economic well-being and prosperity of Nepal. It is also aimed at contributing to global peace, harmony, and security. Nepal's foreign policy is guided by basic principles such as mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; mutual equality; non-aggression and peaceful resolution of disputes; mutual benefit; abiding faith in the United Nations Charter; the value of world peace; and so on. The constitution of Nepal reflects independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, nationality, autonomy, self-respect, protection of rights and interests of the Nepali people, protection of boundaries, and economic progress and prosperity as the fundamental subjects to safeguard Nepal's national interest (Constitution of Nepal, 2015, Article 5.1).

The State shall direct its international relations toward enhancing the nation's dignity in the international community by maintaining sovereign equality in international relations while safeguarding Nepal's freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence, as well as its national interests (Constitution of Nepal, 2015, Article 50.4). The State policy of Nepal states to conduct an independent foreign policy based on the Charter of the United Nations, non-alignment, principles of Panchasheel, international law, and the norms of world peace, taking into consideration of the overall interest of the nation, while remaining active in safeguarding the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and national interest of Nepal.

4.6.1 Convention with the British India (1816-1947)

Despite being defeated both by the Chinese and the British, Nepal Durbar had not abandoned its desire to become a formidable state, only at the sub-regional level. Such lingering aspirations can be seen in Bhim Sen Thapa's post-Anglo-Nepalese

Conflict attempt to modernize the Nepalese army. Nepal, on the other hand, had realized the folly of such grand strategic objectives by the mid-nineteenth century and had completely embraced the small-power diplomacy strategy. Following the Kot Parva massacre of his adversaries in the Nepalese Durbar (Vaidya, 2000), Janga Bahadur Rana, who became Nepal's premier on September 19, 1846, chose to connect Nepal's foreign policy with the British. This occurred for two reasons. The first reason was China's incredible weakness following the British defeat in the First Opium War (1839-1842). The second motivation for this move was domestic politics. Janga Bahadur needed a lot of help at home to keep his dictatorship from crumbling due to internal coups, which happened all the time at Kathmandu's Durbar.

When the sepoy revolt began in India, Jung Bahadur assisted British rulers as part of his bandwagoning strategy. The prime minister led an 8,000-man Nepalese army detachment into India on December 10, 1857, to put down a revolt of Indian army personnel against the British. Calcutta's British masters were so pleased with Nepal's Premier that they decided to go back to a section of Nepalese territory in the west Terai that the British had captured four decades ago during the Anglo-Nepal War. 'Naya Muluk,' the area that Nepal gained by collaborating with the British rather than fighting them, is today divided into four districts in contemporary Nepal: Bardiya, Kailali, and Kanchanpur (Adhikari, 2018, p. 53).

4.6.2 Special Relations with India (1950-1955)

For most of their history, Nepalese rulers had little contact with other countries, except with dynasties that ruled in the Indian subcontinent, British colonizers, Tibet, and sometimes China, until the Rana monarchy fell in the face of an armed revolt headed by the Nepali Congress in 1950. (Bista, pp. 23-39, 2012). During the Rana period, Nepal joined the British colonial powers in India. In the immediate wake of India's independence in 1947, it aligned its international affairs with that of independent India. This alignment is also known as the two countries' "specialties," and it was formalized on July 31, 1950, in "The Treaty of "Peace and Friendship" between the Governments of India and Nepal." In a desperate attempt to defend their shaky government against democratic usurpation, the Ranas had agreed to Indian security demands. The special relations with India were strengthened once the country gained democracy (Adhikari, 2018, p. 54).

The urgency of state-building in post-revolution Nepal was the second element driving the special ties' on the domestic level. Because the Rana oligarchy was centered on family authority, the Nepali state's institutional institutions passed down to the new dispensation were quite weak. The new government's goal of modernizing the bureaucracy, security agencies, and administration was proving to be a daunting one (Muni, 2016, pp. 65-66).

Formally, bilateral ties between Nepal and India began in 1950, when two accords were concluded with Nepal following India's independence. The Treaties of Peace and Friendship, as well as the Agreement of Trade and Commerce, were signed. The first is about maintaining diplomatic relations by respecting each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, as well as independence. The second is that India acknowledged Nepal's ability to import and export goods via Indian territory and ports. Goods in passage through India were not subject to customs. India's ties with Nepal have been turbulent since the country's independence.

India desired that the Rana authorities of Nepal liberalize its political system and accommodate people who sought democratic rights and freedom. Then India began directly meddling in the Nepalese crisis. "As a result, the Ranas were forced to compromise with the monarch and democratic forces along New Delhi's lines." These talks resulted in an agreement in which the monarchy was reinstated, political parties were legalized, and a mixed cabinet led by the Rana Prime Minister was formed, with representatives from both the monarchy and the Nepali Congress. Polls for the Constituent Assembly were arranged for 1952 to ensure a long-term political structure (Muni, 2009. p. 33).

On the other hand, King Mahendra appointed a cabinet led by Tanka Prasad Acharya, who held a press conference shortly after taking office and stated that Nepal would pursue a strategy of equal relationship with all countries, accepting economic and other assistance from all friendly nations, and including China and Russia... In 1956, Nepal agreed with China to maintain amicable relations. On December 15, 1955, it became a signatory to the United Nations. Apart from India, it sought assistance from the United Kingdom, the United States, France, as well as the Soviet Union (Kumar, 2014, pp. 53-56).

King Mahendra's action was also denounced by the Nepali Congress as well as other political parties. In 1961, India founded the Non-Aligned Movement, which included the bulk of third-world countries, including Nepal. This movement was launched to

keep countries from being part of any armed bloc and to ensure their foreign policy independence. Nepal and Pakistan signed a free trade agreement in 1962. "As part of its objective of separating Nepal from India's grasp, China provided help to Nepal. It was responsible for the construction of the Kathmandu-Kodari road, which began in 1963 and ended in 1965. "Through the tough Tibetan path, the road gives a direct geopolitical link between Nepal and China." (Kumar, 2014, p. 53).

These items have been seen as a threat to Indian safety since India's defeat in the 1962 Indo-China war. Finally, to protect its strategic interests, India compromised on the democratic goal in Nepal, and monarchical hegemony lasts until 1990.

4.6.3 First Major Thrust for Diversification of Relations (1955-1965)

Nepal was only able to speed up the diversification of diplomatic contacts after the death of his father in 1955 when Mahendra became the country's new ruler. According to Werner Levi, the process of diversification was started by other countries rather than Nepal (Levi, 1957, p. 236).

In the post-1950 regional and global political climate, the diversity of foreign ties was among the most important factors ensuring Nepal's existence as a small state among two massive neighbors, and it was one of the key pillars of the new king's foreign affairs (Mehra, 1994, p. 851). A 'buffer state' like Nepal wouldn't have survived or avoided "the formal surrender of authority over foreign affairs to" (Jesse, 2012, p. 25) that southern neighbor, and, to put it differently, could not have escaped the fate of Sikkim or Bhutan without diversification its foreign ties. The first significant push for Nepal's diversity of global ties was made possible by several variables in domestic, regional, as well as international affairs.

For starters, with exception of his father Tribhuvan, Mahendra had no special domestic responsibilities in India. Mahendra was already involved in the operations of the ruling class as an ambitious and independent-minded prince. If it harmed his political aims and, apparently, Nepal's national interest, Mahendra was prepared to go against Indian plans. Indian arrogance has fueled the Nepalese citizenry's resentment of India in a comparatively brief period of a special relationship (Levi, 1957, pp. 240-241).

In his efforts to widen diplomatic contacts, King Mahendra used such public sentiment as a useful instrument. The prospects for diversification of relations at the regional level were also improving. The agreement between India and the PRC on

Tibet, which established the Panchasheel principles for the first time and recognized Tibet as an essential component of the PRC, was an important step forward in regional politics. Thanks to this treaty signed between India and China, which permitted Nepal to re-establish ties with China, the Panchasheel principles were found to be remarkably important discursive assets for Nepal to assert her independence and sovereignty in the coming days. In 1955, Nepal reestablished diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China, representing a major step forward in the country's efforts to boost its connections. Premier Chao En-Lai of China conducted a visit to Nepal in 1957. In contrast, the Chinese embassy in Nepal was not open until August 1960. In April of the same year, Nepal and China signed the Sino-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty (Adhikari, 2018, pp.57-58).

Nepal was designated an independent country by the United States in 1947, and a treaty of friendship and commerce was made with it. Nepal established a Legation in the United States on February 16, 1948. On the other hand, the US Embassy in Kathmandu did not open until August 6, 1959. (The Historian's Office) Germany opened an embassy in Kathmandu in 1963, and Nepal opened an embassy in Berlin in 1965. Nepal formed official diplomatic ties with over fifty countries during the 1960s. Kathmandu had eleven embassies by 1969, and Nepal had established embassies in twelve other countries (Brown, 1971, p. 665). Nepal's efforts to diversify its economy continue and the government now maintains diplomatic relations with 144 countries, the most current of which is the Republic of Burundi. Nepal was welcomed to the United Nations on December 14, 1955, then became a member of the international community (UN).

Formally the bilateral relations after the independence started in 1950 when two treaties were signed with Nepal: The first one is concerned with the respect for each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence, to continue diplomatic relations. The second one is India recognized Nepal's right to import and export commodities through the Indian Territory and ports. Customs could not be levied on commodities in transit through India. Since the independence of India, her relations with Nepal have had many upheavals. Nepali monarchy looked upon India with suspicion for encouraging democratic forces, anti-India sentiments in Nepal starts due to political interference by India. "During the 1950s, the monarchy in Nepal for its self-interests initiated an anti-India campaign. The Citizenship Act of 1952 which allowed Indians to immigrate to Nepal and acquire Nepali citizenship with ease

fanned this resentment.” India wanted that Nepal’s Rana rulers should have to liberalize their political system and should accommodate those who were demanding political rights and freedom. Then India intervenes directly in the Nepali situation. “This forced the Ranas to negotiate with the king and the democratic forces on the lines suggested by New Delhi.

These negotiations led to an agreement wherein the status of Monarchy was restored, political parties were made legal and a mixed cabinet was constituted under the Rana Prime Minister having representatives of the regime and the Nepali Congress. For a lasting political arrangement, elections to the Constituent Assembly were scheduled to be held by 1952.”(Muni, 2009. p. 33). On the other side, King Mahendra formed a cabinet headed by Tanka Prasad Acharya, and after assuming the office Acharya held a press conference that “Nepal would pursue a policy of equal friendship with all countries; accept economic and other help from all friendly countries, including China and Russia..... Nepal signed an agreement to maintain friendly relations with China in 1956. It had already become a member of the United Nations on December 15, 1955. It sought aid from Britain, the US, France, and the Soviet Union besides India” (Kumar, 2014, pp. 53, 56).

4.6.4 Non-alignment (1955-1990)

During the Cold War, nonalignment was another fundamental pillar of Nepal's foreign affairs. In journalistic publications, the phrases "neutrality" and "non-alliance" are frequently interchanged. But on the other hand, these two ideas are not always the same. "[W]hile neutrality is a state opting out of international politics to avoid future war," explains Tulukder Maniruzzaman, "nonalignment, as it has been understood since the Cold War began, implies a state avoiding any military arrangement with any of the major blocs" (Maniruzzaman, 1982, p. 32). Non-alignment is a political practice that promotes non-participation in regional and global geopolitical conflicts, whereas neutrality is a legal word that emphasizes non-participation. To be more specific, non-alignment necessitated active participation in world events, rather than non-involvement (as in neutrality), by having an independent moral position on key global issues without wishing to stand with either of the two power blocs.

(a) Strategies of Balancing in Peace and Neutrality in War

Nepali foreign policy was based on neutrality, especially while its close neighbors, India and China, were embroiled in major cross-border disputes or at war. Despite

Indian attempts to ally with them during the 1962 Sino-Indian border war, Nepal managed to maintain its neutrality. According to the Indian establishment, Mahendra's declaration of neutrality "amounted to a brazen repudiation of the 1950 Peace and Friendship Treaty" (Dabhade & Pant, 2004, pp. 157-169) Mahendra, on the other hand, was unfazed and refused to take sides tastefully. During the Doklam conflict between China and India in 2017, Nepal remained neutral and made no public statements on the issue. Nepal used a clever policy of 'balancing,' or as some authors call it, 'soft balancing,' and balking, which comprises rejecting or declining demands from big powers while it is in the country's national priority (Jesse, Lobell, Press-Barnathan, & Williams, 2012, p. 25).

In the 1960s, Nepal's ability to resolve the Mt. Everest dispute with China largely in Nepal's favor, as well as its success in registering protests against the People's Liberation Army's border transgressions and receiving an apology from the Chinese side, are examples of Nepal's successful agency in relations with its northern neighbor.

Nepal's diplomatic dance with India and China was skewed in one way at times and the other at others. It wasn't harmonious in the classic meaning of the term. Its objectives were more modest, with the principal goal of easing restrictions on Nepal's capacity to pursue an international strategy and improve national security. This diplomatic fine balance has cost Nepal dearly, particularly in its pact." Nepal's balancing act between India and China has always been perilous, comparable to a game of national self-assertion vs regional accommodation," as Dev Raj Dahal properly pointed out Nepal had achieved self-sufficiency in vital products, the balancing act would have been a realistic plan." "India's imposition of a trade blockade on landlocked Nepal in late 1989 in retaliation for its import of armaments from China" led to a lack of critical products such as fuel, cooking oil, salt, and gas, as well as weakening the monarchy, especially in the backdrop of political change in 1990. (Koirala, 1990, pp.136-143).

(b) The Zone of Peace Proposal

The ZOP strategy is Nepal's endeavor to safeguard its sovereignty from both internal and external threats. On March 26, 1975, Sikkim formally merged into India after two months. "To show that Nepal is no longer under the Indian security umbrella" and "to ensure that no foreign power utilizes Nepal as a military base," the ZOP was

developed (Scholz, 1977, p. 203). In addition, communist insurgencies erupted in Nepal's eastern area, with the militants claiming Chairman Mao Zedong as their leader. As a result of this intriguing situation, the Panchayati governing elite felt uncomfortable, and the then Nepalese king developed ZOP, most likely based on Sri Lanka's similar proposal of a "Zone of Peace" to the United Nations General Assembly in 1971.

As a result of the proposal, the Indian Ocean was designated as a Zone of Peace. In the same year, members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations recommended the creation of a "Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality" (ASEAN). It's worth noting that the Sri Lankan plan uses the phrase 'Zone of Peace' rather than adding words like 'neutrality' and 'freedom,' as advocated by ASEAN. If the word 'neutrality' had been included, it would have connoted a lack of involvement in international issues, while the word 'freedom' would have been incompatible with Panchayati ideology (Adhikari, 2018, p. 62). The then PM, B.P. Koirala termed Nepal's relationship with India as "history and inseparable". There were exchanges of visits at the highest level from both countries during this period. Indian Premier J. L. Nehru paid a three-day official goodwill visit to Nepal in June 1959. The two PMs were convinced that in the interests of Peace as well as national and human progress no country should be dominated by another and Colonial control in whatever form should end.

The communiqué declares the "identity of ideas" on the Trans Himalayan political development. In January 1960, Mr. Koirala traveled to India. He emphasized the historical, cultural, and social ties between the two countries, as well as Nepal's national independence and sovereignty (Jaiswal, 2016, p.40). Nepal's democratic experiment did not survive long. The popular government was deposed and the legislative system was abolished by King Mahendra in a coup on December 15, 1960, after only 18 months in office.

To explain the Monarchy's direct political rule, Nepal was made a Hindu state under the New Constitution. The coup was indirectly supported by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who clashed with B.P.Koirala said in the Indian parliament about the king's action in Nepal, "It is not for me to criticize the actions taken there, but obviously, it is a matter of regret for all of us that a democratic experiment or practice that was going on has suffered a setback." King Mahendra's action was also

denounced by the Nepali Congress and other political parties. In 1961, India founded the Non-Aligned Movement, which drew in the bulk of third-world countries, including Nepal. This movement was launched to keep countries from being part of any military bloc and to ensure their foreign policy independence. Nepal and Pakistan signed a trade agreement in 1962. "As part of its objective of separating Nepal from India's grasp, China provided help to Nepal. It was responsible for the construction of the Kathmandu-Kodari road, which began in 1963 and ended in 1965. "Through the tough Tibetan path, the road provided a direct strategic connection between Nepal and China." (Kumar, p. 53, 2014).

These items have been considered a threat to Indian security since India's defeat in the 1962 Indo-Sino war. Finally, to protect its security interests, India compromises on the democratic goal in Nepal, and monarchial hegemony lasts until 1990. The reactionary and regressive elements celebrated the indiscriminate dismissal of Nepal's parliamentary government structure, which was harmed the most by the elected government's progressive initiatives. The new government, led by King Mahendra, attempted to portray itself as "really nationalistic," in contrast to the previous democratic government, which was accused of being influenced by "foreign forces." The relationship between Nepal and India was marked by mutual recrimination, irritations, and suspicion. This was hastened by subsequent initiatives to consolidate and concentrate power. Tensions, distrust, suspicion, and misunderstandings characterized Nepal-India ties in 1970. The "Zone of Peace Proposal" sparked even more skepticism among Indian government officials. Nepal clarified it in 1982 with a seven-point explanation that attempted to link the idea to Nepal's security, independence, and prosperity. The other countries' support infuriated India, and this suggestion was seen as unworkable as a collaborative strategy of creating regional insecurity and catering to the anxieties of tiny states, as well as a malicious endeavor to isolate India, as India suspected (Bhattarai & Khatiwada, 1993, pp. 32-49).

The relationship between Nepal and India is extremely close and wide. Their large and diverse nature has occasionally resulted in squabbles between them. During the Panchayat Period, Nepal's relationship with India, which was regarded as the cornerstone of the country's foreign policy, deteriorated as a result of multiple missed opportunities. This resulted in a series of snafus in Nepal-India relations, culminating in the rupture of trade ties between the two countries. The people suffered greatly during the fifteen-month standoff. This aspect of the connection was responsible for

the beginning of a disastrous chapter in the history of Nepal-India ties, albeit for a brief period.

4.6.5 The 'Opening Up' and Departure from Panchayati Foreign Policy

The fall of the Berlin Wall brought a new period of triumphalism for liberal democracy. Nepal had a second revolution, riding the global democracy wave. The Jana Aandolan overthrew the thirty-year-old Panchayati regime, transforming the movement, the people, and the country into a multi-party parliamentary democracy with such a constitutional monarchy. Nepal's foreign policy has changed dramatically since the country's return to democracy (Adhikari, 2018, p. 63).

Given the amount of negative opinion among the Nepalese population over the 1950 treaty between India and Nepal, it is impossible to corroborate Upadhyay's assertion, particularly about Prime Minister Bhattarai's stated reaffirmation of the pact. However, after the restoration of democracy in 1990, Nepal attempted to revive special relations' with India for a brief while, and Nepal's internal and regional/international politics became increasingly entwined during the multi-party system period (1990-2005). The unbridled neo-liberalization of the economy, particularly structural adjustment initiatives, resulted in increased unemployment, manpower displacement, and income and wealth disparity in the economy.

The Nepalese economy was deindustrialized as a result of the budding indigenous industries being unable to compete with foreign firms. Consumption and "conspicuous consumption" become increasingly a victim of the country's economic elite and middle class. In terms of security, India, the United States, and China have been involved in the Himalayan region's geopolitical game of security. Political parties and groups within these parties established close relationships with one or more major powers, and they frequently acted as a stooge for foreign interests, exacerbating Nepal's military and economic weaknesses as a tiny nation (Adhikari, 2018, pp. 63-64). Nepal-India political relationship was reestablished during the June 1990s New Delhi meeting of Nepal's Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai and Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh, after India ended its 13-month-long economic blockade of Nepal.

During Nepalese Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala's visit to India in December 1991, the two nations inked new separate trade and transit treaties as well as other economic accords aimed at providing Nepal with extra-economic benefits. A Joint

Nepal-India communiqué was published in June 1990, pending the completion of a complete agreement encompassing all elements of bilateral relations, including the restoration of trade links, and the reopening of transit routes for Nepal's imports, and mutual respect for security concerns. In essence, the communiqué declared the restoration of the status quo ante and the reopening of all border crossing points, as well as Nepal's acceptance of many concessions respecting Indian trade rights. Kathmandu also stated that the lower cost of weaponry and personnel carriers from China was the deciding factor and that Nepal was advising China to defer delivery of the last shipment. Kathmandu also stated that cost was the deciding factor in its decision to purchase weaponry and people carriers from China and that Nepal had advised China to hold off on delivering the last shipment (Savada, 1991, p. 69).

