

HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY IN NEPAL

A Dissertation

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## **LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION**

I certify that this dissertation entitled "History of International Relations Study in Nepal" has been prepared by Mr. Manish Subedi under my supervision. I hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination to the research committee of Department of International Relations and Diplomacy, Tribhuvan University in the fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of MASTER'S IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY.

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Prem Khanal

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and that it contains no materials previously published. This study has not used its materials for the award of any kind and any other degree. Where other author's sources of information have been used, they have been duly acknowledged.

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Manish Subedi

Date: 22 February, 2022

## **LETTER OF APPROVAL**

## **ABSTRACT**

From pertaining to interactions among states and between states, International Relations now have a century old disciplinary history as an academic inquiry. International Relations Studies has, since its origins in the wake of the First World War, developed several theoretical perspectives in order to identify and explain the recurring patterns of international relations – most notably the causes of war and the preconditions for peace. Similarly, smaller nations and their imprints on international politics are also emerging as an important area of inquiry in IR. This research attempts to contribute to this inquiry of IR in Nepal as a small state. It traces the history of IR in Nepal as well as its development. Hence, this research fills the gap of understanding when and where the IR study took place in Nepal. Nepal's unique geo-strategic position between two big powers of Asia has contributed to expand its roles and enhance its strategic significance in the regional as well as the global affairs. In this context, the study of IR in Nepal becomes more pertinent.

Key Words: International Politics, Academic Discipline, Political Science, International Relations Studies.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AIDIA	Asian Institute of Diplomacy and International Affairs
CDPS	Central Department of Political Science
CEDA	Center for Economic Development and Administration
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
CNAS	Center for Nepal and Asian Studies
CSAS	Center for South Asian Studies
EU	European Union
IRS	International Relations Studies
NCS	Nepal China Studies
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NIICE	Nepal Institute of International Cooperation and Engagements
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
TU	Tribhuvan University
UN	United Nations

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

The development of today's discipline of modern International Relations (IR) actually can be traced back to the nature, behavior and practices of yesterday's international relations (ir). Though, words are exactly the same, difference can be pursued in meaning. According to Raghwendra Kishore, the use of capitalizations of the "I" and "R" in International Relations aims to distinguish the academic discipline of International Relations from the phenomena of international relations (Kishore, 2021, p. iii) whereas, the use of lower-case letter in international relations (ir), according to Khan is defined as a political activities and interacting relations among two or more states (Khan, 2019, p. 1). This can be traced back to thousands of years ago, for example considers the interaction of ancient Sumerian city-states, starting in 3,500 BC, as the first fully-fledged international system (Buzan & Little, 2000).

The modern day international relations which IR scholars agree was started with the Peace of Westphalia (1648) which formalized several aspects of sovereignty and statehood (Cox, 2016, p. 264). Nonetheless, based upon the sovereign nature and integration of the treaty of Westphalia reflects the modern day relations among states. The advancement of modern civilization of human since seventeenth century, the development of states, and other agencies, international relations gained significant prominence in shaping the world order. It became an essential part for the survival of individuals and states as a result of interconnectedness. Every state has its own national interests to be pursued which however couldn't fulfill by itself. Therefore, states are dependent to each other in fulfilling their needs that could be economic,

security and others. The role of International relations can be more prominence in terms of establishing, maintaining and implementing amicable relations between states and non-state actors.

It is the longstanding founding that IR as an academic discipline, as widely taught in introductory courses, became a self-conscious field of study, and acquired a significant degree with institutionalization in 1919 (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 82) in response to the catastrophe of the First World War. It can be said that IR study came as a response from the event of war and a prospect for peace. Thus, the most basic narrative of IR study was sought to understand the causes of the war and balance of power. The most frequently cited events symbolized to the study of IR, where Morgan argues was the creation of the Woodrow Wilson chair of International Politics in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in 1919, the first such university chair anywhere in the world (Morgan, 2012). Further, the creation of two IR think tanks, the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London in 1920 and its journal *International Affairs* in 1922, and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York in 1921 (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 65) added the fuel to the IR study. Nevertheless, it is never denied that the academic root of IR as an academic discipline is actually the product of First World War which later spread globally throughout interwar period.

However, the most work on the historiography of IR as a discipline outside the West starts after the Second World War (Tickner and Wæver, 2009). After the Second World War, decolonization process in the world brought almost the entire third world into the formal membership of international society as equal sovereign nations as the first world. At the same time, again with the devastating event of Second World War (1939-1945), IR underwent what was as a second foundation, with massive increases

in the size and institutionalization of the field (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 5).

Likewise, the use of nuclear bomb in Japan by the United States played major transformations in international relations, and to great extent this was reflected in the discipline of IR. The new world order began.

While much of the modern day international relations as well as the founding discipline of IR is credited to the Anglo-American and mostly evolved with the Euro-centric narratives, when and how Nepal's narrative to both IR and IR evolved? Nepal's interaction with other states has a long history, however, some of the ancient religious text such as in '*Mahabharata*', and '*Arthashastra*', Nepal have been mentioned. In the Vana Parva of the Mahabharata, it is mentioned that King of Anga Kingdom, Karna, had visited Nepal during his campaign to conquer other kingdoms (Dixit, n.a.). Nepal had been also been mentioned in Kautilya's Arthashastra (Economics) believed to be scripted circa 400 BC, in this text, it is said that the woolen blankets manufactured in Nepal are among the goods that are worthy to be stored in the national treasury (Gurung, 2013, p. 1).

The modern founding of Nepal during Prithvi Narayan Shah's Unification time accounts for much of the today's Nepal's international relations and foreign and security policies along with shaping its world view (Khanal, 2009, p. 96). Nepal has a unique history in South Asia as it was never colonized, however, its geography situated between two oversized, economically and militarily neighbors, China and India makes it of strategic position in terms of connectivity as well as security. Having framework of international relations and guidance of foreign policy from the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah, there was, however, snail-paced development of IR in Nepal since it entered upon the democracy of 1950 with the over throw of Rana

regime. Hence, it is the contention of this paper to trace the disciplinary history of International Relations in Nepal, the status of its teaching, research and further making of its international relations.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Geography is the most fundamental conditioning factor in making of foreign policy of states due to its permanency. In this context, Nepal's geostrategic location between two big powers India and China requires scrutiny of pedagogy and research of IR in Nepal's academic institutions.

Since, the university is a center of teaching and research bearing diplomacy, foreign policy and international affairs of a State. The study of international relations (IR) in Nepal has undergone through number of changes since its emergence as a subject during 1950s or the Cold War, a review of the existing literature shows that there are very few materials related to the disciplinary history and development that took place in the studies of IR. Moreover, the evolution and contours of the epistemic foundations of IR in Nepal, however, remained largely unexamined and unnoticed- a gap this research seeks to fulfill.

## **1.3 Research Question**

As the study is on the exploration of Nepal's disciplinary history of IR, the research questions included:

- What is the history of IR study in general and Nepal?
- What is the status of IR study in Nepal?

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

- To understand the disciplinary history of International Relations in general and in Nepal.
- To know the status of IR study in Nepal.

#### **1.5 Importance of the Study**

Geopolitically, Nepal's strategic position between two giant neighbors demands the systematic and comprehensive study of International Relations and Diplomacy. The university becomes profoundly involved in relations with government in all the matters of international relations including foreign policy and diplomacy.

Recognizing the range of these academic involvements with government, this research becomes quite important in part because social institutions like universities are intimately subject to the development, needs and trends of the international relations dimensions of Nepal's addressing thorough pedagogy and research of IR from the lens of its geo-political reality.