India is the main power in the South Asian peninsula, whereas Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal, and the Maldives are all peripheral actors. The region is strategically weak, economically developing, politically tense, and Indo-centric, whereas the peripheral nations seek to exploit India to the fullest extent possible, and they are also concerned about its predominance. As a result, the sub-region experiences inherent enmity rather than friendliness. In the context of Nepal-India ties, this seems to be extremely true. The two countries share a contiguous landscape and have long-standing, close connections. Despite their joint religious faith, social links, economic interdependence, common values, norms, and conventions, their relationship has been direct and intimate (Kalim & Lama, 1995, p. 134).

Over time, the forces that influence Nepal-India ties have changed dramatically. This relationship is currently at a fork in the road, looking for a new path. Three major elements have contributed to the fundamental changes that have controlled India-Nepal relations thus far. To begin with, the dramatic transformation in Nepal's political structure, ended the Rana oligarchy, a long decade of Panchayat-based governance, and monarchical rule, ushering in a multi-party-based constitutional monarchy and, later, a federal republic state. Second, the advent of new economic ideas in both India and Nepal, involving rapid economic liberalization geared toward a free and competitive market, is sure to have far-reaching implications for Nepal-India ties. Third, on the international stage with the conclusion of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the emergence of a Unipolar world have altered the entire subject of South Asia's geostrategic importance (Kalim & Lama, 1995, p. 1).

4.6.6 Civil War and Increasing US Footprint (1996-2005)

In 1996, Nepal's Communist Party (Maoist) announced a "People's revolution" (PW) to establish a New Democratic System. With Maoist influence expanding in Nepal, the government's foreign policy efforts were concentrated on garnering international support for the rebels' defeat. Following September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York by Muslim extremists, the United States declared a "worldwide war on terrorism." Domestic rebels had previously been labeled as terrorists by Nepal's government. The US government also labeled Nepali Maoists as "terrorist organizations" and provided the Nepali army with logistical, technical, and training support. The US presence in Nepal increased between 2001 and 2005. (Banerjee, 2002, p. 37).

On January 18, 2002, Secretary of State Colin Powell visited Kathmandu and expressed assistance for the Nepalese government's fight against the Maoist movement. A team of US military experts from the US Pacific Command, along with a colonel of the US Marine Corps, the head of the logistic plans section, and the deputy chief of engineering, arrived in Nepal shortly afterward, showing cooperation between the US and Nepal government. Mobile teams who worked on military strategy with RNA ground forces followed this group. The US Army Defense College, the US Military and General Staff College, the National Defense University, as well as the Pacific Center of Strategic Studies all provided RNA officers to programs that had been sending RNA officers to US military schools for years (Mage, 2007, p. 1836).

Sher Bahadur Deuba, Nepal's prime minister, traveled to Washington and London in the same year to seek international backing for his country's fight against Maoists. He met with George W. Bush, the President of the United States, and Tony Blair, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The US took a tougher stance against the Maoists. Despite their more nuanced public pronouncements, the US administration initially focused on a military option; nevertheless, Europeans "put greater hope on a negotiated conclusion" (Upadhyaya, 2012, p. 135).

External involvement in Nepalese polity under the cover of civil rights, minority rights, as well as the legal system has persisted not just during the insurgency and also in post-conflict democratic Nepal, as an illustration of Westerners' obsessive fascination with their own 'superior' ideas. The Nepalese experiences, as well as those of some other countries, demonstrates that international agencies do not easily quit a

small and vulnerable country. That is why, in 2001, the Nepalese government had to terminate the mandates of the UN Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) as well as the United Nations Human Rights Desk in Nepal (OHCHR- Nepal), which were established at the application and with the consent of parties in Kathmandu, including the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and the authorities of Nepal. To eliminate international influence, the Nepalese government announced the removal of the United Nations Department of Political Affairs branch in Kathmandu on June 11, 2018. (Adhikari, 2018, p. 65).

4.6.7 The Concept of ‘Equiproximity’ and Tri-lateral Cooperation (2006 onwards)

Following the 2005 royal takeover, Nepal's parliamentary parties joined forces with Maoist rebels to start Jana Aandolan-II, the second national popular movement, which concluded in the 2006 Peace Process between the Nepali state and Maoist rebels. A constituent assembly election took place in 2008, and the CPN (Maoist) emerged as the single largest party, with Maoist supremo Prachanda elected Prime Minister. Despite India's rising pressure, Prachanda picked China as his first international destination, despite having second thoughts after returning from China. Prachanda emphasized the importance of the EU's proximity to both of its neighbors over any special relationship' with India (Dahal, 2011, p. 45).

The nation's proposal for a trilateral partnership among China, Nepal, as well as India in sectors such as tourist activities and infrastructural developments, notably the hydroelectric sector, is another key step in Nepalese foreign relations since the republics' inception. The concept of a trilateral hydropower partnership in Nepal is founded on the fact as China has the knowledge and technology for major power plants, while India does have an electricity network.

Republican Nepal's principal foreign policy goal is to establish a "vibrant economic bridge" between China and India, the world's two large economies. Nepal's benign attempt has been stymied by the realist mindset common among the Indian establishment, despite Nepal's willingness to play a proactive role in fostering cordial relations between China and India but also making the goal of the Rise of Asia a fact in the twenty-first century. Another issue with the plan for trilateral collaboration is that Nepal, as a small country, lacks the economic and diplomatic muscle to make it a reality. The primary goal is to Liberals may also be put off by trilateral collaboration

because Nepal is such a small market in comparison to China and India. If we employ constructivist thinking, Nepal, on the other hand, becomes a bridge between two ancient civilizations that have never gone to war before. To make the notion of trilateral collaboration a reality, Nepal must be able to recreate or refocus its identification as a meeting place of two great civilizations. A foreign policy based on Nepal's, China's, and India's civilizational identities will follow a separate and distinct paradigm from a foreign policy based on nation-state identification. In 2005, after King Gyanendra took over, Nepalese relations with India soured. However, even after the restoration of democracy, in 2008, Prachanda, the Prime Minister of Nepal, visited India, in September 2008 only after visiting China, breaking the long-held tradition of Nepalese PMs making India their first port of call.

Indo-Nepal ties were further bolstered in 2008 when the two countries agreed to begin water discussions after a four-year gap (Hindustan Times, 2008 Sep 29). Nepali Water Resources Secretary Shanker Prasad Koirala declared that the Nepal-India Joint Committee on River Basin had decided to begin restoring the ruptured Koshi embankment when the water level had fallen. The two Prime Ministers underlined their joy in their countries' lengthy powerful, cordial, and wide links during the Nepal Prime Minister's trip to New Delhi in September, as well as their support and collaboration in developing the relationship. The two agreed on a 22-point proclamation emphasizing the significance of evaluating, amending, and revising the 1950 Peace and Friendship Treaty, and other agreements. In addition, India will offer Nepal a credit line of up to \$15 million to assure ongoing petroleum supply, as well as lift export limits on rice, wheat, maize, sugar, and sucrose for quantities agreed upon with Nepal. India will also provide \$2 million to disaster relief efforts. In exchange, Nepal will take steps to "promote Indian investment in Nepal by promoting an investor-friendly, enabling business climate."

In 2010, India provided a \$50 million line of credit as well as 80,000 tons of agricultural grains. In terms of politics, India expressed a desire to support Nepalese peace initiatives. Pranab Mukherjee, India's External Affairs Minister, pledged to Nepali Prime Minister Prachanda that he will "provide all feasible assistance for peace and development" (Hindustan Times, 2011 Jan 4). However, in recent years, the increasing dominance of Maoism in Nepal's domestic politics (Sunam & Goutam, 2013 Mar 15), as well as the strengthening economic and political influence of the People's Republic of China (Hopquin, 2013 April 13), has caused the Nepalese

government to gradually distance itself from India, despite Nepal's continued support for India at the United Nations.

In August 2014, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi paid his first official visit to Nepal in 17 years. During his visit, the Indian government agreed to provide Nepal with a US\$1 billion concessional line of credit and a HIT formula, but he insisted that Indian immigrants in Nepal do not pose a threat to Nepal's sovereignty and that the open border between the two countries should be a bridge rather than a barrier (India Today, 2014 Aug 3). On November 25, 2014, Nepal and India announced a significant agreement under which India will build a 900 MW hydropower facility in Nepal for US\$1 billion.

The 2015 Nepal blockade, which began on September 23, 2015, was a serious economic and humanitarian disaster for Nepal's economy. India had been accused by Nepal of imposing an unofficial blockade. India refuted the charges, claiming that Madheshi demonstrators in Nepal were to blame for the supply difficulties. Nepal imports all of its petroleum supply from India because it is a landlocked country. On a normal day, over 300 gasoline trucks enter from India, but since the start of the crisis, this has reduced to an irregular passage of 5–10 fuel trucks daily, however supplies of perishables like fruits and vegetables have been allowed to pass. Furthermore, several Nepalese lorries were being stopped in the Kolkata harbor by India (TKP, 2015 Oct 5). The blockade stifled not only gasoline imports but also medications and earthquake relief supplies. On September 20, 2015, Nepal's long-delayed Constitution was approved by the Constituent Assembly by a majority vote of 90 percent (CA). These groups were represented by 66 members of Nepal's 598-strong Constituent Assembly, who refrained from voting in protest (Gurung, 2015 Sep 30).

The Indian Express newspaper stated on the day the gasoline blockade began that India had sought specific modifications to Nepal's new constitution. While the Indian government refuted the assertion (Rawat, 2015 Oct 7), the Indian Express writer stood by his initial story, adding that "these amendments/changes were transmitted to Kathmandu by New Delhi." Personnel from the Indian Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) "confirmed that at least until the third week of September, they received orders from the top to intercept petroleum supplies to Nepal," according to The Economic Times (Business Standard, 2015 Oct 20 Nepalese social media, as well as street unrest, erupted in anger over suspected Indian intervention, using the hashtag #BackOffIndia (Gurung, 2015). When the government learned of the shipping blockade, it dispatched

more armed units to the border. Many political leaders stated that India had infiltrated the Madhesh with Indian demonstrators, but Madheshi officials denied the charges, claiming that the Madheshis should not be confused with Biharis or other Indians (TKP, 2015 Sep 24).

India voiced concern about the violent protests and encouraged Nepal to take Madheshi interests into account. The Nepalese government and media portrayed Madheshi movements as subversively supported by Indian infiltrators and an assault on their sovereignty; additionally, some Nepalese believed the crisis was ultimately an attempt to absorb Nepal into India in whole or in part, citing the case of Nepali-dominated Sikkim as an example (Bhushan, 2017 Feb 17). Some opponents have linked India's activities to the 2015 election for the Bihar Legislative Assembly. The obstruction, according to Justice Markandey Katju, is "clearly related to the Bihar assembly elections".

The border begins in the west, near the Tinker Pass, at the western tri-point with China. The route then heads southwest, passing through the Himalayas, the Siwalik Hills, and the Gangetic plain, first overland and then by the Sharda River. It swings southeast just east of Majhola and continues in that route overland, occasionally using rivers and hill crests. The boundary bends north-east north of Islampur and continues overland to the eastern Chinese tri-point. Historically, the border region has been on the outskirts of numerous Indian and Nepalese kingdoms. It evolved into its current form under the British rule of India, which began in the 17th century. The Nepali kingdom embarked on an expansion push in the late 18th century, which brought them into war with the British and resulted in the Anglo-Nepalese War (1814-16). (Marshall, 2005).

Nepal was defeated and had to yield significant swaths of land to Britain by the Treaty of Sugauli, thus establishing the modern India-Nepal border (Groves, 2014 Sep 22). The British surrendered sections of the Terai region to Nepal in 1816 after finding it difficult to control (Savada, 1991, p.85). In 1947, India obtained independence, and three years later, it signed a friendship treaty with Nepal, agreeing to maintain each other's territorial integrity. Relations have mainly improved since then, however, there are still a few border conflicts. Occasionally, during times of stress, there have been border blockades, such as in 1987 and 2015. (NDTV, 2015). The Kalapani territory, a 35 square kilometers (14 square mi) area near the India–Nepal–China trijunction in northwest Nepal, and Susta, a 20 square kilometers (7.7 sq

mi)–140 square kilometers (54 sq mi) area in southern Nepal, are two existing territorial disputes between India and Nepal.

Miscommunication, a lack of cooperation, or even divergent judgments by India's defense, security, and diplomatic establishments may have resulted in the timing of the disclosure. It's also likely that an overconfident Delhi believed it could "handle" Nepal, only to be caught off guard by the magnitude of the anti-India protests in Kathmandu. Nepal's foreign policy is becoming increasingly political as a result of democratization and competitive nationalism. The disagreement with India had been simmering for years, and Nepal observers and Delhi's diplomatic establishment were well aware that it could erupt at any time. To move forward and amend, revise, and revitalize the bilateral relationship, we must first comprehend why and how this conflict arose. It may seem enticing to start over, but if neither party learns from their failures, future dreams will be void.

Following the conclusion of the Cold War, Nepal was caught up in the global liberal democratic wave, resulting in the fall of the Panchayati system and the establishment of multiparty democracy in Nepal. Nepal opened up to the world during the Multiparty and Constitutional Monarchy period (1990-2005), and its foreign policy was influenced by liberal philosophy to some extent. The United States' role in Nepalese domestic affairs rose during this time. With the intensifying of the civil war, Nepal became more vulnerable to all external forces, not just those from the US. When King Gyanendra took control in 2005, he became detached from the rest of the globe and desperately tried to reach out to China, but this was insufficient to keep his regime from collapsing. Nepal is attempting to pursue a foreign policy of 'EU proximity' with its close neighbors following the emergence of republics. Nepal also aspires to become a thriving economic bridge between China and India, encouraging trilateral cooperation between the three countries. Nepal must stress the civilizational characteristics of each of the three states to make the new effort for trilateral cooperation among Nepal, China, as well as India a reality.

When it comes to their participation in Nepal as well as South Asia in general, refocusing on Nepal's place as an intersection of two great nations has the potential of building a better conversation that is more beneficial to collaboration and good relations between China and India. We have relations not only political but historical, social, religious, and relations of Roti-beti. Political relations sometimes become not uniform, but ups and downs, for this we cannot blame to |India alone, it has to be

corrected from our sides also (Based on an interview with Upendra Yadav, the former Deputy Prime minister and minister of foreign affairs). Nepal-India relations are very strong and special, no one can make it otherwise, because we are tied in history, geography, religions, customs, and other factors. To make it more strong in the days to come, we should talk bilaterally on the base of equal sovereignty and our dependency on India (Based on talks with Prakash Adhikari, the office secretary of the Janata Samajbadi Party, Nepal). Nepal-India relations are mentioned in the Lumbini Abhilekh (Records) and clearly show a long history of relations between the two countries. We should strengthen the bilateral relations in the coming days on the base of firm sovereign equality (Based on interviews with Shyam Sundar Sherpa, Senior Professor, TU).

According to Laxman Lal Karna, Nepal-India relations are very long. It is made by not the government but by the people, we have Roti-beti relations. Anti-India whim in Nepal is not nationalism it should be discouraged to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two countries. India has the main role to play help in the economic development of Nepal. India always wants to strengthen democracy and human rights in Nepal. We should be sincere to promote bilateral relations between two countries (Based on Laxman Lal Karna the chairperson of the Parliamentary hearing committee). Nepal-India relations are harmonious, and strong, and have a very long history for a long time. We are bound in geography, history, religion, social customs, and an open border. Not only these, but we also have socio-religious linkages. No one can underestimate this reality. But in the few last decades, we have had political ups and downs. To avoid these disturbances we should talk politically on the base of international norms and equal sovereignty. For this, all stakeholders should be honest and long visionary (Based on talks with Dr. Prakash Chandra Lohani, the former minister of foreign affairs).

Nepal and India have age-old economic relations in trade and commerce, investment, tourism, and other associations characterized by open borders and common culture. The countries are not only linked geographically and economically but also by culture and religion (Based on an interview with Shankar Prasad Sharma, the former Vice-chairperson of, the National Planning commission). Nepal and India are two friendly countries whose relations are deeply rooted in ancient history, religious faiths, social customs, and linguistic closeness. Both countries maintain an open border providing unfettered access to the people. Our relations are closely intertwined with many

communalism. Relations in political matters, though it seems ups and downs for the last few decades should be resolved by bilateral talks on the base of equal sovereign countries (Based on talks with Komal Oli, Member of National Assembly).

Nepal and India have unique ties of friendship and cooperation with few examples of such diverse relations that go beyond the perimeters of standard diplomatic relations between two sovereign countries. The foundation of our relations should be a niche on a solid rock of mutual trust (Based on talks with Narad Muni Rana Tharu, former minister). India has always remained an actor, factor, and facilitator in every historical political change in Nepal. History proves that Nepal always received full political and moral support from India in all its past political and democratic changes. Not only that but India always remained a major economic and development donor and partner too for the economic enhancement and prosperity of Nepal. This is what the historic, political, and economic relations between Nepal and India had/have been caring throughout the time (Based on an interview with Jeetendra Narayan dev, the Member of Parliament). Interdependence between India and Nepal is the secret to resetting the relations between the neighbors.

Since the time immemorial, people-to-people relations between Nepal and India have remained unique mainly because it is based on the twin pillars of an open-border system and people-to-people relations of kinship. Since Nepal's dependence on India is more than India's dependence on Nepal, it is all more necessary to balance such relations (Based on talks with Vinay Mohan Kwatra, Indian Ambassador to Nepal). Nepal-India relations have a very long history of friendship and people to people encircled by geography, culture, religion, socio-customs, and various other events. Politically it seems ups and downs for the last few decades. It can be solved by diplomatic dialogues and by other different levels of stakeholders based on international norms and sovereign equality (Based on an interview with Nav Raj Silwal, former For Assitant Inspector General of Police). Nepal-India relations are under suspicion and mistrust. The landlocked nature, geographical location, poor financial resources, political instability, and vested interest of political parties and leaders are the major restrictions on Nepal's development. Among them, the location is the permanent element while shaping the foreign policy goals of a country.

Nepal-India relations are shaped by geography, history, culture, religion, customs, and other factors, yet India has never been seen as a loyal and honest friend of Nepal. From 1914-to 1916, Nepal was at war with the East India Company. Following the

British withdrawal from India, Nepal was compelled to adapt to a new scenario through the 1950 Treaty, which has been contentious from the start due to India's untrustworthy and unfaithful attitude toward Nepal. As a result, suspicions and uncertainties are developing in Nepal-India relations. The countering of China's influence in Nepal has directed India's political interests in Nepal, even though there are other issues for this mistrust. Until and unless these problems and mistrusts exist Nepal-India relations survive in crisis and trouble (Based on talks with Janardan Acharya, Professor of Tribhuvan University). The relationship between Nepal and India is ancient. The culture, religion, and educational systems are similar.

Many illicit actions have occurred as a result of the open border. As a result, the border should be closed, and inhabitants of both countries should be required to show an identity card issued by the government to enter both sides. Similarly, Nepal wants India to reassess the 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship to reflect on "Changes and New Realities" in bilateral relations (Based on talks with Mr. Hom Nath Aryal, Former National Coordinator of CBR National Network Nepal). The relationship between Nepal and India is not only restricted at the official level but also very deep at the individual level.

Encroachments on Nepali lands by India and Nepal's unstable politics are hindrances to Nepal and India relations. If we remove these hindrances through the mutual dialogues then only these bilateral relations will be more better and harmonious (Based on an interview with Hari Timilsina, Professor of Mahendra Campus, Nepalgunj). Nepal-India relations are very deep in ancient times. We have cultural, religious, and linguistic similarities. Ram and Sita weddings and Buddhism are the key factors for relation. We have the relations of Roti and Beti. For these reasons, we have to keep our relations in days to come. Nepal is linked to India on three sides. Therefore, it should be related to all faces of situations. We have also political relations besides the above factors. We have to discourage unfriendly behavior from both sides.

Neighbors can not be altered/changed. So, we need to foster the bilateral relations between the two countries (Based on talks with Meena Aryal, Principal of New Tulips School, Koteshwor). Nepal-India relations have a very long history. Geographically, culturally, religiously, and linguistically we are very close and also we have an open border. India wants to show itself as a democratic country but in practice, it has the dominant tendency to its small neighbors. The 1950 treaty with Nepal is a perfect

example by which India is in always had the upper hand in guarding its relations with Nepal. Though Nepal is smaller than India in geography and population in the case of sovereignty both are equal and both bear the same voting right in the UN and other international forums. To make Nepal better related to India, both countries should make bilateral talks the base of equal sovereignty. Then only the bilateral relations will be better in the future (Based on talks with L. P. Sawa Limbu, member of Parliament).

4.7 Recent Development in Nepal-India Relation

Nepal-India relations have had their ups and downs in the past. Nepal and India's relations are likewise quite turbulent and unstable at the moment — sometimes cordial, sometimes antagonistic, despite Nepal's desire for stable relations with India. There has been a lack of trust and mutual understanding in Nepal-India relations since the adoption of the new constitution in 2015, following an unexpected trade ban from India. Nepalese residents' opinions toward India have worsened as a result, with many thinking that India is involved in Nepal's domestic affairs. To preserve a positive relationship between Nepal and the Indian government must honor Nepal's independence and sovereignty, as well as any business dealings. The Indian government is helping Madhes-based parties both directly and indirectly. The Indian government has violated Nepal's commerce and transit rights by imposing an unofficial blockade. Such impacts would not be conducive to good neighborly ties.

Many cases of marriage between Indian and Nepali people can be found along the Nepal-India border. India's foreign policy has shifted to strengthen bilateral ties with Nepal, particularly since Prime Minister Narendra Modi took office in 2014 China's rising investment in Nepal's infrastructures, energy, and other sectors is another reason for the Modi government's high-level interaction with Kathmandu. Nepal's Federal Democratic Republic has a long history of non-alignment and excellent ties with its neighbors. Relatively a small landlocked country wedged between two big and significantly stronger powers, Nepal has friendly relations with both China and India. Since the two countries established diplomatic relations, the contest between India and China has escalated on Nepalese soil. India wants to keep its historic influence in Nepal, while China wants to slash ties and create a position for itself in the bureaucracy, security services, army, as well as, last but not worst, amongst people (Jha, 2010).

In the twenty-first century, Nepal remains impoverished and destitute, but India has risen to a central position in the globe with a rapid rate of development (Kavitha, 2016, pp. 10-15). The India–Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, signed in 1950, is the foundation of India and Nepal's special relationship. Nepal had an autocratic Rana regime and a close society at the time. People began to unite against the Rana authorities, while the Rana monarchs were only concerned with extending their control. In such circumstances, the treaty signed is unsuitable for current democratic realities. Under the terms of the Treaty, Nepalese citizens have had unrivaled benefits in India, with equal access to amenities and opportunities as Indian residents.

Nepal has been able to overcome the disadvantages of being a landlocked country thanks to the Treaty Beginning with the 12–Point Providing a detail in Delhi in November 2005 among the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) as well as the Maoists, the Government of India appreciated the roadmap laid out by the iconic Comprehensive Peace Agreement of November 2006 forward into political consolidation in Nepal through peace-loving reconciliation and inclusive democratic processes. Nepal and India are so well bounded by various social, economic, geographical, cultural, and religious ties (Saran, 2017, pp. 47-52). Anti-India sentiment is growing in Nepal, especially after the Indian blockade of 2015. Treaties concluded between the two countries at different times have always remained debatable.

There is less trust and confidence and more disputes in Nepal-India ties. One of the most advocacy on behalf of Nepal's international relationships at the moment is to build good mutual understanding and win Indian trust in Nepal-India ties, keep a balanced and equitable distance in relations between India, and get India and China to work together for the broader, closer, and stronger economic relations for the equal mutual benefit. When redefining and upgrading the one-to-one as well as the bilateral connection between Nepal and India following the adoption of the new constitution as well as the holding of fresh elections under it, income activity, growth, and wealth must play a key role while maintaining a sense of each other's sovereign rights, integrity, and independence. Finally, Nepal's foreign policy toward India must be focused on regional peace, stability, and prosperity.

CHAPTER-V

MAJOR CHALLENGES OF NEPAL-INDIA RELATIONS

Nepal and India are two close neighbors with specialties that are unrivaled in many ways. Geographical, sociopolitical, sociocultural, and economic factors have shaped this uniqueness, encouraging the two nations to remain close and creating a good bilateral relationship. At the same time, these characteristics have irritated and restricted relations between the two countries. Because of these intricacies, the two have frequently been regarded as unhappy neighbors. Because of the vast and deep-rooted connection between the peoples of the two countries, their relations have taken on an informal component. As a result, focusing solely on official diplomatic channels makes it difficult to comprehend India-Nepal ties. Informal and popular perceptions are both significant. Despite contrasts in size, assets, population, capacities, and degrees of development, Nepal is vital to India and vice versa for a variety of reasons. Because of centuries of physical, historical, cultural, and economic relations, Nepal is an important neighbor of India and holds a special place in its foreign policy. In terms of Hinduism and Buddhism, India and Nepal are comparable, with Buddha's birthplace Lumbini in modern-day Nepal. Not only do the two countries share an open border and unrestricted movement of people, but they also have strong relationships formed via marriages and familial ties, dubbed Roti-Beti ka Rishta. The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship is the cornerstone of India's special relationship with Nepal. Nonetheless, Nepal's landlocked situation, fear-psychosis toward India's enormity, disproportionate reliance on India, and deliberate attempts to neglect India's security problems in the Himalayan Kingdom have strained the relationship between the two nations on numerous occasions. Despite the importance of and potential for developing a strong bilateral relationship between India and Nepal, some topics serve as irritants and areas of divergence. The major impediments to Nepal-India political relations are discussed in this chapter.

5.1 Border Disputes

Border crossings between countries are a delicate topic that can lead to conflict. Border debates can sometimes lead to a state of war between two countries. Border issues not only split two countries' peoples but also their national politics (Paudyal, 2013, p. 38) It should be investigated from both a historical and cultural standpoint. Nepal has been considered an independent and sovereign country since ancient times.

Nepal has been surrounded by India on three sides for thousands of years, on the south, east, and west, and on the north by China. Nepal has always been an essential strategic partner for India. It shares an 1100 km long border with five Indian states: Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, and Sikkim (Shreshtha, 2057 BS, 56-57). At one point in history, Nepal's border was said to have been expanded as Tista on the eastern with Kannada castle on the western. Nepal was also expanded to include the Ganga/Jamuna River confluence in the south, as well as the Himalayan range of Singe and Tasilhunpo monastery in the north. Nepal's borders have been narrowed to Satalaj in the west, the Ganga River in the south, and Bangladesh in the east over time (Shrestha, 2057 BS, pp. 56-57).

Nepal's border had reached Kannada in the west and Tista in the east by the year 1863 BS. Nepal's border went back to Satalaj after the Sugauli treaty in 1866 BC. Then, there was a conflict between Nepal and the East India Company, which was ruling India at the time. They were forced to sign the Sugauli Treaty in 1873 BS after that (4 March 1816 AD). As a consequence of the Sugauli Treaty, Nepal lost territory from the Mechi till Tista in the east, the Mahakali and Satalaj throughout the west, and as well as the Chure range, to flat Tarai in the south.

In 1872, the East India Company returned to Nepal some stolen areas from the Sugauli accord in eastern Terai, BS Paush 7. (December 11, 1816). Likewise, once Junga Bahadur Rana aided British soldiers in the soldiers' movement, the British company was happy and restored the western Terai to Nepal as a supplemental border pact in 1917 BS, Kartik 3 (November 1, 1860 AD).

The current boundary has been preserved as a result of this pact. Border disputes have occurred in the past in places where they were considered essential from a strategic perspective, such as forts, mountain passes, and the main economic route. Nepal is surrounded on three sides by India. The border problem is getting worse every day as a result of the open and unregulated border system. In comparison to other sides, the south side has more encroachment. It began to rise gradually after the Sugauli Treaty. To be more explicit, there began to be an upsurge in border territorial disputes between Nepal and India after 1947 AD, that is, after India's independence. The Mechi river's source, the Antu hill region, Ramnagar's region, the north shore of Chure mountains to the south side, jungle, and other places are considered contested border locations. Due to India's population growth, deforestation of Nepal's four-sided forest or bush by India, and encroachment of Nepal's land, the encroachment conflict

in the Dashgaza. Other disputed border locations are devoid of boundary pillars. When Nepal's democracy was founded in 2007 BS, encroachment in the Kalapani-Limpiyadhura and Susta areas began to increase.

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

Land invasions increased in places such as Shreeantu Guphatal of Ilam, Someshwor of Chitwan, Jhitkaiya in Bara, the Dashgaja zone of Koilawas in Dang, and the Khaba check post, as well as Gurung check post when Nepal became a republican in 2065 BS. The invasion of borderland and land is still going on. The continuing invasion has two causes: one, Nepal's instability, and the other, political parties spending time creating and dismantling cabinets (Paudyal, 2013, p. 38).

The Indian side is thought to have expanded on more than 60,000 hectares of Nepalese land. Kalapani-Limpiyadhura is the most controversial location, where the majority of land has intruded (37,000h.). Similarly, the land of Nepal has encroached in different places in different chunks, such as Susta (14,000 acres), the Mechi riverbank region (1,600 acres), Sarada barrage (8.85 acres), Sandakpur (2 acres), Parasan Pyara Tal (450 acres), Bhajani Lalbojhi (330 acres), Korobari (40 acres), Gulariya (6 acres), Guphatal Manebhanjyang (4 acres), Jhitkaiy Such land encroachments have been discovered, particularly during times of political instability. Kalapani is the most contentious area. The Indian Army has encroached on the 372 square kilometers between Kalapani and Limpiyadhura. Many Nepalese voices were heard in support of it, but those voices seem to have vanished into the sky. Those who are concerned about nationality, on the other hand, are aware of the problem (Shrestha, 2057Bs, p. 331).

The Kali River is the border between the two countries, according to the Sugauli Treaty. The source of the Mahakali River has yet to be discovered. And it is for this reason that there is a disagreement about it. The origin of the Kali River is still a point

of contention. Which of the three locations, Limpiyadhura, Lipulek, and Kali temple, is the source of the Kali River has yet to be determined. The Kali River originates at Limpiyadhura, according to historical maps and chronicles. India has encroached on the total area of land in the world. Despite being claimed by Nepal, Indian security forces have occupied Kalapani since the 1962 Indo- border conflict. India has become more mindful of land invasions in recent years. In 2065 BS Magsir 10, then-External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukharjee paid a visit to Nepal. During his visit, he stated that the border conflict between Kalapani and Susta should be resolved through negotiation.

To persuade India, the Kalapani controversy can be resolved by reviewing old records and papers. When the Narayani River gets a new route and cuts Nepal's land to the west due to the heavy floods during the monsoon season, India claims the land the behind river as her own and keeps the new flow of water as the boundary. The main example of land invasion as a result of this cause is the border dispute at Susta. The Indian side has encroached on Bhendiyari, Dhanaiya, and the region between the river's jerk at Susta. The invasion in the Susta region is moving closer to the Susta home. The land has been encroached upon for 14,000 years, from 1902 BC to the present.

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

The assigned borderline between the two countries is mentioned in the treaty agreement report, and accordingly, by constructing border pillars the map is drawn. (Shrestha, 2057BS, p.139) As we know, Nepal is surrounded by India from three sides. The map of Nepal has been drawn a long time back. Nepal India Joint Technical Committee had been formed in 1981 for this purpose and it worked for 26

years before it was dissolved in January 2007. The borderline between Nepal and India is 1808 km; of this, the Committee settled 98 percent of border demarcation disputes and prepared 182 strip maps. And 8,553 border pillars have been erected. Surveyors from both Nepal and India have put their signatures on those maps. Only two percent of work remains, including in disputed regions of Susta and Kalapani. During his visit to Kathmandu in 2066 Ashad 7, Indian External Affairs Secretary Shiv Shankar Menon stated that both countries' authorities will sign the completed work (98 percent) soon. The two foreign secretaries will almost certainly sign the map soon.

Before reaching an agreement and signing it, we must first comprehend the remaining 2% of the disputed region. That is, we must comprehend the locations that remain to be drawn on the map? And how many of the 182 set maps are clear and correct what else should we do when the mapping is correct and precise on paper but faulty and erroneous on the ground? How many of the 8,553 boundary pillars, on the other hand, have been built in former or correct locations? As a result, we should undertake research before signing both sides of the document. Apart from that, we need to look at why India is so eager to join this crisis. It is a major concern for Nepal. The Nepalese people want to know if the map is created absolutely as it was at the period of the Sugauli Accord, that is, whether it is based on old documents and recorded testimony or not.

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

The two countries' border conflicts should be resolved amicably and respectfully through conversation. If a third country is required to mediate the conflict, we should

be prepared to ask for assistance. If we are unable to handle the matter in this manner, we should seek assistance from the United Nations. We should be ready to go to an international tribunal if the problem cannot be handled. We should seek guidance and recommendations from experts in the field to address this problem. We need to figure out what's causing the issue after that, a higher level of reality should be told about the situation. Following that, the issue should be addressed diplomatically at the political level. Only the most complex and contentious issues should be addressed by the nation and government leaders. If a small portion of the territory is designated as a foreign land, the people who live there may be considered foreigners. That is, when the borderline shifts, the persons on one side of the border become citizens of another. They had no choice but to abandon their families on the other border area. It diminishes community members' social standing. As a consequence, we must keep this in mind.

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

Both sides' border authorities should periodically inspect and study bordering objects such as pillars. Apart from that, the border legislation should be revised each 10 to 20 years, as this is an important border management task. (Shrestha, 2002, p.17). Nepal should be transparent about its diplomatic efforts to resolve the matter. In terms of diplomatic policy, Nepal should make India recognize and demonstrate that the two countries are on the same footing at the world level. We need to figure out what other options there are for solving the situation. After that, we should deal with each other

respectfully and cordially on a political level. We ought to go ahead and finish our research on Kalapani's complex border situation. To resolve the Nepal-India border conflict, Nepal needs to be clear on matters like What occurs if India claims Kalapani as her land? How would you respond if India said that Kalapani was bestowed by the then-king Mahendra? What should be done if China refuses to acknowledge that Kalapani is a Nepalese territory? What happens if India implements a no-man's-land/buffer-zone policy? What if India proposes stationing army personnel from both nations in the disputed territories? If India seeks a 100-year lease, what should you do? If a nearby country is required, whose country should we consider as a mediator? And, if it is claimed that taking the Kalapani issue to the world level will be a setback for Nepal, how should one answer in this situation? Nepal should be well prepared in advance to address such inquiries.

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

After Nepal regained democracy in the 1990s, disagreements erupted. During the Indo-China war of 1962, India deployed security forces in this region. Kalapani was considered a "safe zone" for Indian troops to be stationed because of its high altitude of 20, 276 feet, which provided an "effective defense against the Chinese" (Baral &

Pyakurel, 2015, p. 45). Kalapani was also acknowledged as India's property at the time. Nepal, on the other hand, had held elections in the area in 1959 and collected land taxes from the locals until 1961. Kalapani has been the subject of frequent debates between successive Indian and Nepalese governments. The contact between Nepalese Prime Minister G.P. Koirala and India's Prime Minister Atal Bihari Bajpayee in the new century is important. PM Koirala visited India in July 2000 and discussed collaboration with his counterpart. Both parties agreed to perform a field survey to confirm Kalapani's delineation and set a completion date of 2002. The Joint Boundary Committee agreed to deliver reports together with newly developed strip maps at the time. Even though India's External Affairs Ministry opposed requests to remove its soldiers from the region, the country pursued a resolute policy to end the chapter (Baral & Pyakurel, 2015, pp. 45-46).

Over many decades, India and Nepal have had a multifaceted and amicable relationship. Since the two nations established formal diplomatic ties on June 17, 1947, India and Nepal have sought to maintain their mutual commitment to peaceful coexistence as immediate neighbors (Ministry of Foreign Affairs/GoN, n.d.). However, there have been some disagreements along the 1880-kilometer border that runs across West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Sikkim (Behera, 2011 May After India and Nepal signed the Peace and Friendship Treaty in 1950, the two governments advocated a well-defined and formally recognized "open border" between them. An "open border" is one where individuals can freely and unrestrictedly cross from one side to the other. Despite the presence of border checkpoints and the deployment of border security troops, crossing the physical border is relatively simple, resulting in improved social and trade connectedness between the two nations. The open character of the border has been described as a "springboard of potential" for both India and Nepal, with inherent mutual interests. This means increased goods flow from India, which serves as a significant transit center for Nepal's small landlocked country (Forester, 2014, p.12).

Through the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA), signed in 2011, India has benefited from investments in Nepal in sectors such as highways and other infrastructure projects, hydropower projects, tourism, and agriculture. India also supports and benefits from major cross-border projects such as the Jalpaiguri–Kakarbhitta, Jogbani– Biratnagar, Jaynagar–Bardibas, Nautanwa–Bhairahawa, and Nepalgunj Road–Nepalgunj rail links, as well as the commitment to

build a cross-border oil pipeline between Raxaul and Amlekgunj, between the Indian Oil Corporation and the Nepal Oil Corporation to mention only two interests.

According to analysts, the British chose these ad hoc and unstructured pillars to demarcate their border for a variety of reasons: Nepali soldiers from hilly terrains could be easily recruited for the British Army; markets in Nepal territory could be properly utilized for British-made goods; and raw materials from Nepal, such as timber and firewood, could be easily transported to India. This "open border" between India and Nepal still exists nearly a century later. According to some commentators, the two countries' relationship is "unique" because of their "open border." Other commentators, on the other hand, are alluding to a "liberal conundrum" with "open borders." On the one hand, open borders, according to liberal theorists like Joseph Carens, create a utilitarian environment that benefits people living on both sides of the border (Carens, 1987, pp. 251-273).

There would be unrestricted movement and proper implementation of the easily available resources or raw materials in the area, benefiting persons in the immediate vicinity in particular. On the other hand, determining the scope of such "openness" is a conundrum: an "open border" would expose existing "liberal territorial polities and communities" to dangers from non-state groups, such as terrorism, smuggling, and trafficking (Bauder, 2015, p. 9).

In Nepal's situation, the open border serves as a "safety valve" for the country in terms of revenue-generating and job creation from its larger neighbor, India. On the same hand, the open border system has been chastised for allowing concerns such as the larger circulation of counterfeit money and the under-documentation of informal trade. In Nepal's case, the open border acts as a "safety valve" in terms of generating cash and creating jobs from its larger neighbor, India. On the other hand, the open border system has been condemned for allowing issues such as increased counterfeit money circulation and under-documentation of informal trade. The existence of the border security force (BSF), the Special Security Force (SSF), and the integrated checkpoints have had little effect on the current situation. In this regard, as has been observed throughout time, the security forces' lax attitude may be damaging in the long term in settling current issues if they do not stick to more strict measures for those crossing without valid documentation (Baral & Pyakurel, 2015, pp. 8,13,27).

The Joint Technical Committee worked for almost 26 years and was able to solve 97 percent of the boundary issues that were considered minor. They asserted that the

remaining 3% was beyond their ability to resolve. The Kalapani-Limpiyadhura, with a 370-square-kilometer encroachment, Susta, with a 24-kilometer encroachment, and several other sites with a 15-kilometer encroachment make up this area. A total of 606 square kilometers is covered by 71 spots (Shrestha, 2003, p. 75). The lack of historical maps and documentation for demarcation is one of the most critical factors contributing to the status quo.

India and Nepal's relations have worsened once again. The immediate trigger is a long-standing territorial dispute concerning Kalapani, a patch of land along the India-Nepal boundary, close to the India-China border's Lipulekh Pass, which is one of the designated areas for trade relations and the route for Tibet's Kailash-Mansarovar yatra. The root causes, on the other side, are considerably more complex. Yet, by raising the flag of Nepali nationalism and depicting India as a hegemon, Nepali Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli is part of a trend that shows the two countries' ties need to be substantially reset (Sood, 2020 May 19).