#### **1.6 Delimitation of the Study**

The study has mostly relied on knowledge transferability and combination of pieces of literature through the limited literary works of the scholars and experts.

The explanation and analysis of the objectives of the study have been mostly limited to Tribhuvan University as being a historically central institution for IR study. Due to constraint of time the completion of the study, and developments in the study of IR in other institutions have been briefly accommodated by the research.

## **1.7 Organization of the Study**

A Chapter one provides the background of the study, and gives research questions of the study, objectives and the significance. A chapter two contributes the overview of the literatures that have been reviewed in order to conduct the study. Likewise, chapter three provides methods, nature and sources of the data. Chapter four gives the findings of the study and further discuss about the finding while Chapter five concludes by providing necessary suggestions.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Though, International Relations as an academic discipline emerged in 20<sup>th</sup> century relations among nations were as old a phenomenon as history (Bryce, 1922).

International relations is a product of its history. If we want to understand the former, we have to understand the latter. There are various incidental references to the sub-fields of IR like war and peace issues in the religious texts and epic literature of ancient times, mostly with the pacifist approach. “Ancient civilizations like the Egyptians, the Sumerian, the Assyrian, the Indian, the Chinese, the Greeks and the Rom had evolved a distinct code of inter-state conduct and a pattern of international relations (Crawford, 2004).”

In a journal article “The Evolution of International Relations as a Field of Activity to International Relations as an Academic Discipline” (2014) by Shevoni Wisidagama, it thoroughly outlines the behavioral form of international relations to the academic sense of International Relations. Also, it elaborates the regional form of relations from ancient Greece, the alliances formed during Peloponnesian war, the thirty years war followed by Treaty of Westphalia, rise of nations and the formation of nation states to the International Relations as an academic discipline.

Though Political Science deals with relations between the states, it could never discuss multidimensional aspects of international relations. It is essential to realize the importance of coexistence of states in the era of nuclear proliferation, and endangered security. Since ancient days, there existed inter-tribal, inter-city state, inter-kingdom relations and interaction among various pre-states and civilizations, such as the Indus

valley civilization, the Egyptian, the Sumerian city-states like Kish, Karsa (2500 BC) (Malhotra, 1993, p. 1), the Greek city-states and the Roman.

A book entitled “Evolution of Strategic Culture Based on Sun Tzu and Kautilya, A Civilisational Connect” (2016) by Harjeet Singh have related the historical relevancy to modern IR, such as war, peace, government, trade and diplomacy. These include the Arthashastra of 3rd century BC India, and The art of war by the 6th century BC Chinese writer Sun Tzu. Similarly, Baylis (2001) book titled “The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations” factually express the history of the Peloponnesian war written by the Thucydides in 5th century BC which was the earliest text on International Relations used for the first time.

Moreover, Steven Patton in the book entitled “The Peace of Westphalia and it Affects on International Relations, Diplomacy and Foreign Policy” (2019) has mentioned Renaissance and Reformation movements that led to the thirty years religious war mostly fought between European nations and afterward the treaty as Peace of Westphalia (1648) to end the war. The book elucidated the importance of the treaty forming framework for conducting international relations as statehood became an ideal unit of humanity. Further, author stressed on the evolution of nation-state concept, territorial sovereignty and integrity as a basic political unit of international relations yet they were also conscious of the reality of interdependence in the modern world. In addition, Wyndham A. Bewes (1933) in his book entitled “International Affairs” stated that modern international relations after the formation of nation-state concept began to grow in the paradoxical situation of independence yet interdependence, separateness yet closeness, individuality yet mutuality, nationalism yet

internationalism, however, continued to develop as a process of co-operation and conflict at the same time and other.

A journal article “The Sixth Great Power: On the Study of Revolution and International Relations” (1990) by Fred Halliday clearly provides how industrial revolution of the 18<sup>th</sup> century paved way for conducting international relations in a more systematic and comprehensive way as transport and communications were considerably improved for trade, transit, and transactions between the nations.

Likewise, he had put forward the idea of scientific and technological revolutions of the nineteenth and twentieth century’s that led the nations nearer and closer. All these developments made international relations more usual, more comprehensive and effective day by day.

A book entitled Introduction to International Relations (2016) by Michael Cox elucidated that International Relations, before its academic discipline, can be traced back to the ideas provided by the Western classical philosopher like Thomas Hobbes, Karl Marx and John Locke with a springboard through which IR theories were developed later. The IR theories allowed analyzing the world rationally with inductive and deductive approaches and thus drawing general conclusions from particular evidence and coming to rational conclusion about the global political system.

Likewise, in a book entitled “The First World War and International Relations Theory: A Review of Books on the 100th Anniversary” (2014) by John A. Vasquez explains the role of First World War and its impact to international relations. The author discusses the war of 1914 as a historical event that led to the demand for democratic control of foreign policy and urged general public to understand relations better through international engagements. He further discusses the issues of war and

peace and its development through the war attracted people's thought to the subject matter of international relations which shaped the way for it to be created as an academic discipline.

In another study by Peu Gosh (2014), in his book "International Relations" discusses the impact of the First World War devastating impact crashing four major empires of Europe like the German, Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman. In a journal article published in the book entitled "International Theory: Positivism and Beyond"(1996) by Ken Booth, author explains that formal teaching of IR was introduced with the establishment of the Woodrow Wilson chair of International Relations in 1919 at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, United Kingdom. Alfred Zimmern was the first holder of this chair. C.K. Webster and E.H. Carr were among the early scholars of this discipline. Moreover, "International Regulation of Civil War" (1972), a journal article by William C. Olson argues that peace was the first mission after IR was born as an academic discipline when David Davies was fund as the first permanent academic post in IR, he made it clear that prospect for peace was foremost needed rather than vague theorizing of its dimensions. Further, he also detailed that study of IR was to help professionals in engage in practical thinking, seeking to make world a safer and more stable place. Likewise, the establishment of international organization like League of Nations and its members mutually agree to the rule of law and behavior which could be obsolete with the imagination of many people living together in harmony.

Similarly, a journal article entitled "Global International Relations (IR) and Regional Worlds" (2014) by Amitabh Acharya disclosed how IR spread globally and became an academic discipline. Firstly, IR as a subject was offered in European and American

Universities from the 1920s and similarly had spread, at several other places as a chair of International Relations were established such as in Hebrew University, Jerusalem (1929), Oxford University (1930), the London School of Economics (1936) and the University of Edinburgh (1948). He further stressed that though IR became a globally studied subject, nonetheless, dominated by the Anglo-American theories. A book entitled “Birth of a Discipline” (2005) by Robert Vitalis acknowledged that though IR was not as formally at the universities some early books did carry the term ‘international relations’ in the book titles, such as Grant et al.’s An Introduction to the Study of International Relations (1916), D. P. Heatley’s Diplomacy and the Study of International Relations (1919) and Edmund Walsh’s The History and Nature of International Relations (1922).

A book by Amitabh Acharya and Barry Buzan entitled “The Making of Global International Relations” (2019), discussed developments of International Relations research institutes around the globe like establishment of Institute of Advanced International Studies in Paris (1923), the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace at Washington, D.C (1910), the Union of Democratic Control in England (1914), Foreign Policy Association and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York (1918), Royal Institute of International Affairs in London (1920) and others which helped in the development of IR.

Similarly, in the same book the authors argues that IR as an academic discipline was founded again with the end of Second World War, and as ‘more serious’ than the previous one of 1919. Further the authors discussed that end of the war also gave bipolar era of Universalist ideology of two rivals as a shift from a multi-polar system and dividing the world. Likewise, the use and introduction of nuclear weapons and

intercontinental delivery systems generating a sharp intensification of the defense dilemma and concern about war and finally the de-legitimizing of racism and colonialism, and a tripling of the membership of GIS as decolonization brought in the former colonies as the new periphery of Third World 'developing countries' was created as a new domains in IR study.