Following the Maoist movement in China in 1949, which was preceded by the seizure of Tibet, Nepal was 'requested' to put up 18 checkpoints along the Nepal-Tibet border. The westernmost post was Tinker Pass, approximately 6 kilometers east of Lipulekh. In 1953, India and China chose Lipulekh Pass as a religious and border trade network. Following the 1962 conflict, a journey through Lipulekh was reestablished in 1981, and boundary trade was reopened in 1991. The China-Nepal Border Accord, which specifies the western zero point just north of Tinker Pass, was signed in Beijing in 1961 by King Mahendra. By 1969, India had removed all of its border checkpoints from Nepali territory. The Indo-Tibetan Border Police has manned the Lipulekh Pass since 1979. Given the open border and free movement of people and products, life for the inhabitants remained mostly unchanged.

The topic of the Kali river's origin was first addressed in 1997, following the 1996 Mahakali Treaty (the Kali river is also known as Mahakali/Sarada further downstream), which planned the Pancheshwar multipurpose hydel project. The matter was referred to the Combined Technical Level Border Committee, which was formed in 1981 to relocate and replace old and damaged border posts along the India-Nepal border. When the Committee was dissolved in 2008, it had cleared 98 percent of the boundary, leaving the unsolved issues of Kalapani and Susta (in the Terai) unaddressed. Following that, it was decided that the topic would be considered at the level of the Foreign Secretary.

Another sore issue is that Nepal's border is mostly unmanned, but India has robust border guards to secure its borders. Indian security forces have invaded Nepali territory and killed Nepali civilians on several occasions. Indian border guards have extorted Nepali migrant workers traveling from India on numerous occasions. These incidents in Nepal also tend to fuel anti-India sentiment. Today, it is critical to put a halt to the territorial nationalist discourse and build the framework for a peaceful conversation. To overcome the problem of border encroachment, we must sit down and have a discourse, a discussion, and mutual understanding. Despite Nepal's repeated requests for India to halt encroaching on its border, India has not responded. India tends to be dominant. Nepal is experiencing territory encroachment as a result of this. Furthermore, the security issue is growing by the day.

In contentious areas, we should conduct field observations. We should look into old documented documents on the subject. If we find a way to strengthen relations between the two countries, we should have serious bilateral negotiations. Bringing the agreement in front of the people, or displaying it to them, is the best way to do it. In regions where land has been encroached upon, the Junge pillar should be raised first, followed by the signature on the map. In certain cases, the map may be accurate, but the land has been encroached upon; in this case, our efforts will be worthless. The signature should not be placed on the agreement page until all border disputes have been resolved.

5.2 Unequal Diplomatic Treaties and Agreements

The relationship between Nepal and India dates back to ancient times. They are linked together by geography, history, culture, religion, commerce, and economy. The free movement of people and an open border between the two countries were forged since the Kingdom of Nepal was founded in 1789 by Prithvi Narayan Shah. The Treaty of Friendship, Trade, and Commerce, signed in 1950, was the beginning of a new era of cooperation between the two countries. This treaty provided “national treatment” for the citizens of both the countries in each other’s territory i.e. they have the freedom to work, live and buy property. Although in the treaty no preferential treatment was given to Nepalese exports to India, India granted transit for goods to be imported and exported by Nepal via India. Subsequently, different treaties were signed between the two countries in 1971, 1978, 1996, 2002, and 2009. Apart from the treaties,

cooperation between the two countries has been built on the foundation of mutual trust and friendship resulting in stable relationships most of the time.

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

These agreements established a "special relationship" between India and Nepal, providing Nepalese in India with the same economic and educational prospects as Indian residents. The Indo-Nepal border is open; Nepalese and Indian citizens can easily cross the border without requiring passports or visas and can live and work in any country (Kavitha, 2016, pp. 10-15). The 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship established a close partnership between the two South Asian neighbors. On July 31, 1950, the treaty was signed. The treaty permits the free movement of persons and commerce between the two countries, as well as a strong partnership and cooperation in defense and foreign affairs.

The Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty constitutes an open border between the two countries, allowing free and open movement of people and products, as well as equal rights for both countries' citizens seeking to immigrate. Both countries pledge to respect each other's territorial integrity and independence. By mandating both nations to confer on problems of regional security, the Treaty allowed for major strategic coordination. In the 1950s, Nepal embraced close links with India; but, as the numbers of Nepalese working and living in India increased, India's economic engagement in Nepal rose in the 1960s, and the Nepalese displeasure well with the special relationship intensified. Tensions rose in the mid-1970s while Nepal

demanded significant changes to the commerce and transit deal in its favor and openly denounced India's takeover of Sikkim as that of an Indian state. King Birendra suggested in 1975 that Nepal be known globally as a zone of peace, and China and Pakistan backed him up. If the King's plan did not contravene the 1950 pact and was just an extension of non-alignment- alignment, it was needless in New Delhi's opinion; if it was a rejection of the unique relationship, it posed a potential security threat to India, and could not be approved.

Nepal made the request again in 1984, but India did not respond. Nepal continued to pursue the plan in international venues, with Chinese help; by 1990, 112 countries had signed on. Surprisingly, India decided to distinct transit trade treaties in 1978, fulfilling a long-standing Nepalese demand. When the two treaties came due for renewal in 1988, India demanded a unified trade and transit pact after Nepal refused to satisfy India's desires on the transit treaty. Following that, Nepal adopted a tough stance, resulting in a significant problem in India-Nepal relations. Both treaties terminated on March 23, 1989, after two extensions, resulting in a quasi-Indian economic embargo on Nepal that continued till late April 1990.

India linked security to economic relations and urged a comprehensive review of India-Nepal relations. Nepal was obliged to back down as worsening economic situations pushed the king to install a parliamentary system. The new government wanted to restore friendly relations with India as soon as possible (Kavitha, 2016, p. 11). The special security connections between Nepal and India were re-established during a meeting in June 1990. During Nepali Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala's trip to India in December 1991, the two countries inked new trade and transit treaties as well as other economic agreements aimed at boosting Nepal's economy. While Nepali Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikary paid a visit to New Delhi in April 1995, he wanted a full revision of the 1950 peace and friendship pact.

Adhikari fought for increased financial independence for his tiny nation while aiming to strengthen links with China, despite favorable declarations about the pact from his Indian hosts. The Mahakali River Basin Treaty, signed in 1996 between India and Nepal, called for the building of barrages to raise the level of movement of people and goods from one side to another. With the signing of the Mahakali Treaty, a new age of mutual trust has begun. The deal permitted Nepal to trade through Bangladesh's Chittagong region. Similarly, transit routes lowered transportation expenses while allowing India to monitor and manage the actions of ISI operatives operating out of

Nepal. The intra-regional trade between India and its neighbors was boosted much further by this transit route. In 1990, India backed Nepal's entry into the United Nations. In the twenty-first century, Nepal remains impoverished and destitute, but India has risen to a central position in the globe with a rapid rate of development.

Nepalese-Indian relations deteriorated after King Gyanendra gained power in 2005. However, with the restoration of democracy in 2008, Nepal's Prime Minister, Prachanda, paid a visit to India in September 2008. He talked about a new beginning in the two countries bilateral relations. "I am returning to Nepal as a satisfied person," he remarked. I will inform Nepali citizens that a new era has begun. The time has arrived for a major transformation in bilateral relations. On account of the ruling party, I can assure you that we are dedicated to a fresh start." He met India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee. He asked India to help Nepal design a new constitution and participate in the country's tourism infrastructure industry. In 2008, Indo-Nepal ties have been further strengthened when the two nations decided to resume water talks after a four-year hiatus.

The Nepal-India Working Group on Water Resources met and resolved to begin repairing the ruptured Koshi embankment once the water level drops, according to Nepalese Water Resources Secretary Shanker Prasad Koirala. Both Prime Ministers acknowledged their joy in their countries' lengthy strong, friendly, and wide-ranging ties during the Nepal Prime Minister's arrival in New Delhi in September, as well as their assistance and participation in expanding the relationship. The two issued a 22-point statement in which they emphasized the significance of examining, revising, and amending the 1950 Friendship treaty Accord, as well as other contracts.

In 2010, India provided a \$250 million line of credit as well as 80,000 tons of agricultural grains. Furthermore, a free-tier framework will be established at the ministerial, secretary, and technical levels to advance bilateral negotiations on the development of water resources. In terms of politics, India expressed a desire to support Nepalese peace initiatives. Pranab Mukherjee, India's then-external affairs minister, pledged Nepali Prime Minister Prachanda that he would "provide all feasible assistance for peace and development." Since Nepal, and more specifically the Nepalese people, have the sense or belief that India has defrauded them in all water accords, treaties on water resources, and other situations, the Nepalese people view any Indian operation with suspicion.

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

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

The Ministry of External Affairs Spokesperson Anurag Srivastava, when asked if boundary issues would be discussed, said, "Our position on the boundary issue is well known. Let me say that the JCM and boundary talks are separate mechanisms" (Sibbal, 2021 Jan 15) Many diplomatic agreements exist between Nepal and India, and the widespread impression is that they benefit India the most. The majority of Nepalis, for example, are opposed to the Gandaki, Koshi, and Mahakali water deals with India. They claim that these accords have provided India the upper - hand in the use and management of Nepal's valuable water resources. Apart from these three contentious water-sharing agreements, which were allegedly negotiated under duress

at various times by the Indian state apparatus, the basis for the current relationship between Nepal and India is possibly the most contentious deal. Nepal's undemocratic rulers ratified the pact in 1950.

Many Nepali politicians have argued that the three river-based agreements, as well as the so-called Friendship Treaty, should be revisited to ensure that they are fair to both countries. In September 2008, then-Prime Minister of Nepal Pushpa Kamal Dahal highlighted this matter with his Indian counterpart, Manmohan Singh, on an official state visit to India. After more than a decade, no progress has been made toward modifying any of the accords. Nepal's reservations to the pact are based on several problems, ranging from defense to free cross-border movement: **First**, According to Nepalese intellectuals, the treaty was signed with a Rana Prime Minister who was not chosen by the public and hence does not represent Nepal's political consensus. They also use the signatories' unequal standing as an illustration of the treaty's built-in inequality. As a result, uneven diplomatic accords and accords are other impediments to Nepal-India relationships. **Second**, The pact is seen as a British imperial legacy.

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

Third, it is stated that the Treaty of Peace and Friendship is obsolete and that it is frequently violated. The moment has come to examine the treaty and install a new

one, as many of its clauses have fallen out of favor within the last 50 years. Maoists use the fact that the government in New Delhi stayed mute while Nepalese were forced to leave some Northeastern states such as Assam and Meghalaya in the early 1990s as one of their justifications against the treaty. It is maintained that India also shouldn't expect Nepal to comply with a pact that it cannot confirm.

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

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

Sixth, the majority of the criticism of this pact revolves around its politico-strategic aspects. India is said to have been more concerned with its geopolitical and strategic concerns in the Himalayas than with Nepal's sovereignty. The government of Nepal needs to be free to import weaponry, ammunition, any warlike material, and equipment required for Nepal's security from or via the Indian union, according to Article 5 of the Treaty.

Seventh, Nepal has doubts about clauses 6 and 7, which allow participation of citizens in national and economic development in each other's countries and offer citizens the freedom to stay, own property, engage in trade and commerce, and enjoy other rights in each other's countries. Inconsistent with Nepal's practice of full sovereignty is India's demand for reciprocal "national treatment" for its nationals in the Nepalese area and accessibility to all of Nepal's environmental assets, while Nepalese people are discriminated against when purchasing property in India. There have been numerous instances in which India has disregarded the treaty's obligations. Article 2 of such pact compels the governments to notify each other if they have a severe disagreement with a neighboring country that could jeopardize their good relations. Nepalese claim that India failed to inform or contact Nepal during the 1962

conflict with China and subsequent wars with Pakistan. India, on the other hand, claims that the Koirala cabinet stayed in frequent contact including its Indian counterpart over Sino-Indian relations.

They claim that these accords have provided India the upper - hand in its use control of Nepal's valuable water resources. Apart from these three contentious water-sharing agreements, which were allegedly negotiated under duress at various times by the Indian state apparatus, the basis for the current relationship between Nepal and India is possibly the most contentious deal. In Nepal, the 1950 Peace and Friendship Pact are extremely controversial. Significant civilian and independent academic voices are advocating for a revision of the treaty, which is viewed as an official diplomatic document that binds Nepal to India's security umbrella. Many Nepali politicians have argued that the three river-based agreements, as well as the so-called Friendship Treaty, should be revisited to ensure that they are fair to both countries.

The 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship is a cornerstone of the two countries special relationship. Despite having doubts about the pact and engaging in political posturing, Nepal has not withdrawn from it. On numerous occasions, Nepal has made steps to counter India's undue influence. China has been utilized to counterbalance India. It implemented permits for Indian laborers in 1988, as well as a slew of other discriminatory policies towards Indians, all in contravention of the treaty's spirit. India has endeavored to secure Nepalese compliance in a variety of ways, which the Nepalese have described as coercive and heavy-handed. Surprisingly, despite objections both from countries on some topics, the pact has persisted to this day. Furthermore, there is currently agreement that the treaty needs revision in light of changing regional and international circumstances. This explains why, given the geographical realities, Nepal would remain dependent on India. India must also recognize Nepal's historical ties and the strategic relevance of forging a multifaceted alliance in the future. To tackle increasing risks from non-state actors, India must take a liberal approach to provide Nepal with trade and transit facilities, as well as closely collaborate with its security policy.

5.3 Blockade

Land-locked Because it surrounds India to the east, west, and south, Nepal is commonly referred to as "India-locked." Taking use of its strategic location, India has launched three trade blockades against Nepal, in 1970, 1989, and 2015, resulting in widespread anti-India sentiments among Nepalese. Nepal was forced to sign a

historical transit trade deal with its northern neighbor, China, after facing a crushing blockade in 2015, barely a month just after a powerful earthquake devastated the country. In 1970, India obstructed the transit of goods into Nepal after the building of the Araniko Motorway linking Kathmandu and China and the establishment of Tatopani as a trade route well with its northern neighbors.

The degree to which Nepal's business was harmed is uncertain due to a lack of quantitative data at the time. Nonetheless, due to a smaller group large number of mobile vehicles, prevalent conventional methods of timber cooking, and a fewer group and degree of organizations (such as banks, school systems, and numerous other services providers) and interlink-age among them; a smaller number as well as the degree of organizations (such as financial institutions, schools, as well as various other services providers) and interlink-age among them; due to such a smaller number and extent of organizations (such as banks, school systems, and numerous other services providers) and interlink-age among people (Shakya & Bhattarai, 2016).

The geopolitics of the impasse spanned decades, with many bouts of tension surfacing after 1975. The succession of the Late King Birendra to the throne, the division of Pakistan, and the acquisition of Sikkim were all key events in the early to mid-1970s. Following these incidents, a proposal was made to rename Nepal a "Zone of Peace," but India refused. The Financial Blockade was a barbarous act that India will eventually regret. Indian and Nepalese fundamental rights have been infringed, and the amazing thing is that no court action is taken yet. India's behavior raises worries about the country's capability of being a good neighbor time and time again. The 2015 Nepal blockade, which began on 23 September 2015, was an economic and humanitarian crisis that severely affected Nepal and its economy. Nepal accused India of imposing an undeclared blockade (NDTV, 2015 Nov 15) triggered by Indian concern about changes to the Nepali constitution, violent ethnic conflict, and Nepal's increasing cooperation with China.

Invoking the Panchsheel principles, Nepalese Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli called on India to "immediately lift the undeclared blockade" imposed on Nepal that would help boost bilateral ties amid the recent political crisis over the country's new constitution. "Nepal wants to maintain relations with its neighbors based on the principles of Panchsheel," Oli said. The Panchsheel doctrine is a set of principles to govern relations between states. Their first formal codification in treaty form was an

agreement between China and India in 1954. The blockade spanned Nepal's southern border with India, taking in the Madhes or Terai region. The movement of goods and fuel into Nepal was hindered at border posts. As a result, Nepal faced one of the region's worst humanitarian and geopolitical crises, with the country unable to purchase fuel, medicines, and other basic commodities from India (SAHR, 2016).

It has heightened anti-Indian feelings in Nepal tremendously. The blockade was a radical means of resistance with far-reaching consequences, including considerable harm to Nepal's weakest as well as poorest residents as well as the alienation of groups with whom demonstrators should have been working. However, rejecting it as a tactic should not be used to avoid a full investigation of what is a Tarai social movement (ICG, 2016). It is a political matter rather than a Tarai issue. The continuous blockade of India has had a direct effect on education, causing schools to close. The fuel crisis impacted millions of students, including over one million in the Valley only.

The healthcare industry is another main target of the blockade. Due to a lack of oxygen, drugs, and blood, hospitals were eventually unable to deliver health care services. The hospital administration had made it plain that they would be unable to operate facilities without such essential supplies. They further stated that if the current economic embargo continues, the dispensaries will be unable to provide life-saving drugs in the future. Due to the impossibility to transport winterization materials, earthquake victims were left to face the winter without energy or warm clothing. As a result, disaster victims became victims of both natural and man-made catastrophes (Shakya & Bhattarai, 2016, pp. 15-18).

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

The geographical backgrounds of Nepal and India play an important role in shaping their interactions. They maintain not only a long and rich history but also a vast and open border. "Sphere of Indian Influence," "Special Relationship," "Equal Relationship with All," "Big Brother Role," "Dominating Power," "Zone of Peace,"

and "Panchayat Regime" were among the several kinds of ties between Nepal and India. Despite their closeness and pleasant relationships, they also had a lot of irritants. Nepal finally attained political stability, except for a few issues, on September 20, 2015, when it adopted a constitution. This was something Nepal has yearned for a long time. As Prime Minister Narendra Modi mentioned during his two-day trip to Nepal on the 3rd and 4th of August 2014, now is the time for Nepal to consider all facets of its relations with India, because both nations can benefit from each other's development, and promise to take all appropriate measures to take relations to new heights. With these developments, it would be interesting to see what kind of relationship Nepal maintains with Delhi (Patel, 2017, pp.73-79).

During India's blockade of Nepal, the bilateral relationship touched an all-time low, culminating in complete chaos, full of accusations and diversions in a variety of forms. It was not the first occasion that the two countries' relations had worsened. India-Nepal relations have had a difficult history since 1950, despite long-standing historic, social, and cultural ties, a free movement of people, considerable commercial and transit links, and a firm foundation of ties in the shape of the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship. It was sometimes perplexing why, despite their multifaceted links, the two countries' relations had become increasingly strained (Choudhary & Ghosh, 2016, pp. 93-123).

The opportunists are one subgroup that New Delhi has missed in Nepal as a consequence of the anti-constitution movement. Meanwhile, New Delhi has acquired the confidence of a larger percentage of Nepal's population, which is a great achievement. To consolidate its advantages, New Delhi must counter misconceptions about Chinese ambitions in Nepal, particularly the deepening of China's rail system into Nepalese land, as being Nepal's greatest advantage. All Chinese efforts in Nepal are strategic, and they serve either Nepal's or India's long-term objectives. The friendship between Nepal and India is worsening as a result of this. In this regard, other than high-level negotiations, neither country has made any genuine effort to resolve the matter. India's biggest diplomatic blunder is its failure to address its relationship deficit with Nepal

No one can ignore their centuries-old social and cultural links, as well as their geographic proximity. This is the one thing that is keeping them together and is the only reason that made their bad and good relationship. In an era of globalization, where each country has grown closer to obtaining greater profits, Nepal and India

appear to be unable to maximize each other's potential. Because it has been operating in an undirected and neglected manner, India has failed to expand its soft power potential, although it can be achieved with minimal effort (Patel, 2017, pp. 73-79).

The primary reason for the informal block is to safeguard pro-Indian leaders in Nepal who want the entire Tarai region proclaimed a province, posing a major threat to Nepalese sovereignty and security. Even though India declined to acknowledge the blockade as such, it remains an unofficial boycott. Modi's diplomacy failed in Nepal, and anti-Indian sentiment peaked for the first period in history.

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

5.4 Buddha's Birth Place

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

conservation area. There are also the excavated remnants of Buddhist viharas (monasteries) dating from the third century BC to the fifth century AD, as well as Buddhist stupas (memorial shrines) dating from the third century BC to the fifteenth century AD. The site is now being developed as a Buddhist pilgrimage center, with the archaeological remains linked with the Lord Buddha's birth serving as a focal point.

The world's pilgrimage destination is the birthplace of the Shakya prince and the ultimate Buddha, the Enlightened One. This nativity scene has been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Buddhist literature of the 7th and 6th centuries BC defines it as *pradimakshya-van*, a *pradimakshya-van* graced with a flowering sal (*Shorea robusta*) woodland, a garden of exquisite flowers, and humming colorful bees (Bidari, 2002, p. 3).

India has downplayed the debate about Gautam Buddha's birthplace, claiming that External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar's comments on him were about "our shared Buddhist legacy" and that there is "no doubt" that the founder of Buddhism was born in Lumbini, Nepal. Mr. Jaishankar mentioned India's moral leadership and how Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi's teachings are still relevant during a webinar. Former Prime Minister and senior leader of Nepal's ruling Communist Party, Madhav Kumar Nepal, called Jaishankar's alleged statement that Buddha was a great Indian "baseless and objectionable." Mr. Nepal had previously reacted angrily to Mr. Jaishankar's statements, calling them "insensitive and inappropriate."

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

Buddha, also known as Siddhartha Gautam, was born in Lumbini, Nepal, the birthplace of Buddhism.

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

"Buddha was born in Lumbini, which lies in Nepal, so there is no controversy," she said in response to a question at a press conference (TET, 2013 Sep 15), "We respect all your sentiments," the Indian Embassy said in a statement. "Our recent post on Lord Buddha was to clear any doubts related to the birth of Lord Buddha, which is in Lumbini, Nepal and to express the feeling of the Government of India," it said in the statement on its official Facebook Page. Around 300 cable operators in Nepal had blocked the broadcast of the Zee TV program on Lord Buddha, following protests that it depicted the ancient sage as being born in India instead of the Himalayan nation. "We were afraid that the content of the show might be disrespectful to the Nepali audience...In precaution, we decided to impose self-censorship on the show," Sudhir Parajuli, Chairman of the Nepal Cable TV Association, told the media.

After the issue was raised on social media, sparking wide criticism, actor Kabir Bedi, who is playing a lead role in the show, apologized on Twitter. "Yes, my friends, I misspoke. Forgive me. Lord Buddha was certainly born in Lumbini, Nepal. My apologies to all whose feelings were hurt," he tweeted. Lumbini is one of the cultural heritage sites enlisted by UNESCO. According to historical sources, Buddha was born in Lumbini, situated in the southern plains of Nepal in 623 BC. The Indian Embassy said our objective through the Facebook page "is to establish Goodwill between our two countries. India cannot progress without the progress of Nepal and wishes prosperity for the people of Nepal." "Our age-old relations with Nepal are marked by historical, civilizational, and familial ties and will continue to be a matter of highest priority to us," Foreign Secretary Singh, who wrapped up her two-day official visit to

Nepal, said. Hence misinterpretation and misbehaviors of some Indian people claiming India as the birthplace of Lord Buddha have been another cause of disputes between Nepal and India relations.

5.5 “Big Brother” Behaviour of India

Nepal is South Asia's oldest sovereign country. At a time when its regional allies like India, Bangladesh, as well as Pakistan were colonized by the British, Nepal achieved a strong diplomatic relationship with them as an independent sovereign republic. Nepal and the United Kingdom commemorated 200 years of diplomatic friendship at the end of 2016, whereas India only gained independence in 1947. Nepalis are proud of their country's illustrious heritage. Many in Indian politics and the media, however, refer to Nepal as India's "younger brother." The framing of India as Nepal's "big" or "older brother," which is frequently employed by seasoned Indian politicians, academics, and media, is frowned upon by Nepalese. Nepalese have a philosophical objection to India's "micromanagement" of Nepal, in addition to criticism of India's "micromanagement" of Nepal. They believe that India cannot be the "big brother" simply because of its larger physical size. Nepalese Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli famously observed, "To criticize this method of framing the relationship, "Any country, regardless of its population or size, can be big or small... Nationality, on the other hand, cannot be reduced or enhanced. Every country should be able to establish its sovereignty on an equal footing." In 1947, India earned independence from British colonialism, and Nepal-India relations were expected to restart on the concepts of equality, freedom, sovereignty, mutual respect, and cooperation (Adhikari, 2018, pp. 43-74).

India, which has a strong intention to keep control over Nepal, has rarely upheld these objectives. It maintains its hegemony by interfering in Nepal's internal affairs, such as political, diplomatic, and military affairs. Critiquing Indian hegemonic external interference is not meant to degrade the two countries' special affinity and cooperation, which encompasses economic and political engagement as well as cultural, traditional, and religious links. There has been a frequent exchange of high-level visits, as well as various bilateral institutional dialogues/interactions, such as Nepal-India Joint Commission Meetings. These trips have aided in the promotion of goodwill, trust, and cooperation between the two nations (Tripathi, 2019, pp. 186-200).

India has assisted Nepal's development initiatives, including infrastructure development in the areas of learning, health, watersheds, and defense (MOFA, n.d.). In recent times, India has assisted Nepal in the construction of integrated posts along the Nepal-India boundary, such as at Jogbani-Biratnagar, Sunauli-Bhairahawa, Raxaul-Birganj, and Nepalganj Route (MOFA, n.d.). Similarly, rivers are a hot concern in bilateral ties because both countries' rivers can facilitate major water and irrigation sources. India and Nepal have had a Power Exchange Agreement in place since 1971 to meet their various power requirements by leveraging each other's transmission infrastructure. In the defense sector, there is another crucial bilateral cooperation. Both countries have established the Joint Taskforce on Border Management (JWG) and Border District Coordination Committees (BDCCs) to address one another's security concerns (MOFA, n. d.). The Boundary Working Group (BWG) was established in 2014 to take over technical activities related to the Nepal-India boundary, such as the construction, maintenance, and restoration of border pillars, as well as surveillance of the border's no man's land.

For both countries, the bilateral agreement on "trade, transit, and investment" is critical. India has long been Nepal's most important commercial partner, and bilateral trade between the two countries has grown significantly over the years. Since 1951, Indian support has helped Nepal implement 552 big, middle, and small-scale projects worth a total of 77 billion Nepalese rupees.

The two-month-long blockade imposed by India on Nepal in 2015 was a terrible and painful event in Nepal-India relations, comparable to what the young generation of Nepalis went through in 1989–90 when India penalized Nepal for getting weapons from China. By cutting off supplies of medication, gasoline, and other necessities, India imposed an informal economic blockade on Nepal. Although numerous socio-political organizations in Nepal's southern region objected to some provisions of the new constitution, Nepal's democratically chosen Constituent Assembly ratified it with a majority (more than 90% of CA members) in September 2015. India backed these enraged southern forces because it did not approve of Nepal's new constitution. When Madesh-centric parties began to show their teeth in opposing parties to the draft constitution, India's Foreign Secretary S. Jaishankar came to Nepal to put pressure on Nepal's current elite and prevent the constitution's approval. At the moment, the Constituent Assembly had been on the point of promulgating it (Ghimire, 2015 Sep 19).

In retaliation, India, which proclaims to be the largest global democracy, refused to recognize the Nepali people's choice and imposed the blockade. Such flagrant involvement in the domestic matters of an independent sovereign nation like Nepal could be attributed to India's imperial hubris. India enforced an economic blockade on Nepal to force changes to the new constitution. When Nepal decided to buy arms from China in 1989, India employed a similar tactic to put pressure on Nepal by closing 13 of the 15 transit points along its boundary to Nepal (Garver, 1991, pp. 956-975).

The blockade also went against the Asian Highway Agreement (ESCAP, 2003), which required Asian countries like Nepal and India to connect their highways for regional trade. The blockade targeted the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) agreement, which was designed to boost regional trade and commerce. The SAFTA agreement prohibits any country from levying taxes on another's imports. India's intelligence agencies, the most notable of which is the Research and Analysis Wing, have previously carried out interventionist and hegemonic acts against its neighbors (RAW). India is frequently chastised for behaving like a "big brother" not just in Nepal but also in some South Asian countries.

5.6 Citizenship Issue

The issue of citizenship is particularly sensitive in Nepal. Without it, it is hard to obtain government posts, participate in political politics, buy or sell assets, or even get admission to academic institutions. A large number of Nepalese nationals have failed to get citizenship documents, with the victims mostly coming from the Madheshi group, as well as the poor and underprivileged.

Civil society, in addition to NGOs and social and political groups, considers the law to be gender discriminating and regressive. This is because males and females are subject to different laws. Foreign women married to Nepalese men will then have to wait seven years for the naturalized citizenship certificate, while foreign men wedded to Nepalese women will only be qualified for naturalization after 15 years in Nepal, according to the amendment bill. India, such as the United States, is claimed to have a requirement requiring foreigners wedded to Indians to reside in India consistently for seven years before applying for citizenship. Unlike in Nepal, where citizenship laws for Nepalese men married to foreign women differ

from those for Nepalese women married to foreign men, thus a rule should apply to both men as well as women in the United States.

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

Former Minister and now Member of Parliament for the Nepali Congress in the National Assembly, Jitendra Dev, strongly opposed the citizenship law, claiming that it aims to end Nepal's longstanding cultural ties with India. He also stated that the law would not foster democracy or federalism, but rather could lead to political mishaps. Former NCP Minister Ajay Shankar Nayak said the citizenship bill introduced by the CPN Secretariat has caused a lot of turmoil in the country since it will not only increase the divide between political parties, but it will also invite calamity. Protests against the citizenship amendment bill have begun in Kathmandu and several parts of the Terai region due to problems with the measure.

If ratified by the Nepalese legislature, the citizenship measure will further burden the country's citizenship issue. Apart from disrupting the historic links of social and cultural bilateral ties, it will directly injure people's emotions and sentiments. This may potentially redefine the entire spectrum of bilateral ties, which does not appear to be in either of their best interests. As a result, some groups of people wishing to see a thaw in bilateral relationships must rise beyond petty interests and work to get the citizenship modification measure withdrawn. The sooner it is completed, the more likely it is to restore peace, prosperity, and friendly relations.

5.7 Beyond the Realist and Liberal Prisms

It can be said that neither realism nor liberal conceptual approaches are capable of reflecting the complex dynamics of Nepal-India ties from their genesis to the present. India's policies with Nepal are divided between liberal theory and its full of contradictions. Individuals are grouped into states, each one of which functions as a single entity to achieve its own national goals (Mingst, 2004, pp. 35-38).

The realistic premise is that the state is the most significant actor in international politics and that genuine international relations are based on state-to-state connections. Realists see states as separate entities that engage in international politics purely for their benefit and the pursuit of power. Because "moral can only be relevant, not general," such an approach recognizes no place in interstate relations for abstract principle discourse (Carr, 1971, p.7).

At this point, it's critical to consider the ideological underpinnings of political realism and neo-colonialism to better understand the bilateral relationship. Political realism, according to certain political scientists and theorists, covers approaches that offer more autonomy to various political ideas (Williams, 2005, pp. 67-69). The author claims that the political domain's sovereignty is drilled through judgment, which is undermined by economic, legal, military, and moral standards. According to Galston, "acceptable standards of judgment come from within politics rather than from an external moral norm" in political realism (Galston, 2010, p. 388).

Others have provided a more detailed explanation of the hegemony described here. "The leadership by a single stronger partner of several less powerful, but autonomous partners, conducted for the mutual benefit of all parties concerned," according to Warner (2006). (Warner, 2006, p. 3).

From a global perspective, Wallerstein (1983, pp. 100-108), conceptualizes the term 'hegemony.' The author believes that in a capitalist world when a state has powerful military, financial, political, and cultural might, it mobilizes its troops and coordinates peripheral elites to establish and uphold economic laws. Through ideological or institutional mechanisms, India is often regarded to have dominance and hegemonic aspirations in Nepal. India, as a hegemon, uses its economic and military might to pursue a neocolonial goal of maintaining political supremacy over Nepal.

When a state possesses significant military, economical, political, and cultural power, the author argues that it mobilizes its forces and coordinates outer elites to develop and enforce economic laws. A neo-colony is forced to conduct economic transactions

and trade with imperialist powers rather than having the freedom to trade goods on international marketplaces. In such a condition, the neocolony is stripped of its ability to shape its destiny. Long after the empire has ended, the activities and effects of some colonial leftover traits and agents can be found in a given civilization. Despite gaining freedom, post-colonial studies have found that colonialism and its agents continue to have a strong presence in the lives of most former colonies. Nepal is a sovereign and autonomous country to what extent? Do Nepalese people live in an open and independent nation? Unlike W.H. Auden, he says in 'An Anonymous Citizen' that the '[q]uestion remains senseless,' the answer in this context remains ludicrous. When such problems are posed, some scholars believe they represent the Kathmandu elites' 'fear psychosis' and small state complexity' (Upreti, 2016, pp. 107-113).

Nepal's geostrategic location can occasionally overrule established theories' core assumptions. Since the country's unification, Nepal has been fighting for its survival. The 1950 peace and friendship treaty with Indian Independence, the 1953 extradition pact with India, and other agreements have all permitted India to legitimately employ its hegemonic plans on Nepal (K.C. 2072, pp. 34-37). Following the defeat of India's attempt to compel Nepal not to promulgate the constitution, and the embargo it enforced to punish resistance, the Modi government has changed tactics. Rather than directly pressuring Nepal, India is exhibiting its desire to engage with the nation on its problems and concerns but postponing any concrete results. There is a gap between intent and language. India has failed to fulfill its pledges on time in bilateral development endeavors such as hydro accords, leading to Nepalese doubt regarding India's plans to follow the Mahankali Agreement by beginning work on the Pancheswar hydropower plant. In the form of unbalanced treaties and agreements, the framework of bilateral ties between Nepal and India gives India the upper hand. Nepal's politicians should be able to assert their authority as a participant in the relationship. Structures "assign diverse talents and, in most situations, different advantages to multiple places" and "create self-awareness and subjective needs" (Barnett & Duvall, 2005, p. 53).

Foundations have bidirectional effects; even the weakest agents reproduce and may affect structures. The dominant and oppressed are mutually constitutive, and the actions of the weaker state have the power to modify oppressive and unfair political structures. Nepal's political leadership can exert pressure on India to revise prior

bilateral agreements that have affected the country's sovereignty, global dignity, and right to advance national interests. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nepal outlines the government's resolve to review prior treaties and construct treaties and agreements based on fairness and cooperation (Article 5, 1). It argues that the state's diplomatic ties should be focused on enhancing the nation's honor in the global community by maintaining supreme legal authority in international affairs while protecting the country's freedom, national sovereignty, and independence. In reality, with each shift in the management and, particularly, the leader, there is a trend of moving foreign policy orientations. Nepal's international policy has followed that path for a long time.

India must reassess its ties with its South Asian neighbors, particularly Nepal, after abandoning its neocolonial hegemony. In the case of Nepal, India ought to be ready to rethink bilateral ties in the context of the new scenario, not just in words but in practice. Because of its domestic matters, India, like China, could have security issues, and Nepal ought to be cautious in reacting to any security issues stated by its neighbors. Problems arising from the free movement of people, such as counterfeit currency, an increase in crime, terrorist activities, illegal business, drug, and people trafficking, and so on, are constantly a cause of rising tensions.

Neither the realism nor the liberal perspective can account for all aspects of Nepal-India relations. Only through the prism of neocolonial theory can we reveal the unmapped components of Indian hegemony that have stayed hidden. Many aspects of Nepal-India ties are truly unique, and these links go beyond bilateral contacts. People from different areas of life are united by these bonds. Furthermore, the social, religious, and spiritual ties between the two countries and people have existed since the dawn of time. In contrast, the relations between Nepal and India have long been fraught with inconsistencies (Saran, 2017, pp. 43-45). India's hegemonic position in Nepal is well-documented in realpolitik, to the extent where it has frequently thwarted Nepal's achievements.

5.8 Water Issues between Nepal and India

Water is recognized as a valuable commodity and is required for human survival at all times. That is why having it gives you power. Water is a strategic commodity because of its rarity and ownership in geopolitical mechanics, and its importance as a key asset or susceptibility cannot be overstated. Water can thus become a resource of both disagreement and collaboration in the modern world when viewed in this light. In the

case of India and Nepal, groundwater is becoming a major source of contention between the two countries. Many geopolitical analysts believe that future disagreements over water will be a major cause of conflict between the two countries. Nepal is dissatisfied with India's proposal to build large dams and divert river water to its benefit. Because much water flows from Nepal to India, the nations must improve their understanding of water sharing and other river-related benefits. Nepal's strategic dominance over these rivers, on the other hand, allows her to balance India on a variety of issues. A thorough examination of the two countries' water challenges is essential.

CHAPTER-VI

MEASURES FOSTERING NEPAL-INDIA RELATIONS

6.1 Resolution of Border Disputes

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

Border management between Nepal and India involves organizing and joint institutional arrangements, border area development initiatives, implementation of unified check posts in customs, a joint border task force, a joint mechanism for resolving border disputes, and security force mobilization, among other things. Integrated planning ensures the security of borders, the welfare of border residents and their integration into the accessing network, the prompt resolution of boundary problems, and the maintenance of cordial bilateral relations between the two countries, and this will necessitate some diplomatic acumen on the part of border defending force commanders, as well as a clear-cut mutually agreeable framework for resolving issues. Nepal is surrounded on three sides by India. The border problem is getting worse every day as a result of the open and unregulated border system. In comparison to other sides, the south side has more encroachment. It began to rise gradually after the Sugauli Treaty.

To be more explicit, there began to be an upsurge in border territorial disputes between Nepal and India after 1947 AD, that is, after India's independence. The Mechi River's source, the Antu Hill region, Ramnagar's territory, the north side of

Chure Mountain to the south side, the jungle, and other regions are considered contested border locations. The encroaching dispute in the Dashgaja sector has arisen as a result of demographic growth in India, the destruction of Nepal's four-sided forest or bush by Indians, and the invasion of Nepal's land. Susta, Arra, Nala, Tal Bagonda, and other disputed border locations are devoid of boundary pillars.

When Nepal's democracy was founded in 2007 BS, encroachment in the Kalapani-Limpiyadhura and Susta areas began to increase. The Indian people continued to trespass on Nepalese land by cutting down trees in the jungle after the ballot in 2036 BS. Susta's invasion of other dwelling places grew in lockstep with Susta's. Even after the restoration of democracy in 2046 BS, land encroachment continued in various locations. Every year during the rainy season's large flood, Nepalese territories have been sinking in various spots due to these walls and embankments (Paudyal, 2013, pp. 37-38).

Land invasion increased in places like Shreeantu Guphapatal in Ilam, Someshwor in Chitwan, Jhitkaiya in Bara, the 10 yards (Dashgaja) zone of Koilawas in Dang, Khaba check post, and Gurung check post when Nepal became a republic in 2065 BS. The invasion of the borderland is still going on. The incursion will persist for two reasons: the first is Nepal's political turmoil, and the second is political parties' slowness in forming and reforming governments. Major parties are not giving serious attention to this issue. Because of the Himalayan Range, Nepal does not have a border issue with China, but it has a boundary dispute with India due to its vast and flat plains. Of Nepal's 26 districts that share a border with India, 21 districts, in 54 locations, are experiencing Indian territorial violations. The Indian Army has encroached on the 372 square kilometers between Kalapani and Limpiyadhura. Many Nepalese voices were heard in support of it, but those voices seem to have vanished into the sky. Those who are concerned about nationality, on the other hand, are aware of the problem (Shrestha, 2057, p. 331).

The Kali River is the border between the two countries, according to the Sugauli Treaty. The source of the Mahakali River has yet to be discovered. And it is for this reason that there is a disagreement about it. The Kali River's origin is still a topic of contention. The three spots that have yet to be discovered are Limpiyadhura, Lipulek, and Kali temple, which are the origin of the Kali River. The Kali River originates at Limpiyadhura, according to historical maps and chronicles. It is the largest area of land that India has encroached upon In 2065 BS Magsir 10, then-External Affairs

Minister Pranab Mukharjee paid a visit to Nepal. During his visit, he stated that the border conflict between Kalapani and Susta should be resolved through negotiation. To persuade India, the Kalapani controversy can be resolved by reviewing old records and papers.