A journal article published in *The Chinese Journal of Internal Politics* (2018) entitled "How and How Not to Develop IR Theory: Lessons from Core and Periphery" by Barry Buzan revealed that though Decolonization, was a major event after World War II and arguably more important than the Cold War itself, in terms of IR thinking it was mostly dominated by the Anglo-American narratives though attempts of theorizing IR were made. Another journal article, "International Relations as a Field of Study" (2011) by Gunther Hellmann, argued that while Asian, African, and Latin American countries gained political freedom after the Second World War, a national pressure mounted as a postcolonial theory which led to the horizontal expansion of International Relations as a distinct academic discipline to study and develop afresh foreign relations.

A book entitled "International Relations in South Asia: Search for an alternative paradigm" (2008) by Navnita Chadha Behera reveals for the first time the disciplinary history of IR in South Asia. Here, author attempts to discuss the various theories like constructivism, critical theory, post-colonialism and feminism approaches as an alternative ways to understand international politics of South Asia. The book is perhaps the first to captures contemporary thinking and perspectives from South Asia.

Commenting on B. C. Malla's paper "Development of the Study of Political Science in Nepal" (1973), Prachanda Pradhan stated, "The problems that we identified almost

a decade ago continue to remain the same”. A joint paper of Malla and Pradhan on “Political Science in Nepal,” published in 1966 in an edited book, was perhaps the first attempt to review the state of Political Science in Nepal. Of several problems author identified the pertinent problems such as the lack of a Political Science department at TU to promote empirical research, the lack of specialist and trained human resources, and the question of making political science a specialized subject vis-à-vis job-oriented (Malla 1974).

Similarly, Ananta Raj Poudyal in his paper presented in a seminar of 1988, although paper stresses analysis on the development of syllabus of Political Science at the postgraduate level, particularly in the area of teaching of Modern Political Analysis, he also mentioned about Panchayat education policy and its impact in Nepalese Political study which mostly discouraged researching on domestic politics (Poudyal, 1988).

Shreedhar Khatri in a journal article entitled “Teaching of International Relations in Nepal” (2001), had put all together the history of Political Science and International Relations study in Nepal and the state of research institution of the university. Further, he had shed light on why teachings of International Relations in Nepal have loomed over the certain period of time with the change in political system of the country. Also, he elucidated the status of teaching faculties during the initial years of teaching the discipline.

In addition, he had shed light on the subject popularity during the regimented education system commonly known as *Panchayat* and prospects of International Relations at the time of its introduction in the university. He added that International Relations study once used to be a training ground for future government officers,

countless ministers and ambassador but questions the government positions and stands regarding the discipline and its need to cater for the nation and society. In the next section in the same journal article, he described the course contents and library facilities and resources for the study of discipline and IR subjects. In this section, author argued that although the contents are created out from the American and British universities, it was very broad in Nepali sense. He had put forward two problems which are teaching and access to quality literatures on the subject matter of International Relations.

Moreover, author made plain explanation on the quality and quantity of research in International Relations. He had put firstly, the role of CNAS during the regimented era, post-NEP and post 1990s. The CNAS once was intensely involved in research area and had contribute a wide recognition and some of the highly recognized regional experts used to contribute to its journal, *Strategic Studies Series* but after 1990s CNAS reputation and recognition eroded with the change in political system. The author explained why after 1990s research in the field took turn and had come out from individual and independent scholars.

And lastly, author concluded with some of the suggestions that needs to be developed for the study of International Relations. One of the suggestions author had put strongly was to establish a separate department of International Relations in TU, but, before that the need to prepare a conceptual paper outlining the objectives and methods for the discipline. Suggesting ahead, author also focused a need to develop area and theme specialist in IR with specific area of expertise. Also, he recommended that teaching of IR in the university have to go beyond the formalistic classical style of teaching by incorporating inter-disciplinary courses that can draw on current

developments and on pertinent global issues. Moreover, he suggested that IR products from the university needs to be sell in the national development of foreign affairs by making course programs more practical. However, for doing that he suggested that faculties' qualities should first be updated itself by offering them Fulbright Programs, providing grants, exchanging programs and faculties with other South Asian universities.

Lastly, authors suggested the need to update the library facilities for both students and teaching staffs by reviewing the *ad hoc* mechanism for coordination which exists between the department of political science and Central Library. Further, he recommended to provided research materials available on the website and to provide training to teachers and students on the use of the cyberspace.

A paper jointly written by T.N. Jaisawal and Pannakaji Amatya, two senior political scientist of TU provided dissatisfaction on the syllabus of political studies at the undergraduate and postgraduate level. They conclude, "Political Science, once considered as one of the most popular subjects, has progressively lost its erstwhile charm and appeal." They further explain "... political scientists of Nepal have miserably failed to bring home to the society what Political Science really means and why it is indispensable for the overall development of the country" (Jaisawal & Amatya 1997, p. 57)".

Likewise, a journal article entitled, "Political Science in Nepal" (2004) published in *Studies in Nepali History and Society* by Krishna Hachhethu elucidated status of Political Science in Nepal. In this journal article, he briefly mentioned a history of modern education which started after the democracy of 1950s. He explained Nepal's education sector background as very weak as Tri Chandra College established in 1918

was the only one institution for higher studies and was virtually forbidden except for the members of ruling Rana family and other advantage groups. Further, he focused on the New Education Plan (NEP) introduced in 1972 and the impact it had on the education system of a Nepal. Here, he explained that with the introduction of NEP, the education instead spread pure science and technical education in order to meet manpower required for development and social science was less focused. Moreover, author explained the decline of social science due to commercialization of education after 1990 which led education as a job oriented and gradually the chances of social sciences products selling in the market eroded while pure science and technical education flourished.

In next section, author discussed the crisis of social science at TU in terms of quality and standard of education. Further, he explained the eroding of teaching system and research due to the loose structured and weak administration of the university itself. This section briefly touched upon the research divisions of TU namely CNAS and CEDA which once was a highly recognized think tank of the university eroded with heavily politicization and due to the unavailability of funds. In addition, he mentioned dominance of non-academic research done by the Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs) in producing social science knowledge through research after 1990 due to availability of foreign funds. He also stated the crisis of Political Science due to the lack of trained political scientist and trained specialist at TU which further questioned on the product of graduate getting sellable in the market. In addition, he stressed on making political science a specialized rather than generalize subject (Malla, 1974).

Likewise, author expounded the effect of regimented education system in overall but shed lights more specifically on Political Science. Due to the education policy

introduced in early 70s, the discipline couldn't flourish as it should have. In addition, he mentioned the regime's objectives, as spelt out in the New Education Plan which was to construct the ideological and philosophical base for the party less panchayat system and legitimize the government. Further, NEP also took a dual policy on academic level, one was to carry out research mostly via government offices and other was to control teaching institutes which led to the suffering of CNAS's political science wing.