When the Narayani River gets a new course and cuts Nepal's land to the west due to the heavy rains during the monsoon season, the Indian Government has claimed the land behind the river as its own and keeps the new flow of water as the boundary. The main example of land invasion as a result of this cause is the border dispute at Susta. The Indian side has encroached on Bhendiyari, Dhanaiya, and the region between the river's jerk at Susta. The invasion in the Susta region is spreading to the Susta residents. The ground at Susta has been encroached upon for 14,000 years, from 1902 BC to the present. Similarly, the Narayani River appears to be a threat in Driven VDC ward 4. To solve the Susta problem, the Narayani River's path should be determined, and Junge pillars should be placed on both banks of the river. This problem has emerged as a consequence of India's border dam and embankment construction.

The problem of plunging or sinking Nepal land has been developed as a result of dam and embankment development along the international borderline. As a result, a border issue has arisen. If India develops a series of chain dams, most of the plain area will be flooded, causing greater problems. Banke's Laxmanpur dam, Rupandehi's Rasiyawal-Khurlotan dam, Kapilwastu's Mahalisagar dam, Dang's Koilabas dam, Kanchanpur's Purnagiri dam, Rupandehi's Danda-pharma dam, and Rautahat's Bairganiya ring dam India's border conflicts with its neighbors, like most border disputes, are symptomatic of broader bilateral relations. Boundaries are expressions of a country's identity. They can be used as wartime tripwires. Recent events in the South suggest that a diplomatic solution to these conflicts is becoming increasingly elusive. An international border system connecting Nepal and India is in the best interests of the two nations' border residents, and it serves as a model for many other countries around the world.

However, there is no reciprocity among those living on the border on both sides of the Nepal-China border. Because India and China are the world's two fastest-growing economies, Nepal should take full advantage of them. For this purpose, Nepal should enlist the help of its two neighbors to optimize the country's development efforts. Insofar as they benefit the Nepalese economy, there is nothing wrong with Indian or Chinese-funded initiatives. Conflict and trade are mutually exclusive in the

democratic peace literature. Trade is disrupted by conflict, thus states want to prevent losing any trade benefits. As a result, rather than turning to a military option, they choose a peaceful approach to resolve their differences. States that trade with one another are less prone to get into fights. This provided significant evidence that trading between territorial claims is decreased. As a result, we have no way of knowing whether earlier territorial claims were able to increase sales once the claims were resolved. When territorial issues are addressed amicably, bilateral trade between nations should grow great, but if a territorial conflict is resolved violently, there should be less influence.

Even if there are border disputes between Nepal and India, both nations understand the necessity of protecting their political and financial interests. India's geopolitical interests in Nepal originate from its attempt to keep a peaceful international atmosphere, establish cordial relations with all states, especially its neighborhood, prevent the formation of anti-India alliances, and, finally, create new markets, and investment opportunities, and funds to help the country grow economically. Despite the inherited bilateral challenges, India needs amicable relations with Nepal to fulfill all of these goals. India's focus on internal development, on the other hand, motivates it to create positive relations with Nepal. However, due to the historical heritage of Nepal-India relations, India's attitude toward developing amicable relations with Nepal remains ambiguous to some extent. Nepal and India have many interests, particularly in the areas of domestic development and economic change, due to their comparable cultures and societies. India's economy is booming, yet Nepal has a massive trade deficit with India.

The so-called "cartographic war" has sparked nationalist fervor on both sides of the border in recent weeks, and Nepal has demanded that India withdraw its troops from the Kalapani region. Rakesh Sood, India's former ambassador to Nepal, remarked, "The rising rhetoric on territorial nationalism on both sides is not beneficial for bilateral relations." In truth, India has had control of all three contested territories for the past 60 years or so, and the people who live there are now Indian citizens who pay taxes in India and vote in Indian elections. Nepali leaders believe that they were unable to raise the border dispute with India due to the country's decades-long political crisis, which was followed by a Maoist-led insurgency. Nepal was a landlocked country that relied on Indian supplies for many years, and India was involved in Nepal's affairs. However, Nepal has drifted away from India's influence in

recent years, and China has slowly filled the void with investments, help, and loans. Nepal is a significant participant in China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and the Chinese government wants to invest in Nepal's infrastructure as part of its broad plans to enhance global trade.

The assigned borderline between the two countries is mentioned in the treaty agreement report, and accordingly, by constructing border pillars the map is drawn (Shrestha, 2057: 139). As we know, Nepal is surrounded by India from three sides. The map of Nepal has been drawn a long time back. Nepal India Joint Technical Committee had been formed in 1981 for this purpose and it worked for 26 years before it was dissolved in January 2007. The borderline between Nepal and India is 1808 km; of this, the Committee settled 98 percent of border demarcation disputes and prepared 182 strip maps. And 8,553 border pillars have been erected. Surveyors from both Nepal and India have put their signatures on those maps. Only two percent of work remains, including in the disputed regions of Susta and Kalapani. Before reaching an agreement and signing it, we must first comprehend the remaining 2% of the disputed region. That is, we must comprehend the locations that remain to be drawn on the map? And how many of the 182 set maps are clear and correct? What else would we do when the mapping appears to be precise and true on the surface but is incorrect? On the other hand, how many of the 8,553 boundary pillars have been placed in former areas or correct places? For this reason, we should conduct a study before putting our signatures on both sides.

Apart from that, we need to look at why India is so eager to join this problem. It is a major concern for Nepal. The Nepalese people want to know if the maps is created exactly as it was during the period of the Sugauli Treaty, that is, whether it has been based on old records and documented testimony or not. In a global framework, all countries agreed to sign treaties on the border problem only when the task is done. They sign the treaty accord paper when there are no issues.

Except for Susta and Kalapani, India argues that there is no disagreement over the Nepal-India border. India is in a haste to sign onto the project's completion. However, India may have a secret and nefarious motivation. We should be aware of it in advance. India claims that 98 percent of the border conflict has been resolved. There has been a disagreement between Nepal and India in around 54 locations. This should be made obvious to academics, historians, and future discoveries. We've just heard reports of Nepali land being encroached upon at 22 checkpoints in the dang district, as

well as Indian police persecution in the area. In this regard, we must ascertain the facts as soon as possible. We can think of it as a very little piece of land based on the 2% work. But it isn't a little plot of land. It refers to a 37-kilometer-long swath of land.

We should take a strong stance in this area, refusing to grant India even a small acre of land. The two countries' border conflicts should be resolved amicably and respectfully through conversation. If a third country is required to mediate the conflict, we should be prepared to ask for assistance. If we are unable to handle the matter in this manner, we should seek assistance from the United Nations. However, if the problem cannot be resolved, we should be prepared to take the matter to an international court after that, the issue should be handled diplomatically at the political level. Only the most complex and contentious issues should be addressed by the nation and government leaders. If a small portion of the territory is designated as a foreign land, the people who live there may be considered foreigners. That is, if the boundary line shifts, the persons on one side of the border become citizens of another. Their family on the other border were compelled to leave them. It diminishes community members' social standing. As a consequence, we must keep this in mind.

The government's leader should work to resolve the border dispute while maintaining national unity. We should not look for our job, politics, or power in such a situation. The importance of nationality should be prioritized. The border issue is a highly sensitive topic for all countries. If the tiny piece of land continues to invade, eventually a large piece of land will encroach, putting the country's existence in jeopardy. We should not keep such a problem hidden; rather, we should be open about it. The two countries' local level authorities can help find a solution to the border problem. In the context of Nepal-India, the Chief District Administrator may attempt to resolve the conflict. We must be dedicated to resolving internal tensions and ending the long-running and stormy issue in the country's interest by reaching a national consensus. We can reach an agreement through mutual understanding, debate, and agreement between the two countries. When dealing with this situation, both countries should seek justice, reason, and cooperation. These may be the most effective methods for resolving the issue.

Both nations' elements are shared equally via boundary pillars and borderlines. This is a shared asset between the two countries. Both sides are affected if any of the boundary pillars are missing. Both sides' border administrators should periodically

inspect and study boundary line items such as pillars. We need to figure out what other options there are for solving the situation. After that, we should deal with each other respectfully and cordially on a political level. We should go ahead and complete our studies on the complicated border problem of Kalapani (Shrestha,2057,p.17).

Nepal and India must get down for negotiation, discussion, and mutual understanding to overcome the problem of border encroachment. Despite Nepal's repeated requests for India to halt encroaching on its border, India has not responded. India tends to be dominant. Nepal is experiencing territory encroachment as a result of this. Furthermore, the security issue is growing by the day. It would be a foolish diplomatic attempt to sign the boundary agreement paper without first specifying the encroached regions and Junge pillars. Both governments should perform observation methods in the disputed territory and review pre-recorded data. If we find a way to strengthen relations between the two countries, we should have serious bilateral negotiations. Bringing the agreement in front of the people, or displaying it to them, is the best way to do it. In regions where land has been encroached upon, the Junge pillar should be raised first, followed by the signature on the map. In certain cases, the map may be accurate, but the land has been encroached upon; in this case, our efforts will be worthless. The signature should not be placed on the agreement page until all border disputes have been resolved. If the current rate of incursion continues, and we keep silent, millions of citizens will become aliens shortly, placing our country and identity in great danger.

Nepal is unwilling to alter its status anytime soon now that these areas have formed a fundamental element of the country's constitution. Nepal's new political map has been dubbed India's "artificial enlargement" by India. Even though the fact that various bilateral initiatives exist—including the capital, water resources, defense cooperation, educational partnerships, and flood management—the boundary dispute is unlikely to be resolved anytime soon, thereby prolonging friction in the bilateral ties. Both countries' political parties may begin to utilize the border conflict as a political instrument to achieve their internal agendas, further severing ties. The border dispute is unlikely to be addressed very soon, which might prolong tensions in bilateral cooperation in general. Both countries' political parties may begin to utilize the border conflict as a political instrument to achieve their internal agendas, further severing ties.

The Nepal-India boundary dispute encompasses several bigger geopolitical issues on the peninsula, including historic demarcations, Indian troop presence, and the Beijing factor. To begin with, the Nepali government's claim to the land is based on historical documents that contain disputed geographic data. People in the contested Kalapani area voted in the general elections in 1959 and participated in revenue generation in 1961, according to these papers. "We have advised them [India] to acknowledge and respect the historical realities that Nepal's western boundary is the Kali River," Nepal's Foreign Affairs Minister Pradeep Gyawali said, referring to the Sugauli Treaty of 1861, which established the border between Nepal and then-British India. Although Nepal claims that its Kali River originated in Limpiyadhura, India disputes this claim because it would establish that the region is Nepalese. Nepal now believes India is attempting to claim the region by constructing an artificial Kali River, and it is preparing to transmit an updated map to the UN institutions.

Second, Nepal has long disliked India's deployment of troops in Kalapani following the 1962 India-China War, and India has refused to evacuate these troops despite Nepal's repeated requests. After the war, India first stationed troops in Kalapani due to its strategic importance to China. In absence of suitable political conversation mechanisms, this problem has simply become worse. KP Sharma Oli, Nepal's current Prime Minister, has openly stated that India caused the conflict by retaining its army in the country and that India should withdraw its military to respect Nepal's sovereignty. Third, China's growing influence on the Nepal-India boundary issues is significant. China says that the conflict is a bilateral matter that must be resolved between the two nations, but it has also backed Nepal. "The Chinese side always has recognized [the] integrity and sovereignty of the Nepali side," the Chinese ambassador stated. Many in Delhi believe Nepal upped the border conflict as a result of Chinese pressure, possibly because of remarks like these.

Experts feel that China could "exploit Nepal as just another pressure level for India to extract certain concessions and boost its relations with Nepal," for example. In response, Nepal claims that it brought the topic up on its own, without any outside pressure. Nepal has misgivings about China as well because, in 2015, India and China decided to use the troubled Lipulekh territories as a trade pass without informing Nepal. In response to Nepal's protests, China's stance on the disputed areas has not altered, but it is unclear what that position is. All of these events have pushed Nepal's government to be more careful in its diplomacy. First and foremost,

amid the India-China confrontation, Nepal's administration must strive hard to strike a balance between the two powers. Nepal has always been pressured to take sides in the dispute between the two nations, but it has always remained neutral. Experts warn Nepal may be forced to choose between India and China if the India-China crisis escalates. Given the boundary conflict, this could damage bilateral relations between India and Nepal.

While the conflict is unlikely to be resolved anytime soon due to both countries' hardening attitudes, starting a dialogue could be a good first step. Incendiary remarks from politicians of both parties have not helped the discussions move further. However, Nepal is expected to modify its founding documents again and maintains confidence that it will be able to persuade India to evacuate its troops from Kalapani, despite India's apparent unwillingness to do so due to the region's strategic importance. As a result, the chances of finding solutions shortly are limited, but communication countries must improve before they can start working on one. To rebuild trust, both countries should initiate a thorough bilateral political conversation, including and especially addressing the border conflict issue. This type of open and honest discussion would aid in the development of the trust that is required to address the border issue. To settle the border dispute, the two countries must first establish a climate of confidence at the highest levels of government. A broad bilateral political discussion would aid in the development of the trust envirtrustingt needed to resolve the border dispute.

6.2 Amendment in Unequal Treaties and Agreement

Nepal-India relations have been under the security and solidarity Treaty since the early 1950s. Nepal-India ties have had a lot of ups and downs in terms of politics. Before unification, Nepal was not considered an independent political state. From 1845 to 1845, Nepal followed the foreign strategy laid forth by Prithivi Narayan Shah during the Rana monarchy, which aimed to isolate and pacify the entire world and British India, respectively. The British signed a treaty with Nepal in 1923 that acknowledged Nepal as a sovereign nation, although Nepal had little independence in areas of international affairs and defense. However, stipulations of the 1950s treaty placed Nepal under India's security sphere and became like a nail within a shoe worn. India's political movements, viewpoints, and major events have always had an undue influence on Nepal, but this was extremely difficult because history proves that the

campaign of 1857 and the legislature movement of 1885 both had a significant impact on Nepal, and some Nepalese leaders took part in the the the both.

This tension arose not just as a result of power shifts in India, but also as a result of developments in Kathmandu and the need for reform and betterment in governance by Nepalese major parties and the general public. The open border policy of India toward Nepal was inspired by its political view, experiences, and expectations, but the hidden part was to steer Nepali politics in the direction they preferred. India has always desired a stable democratic government weak governments in India, such as the Ranas in 1950, the Panchayat in 1989/90, and King Gyanendra's autocracy rule in 2005, always put vested interests first. During the 1950s, a significant demand for democratic reforms arose in Nepal, and as a result, the country's leadership consented to make some changes. India welcomed reforms and wanted them to happen according to democracy's rules, but it never sought to overhaul the entire system at once. Pandit Nehru once warned that if everything changes at once, it will only exacerbate Nepal's problems (Shaha, 1968, pp. 53-56).

The bilateral treaty signed in 1950 by both Nepal and India was aimed at establishing a desired and favored relationship. The Ranas were waning and needed Indian backing to stay in power, thus this pact was made. Unfortunately, the treaty was broken after three months, and Ranarchy was swept out. The contract was frequently likened to the Treaty of Versailles since the signatories were not of comparable standing; one was CPN SINGH, the Indian ambassador to Nepal, and the other was Prime Minister Mohan Shumser of Nepal. Civilians have been drawn into anti-Indian actions by the unilateral, controlling, and humiliating provision of Nepali sovereign independence. Articles ii, iv, v, vi, and vii, in general, are punishable.

According to Articles 6 and 7 of such treaty, the two states agree to offer, on a shared basis, the same rights and protections in matters of household, ownership of assets, involvement in trade and business, mobility, and other special rights of similar nature to residents of one nation in territories of the other. This allows Nepali and Indian citizens to freely cross borders without requiring passports or visas, work and live in either country, own property, and engage in commerce or trade-in with either country. As a result of the treaty, there are a substantial number of Nepalese residing, holding property, working, or doing business. In Nepal, numerous Indians live, acquire property, and conduct business. The pact's positive feature is that it recognizes Nepalese sovereignty, and the latest debate on the 1950s Nepal-India Peace and

Friendship Treaty began, marking the first time India and Nepal formally debated the treaty article by article. Nepal's request for a review of Articles 2, 5, 6, and 7 of the treaty is greatly appreciated, as the treaty's provisions have harmed Nepal's sovereignty and put it at a disadvantage in terms of trade, economic development, and people moving between the two countries. The fact that Nepal has expressed reservations about the treaty's clauses gives India the upper hand in dictating Nepalese international security policy.

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

Indian annexation of Sikkim (1975) reflected Indian intervention policy towards small nations. It is also argued that this treaty of Peace and Friendship is an outmoded treaty and derogations from it are commonplace. Since both countries have let many of their provisions to fall into disuse in the last 50 years, the time has come to review the treaty and replace it with a new one. Nepal has a fear psychology that India had forced Nepalese to leave North-eastern states i.e. Assam and Meghalaya in the late 1980s. That's why; Nepal argues that India should not expect Nepal to conform to a treaty to which India itself is unable to confirm. Another argument of Nepal is about the influx of Indian Labor into Nepal. The small country cannot bear the Indians' flow

in Nepal. Likewise, this treaty is described not only as unequal but as an attack on Nepal's sovereignty on the ground that the circumstances in which the treaty was signed have changed and therefore, there is no relevance of this treaty anymore. The next but vital criticism of this treaty is surrounded by the politico-strategic aspects of the same. It is alleged that India has been more concerned about its strategic and security interests in the Himalayas and has ignored Nepal's sovereignty (article 5).

Likewise, Nepal has reservations about clause 6 which allows the citizens to participate in the industrial and national development in each other's country, and clause 7, which grants the citizen the right to reside, own property, participate in trade and commerce and enjoy other privileges in one another's country. The demand of India for reciprocal 'National treatment' for its citizens in Nepalese territory and access to all of Nepal's Natural resources, while Nepalese citizens are being discriminated against while acquiring property in India is inconsistent with India's exercise of full sovereignty over the years, there have been many instances when India has ignored the provisions of the treaty. If we see article 2, also shows serious conditions targeting checking Chinese security or possible entrance into Nepal. But the Indian eyes on the provisions of the treaty are opposite to Nepal. India still wants to continue this treaty standstill. But due to the high pressure on Nepal and Nepali people, India become ready to have negotiations bilaterally and EPG was formed (Bhesh Bahadur Thapa, Nilambar Acharya, Surya Nath Upadhyaya Rajan Bhattarai FROM NEPALI SIDE AND Bhagat Singh Koshiyari, BC Upreti M P Lama and Jayanta Prasad from Indian side) whereas prime minister Man Mohanari, the president of the CPN (UML), had formally raised the voice for the timely revision of the treaty.

Together, the revolting Maoists also gave stressed the need for the amendment of the treaty before starting the insurgency. They had presented forty points demanding giving priority to this issue. While the demand for the revision, repeal, or amendment of the treaty, has been taken by India, as the growing tie between Nepal and China. The relationship between Nepal and China during the first and present Oli's primer time is rapidly increasing which has been taken psychological threat to India. But the Madhesi parties believe that border management is an inevitable corollary to revision with devastating the special relationship between the people of Terai of Nepal and Bihar as well as Uttar Pradesh of India. The traditional ties of *Roti-Beti* in the region cannot be ignored by those proposing revision. India has expressed its readiness to

'review' the treaty, the discourse on the revision of the 1950's treaty in the decade resulted in EPG and it worked seriously through its two years tenure with nine bilateral meetings.

The notion of revision of the treaty got speedy pace during the time of K P Oli's priministership and both the Government- appointed Eminent Persons Group (EPG) with the mandate (following the meeting between Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli and Prime Minister Narendra Modi on 20 February 2016 included taking a serious look at a possible review of the friendship treaty which was concluded decades ago) to make rigorous discussions. Dr. Bhes Bahadur Thapa, coordinator of the Nepali team to the EPG urged for the betterment of border policing and effective regulation of the movement of people, the border between the two sides is already delineated and the border posts are already in place but many of these marks are damaged indicating poor maintenance. Mr. Thapa explained that the India-Nepal boundary needs to be updated with new security measures to stop cross-border crimes and ensure a regulated flow of people. The EPG was formed on February 20, 2016, during Mr. K.P. Sharma Oli's travel to India, to mark the end of the Madhesi agitators' blockade along Nepal's southern border.

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

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

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

The meeting is focused on analyzing or re-evaluating the treaties, contracts, and frameworks between the two countries, making out a roadmap of the bilateral relationship that is marked by social, economic, religious, and cultural elements, of bilateral ties. Nepal has presented to review and reframe the Nepal-India Friendship Treaty, which can be the bedrock of contemporary between both south Asian nations, i.e. Nepal and India.

The EPG was founded in January 2016 by the governments of Nepal and India to resolve longstanding bilateral difficulties between the two countries. Its mandate was to review all disputed elements of Nepal-India relations and update bilateral agreements and treaties. The joint mechanism, which included specialists and scholars from Nepal and India, as well as four representatives from each country, made every effort to provide an acceptable report. They were given the task of reviewing several elements of bilateral relations, including the 1950 Nepal-India Friendship Treaty and making recommendations on how to improve bilateral ties. The Nepali side had provided facts and figures at a previous EPG conference regarding the necessity to

evaluate the Nepal-India Peace and Friendship Accord of 1950 and amend it as time and circumstances demanded. The pact is a bilateral agreement between Nepal and India aiming at forging a strong strategic partnership between the two South Asian countries. It was hosted by Nepalese Prime Minister Mohan Shamsheer Jung B. Rana and then-Indian Ambassador to Nepal Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Singh on July 31, 1950, in Kathmandu. The pact contains ten articles that allow free movement of persons and commerce between the two countries, as well as close cooperation and defense cooperation.

On numerous occasions, Nepal has made steps to counter India's undue influence. To counterbalance India, it has played the China card. It implemented a job permit system for Indian laborers in 1988, as well as a slew of other discriminatory policies towards Indians, all in contravention of the treaty's spirit. India has attempted to secure Nepalese compliance in a variety of ways, which the Nepalese have described as coercive and heavy-handed. Surprisingly, despite objections from both nations on some topics, the pact has persisted to this day. Furthermore, there is currently an agreement that the treaty has to be revised in light of the changing regional and international landscape. According to the facts, Nepal will remain reliant on India. India will also have to acknowledge the historical linkages with Nepal and the strategic importance of developing a multi-faceted partnership in the future. India has to adopt a liberal approach toward providing trade and transit facilities for Nepal and closely coordinate its security policies to counter emerging threats from non-state actors. Given the close socio-cultural linkages and the propensity of the people in the bordering regions to connect, the borders should ideally be kept open with joint regulatory mechanisms. The new treaty needs to factor in all these perspectives and usher in a new partnership between the two countries in course of fostering the political relations between two countries.

6.3 Avoidance of Blockades

The unofficial or undeclared blockade of India was a bad move. It was a diplomatic gesture on the part of India. Nepal serves as a crossroads for trade between China and India. Nepal is catching the world's attention from Mt. Everest, the world's highest peak, and Lumbini, the Buddha's Eye, which is monitoring the globe with love and compassion. Bhutan is a secular democratic republic encircled on three sides by India and one side by China. Both India and China are famed for their beauty and Buddhist

and Hindu cultural ideals, but Bhutan is a secular democratic country encircled on three sides by India and one side by China. In Nepal, Hindu population of 80% and a Buddhist population of 10%. From a socio-cultural standpoint, Nepal is quite near to India; nevertheless, China is physically, linguistically, and in terms of Tibet issues, it is very far away. Many communist leaders want China to join the mainstream in the same way that India has, but China is uninterested in internal matters. Nepal serves as a haven for both of them. India has a strong presence in Nepal, and China is wary of Nepalese diplomacy.

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

The treaty was signed by Nepal's then-Prime Minister, Mohan Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana, and India's Ambassador to Nepal, Chandreshwar Narayan Singh, with the goal of "strengthening and developing [rrrrr] ties and perpetuating the the the peace between the two countries." For nationals of both countries, freedom of movement was created, allowing them to live, work, and study in each other's countries. Nonetheless, because Nepal lacks access to the sea, the treaty's ramifications kept Nepal increasingly reliant on India for commerce, particularly for the passage of seaborne imports and exports. The Indo-Nepal Trade and Transit Treaty of 1960 strengthened this trade link even more, as the former kingdom of Nepal became completely reliant on India for all of its needs. This over-dependence was exposed decades later in 1989 when India put an economic blockade on Nepal as a result of its displeasure with the country's growing ties with China. The 1950s Peace and Friendship Treaty made it impossible for Nepal to import armaments from any

country other than India. India replied by imposing a new blockade after Nepal ordered small arms and anti-aircraft guns from China without informing India, slapped an additional 50% tax on Indian exports, and cut the charge on Chinese goods by 10%. These military agreements could be a response by the Nepalese government to Indian security experts' claims that "Nepal, like Belgium, is unable to maintain its security and thus militarily becomes a porous border between India and China." Although India saw the embargo as retaliation for Nepal's noncompliance with the treaty, it served as a reminder to Nepal of its relative powerlessness—that its sovereignty was a favor conferred by the Indian government rather than a right.

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

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

As a result of the disruption, the lives of Nepalese people have been made difficult. Due to the lack of public transit, which is unable to function regularly due to fuel shortages, students, and office employees were unable to finish their work. Due to a

lack of medicine, patients are unable to receive medical treatment. People that live near Panitanki can arrange for their daily needs, although at a higher price. People in the most remote parts of the Jhapa district and neighboring districts, on the other hand, are in dire straits. In this section of Nepal, there have been no reports of violence or political protests. The Nepali authorities are baffled as to why the Indian government's administration decided to either suspend or slow down vehicle travel .

Nepal's and India's geographical contexts have a significant role in determining their relations. Nepal and India share not only a vast and open border but also a long and rich cultural history. "Sphere of Indian Influence," "Special Relationship," "Equal Relationship with All," "Big Brother Role," "Dominating Power," "Zone of Peace," and "Panchayat Regime" were among the several kinds of ties between Nepal and India. Despite their closeness and pleasant relationships, they also had a lot of irritants. Nepal finally attained political stability, except for a few issues, on September 20, 2015, when it adopted a constitution. This was something Nepal has yearned for a long time. As Prime Minister Narendra Modi mentioned during his two-day trip to Nepal on the 3rd and 4th of August 2014, now is the time for Nepal to consider all facets of its relations with India, because both nations can benefit from each other's development, and promise to take all appropriate measures to take relations to new heights. With these events, it would be intriguing to watch what kind of connection Nepal will keep with India. India-Nepal ties have struck rock bottom in the last year, resulting in a state of complete confusion, full of accusations and diversion in a variety of ways. It was not the first occasion that relations between the two countries deteriorated. India-Nepal relations have had a difficult history since 1950, despite lengthy historical, social, and cultural similarities, an open border, substantial commercial and transit links, and a firm foundation of relationships in the shape of the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship. (Patel, pp. 73-79, 2017).

When political parties, such as KP Oli, focus on India's problems during elections, the discomfort of being blocked is overlooked in the interest of improving bilateral relations. India has not taken the matter seriously because of the socio-economic implications for health, education, transport, energy, fuel, commerce, and the economy. Even though the earthquake destroyed 10,000 people and damaged millions, India decided to play the game by inventing conspiracy theories. Leaders may neglect, but people do not, and India must regret its treatment of Nepal's people and embrace the 2015 con constitution several-ranking Chinese officials toured

Kathmandu in the run-up to September 20, 2016. Similarly, numerous key Nepalese politicians, including Dahal, had visited China. India was wary about this. In India's opinion, the suspicion of developing links between Nepal and China was confirmed when the three major parties decided to proclaim the constitution without informing India. A few on the Indian side believe that without China's support, Nepali leadership would have not acted as openly.

In a not-so-subtle insult to India, major party leaders began claiming that they had overcome huge challenges to bring the constitution to fruition. However, New Delhi's reaction to Kathmandu and Beijing's perceived proximity was misguided. Even in the best of times, Nepal-China relations cannot compare to the broad linkages that exist between Nepal and India, not only between the authorities but also between the two peoples. And one need only look at the political map of Nepal to see that Nepal has no choice but to be friendly with India, with all of its territory entirely immersed in the Indian landmass and just its border area abutting Tibet (Baral, 2016, March, 2). India's concern over the place of the Madhesi people in the new constitution is understandable; so are some of its strategic concerns. But given the enormous leverage, New Delhi has in Kathmandu, these agendas are best pursued behind the scenes. The recent history of Nepal is a testament to the fact that if India wants something in Nepal, it usually gets its way, and though far less coercive means. If India wants to maintain its preeminent role in Nepal in the long run, it must learn to treat Nepal as a sovereign country that is capable of dealing with its problems. Otherwise, the Chinese rail is set to come up to Nepal's border by 2022. All the nine road links between Nepal and Tibet are now being upgraded following the Indian embargo. The prospect of regular trade between Nepal and China through the Tibetan plateau is no longer fanciful. The choice is for India to make. The Nepali political establishment understands that in the long run economics triumphs. It will always cost Nepal less to import goods from the plains of India than to have them transported through the rugged terrain of Tibet. But the recent surge in anti-India sentiments in Nepal also means that most Nepalese won't mind paying a little more if it means they will no longer have to rely on the whims and fancies of Indian leaders for their bread and butter.

The feeling in Kathmandu is that though late, there has been a realization in New Delhi that the embargo was counterproductive. This is why India quickly capitalized

on the face-saver offered by Kathmandu: the amendment of the constitution to accommodate some demands of the agitating Madheshi parties. But after five months of unmitigated hardship, the pressure from ordinary Nepalese on their politicians to ‘diversify’ Nepal away from India has never been higher. In 1989, the Rajiv Gandhi-led government imposed an economic blockade against Nepal because of a dispute over transit treaties and its uneasiness over Nepal’s growing closeness with China. As the Minister of Commerce and Supply, Nar Bahadur Budhathoki was responsible for ensuring the smooth management of supplies. “Coincidentally, the 1989 blockade also took place after an earthquake,” said Budhathoki. Rather than kowtowing to India, the Panchayat government led by Marich Man Shrestha prepared to bring in fuel from other nations when the transit treaty came close to its expiration. “The government decided to import oil through the private sector. Soon after, India announced an official blockade,” he said (Bhattarai, 2015 Oct 9-15).

The government then started planning ways to end the blockade. Firewood was distributed at a subsidized price, and so were electric rice cookers and electricity. The government made sure that the black market didn’t thrive. Within 45 days, Nepal drew the international community’s attention to the problem. “We brought in fuel from Bangladesh and planned to bring in more from Tibet,” said Budhathoki. India refused to send supplies, deciding not to relent to international pressure. It did, however, agree to let fuel be brought from Singapore but made sure that the process was difficult. Budhathoki himself went to fetch the oil from Calcutta. The government prepared to import 50 percent of the fuel from a third country and initiated the establishment of a stock tank in Panchkhal. World Bank and other donor agencies agreed to provide loans at a minimal interest rate.

The plan was to bring the pipeline to Xigatse in the first phase, Lhasa in the second phase, and Panchkhal in the third phase. “We kept it a secret so that India wouldn’t get a chance to sabotage the plan. Only the King, Prime Minister, and I knew about it,” said Budhathoki. After India discovered Nepal’s plan, it proposed to build a pipeline till Amlekhgunj, but the government rejected the offer. According to him, Rajiv Gandhi had tried to contact the King but the latter was on a hunting trip. Realizing that Nepal wouldn’t give in, Indian leaders including the former Indian Prime Minister came to Nepal and pressed Nepali leaders to overthrow the Panchayat system. Nepalis did overthrow the Panchayat system. “When Krishna Prasad

Bhattarai's government decided that India's fuel stock was Nepal's stock, we lost the battle," said Budhathoki. "If the democracy movement had been delayed by six months, we would not have been in this situation now," he added. Budhathoki added that leaders should not compromise the country's sovereignty. "Internal matters should be taken care of within the country. If people are not satisfied, India will get a chance to play games again," he said.

On 23 September 2015 demonstrators in Kathmandu shouted anti-India slogans to protest the fuel shortage (Sharma & Majar, 2015 Sep28) Nepal began rationing fuel on Monday to cope with a worsening shortage brought on by continuing unrest over the country's new Constitution and a dispute with neighboring India. The country imports all of its fuel from India, but tanker trucks carrying fresh supplies have been blocked from crossing the border since late last week. "Things are completely out of order," said Deepak Baral, a spokesman for the state-run Nepal Oil Corporation. "What we are doing now is just to continue emergency-only services." Mr. Baral said strict limits would be imposed on the sale of fuel to taxis, school buses, private cars, motorcycles, and scooters. "Despite all these austerity measures, we will run out of fuel within the next 10 days," he said. Nepali officials blamed India for the shortage, saying it had ordered its border officials not to let the fuel trucks cross. But Indian officials said the disruption had been caused by mass protests in Nepal against the Constitution.

Nepal Cable Television Association blocked 42 Indian channels in protest against the unofficial blockade of the country. Scores of trucks carrying supplies are stranded on the India-Nepal border, amid protests in south Nepal over the country's newly adopted constitution. India has been critical of Nepal's new constitution. But it denies enforcing a blockade, saying goods are being held up due to security reasons. The move comes after a former Maoist splinter party started a campaign against Indian movies and TV channels in Nepal. The president of the Nepal Cable Television Association told BBC Nepali the "black-out will be indefinite". Sudhir Parajuli said they decided to shut down the broadcast of the Indian channels as "India has been intruding in the national sovereignty of Nepal," the PTI agency said. A Kathmandu movie theatre stopped showing Indian movies two days ago, an employee said (BBC, 2015 Sep 29).

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

Sukh Deo Muni, an Indian academic, correctly describes Nepal and India as "world's closest neighbors." The same can be seen in several diplomatic and civic contacts. Nepal's army head, for example, is an honorary general of the Indian Army, and vice versa. The Indian Army employs thousands of Nepalese Gurkha soldiers. People of both nations can easily work and live along both sides of the border on a civilian level. Before India and Nepal became independent nations in South Asia, they formed an amazing civic link because they share similar historical foundations and cultural affinities. The Nepalese outpouring of grief for the recently departed Starrer Sushant Singh Rajput on social media sites revealed the deep cultural affinity. Those letters arrived just one day after Nepal's parliament passed a new political map that contains the India-controlled areas of Lipulekh, Kalapani, and Limpiyadhura, escalating a tense diplomatic standoff between the two countries. Indeed, public dissatisfaction exists, notably in Nepal, despite the close cultural ties.

The impacts of the blockade were seen in the political, social, and economic aspects of the country. Blockade influenced policymaking and the external relation of the country. Not only in the household, educational and medical sectors, were the impacts of blockade seen in agriculture, environment, and social psychology as well. Most awkward impacts were seen in the economy of the country. When the state

mechanism was about to cease to function, the black market flourished, and many business industries were closed. The economic growth was lowered beyond expectation. The production, consumption, and distribution process of the economy became chaotic because of the blockade. These impacts show that Nepal must have been oppressed during this blockade.

As India had undergone a British colony almost for 200 years, the impacts of the blockade reflect that India seems to have translated the colonizer's oppressive culture in the 2015 blockade in Nepal. The leaders of the political parties of Nepal need to learn a lesson from this blockade. Nepal must find an alternative for India to import fuel and other commodities to end the heavy dependence. As in history, Nepal gave space to India to micromanage Nepalese politics, today's leaders should have one voice to protect national interests and safeguard sovereignty. The issues of different political parties and marginalized groups should be settled within the country rather than asking for help from others. As India was colonized for many years in the past, it should understand the sufferings of the oppressed and respect the sovereignty of other countries endowing the land-locked country's rights of trade and transit. A dangerous trend is taking hold in India. Since the promulgation of the new Nepali constitution in 2015 and the ensuing victory of the communist coalition under KP Oli, just about any important development in Nepal is now conveniently linked to China.

6.4 False Claim Regarding Birth Place of Lord Buddha

According to an inscription on a stone erected by the Mauryan Emperor Asoka in 249 BC, the Lord Buddha was born in Lumbini in the Terai plains of southern Nepal in 623 BC. Lumbini is one of the holiest sites of one of the world's great faiths, and its ruins contain valuable information about the nature of Buddhist pilgrimage centers dating back to the third century BC. The Shakya Tank, the remains within the Maya Devi Temple consisting of brick structures in a cross-wall system dating from the 3rd century BC to the present century, and the sandstone Ashoka pillar with its Pali inscription in Brahmi script are among the structures within the the the archaeological conservation area. There are also the excavated remnants of Buddhist viharas (monasteries) dating from the third century BC to the fifth century AD, as well as Buddhist stupas (memorial shrines) dating from the third century BC to the fifteenth century AD. The site is now being developed as a Buddhist pilgrimage center, with the archaeological remains linked with the Lord Buddha's birth serving as a focal

point. The sacred region at Lumbini is one of the holiest and most significant places for one of the world's great faiths, as evidenced by the inscription on the Asoka pillar, as the birthplace of the Lord Buddha.

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

Controlling the influence of tourists, as well as natural impacts such as humidity and industrial expansion in the region, are long-term problems for the property's protection and management. A Management Plan is being established to ensure the long-term preservation of the property's archaeological relics while allowing pilgrims and tourists from all over the world to visit. There is no denying that Gautam Buddha, also known as Siddhartha Gautam, was born in Lumbini, Nepal, the birthplace of Buddhism.

During his address to the 74th session of the United Nations General Assembly, he said, "Buddha's message of peace." This was heavily attacked on Nepalese social media sites, fueling anti-India sentiment. India has downplayed the debate about Gautam Buddha's birthplace, claiming that External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar's comments on him were about "our shared Buddhist legacy" and that there is "no doubt" that the founder of Buddhism was born in Lumbini, Nepal. Mr. Jaishankar's remark was previously criticized by Nepal's Foreign Ministry, which stated that "it is a well-established and incontrovertible fact confirmed by historical evidence that Buddha was born in Lumbini, Nepal." Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha and the Buddhist fountain, is a UNESCO world heritage site, according to a Nepal Foreign Ministry official spokeswoman. "Nepal is the nation where the apostle of peace in the world, Buddha, was born," Prime Minister Narendra Modi stated during his visit to Nepal in 2014, according to the Nepalese Foreign Ministry.

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

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

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

6.5 Big Brother behavior of India

Even before the conceptual journey of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) began in 1983, the enabling and restricting capabilities of

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

The relational aspect of power is determined by the policies that a state develops based on these resources. Simply put, the resources represent latent or prospective power that is transformed into actual power by the state's policies. The degree of influence exercised by the state in achieving the desired goal is known as actual power. Robert Gilpin believes that power can be defined as an actor's ability to enforce his or her will despite opposition (Sheehan, 1996, p. 7). For a complete study of power, a combined discourse on power and prestige must be re-established. Several ideas discuss the relationship between perceptions and power. In the examination of power, neoclassical realism considers unit-level issues such as statesmen's personalities and perceptions, state-society interaction, and state interests. 'Foreign policy decisions are decided by genuine political leaders and elites, and it is their perceptions of relative strength that matter, not simply relative numbers of physical resources or forces in being,' Gideon Rose adds (Schmidt, 2005, p. 529).

The fit between perceiver prototypes (India's South Asian neighbors) and the traits of potential leaders is used to determine leadership perception (India). Leadership perception, according to this viewpoint, was a dyadic level of processes involving both perceiver and leader impacts (Schyns & Meindl, 2005, p. xii). A leadership role

can be regarded as providing a more cohesive and systematic worldview that can be used as an organizing principle for the region's social and economic institutions. Leadership reflects the shared interest of a collection of states in the global system, not just one country's national interest. In such cases, the core is concerned with establishing a regulated system in which a zone of consent is fully expanded and political conflict is reduced (Anadkad, 1999, p. 76). When power is used to (a) encourage maximum involvement and participation; (b) diffuse responsibility; (c) reinforce inter-personal contacts; (d) initiate new ideas, and (e) defend and advance common group interests, it is viewed as leadership.

The context in which the relationship exists is always important. A blend of historical experiences, national priorities, regional compulsions, and ingrained beliefs shape India's 'power' in the region. Exploring the counterpoints of this setting will show the true character of India's regional leadership and hegemony. After determining the structural characteristics of India's centrality in South Asian politics, it is necessary to analyze regional policies and perceptions to determine the type and degree of power projection used by India. Hegemony does not result from a simple variation in the degree and kind of power variables. Hegemony is the exclusive exercise of power at the expense of other governments' interests. Numerous bilateral disagreements characterize India's relations with its South Asian neighbors. For addressing these concerns, India prefers a bilateral conversation, whilst the neighbors prefer a multilateral regional strategy (Bernstein, 2003 Sept. 11).