Similarly, author raised questions on the expertise and syllabus of political science and teaching faculty. Here he mentioned the inadequacy of native manpower to teach IR subjects like Foreign Policy and Diplomacy, Comparative Politics, Regional Studies and Modern Political Analysis which was covered by some visiting Fulbright American scholars. However, in mid-1970s, the Panchyat government gave a farewell in the assumption that enough national academicians was created to teach political science, though author raised concern of having specialized political scientists on different areas/subjects to match the diversification and expansion of the discipline. Further, he touched upon the Political Science- IR curriculum which TU introduced were Modern Political Analysis, Government of Nepal and India, Comparative Governments of UK, USA, France and China and one from two optional subjects, International Relations/International Law. Moreover, he also mentioned the IR subjects taught for the graduate program like International Politics, Domestic Politics and Foreign Affairs of Nepal, Comparative Government and Politics, International Studies (any one of these three papers: International Law, International Organization, and Foreign Policy and Diplomacy), Regional Studies and so on. He further made clear that while most of the subjects of International Studies were taught by generalist

turned into specialists after having involved in the teaching profession for long and indicated that CDPS lacked serious experts on the subjects of International Studies.

Likewise, author shed lights on the research institute of TU which was responsible on carrying study of culture, language, anthropology, economics, and sociology. Among four university research institutes, CNAS was responsible for research of Political Science. CNAS was established in 1978 as institutional initiatives to carry out research on social science, however, later started branching out political research also. He mentioned that how CNAS remained the central institution for academic research on social sciences, including political science and international studies.

Similarly, Hachhethu pointed to the CNAS works during 1980s when it took a new turn and strengthened the political science wing to materialize to study on foreign affairs. It gradually developed with the increasing number of political scientists with the specialization respectively on Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, India, Japan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, regional affairs and international relations. In addition, he also disclosed the suffering of CNAS drastically in late 1980s due to the conflict of political scientists of CNAS on matter of India-Nepal politics. As a result, a decision was taken to transfer political scientist from CNAS to other TU affiliated campuses. Author labeled this as a storm because CNAS focus shifted from study of international relations to domestic politics.

Further author analyzed the discipline from the perspective of job and observed that it appeared as a general subject and not a specialized one which showed the decline of quality graduate. Eventually, the relevance of the discipline of Political Science to society and nation was declined drastically which led to the decline of student studying the discipline. Also, he argued that despite the decrease of interest studying

political science discipline other social sciences like anthropology/sociology was flourishing well as it had job placement opportunities in NGO/INGO. And government officials were more interested in public administration. Moreover, author acknowledged that TU after 1990 failed to cope with the new challenges and opportunities that aroused with the restoration of the democracy. Finally, author concluded by acclaiming that TU failed as an institution after 1990 as it was not able to cope with the political change that paved opportunities for education, but also eroded the goal of promoting social sciences and political science knowledge in Nepal.

Likewise, a journal article entitled 'History, International Relations, and Integrated Approaches: Thinking about Greater Interdisciplinarity' (2011) by Steve Yetiv published in *International Studies Perspectives* explored the discipline of IR with historicizing the state itself. He argued the value of history to IR is indispensable to the development, theory building, modeling and testing of the discipline. Similarly, a journal article entitled 'The Role of the University in International Relations' (1955) was thoroughly studied. It presented the importance of the academic institution like universities in IR studies as it recommends policy for the government, providing academic trainings to the foreign service cadets, train how best to serve the national interest and so on. He stressed on the role of university in respect to international affairs, function of academic institution as a counselor to society, and a voice in the creation of public opinion.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN**

#### **3.1 Research Design**

A systematic, subjective and holistic approach was taken into consideration, primarily by an inductive process of organizing data into categories and identifying the pattern among the categories to complete the research objectives. The study makes use of a descriptive-relational research design by tracing the history of International Studies in Nepal.

#### **3.2 Nature/Sources of Data**

As the research is qualitative, both the primary and secondary data were taken into consideration. The primary data from semi-government institutions such as Central Department of Political Science, Department of International Relations and Diplomacy (DIRD) at TU, CNAS, and IFA as well as other authorized agencies were employed during the research. Similarly, the structured interviews were taken with the experts of international relations, diplomacy and political science to conduct the research.

Along with the primary data, the secondary sources of data used in this research are books, international reports and journals, published data, articles, newspapers, online sources and web archives on the history of international relations and study of IR in general and in particular Nepal. Further, applicable literatures were considered to gain the information on the status of IR study and IR think tank in Nepal.

### **3.3 Methods**

The qualitative approach with descriptive nature was employed. Close reading and interview have been carried out to conduct the research. The methods included the process of tracing, congruence testing and counterfactual to create an empirical and interpretive study on the History of International Relations. The content in this research was mostly taken from the various literatures on the history of international relations and study of IR in general and in particular Nepal. Applicable literatures were also considered to gain the information on the status of IR study in Nepal and IR think tank of Nepal. To find out the answer of research question and to accomplish the objectives of research, interview was also taken with Political Science and IR scholars.

### **3.4 Conceptual Framework:**

The international relations of 21st century have drastically altered the issues and concerns of the state relationships. The subject matter of IR and Diplomacy has expanded accordingly like terrorism, development, technology, human rights, climate change, and cyber attack and so on. While history often complements the studies of IR, geography and positioning can also aid in theorizing the discipline of IR. Hence, Nepal's geostrategic location in the Himalaya and in between Asia's nuclear power India and China makes it complex and vulnerable. The conceptual framework limited the area of study for the research regarding the narratives involved in the study of IR in Nepal's case. Therefore, the research was based on the conceptual framework of tracing and analyzing the IR history of Nepal and how it developed over the period of time.

## CHAPTER IV

### HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN NEPAL

Before tracing the evolution of IR in Nepal, this study needs a retrospective look at how actually study of IR developed within a course of time. The origin of the discipline indeed can be trace back to the behavior and practices of relations between the states and their interaction through foreign policy making. In addition, this study also demands *ex post facto* of the evolution of modern education in Nepal. This is necessary because history is perhaps the oldest and the strongest which has been nurtured by scholars while investigating behavioral form before it takes an academic discipline.

The International Relations of today is drawn from the history of yesterday's international relations between the states. According to Richard Burghart, though International Relations as an academic discipline, is of 20th century, relations among nations were as old as states themselves (Burghart, 1984, p. 101). The relations between inter tribes, inter city-state and inter Kingdom in the ancient age used to be conducted in the form of socio-economic exchange. There are various references to war and peace that can be found in the religious texts and epic literature of ancient times, however, those relations were often incidental, and limited in nature. Indeed, it was not as same as today's international relations of the true sense but merely regional in character. "They can, at best, be described as parochial and occasional interstate relations (Bryce, 1922, p. 1)".

According to Steven Patton, the Peace of Westphalia, signed in 1648, ended the Thirty and Eighty Years Wars and created the framework for modern international relations (Patton, 2019, p. 91). The basic tenants of international relations like

diplomacy, foreign policy, concepts of state sovereignty, national integrity emerged with the treaty of Westphalia. Likewise, Industrial Revolutions brought significant changes in the field of transportation, communications, trade, transit and transactions. Industrial Relation was one of the major thrust of the development (Halliday, 1990, p. 211). So, the countries were more connected to each other for accommodating development deficiencies.

In this reference, international relations between states afterward expanded the scope of subject in complex yet simpler manner, independence yet inter-dependence, separateness yet closeness, individuality yet mutuality, nationalism yet internationalism

#### **4.1 Post First World War – First Birth of IR**

Institutionalization process of IR has been initiated after the World War-I. Prior to that it was not properly theorized and shaped as a major standard IR thought. However, some attempts had been made to define IR. Early writings of IR were confined within the books and journals of universities course of study primarily Law and History. According to Brian C. Schmidt, during the late nineteenth century International Law was a major strand, and antecedent, of IR thinking (Schmidt, 1998, p.45).

The impetus behind the development of IR as an academic discipline after First World War as it developed in the United Kingdom was a concept of Liberal 'Idealism' derived from the American president Woodrow Wilson (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 91).