The "special relationship" between India and Nepal benefits India at the expense of Nepal. Many Nepalese believe that Nepal's reliance on India for guns, ammunition, imports, and connectivity to the outside world prevents the country from being treated equally in treaties. The history of blockades, as well as the ongoing conflict over the Kalapani region, show how geopolitical considerations weaken the cultural ties between the two countries. Nepal's developing ties with China, which is a key source of concern for India, are merely a result of this. This balancing is not unique to Nepal; Bangladesh, the Maldives, and Sri Lanka are among the smaller South Asian countries that practice it. To maintain a friendly relationship with Nepal and avoid future outbursts of anti-Indian sentiment like the #BackoffIndia hashtag, New Delhi needs to consult more with Kathmandu and reassure its smaller sibling that policies aimed at strengthening ties between the two neighbors—such as the construction of the link road—benefit citizens of both countries rather than harm Nepalese citizens.

6.6 Equi-distance Diplomacy

The equidistance principle, also known as the principle of equidistance, is a legal idea that a nation's marine boundaries shall correspond to a median line equidistant from the coastlines of adjacent nation-states in maritime boundary claims. This concept was born out of the need to resolve disputes involving nearby nations' borders on a contiguous continental shelf. The idea of equidistance is a part of customary international law, although its significance is determined by other circumstances such as history. Equidistance is a concept in international law; normativity in marine delimitation is based on the idea of equidistance, which is specified in Article 6 of the 1958 Continental Shelf Convention and repeated in Article 15 of the 1982 UNCLOS. "The median line, each point of which is equidistant from the nearest points of the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea of the two States is measured," according to the definition. "Global and local politics are still divided by the phenomena of distance, although they are linked now by globalization processes" (Hendrickson, 2002, pp. 437-466).

The open border symbolizes their close friendship and trust (Sharma, Mishra, & Gorla, 2011, pp. 35-42). Following the creation of diplomatic connections as a neighboring country linked by socio-cultural and geographical circumstances, the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 solidified the bond between the two countries while also bridging the gap. Since then, India has regarded Nepal as a crucial geostrategic anchor for addressing its security issues (Mazumdar, 2014, pp. 91-96).

China, on the other hand, has been attempting to create a harmonious relationship with Nepal out of safety concerns, and has always shown a greater interest in Nepal and functioned as Nepal's card against Indian influence. Despite having extensive ties with India, China was unable to establish direct contact with Nepal until 1959. However, geopolitical and geostrategic shifts in the region have prompted China to warm up to Nepal (Fernande, 2012, pp. 17-19).

Foreign policy and diplomatic behavior in Nepal during the pre-unification period were divided into two broad categories: connections with principalities within what was formerly a unified Nepal and relationships with Tibet, China, and Indian principalities. On the one hand, the relationship and diplomatic relations with Nepalese states were conditioned by suspicion and rivalry; on the other hand, the relationship with India, China, and Tibet was based on a survival strategy, which

primarily aimed to maintain regional control and safeguard trade, particularly with Tibet. Tibet's trade was the main source of income, and each state fought tooth and nail to keep control of it. The power that controlled Tibet's commerce route also had control over its revenue (Levi, 1957, pp. 236-248).

As a result, several conflicts were fought with Tibet over some time, primarily for commercial reasons. During the unification phase, Nepal's diplomacy was mostly guided by military ideals. During the unification period, Nepal was focused on military diplomacy and had limited time for other parts of diplomacy such as economics, trade, and foreign relations. Prithvi Narayan Shah's philosophy of 'yam' and 'equidistance' was diplomacy based on military policy, which was important during the period when Nepal was a military state. Even today, Nepalese diplomacy is guided by the concept of "Nepal as yam between two states and requirement of Equidistance," although this concept has limited significance in the democratic world of the twenty-first century (Kumar, 1963, pp. 79-93).

Continuous diplomatic pressure from either side will only drive Kathmandu to ally itself with one Asian superpower. Furthermore, the possibility of Nepal siding totally with one country poses a significant security risk that neither giant is willing to risk. Nepal's geographical location as a landlocked country has thrown it into a captive situation, stifling its international economic, political, and diplomatic potential (Ghimire, 2017). Since the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in the early 1950s, the Himalayan country sandwiched between northern and southern neighbors has had close ties with India. Due to recent political events, Nepal has come to the historical awareness that India has been interfering in its domestic affairs, and Kathmandu has gradually begun to develop ties with Beijing (Koirala, 2016).

When Nepal adopted a new constitution without addressing the Madhesis issue as sought by India in 2015, New Delhi slapped an economic blockade on its little neighbor. Mongolia has experienced the same economic blockade as a result of receiving the Dalai Lama against China's wishes. During the prolonged Indian blockade of Nepal, China responded by supplying petroleum and reopening stalled trade lines with Nepal. Similarly, in 2016, during China's embargo, India's prime minister promised the Mongolian government \$1 billion in financial support. The anti-Indian feeling exists in Nepal, as well as the anti-China attitude in Mongolia, as a result of such third-party participation policies (Yadav, 2017, Jan 3).

Every ruling authority in Nepal, whether royal power, democrats, or communists, has excelled at diplomatic balancing as a historical tactic. Nepal used to have the opportunity of playing the "China card" to gain favor from India. Tilting toward Beijing was the wise approach to gaining favor from India. While such a brilliant move has often worked in the past, it is likely to face new challenges as the balance of power alters, increasing the risk of a Sino-Indian conflict.

The diplomatic relationship should be balanced in light of the circumstances, and balanced does not mean 'equal.' Equidistance was a Cold War strategy used by minor countries in a bipolar world, but in today's multipolar world, it appears to be an antiquated concept. "Nepal, on the other hand, continues to emphasize its adherence to the equidistance policy through many means, including the Trilateralism proposal." Many of our leaders, influenced by romantic ideas, use words like "Equi-distance" or "Equi-proximity" when analyzing the trilateral relationship with India and China, but the question is whether any nation can maintain Equi-distance in foreign relations. Is China able to maintain Equi-distance with India and Pakistan, as the US has been able to do with Canada and Mexico?

As a result, our leaders must understand that neither Nepal nor China can maintain an equivalent relationship with New Delhi, nor can Beijing replace New Delhi's multi-sectoral intimacy. The recent Prime Ministerial visit to India, on the other hand, marked the beginning of a reframes of Indo-Nepalese relations. Kathmandu must avoid the 'Equi-distance game,' and India must refrain from micromanaging Nepal's domestic politics, both of which are vital for the development of Nepal-India relations

CHAPTER-VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

Nepal-India relations are the focus of this research. The study's main goal was to examine how the Nepal-India relationship has evolved. The study's particular goals were to (a) investigate the current state and foundations of Nepal-India ties; (b) identify the primary hurdles to relations between the two countries, and (c) consider viable solutions to strengthen and develop relations in the future. The theoretical literature review, the empirical literature review, the review of research difficulties, and the review of the summary (research gaps and rationale) were all included in the review of the literature.

In this study, a descriptive research design was used. Primary and secondary sources were used to gather qualitative data. Direct observations, interpersonal exchanges, and informal discussions were the primary sources of data. Literature/desk reviews, library surveys, and electronic searches were used to gather secondary data. The data analysis section provided answers to the fundamental questions posed in the problem description. The relationship between Nepal and India was thoroughly examined, explored, compared and contrasted, and synthesized. The qualitative data and information acquired were triangulated using the qualitative data analysis approach.

Nepal and India share deep social, cultural, strategic, political, and economic ties that have been forged over many centuries. The bilateral relationship has its ups and downs and is a constant in the modern history of the two neighbors. A trend can be established; certain events cause deterioration in relations, followed by a cooling of ties, a period in which terse words are spoken on both sides. After Indian concessions and Nepal's withdrawals from its erstwhile positions, ties slowly crawl back to a state of relative normalcy, despite the shadows of the past affecting future ties. Despite the importance of and potential for developing a strong bilateral relationship between India and Nepal, some topics serve as irritants and areas of divergence. Nepal has developed inferiority feelings as a result of its limited geographical location in comparison to a vast Indian entity. Such a geo-economic configuration cannot be reversed. Nepal's policy toward India has been shaped by the country's limited power structure. In 1950, the two countries signed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship, which established a stable foundation for Nepal-India relations. However, Nepal has

progressively begun to contend that the pact was signed by two different partners. During the last decade, Nepal has become increasingly vocal about the need to revise the pact. It has gradually evolved into a political problem.

India's security concerns in the Himalayas, especially Nepal, have been a contentious subject in Indo-Nepal ties. Security interactions are still important because the geopolitical landscape on the Indo-Nepal boundary has not changed. The border is wide and easy to cross. Nepal will continue to be essential for India's security unless the character of the India-Nepal border changes. India claims that Kathmandu has failed to acknowledge its concerns in this region and has managed to downplay them in various ways. India does not require Nepal to have a grand security policy, save to be certain that foreign nations will not be given an unfair edge in Nepal that would jeopardize India's security. The ISI's and terrorists' use of Nepali land has heightened India's security concerns about Nepal. Despite promising India that its territory would not be used against it, Nepal has taken no tangible efforts to prevent such operations.

Trade and transit are Nepal's main economic issues with India. For Nepal's international trade, only India provides transit. Nepal wants the most transit rights it can get out of India due to a lack of a transportation network and other obstacles. Nepal, on the other hand, has urged that trade and transportation issues be separated. It's also true that India has significantly liberalized its trade policies toward Nepal during the previous decade however, because of varying opinions and expectations on these issues, the matter of trade and transit reform is a complicated issue. On March 7, 2002, the Trade and Transit Treaty was updated. India accounts for 44 percent of Nepal's overall exports and 35 percent of the country's imports

Terrorist organizations are taking advantage of the border's easy accessibility. These activities have harmed both countries and must be addressed decisively. In Nepal, however, calls for the boundary to be closed are routinely made. The Terai people see the open border from a very different perspective. Border control is a critical issue that could have ramifications for bilateral relations. If Kathmandu and Delhi can work together to make the most of Nepal's vast river water resources, their economy might take on a new focus and form. Many river water development projects have not been implemented despite initial progress and later agreements and understandings. India cannot be blamed for this, as its erroneous perceptions and inability to make real decisions have hampered cooperation. On the other side, Nepal has politicized the topic of water, making it an offers a strong issue between both the two countries.

Nepal seems to be cautious that bilateral cooperation with India may not benefit both countries equally. As a result, Nepal has asked for multilateral collaboration on several occasions. As a result, little progress on the Karnali, Mahakali, and Pancheshwar projects has been made.

The Mahakali Treaty has yet to be fully implemented. The citizenship of persons of Indian descent in Nepal has also been a contentious issue that has harmed relations between the two nations. Citizenship rights for people of Indian ancestry have long been sought. In terms of boundary demarcation, there is no substantial disagreement between India and Nepal. However, it becomes an irritation for various reasons. There are no delineation signs along the border because it is open. Instead, at select locations, boundary pillars have been built. When locals cause damage to these pillars for any reason, it causes friction between the two countries. The Kalapani issue has erupted in recent years, with Nepal claiming ownership of the land. At the confluence of India, Nepal, and Tibet, Kalapani forms the border between India and Nepal. On October 2, 1953, India and Nepal signed an extradition deal that allows any country to extradite those wanted in criminal proceedings. Since then, the pact has been inactive.

7.2 Conclusion

Because of the country's peculiar geographical location, its rulers have been wary of foreigners, particularly its two immediate neighbors, from the start. Nepal's crucial geopolitical location dictates that it must maintain an independent foreign policy to protect and promote its national interests. Nepal is vulnerable to external threats and so they must aptly direct their foreign policy maneuverings to ensure survival.

Nepal's relationship with India is deeply rooted in history. Due to the open border as well as cultural and familial linkages, the people-to-people relationship between Nepal and India is very strong. Similarly, the majority of Nepal's international trade is with and through India.

Nepal should seek to have an autonomous foreign policy and make proactive rather than reactive foreign policy decisions.

Foreign policy is a term used to describe how a country's foreign policy is conducted. Jung Bahadur adopted a British-centric policy that lasted the duration of the Rana monarchy. As a result, Nepal was cut off from the rest of the world for many years.

Nepal was the first country in the world to implement a democratic system under the leadership of King Tribhuvan. However, the Indian government dominated and

directed Nepal's foreign policy. The two countries had a "special relationship," according to the report.

The manifestation suggestion of Nepal as a non-align country was another move in Nepal's foreign policy. Nepal has been designated as a Peace Zone by King Birendra. The non-alignment motto "equal friendliness for everyone," established in 1956, was subsequently understood to signify equal friendship with India and China.

As close neighbors, India and Nepal have a distinctive connectedness and cooperation relationship marked by free movement and deep people-to-people ties. These linkages are close, extensive, and multifaceted, and they are especially visible in political, social, artistic, religious, and commercial factors. They are based on the long-standing link between history, culture, custom, and religion.

The frequent high-level trips by the representatives of the two nations at various points in time, as well as the interactions, are the hallmarks of the two countries' ties. Various initiatives in the sectors such as telecommunications, health, watersheds, education, and countryside & community services have been implemented under the Indian government's development aid to Nepal, with a focus on the establishment of roads and bridges at the grassroots level.

Both countries are deeply concerned about security challenges. Security issues between the two nations are becoming increasingly relevant in light of Nepal's internal security troubles and India's repeated concerns about terrorist groups operating along the Indo-Nepal border.

Nepal's foreign policy has as its primary goal the enhancement of the nation's dignity through the protection of the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence, as well as the promotion of the country's economic well-being and prosperity. It also has the goal of promoting global peace, harmony, and security.

To accomplish the new initiative for mutually beneficial cooperation among Nepal, China, and India, Nepal must concentrate on the civilization characteristics of each of the three nations.

Nepal-India relations have had their ups and downs in the past. Nepal and India have tumultuous and insecure relations at the moment, with friendly and antagonistic exchanges. There has been a lack of mutual trust in Nepal-India ties since the adoption of this new constitution in 2015, which preceded an unanticipated trade ban from India.

Several factors influence India-Nepal ties. These factors have a big impact on whether the two countries get closer or get further away. Major hindrances of Nepal-India political relations are open borders, irritants over border demarcation, security issues, unequal diplomatic treaties and agreements, periodic blockades, big brother behavior of India, water issues, trade and transit, migration, citizenship issues, and the question of the the the an extradition treaty. India-Nepal relations have followed a zigzag course.

Both countries, as well as their leaders and officials, must adapt their respective mindsets. It is important to recognize that India-Nepal ties are founded on more than simply formal politico-diplomatic factors.

Similarly, both countries cannot afford to be at odds because of unofficial communication channels. As a result, they'll have to figure out how to disentangle a knot that's formed between the two.

Nepal appears to be enamored of India's vastness. There is nothing Nepal can do about India's size; it must simply accept it. Nepal should make an effort to reap the benefits of having a large neighbor. That is exactly what the Nepalese have been doing. The main issue is recognition and acceptability.

The notion of each other as a threat is unfounded. Both countries must acknowledge that the other does not pose a security danger. On the other hand, it should be acknowledged that a threat to one country may have unintended consequences for the other.

Nepal-India relations at the government level have been always ups and downs along with twists and turns due to geography, population, religion, philosophy, culture, politics, economics, military, history, science and technological development, and mass media. . Nepal and India have tumultuous relations, at times antagonistic, despite Nepal's desire for a strong relationship with India. But people-to-people relations have always been based on mutual understanding, friendship, and cooperation. Approximately every ten years over the last seven decades, there has been a history of political/ economical setbacks i. e. change in political regimes, the emergence of new political powers, blockades, change in leadership, etc. These unique upheavals in politics triggered the ups and downs in bilateral relations. The religious, cultural, and economic ties between Nepal and India are, without doubt, the backbone on which the political relationship is built. Border conflicts, uneven

diplomatic treaties and accords, India's rising interest in micro-managing Nepal's politics, and other domestic concerns are just a few of the factors that are tearing the two countries apart.

7.3 Recommendations for Future Studies

- a) It is important to examine the demographic, social, economic, and cultural dimensions of Nepal –India relations apart from the political relations in the future.
- b) It is recommended to carry out a research study on revisiting the 1950s India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship.
- c) Flourishing anti-Indian sentiments could be a crucial subject of research study for any scholars in the future.
- d) There is a wider gap in our knowledge of the important role of states and diplomats in fostering the political relations between Nepal and India. It is therefore recommended that further investigations on this issue.

APPENDIX-A

Informant Interview Survey

I am pursuing my Ph.D. in Political Science entitled “Nepal-India Relations” from Humanities and Social Science, Dean’s Office, Tribhuvan University. So, I would cordially like to request to provide the information relating to my study based on the following questions. The information provided by the respondents will be kept confidential. Your invaluable time, value, and information are highly appreciated.

Keshav Raj Suwedy

Ph.D. Scholar

Information about the respondents

Name: Age:..... Address:.....

Date of interview:..... Location:..... Contact Address:.....

Questions

Q.No.1: Could you please tell me about the foreign policy of Nepal?

.....

Q.No.2: What do you say about the foreign relation with Nepal?

.....

Q.No.3: What do you know about the Nepal-India relation?

.....

Q.No.4: Can you tell me about the history and foundation of the Nepal-India relation?

.....

Q.No.5: How is the current situation of Nepal-India relations?

.....

Q.No.6: What are the determinants and dynamics of Nepal –India Relations?

.....

Q.No.7: What is your view of India?

.....

Q.No.8: What are the major challenges of Nepal-India relations?

.....
.....

Q.No.9: In your opinion, which country is more responsible for deteriorating the relationship?

.....
.....

Q.No.10: What is to be done for improving the relationship between the two countries?

.....
.....

Q.No.11: In your opinion, what should be done for fostering the relations between two neighbors?

.....
.....

Thank You!!!

APPENDIX-B**List of Informants**

S.N	Names	Position	Date of Interview
1.	Hon. Pradip Gyawali	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal	March 13, 2021
2.	Hon. Laxman Raj Karna	Member, Parliamentary Hearing Committee, Nepal	March 15, 2021
3.	Hon. Kamal Thapa	Ex. Minister, Nepal	April 02, 2021
4.	Hon. Komal Oli	Member, Upper House, Nepal	April 03, 2021
5.	Mr. Prakash Adhikari	Deputy General Secretary, Samajbadi Janata Party, Nepal	April 05, 2021
6.	Hon. Upendra Yadav	Former, Deputy Prime Minister, Nepal	April 07, 2021
7.	Mr. Hari Timilsina	Lecturer, Mahendra Campus, Nepalgunj, Nepal	April 08, 2021
8.	Mr. Hom Nath Aryal	Former National Coordinator of National Network, Nepal	April 09, 2021
9.	Mrs. Meena Aryal	Principal, New Tulip School, Koteshwor, Kathmandu, Nepal	April 10, 2021
10.	Hon. L. P. Sewa Limbu	Member of Parliament, Nepal,	April 10, 2021
11.	Dr. Shayam Sunder Sherpa	Senior Prof., Tribhuban University, Nepal	April 12, 2021
12.	Mrs. Punya Prabha Gautam	Health Coordinator, Lalitpur, Nepal	April 12, 2021
13.	Dr. Rajan Bhattarai	Foreign Affairs Expert, Ktm, Nepal	April 13, 2021
14.	Mr. Ganesh Gautam	Social Worker, Surkhet, Nepal	April 13, 2021
15.	Mr. Rajendra Gupta	Social Worker, Bahrain UP, India	April 14, 2021
16.	Mr. Naradmuni Rana Tharu	Member of Parliament, Nepal	April 15, 2021
17.	Mr. Dev Raj Bhar	Former, Member of Parliament, Nepal	April 15, 2021
18.	Dr. Janardan Acharya	Senior Prof., Tribhuban University, Nepal	April 16, 2021
19.	Mr. Sumit Jha	Medical Representative, Sarlahi, Nepal	April 17, 2021
20.	Mr. Hari Byanjankar	Businessman, Lalitpur, Nepal	April 18, 2021

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