“There was an apocalyptic mood, symbolized by the creation of the Woodrow Wilson chair of International Politics in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in 1919, the first such university chair anywhere in the world. It shows vividly how the optimism and brave new world idealism of the immediate post-war period focused on the creation of the new League of Nations at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The naming of the chair after Wilson reflected the fact that the idea of a League of Nations was in practice very much an Anglo American one (Morgan, 2012 )”.

Thus, the root founding of International Relations as a separate distinct academic discipline was a consequence of devastating war of human history. In a similar vein, bipolar, unipolar and multi polar world order attempted to define IR in several ways based on the global political and economic events.

Thompson (1952: 443) stated that International Relations were "The study of rivalry among nations and the conditions and institutions which ameliorate or exacerbate these relationships". It can thus be concluded that International Relations at best is a policies and actions extended beyond national boundaries which are mostly political but at the same are also concerned with social relations. However, the definition of the IR discipline varies among scholars and there has never been the precise agreement on what actually provides clarity of IR as a discipline.

After the founding of International Politics at Aberystwyth, gradually the teaching of International Relations spread to other places. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, commonly known as Chatham House, was founded in 1920 and started publishing its journal International Affairs in 1922 (Olson, 1972). Similarly, the

Ernest Cassel Chair of International Relations was established in 1924 at the London School of Economics, followed by a full- fledge dedicated IR study at Department of International Relations in 1927 at University of Geneva (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 84).

The aim of these new department endowed in several institution was to repair the relations of mostly European nations which was shattered during the World War I. This was to be done in linear way with the support for the League of Nations. As birth of modern IR, though it began from the United Kingdom, the development took place in the United States as a prominent discipline of social science. The United States retained more dominance in IR than in ir, due to its un-shattered economy and global influence during postwar period, it attempted to gain the intellectual dominance through theories and academic associations. “The United States was however challenged by Europe and Asia both in terms of IR theory and institutions from academic associations to journals (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 5)”.

In the American context, in 1919, Georgetown University launched its Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 84). This was followed by the University of Chicago’s Committee on International Relations co-established in 1928 by Quincy Wright and Hans Morgenthau, it asserts to be America’s ‘oldest graduate program in international affairs’. Similarly, in 1921 Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) was established in the United States (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p.84), which was a new kind of initiative. It brought several professionals on the same platform including statecraft experts, finance, education, science and industry to discuss United States and its concerns of international questions. Another milestone in United States IR study was the establishment of the

Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) in 1925 in Honolulu, it was also first initiative dedicated for regional studies (Vitalis, 2005, p. 77). Unlike the CFR, the IPR was intended to be a more comprehensive group of national councils of the Pacific countries, but in reality it was by the American National Council (known as the American IPR). It was dominated. Further, IPR was established by the Wilsonian Idealism which was also reflected in its flagship journal Pacific Affairs.

During interwar period, the institutionalization of IR in United States was even more prolific than anywhere else in the world, spreading around the universities and creating departments, institutes and think tanks. “Stanley Hoffman in his seminal essay ‘An American Social Science: International Relations’ emphasized that this was also because of the external political circumstances that accompanied the rise of United States in the First World War to a position of world power status (Hoffman, ‘American Social Science’, p. 47)”.

Regardless, of this institutionalization, the calling name for the discipline was not IR. The Aberystwyth Chair was ‘International Politics’, and not ‘International Relations’. Besides, ‘International Studies’ was the most frequent used word by IR scholars like Carr and Morgenthau. While as most obviously in the United States, IR was considered to be a branch of Political Science (Schmidt, 1998a, p. 55, Ashworth, 2014, p. 13 & Kuru, 2017, p. 46), ‘International Politics’ or ‘World Politics’ was the most often used outside the United States though some early writers used the term ‘international relations’ in their book titles. For instances, Grant et al.’s An Introduction to the Study of International Relations ( 1916 ), D. P. Heatley’s Diplomacy and the Study of International Relations ( 1919 ) and Edmund Walsh’s The History and Nature of International Relations ( 1922 ). Despite the use of term

these books mainly dealt broadly and topics were diversified including economics, history and law, but a linkage was focused on diplomacy (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 86).

A book entitled 'International Relations' of 1925 by an American scholar Raymond Leslie Buell was the best selling textbook completely dedicated to a new political science of International Relations and perhaps it was the first textbook of its kind in the world (Vitalis, 2005, p. 159). Another text book taught in the university was Frederick Schuman's International Politics published in 1933 (Schmidt, 1998a, p. 213). During the initial phase of IR study, these books nonetheless contributed to the teaching of a discipline in universities during interwar years as the study was progressively progressing and its different aspects were explored.

Although as an academic discipline IR received a wider recognition and was spread during the inter-war period, academic membership associations of IR was not institutionalized, instead, the pioneer of IR mainly European and American focus was on their own national coordinating committees who attempted to work through International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) in Paris.

Thus, IR as an academic discipline started with events of war and prospect for peace in the world. "Before World War I," writes Schleicher, "there was almost no organized study of international relations either in American universities and colleges or elsewhere". Indeed, no real attempt was made to study international relations in an organized and systematic way before First World War. As Schmidt (1998, p. 13) rightly notes, 'the academic study of international relations is marked by British, and especially, American parochialism'.

## **4.2 Post World War II – The Second Birth of IR**

The Second World War, also known as Total War, once more exhibited the costly and dangerous character of the institution of war which gave second birth of International Relations in academic discipline. An important feature of IR's "second birth" since 1945 was the strong expansion of academic institutionalization in terms of education, university institutions, think tanks, textbooks and journals, and IR's predominantly national academic associations. (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 142).

The rationale that IR had a 'second founding' after 1945 rests on several developments.

Firstly, a massive expansion of IR in terms of teaching, research and publications which is without doubt what we call as the institutionalization of IR. Secondly, the rise of independent academic IR associations which led to a notable shift from being broader intellectual and political subject matter to being more professionalized, theorized and academic. Thirdly, the speedy rise of new sub-fields of IR emerged most notably the Strategic Studies and Regional Studies with its focus on the unique problems posed by the nuclear weapons. And lastly, the beginning of recognition of IR thinking and practices of the third world countries (Buzan & Acharya, 2019, p. 139).

Likewise, decolonization process after Second World War brought radical transformation in political relations between the developed and least developed countries. Decolonization however crippled the anti- colonialism and anti- racism movements of IR thinking in the third world, it was nevertheless shifted to the

neocolonialism of economic inequality, and the Euro centrism and hidden racism of much Western IR thinking (Tickner & Waever, 2009, p. 7).

On the other side, the war led to the changed version of the discipline as a move from a multi-polar system to a bipolar one with just two superpowers United States and Soviet Union each promoting a rival Universalist ideology. In the United States case, firstly it came to the forefront of international relations and global engagement from isolation and secondly, it was the leading nuclear weapon power which prompted it to the domination on IR (Buzan & Acharya, 2019, p. 138). The Soviet Union on the other side provided the impetus to spread the communist ideology but made little impact on IR thinking, falling victim to the reality, that “in authoritarian states the study of international relations or foreign policy could only exist as an explanation and justification of state policy (Olson and Groom, 1991, p. 74)”.

The United States as it already had strong base from the beginning of discipline, its IR center of gravity after 1945 grew exponentially as it had the incentive, intellectuals, and a high rate of economic growth. A long tradition of practice in the American social sciences has lent itself to this new need, and in terms of its IR quality, and to some extent quantity, America will soon be by far the most produced in the field, become a leader and influential country in the discipline (Buzan & Acharya, 2019, p. 139).

Hoffmann (1977) identified three institutional factors determining IR as distinctively American stamp calling it an ‘American social science’, which in his words ‘not existed, and certain no simultaneously, elsewhere’.

“The first was ‘the most direct and visible tie between the scholarly world and the world of power: the “in-and-outer” system of

government, which put academics and researchers not merely in the corridors but also in the kitchens of power'. A second and related factor was 'relays between the kitchens of power and the academic salons', or the close connection, some would say nexus, between the academic and policy worlds. Universities formed the third institutional factor, being 'flexible; because of their own variety, which ensured both competition and specialization' and evincing an 'almost complete absence of the strait jackets of public regulations, quasi- feudal traditions, financial dependence, and intellectual routine which have so often paralyzed the universities of postwar Europe ' (Hoffmann, 1977, pp. 49– 50)".

Further, what led to the United States domination on IR were the foundations as the influential funders of IR. Among them the Ford Foundation funded the Center for Studies in International Relations at Science Po from the early 1950s and the Free University in Berlin and the Rockefeller funded the British Committee (Kuru, 2016, p. 56). Likewise, the US foundations also played a considerable role in funding IR development in the Third World (Tickner & Waeber, 2009, p. 232).

The creation of universal organization after World War Second, United Nations (UN) and its specialized agencies also played the role as a catalyst to the development of IR studies. The sponsor from UNESCO on the conference of representatives of Universities in 1948 resulted in establishing chair of department for comprehensive and systematic teaching, study and research of IR (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 234). The study of International Relations developed further with the advent of international agencies such as International Bank for Reconstruction and Development made

possible a cooperative structure of world economy and entrance to the subject arena of International Relations. This with no doubt showed a trend from “trans-nationality” to “internationality”. The proliferation of multi-nation corporations (MNCs) was another evidence of the growing cross-border enterprise which added the subject matter of International Relations. In addition, the U. N. specialize agencies- FAO, ICAO, ILO, IUU, UPU, WHO, UNESCO etc. also contributed the scope of IR as a sub-field of study broadening the International community and the relations beyond national boundary (Berdal, 1996, p. 105). It demanded the expansion of various subjects in the study of International Relations.

In Europe, as mentioned above, IR institution took a root in Scandinavia countries throughout the postwar period but expanded rapidly after the Second World War with a particular emphasis on Peace Research (Friedrichs & Waever, 2009). Similarly, IR also began to spread around the Anglo-sphere nations, as devastating it was during the Second World War, issues of Peace and rebuilding infrastructure therefore came to the forefront in the academic field of IR in Europe. For instance, Peace Research was the foremost and leading strength of IR in Germany at that time. Moreover, the use of nuclear bomb in Japan by the United States put a strong emphasis on IR study with focus to Peace Research however without the institutionalization of Political Science departments it remained poor and diffuse in terms of universities discipline (Inoguchi, 2009, p. 74).

In context of Soviet Union, it made little impact on IR thinking and its development. Though, Institute of World Economy and World Politics was founded in 1924, it was closed in 1947 by the government, which felt challenged by the writings of its head that pointed to the survival of capitalism (Acharya & Buzan, 2019, p. 146). In 1943,

Moscow State University established its Faculty of International Relations which largely focused the curriculum on diplomatic history in a likely manner to the early development of IR in Western Europe. It was only during the Cold War IR began to shape in USSR by Regional Studies and by some of the similar domestic factors that inhibited the IR studies in Asia and other parts of the third world (Lebedeva, 2004, p. 263).

The establishment of think tanks also rose in number after Second World War. The natural consequence of this was the expansion in the number of IR academicians and the demise of ISC which led to the establishment of various academic associations by independent initiatives and mostly functioning along the national lines (Buzan & Acharya, 2019, p. 143). Another reason for the expansion of IR think tank was because, academics of the American foundations shifted their attention to the International Political Science Association (IPSA) founded by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in 1949 (UNESCO) (Long, 2006, p. 607).

As of peripheral region, IR relatively became a new discipline with the de-colonization process after Second World War. The IR thinking of the United States was so strong that it completely dominated the IR studies in most of the newly independent periphery countries in knowledge production. Thomas J. Biersteker (2009: 324) argues that “the reach of the American made IR studies is so strong that one could “travel the world making references to IR studies entirely produced by American Scholars” and local audiences would be familiar with the theories and the arguments. If one wants to study IR, it is almost *de rigueur* that scholars from the periphery need to visit the U.S., engage with IR scholarship, and seek to publish in American IR journals (Hellman, 2011).

Despite an Anglo-American tag in IR studies and theories, an attempt is gaining some momentum to derive IR from an alternative paradigm and different from non-American or non-western perspectives (Acharya and Buzan 2010). Although, those alternative modes of inquiry have yet to evolve into a full-fledged intellectual movement, the three major powerhouses of Asia namely, Japan, Indian and China have developed the field with the ability to challenge the overwhelming hegemony of American IR in different and distinctive ways without any links with each other (Alagappa, 2011, p. 193).

While Japan was more part of the core than the periphery, IR study followed a separate way mostly by post-war developments and Cold War affecting its economic rise. The rise of master narrative from 1952 through the early 1970s dominated IR studies in Japan mainly by two sets of questions (Alagappa, 2011, p. 204). The first stemmed from Japan's tragic defeat and destruction in World War II, as well as its subsequent occupation. The second set of questions concerned Japan's security in the context of the Cold War conflict. Until the early 1970s, both of these sets of master questions focused on war and security affected the development of IRS in Japan (Inoguchi, 2007, p. 369).

With the end of the Cold War and Japan's reemergence as the world's second largest economy, the focus of IR studies switched to the country's global role, alliance connection with the US, and search for an international standing that matched its economic status. Japanese IR studies expanded their scope in this stage from a focus on history, war, and security to include international political economy, international trade, international interdependence, international institutions, transnational relations, civil society, comprehensive security, human rights, and human security. The scope of

IRS in Japan has widened as master research questions have evolved, absorbing some aspects from the West but fusing them with indigenous ones to maintain a distinct identity (Yamamoto, 2011).

International studies in the People's Republic of China can be traced back to a government document titled 'Strengthening the research on foreign affairs in China' from 1963 (Wang, 2009). International politics departments were established in Peking University (to study the Third World), Renmin University (to study the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe) and Fudan University (to study the United States and Western Europe). Since then, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and numerous ministries established International Relations research institutions. (Alagappa, 2011, p. 214).

In China's exclusively state-led phase (1949–1979), the major goal of IRS was to legitimize the CCP, support the communist state's foreign policy, and train its diplomats (Alagappa, 2011, p. 204). The national security, the consolidation of the CCP's international image, the outset of the world in the context of the American-Soviet bipolar confrontation and China's solidarity in support of its foreign policy objectives, and the elaboration of concepts and national strategies were some topics covered by IR teaching and research at the time. Moreover, as part of IR studies, state ideology included foreign policy objectives on promoting the superiority of socialism and the crisis of capitalism, studying international communism and the Soviet model, investigating international contradictions and revolutionary movements in the Third World, and safeguarding China's national security (Wang, 2009).

The first department of IR in South Asia was established in the University of Dacca in 1947-48 and was multidisciplinary in scope with an emphasis on language studies

(Kalam & Hussain 2003, p. 3). The department gradually shifted to the faculty of social sciences, initially by offering its subsidiary programs to students from liberal arts as well as social science disciplines that was discontinued.

In India case, IR discipline was often presented as non-existent prior to 1947.

However, the Indian Council World Affairs (ICWA) established in 1943 was the only institution concerned with foreign affairs to critically teach students in evaluating current events in the global economic, social, security, and political fields in order to effectively promote the study of international affairs in India.

As a consequence, IR found fertile soil in India at the time of independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's interest in international affairs prompted to create strong university system with faculty educated in Western academic institutions, and a favorable budgetary situation among others led to the formation of several institutions and programs devoted to the study of IR (Bajpai, 2010). The 'master narrative' of IR study in India was Nehru's ideas about non-alignment and non-exclusionary regionalism, though it received little attention in the IR theoretical debated of the core (Behera, 2009, p. 143). The ideal institutional settings of IR study in India were Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), the University of Delhi, and Jamia Millia Islamia University in Delhi (Bajpai & Mattoo, 2009). Those were the strong university system founded in India with most of its faculties educated in Western universities. The number of institutions offering programs in international studies spread substantially in the 1950s and 1960s (Sharma, 2010).

Although, India did produce some of the diplomats of international stature, it ultimately failed to produce its own narrative dominating IR discipline in national context and of global repute (Paul 2009, p. 132). Navnita Behera (2009: 153) argues

that, Indian IR never embarked on a serious critique of the state or its policies and as consequence this has “completely stifled the scope of its intellectual inquiries”. In addition, IR study in India was as much a product of the legacy produced by a colonial thought, which prejudiced the project of state and nation building through the study IR. Similarly, Srini Sitaramam (2016: 16) argues that, “not only IR but the linguistic influence, political structure, and knowledge construction was mediated through the colonial project”.

Despite some strong position of the institutionalization of IR discipline in the periphery after Second World War, it generally remained weak as it did not have enough coherence or scale to follow the patterns like the core. The main focus of the discipline was only on the policy level and national need of the state. The intellectual hegemony of a burgeoning western IR was strong in the periphery. As Tickner and Waeber (2009: 335) argued, “there emerged something of a division of labor with the core doing IR theory, and the periphery not”.

The growth of the IR as an discipline since its emergence aftermath First World War, there have been challenging explanations to explain the growth of its study. A most prominent explanation links the emergence and development of IR through World War I and the Treaty of Versailles, the collapse of League of Nations, the World War II, the Cold War and its conclusion, the emergence of the United States as the only super power, and so forth are cited as key turning points by those advocating a contextual explanation (Olson and Groom, 1991). Nevertheless, the contextual explanation of IR remains as an academic discipline to the evolution and knowledge production through theoretical discourse, debates and discussion. In this short span of time, the subject passed through different phases and stages with the international

events marking by its own perspective and approach. Despite the growth, it is with no doubt that the subject matters of IR will change creating more stages of development in the years ahead. Yet, it will be studied inhibited as a part of all the social sciences and at the same time as an autonomous academic discipline.

### **4.3 International Relations in Nepal**

Before tracing the evolution of IR in Nepal, this study needs a retrospective look of Nepal's entry into the world politics or international affairs at first. In addition, this study also demands *ex post facto* of the evolution of modern education in Nepal. This is necessary because history is perhaps the oldest and the strongest which has been nurtured by scholars while investigating the context of present.

Nepal's history is worth mentioning here because it holds a very different and unique position in South Asia. It is extremely old country and this axiomatic reality can be drawn from the message of classical mythology canonic texts and Puran as well.

Artharwapisista is the first recorded canonical text where name of Nepal is mentioned for the first time believed to be created somewhere between 800-600 BCE (Regmi, 1970, p.90). Likewise, in Arthashashtra, a landmark book by Bishnu Gupta Kautilya, it is mentioned that the woolen products of Nepal were in high demand in Magadha and many of Magadha based merchants used to come Nepal for buying the same (Department of Customs, 2019). These all rich documents acknowledge Nepal as sovereign state since time immemorial.

In the second-half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, King of Gorkha, Prithvi Narayan Shah (P.N.) Shah after unifying the divided states of Nepal in to one, provided contemporary Nepal's foreign and security policies as well as molding its global perspective (Khanal, 2009, p. 96). He delivered the golden instructions in the form of a text called

‘Divya Upadesh’ (Gautam, 2017). This document was delivered to his successors and Nepalese citizens from his deathbed in order to teach them about his tough road of unity and the formation of Nepalese foreign policy.

The instructions of *Divya Upadesh* explain the vulnerability of Nepal’s geography and provide direction on pursuing the governance, foreign policy and diplomacy to ensure the existence, and security of Nepal from outside (Adhikari, 2015). Though, he didn’t have formal education to coin such dynamics of statecraft, and the policy statements compiled in the *Divya Upadesh*, it covered depth areas of International Relations and Diplomacy. The possibility of his knowledge about the politics, foreign affairs and diplomacy might have come from the sources of an ancient religious text like Mahabharata, Ramayana, Kautilay’s Statesmanship which was easily available in the society. The responsibility of Prithvi Narayan Shah’s education and statesmanship one was given to Chandraprabhawati, his stepmother (Onlinekhabar, 2022).

According to Hem Raj Kafle, “any attempt to study his policies and contributions takes the form of a postcolonial discourse in International Relations (Kafle, 2008)”, as most of the policies he took was in accordance with the realism school of thought. Upon studying P. N. Shah policies, IR student can sense the understanding of Prithvi Narayan Shah on the geopolitical challenge of Nepal, he further opines that if Nepal wishes to extend the connection with the British it would necessitate either matching economic-political power or sovereignty submission. Therefore, recognizing the strength and geo-reality of Nepal he opt “the policy of isolation” (Hasrat, 1971, p. iv) mainly aimed to restrain commercial transaction with the British. However, he also opted to continue a diplomatic relations due to the geographical closeness between the

two countries as he tried to render his foreign policy more diplomatic than commercial (Upadhyaya, 1998, p. 161).

Nepal followed a different path from the time of P.N. Shah while rests of the countries in South Asia were colonized by British. Bhutan was also not a colonized but a treaty signed with the British after its forces were defeated in North Bengal gave Britain control of its foreign relations (2011). P.N. Shah different path to foreign policy and espoused different approaches to goals of economic development, national unity, and stability considered to form distinct national narratives. The foreign policy that P.N. Shah applied was much of the realism approach. According to Stiller, “Prithvi Narayan Shah was a man of decision, he was also realist enough to recognize the complexity of the task he was undertaking (Stiller, 2017, p. 99)”. His diplomacy was heavily influenced by war and enmity. In his quest for Nepal's unification, he fought several wars while maintaining a cost-benefit analysis in mind. Before and after unification, the army and people made up the majority of Shah's state. In his teachings, Waltz incorporation of both offensive and defensive realism, which evolved in the 1990s as a result of his neo-realism, can also be found. (Baral, n.d.).

Moreover, PN Shah’s attempt to define Nepal’ geopolitics is prominent in sub-field of IR where imprints of geopolitics, diplomacy, strategic and security studies can be find. The Divya Upadesh disseminate by P.N. Shah where he defined Nepal as, “this state (Nepal) is like a yam (gourd) between two stones. Keep strong friendship with the Emperor of China, one has to maintain friendship with the Emperor of the sea (English Emperor) in the south. But he is very clever. He is occupying Hindustan. He is eyeing the plane area (of Nepal also) [English translation]” (P.N. Shah, 1989, p. 73). Those definitions clearly suggest the geopolitical reality of Nepal and thus must

be balanced with effective diplomacy. For this contribution, P.N. Shah deserves an important space in creating national narrative of defining international engagements. His sense of International Relations theory was indeed more applied and practically defined.

In addition, an important postcolonial characteristic seen in P. N. Shah's policy is the strategy of "self-determination." It was visible in his strategy that the question of self-reliance and self-sufficiency, primarily in the economy and culture, and is entwined with the policy of resistance to and isolation from British India.

He wanted to promote the native and indigenous goods by banning foreign products which stopped cash from spilling out. In addition, he encouraged the cultivation of native crops and conservation of farming land. "His main aim was to make the people self-sufficient in food and clothing" (Bhattarai, 2001, p. 4)", so that Nepalese would not have to depend on the imports from foreign countries. He also must have been fully aware of this common adage of his time: "With the merchant comes the musket; and with the Bible comes the Bayonet." This shows that he knew the strategy of British which was to trade and selling of the Christianity. "So, he removed the Capuchin Missionaries from Kathmandu as soon as he conquered it in 1768 (Sharma, 1976, pp. 232-3)". The reason for Prithvi Narayan Shah's discouragement of the influence of foreign missionaries can be seen from two lenses. First, they had "abused Nepalese hospitality by clandestinely invoking British intervention in Nepal against [him]" (Hasrat, 1971, p. 4).

Second, he wanted to make Nepal “the land of the Hindus uncontaminated by Muslim and Europeans” (Shah, 2001, p. 40).

Hence, there is less doubt that the founding father of Nepal’s foreign policy and international engagements directives as well as diplomacy has massive imprints of PN Shah’s understanding of Nepal. Nonetheless, on the basis of geo-reality of Nepal, his foreign policy based on non-alignment and neutrality remains to be pertinent for the survival and security of its existence. As Ludwig F. Stiller (2017) argued, “Prithvi Narayan Shah, from the house of Gorkha, provided the vision and leadership that galvanized this state to concerted action and sustained it to the moment of victory”.

Likewise, the rise of Jung Bahadur Rana in Nepal on 1846 and taking power from Shah King to mere figurative heads also extended P.N. Shah’s policy of isolation, although, he adopted British-India centric policy knowing that British power had dominated the entire region while China’s might was waning (Rose, 1971, p. 106). In addition, Jung Bahadur Rana also adopted appeasement policy primarily to ensure security for his regime, thus, making some important choices regarding Nepal's foreign policy.

"Firstly, he decided that Nepal was to remain isolated from the outside world. Secondly, he decided to ignore China since it was a declining power and thirdly, relationship with the British was strengthened by helping to quell the sepoy mutiny in 1857, in which Nepali troops fought in Lucknow for the British (Lohani, 2011, p.3)”.

Nepal entered in to the world politics after the advent of 1950’s democracy. Until the violent overthrow of the autocratic Rana regime in 1950, Nepal was outside the stream of international relations, being secluded in the Himalayas and in substantial

contact only with her neighbors India, Tibet, and occasionally China (Levi, 1957).

India played role in overthrowing Rana regime as King Tribhuvan took refuge in Delhi to negotiate with Rana family. As a result, foreign policy of Nepal was directed and dominated by the Indian government. According to Rose and Dayal (1960, p. 60) "Nepal had no foreign policy during the period of 1951 to 1955, Delhi used to represent Nepal in international forum".

The Cold War between the U.S. and Soviet Union had started after the Second World War but Nepal was not involved. However, it was caught in the small cold war which was being waged in the frontier mountain areas between India and China. Nepal was compulsorily entered into the world politics since then. In most cases, the relations grown up between Nepal and foreign countries since 1950 were due to the initiative of India, China and the other western countries but not Nepal (Levi, 1957, p. 236).

#### **4.4 Post 1950 – Institutionalization of IR in Nepal**

Taking the behavioral form of International Relations during PN Shah and Rana Regime, the institutionalization of academia with the advent of democracy in 1951 provided a space for knowledge production in Nepal. Apparently, environment for the studies of higher education to general public was possible only with the political change. At the time, Tri-Chandra College established in 1918 was the only one institute for higher education (Hachhethu, 2004, p.226).

The study of IR became associated with the project of nation building in India, and more broadly in South Asia and other post-colonial states (Alagappa, 2011). In South Asia, an IR study is geographically centered in the capital and is strongly linked to the state's power structure. "Social science knowledge produced in South Asia is "an accomplice to the project of the state" (Uyangoda, 1994)".

As mentioned above, the advent of democracy in 1951 provided a space for general Nepalese to get education. Before starting a journey of going “international”, Political Science was first introduced in Tri-Chandra College in 1951 not as an independent discipline, but as part of civics in matriculation examinations (Khatri, 2001, p. 139), and was affiliated with Patna University, India. A matriculation was a term commonly used to refer to the final year of the 10th class, which ends at tenth Board (tenth grade), and the qualification consequently received by passing the national board exams or the state board exams, commonly called “matriculation exams”. Even then, teaching of it mostly focused on the political thought and constitutional development, and only partially on public administration (Khatri, 2001, p. 140). Nepal, however, started excursion of ‘international’ in the same college when International Politics was first included at intermediate level (Khatri, 2001, p. 142). It was at best, a rudimentary institutionalization of IR.

The situation changed in 1959 when Nepal established a university of its own and the department of Political science was formed with the introduction of specified Nepali contents in the teaching curriculum to suit the national requirements (Hachhethu, 2002, p. 52). After TU establishment, the sub-fields of IR- International Organization and Diplomacy were introduced as a single subject and International Law as a compulsory subject at the post-graduate level (Khatri, 2001, p. 142). It was however incorporated within umbrella of the Political Science department, with all the assets and liability in which the department itself operates.

The challenge during the initial years to develop the pedagogy for IR was the scholars which Indian and Westerners scholars had contributed much. While few Nepali academics had been involved in teaching higher education from the early 1950s, first

generation of educated Nepali scholars were trained in Indian Universities including teachers. With the exception of history, all postgraduate programs were taught by India-trained Nepali teachers, Colombo Plan Indian teachers, and American Fulbright teachers until the late 1970s. Research was likewise dominated by Indian and Westerners, with Nepali scholars appearing only in the mid-1960s (Hachethu, 2004, p. 226).

The partyless panchayat system was adopted in 1960, one year after the creation of TU. This had a significant impact on the broader educational environment, notably in terms of political science discipline. The New Educational Plan (NEP) of 1972 spelled out some of the regime's goals which were to construct the ideological and philosophical base for the partyless panchayat system (Hachhethu, 2004, p.231). Political Science as a discipline and a sensitivity of the subject in knowledge production couldn't flourish due to the fear psyche of regimented system. As a young discipline it was thoroughly overhauled at all levels including research.

However, the NEP of 1972 marked a departure on the study of Political Science as well as IR with regard to curriculum and human resource. The British-Indian system of education was replaced with the American semester system at the university level. This system was mirrored in the redesign of the Political Science curriculum, which included several intensive courses and a refining of the IR syllabi. In addition to the regular course on international politics, when the department at TU first introduced International Relations in its Masters program, Area Studies dominated its curriculum that included courses on foreign policies of major powers and neighboring countries; regional studies focusing on South and Southeast Asia, West Asia and Africa as well as comparative studies of governments in United States of America (USA), United

Kingdom (UK), Soviet Union and Japan along with neighboring countries like China, Pakistan and India (Khatri, 2003, p. 28).

During this time, syllabi were revised to include courses on China and Japan, and fresh emphasis was placed on behavioral and inter-disciplinary methods, as well as the introduction of various sub-fields of IR.

The courses like Modern Political Analysis, Comparative Politics, Foreign Policy and Diplomacy, and Regional Studies were introduced. International Organization was offered as a separate optional course, as was the course on foreign policy and diplomacy, which examined the foreign policies of major powers and neighboring countries in greater depth while advanced International Relations was introduced as an optional subject. Nepalese Studies was also introduced, which focused entirely on Nepal's foreign policy (Khatri, 2003, p. 140).

Though new courses were introduced with NEP semester system, prominent problems were also identified in the regimented educational plan. The dual policy taken by regimented government was mainly identified in two domains. First, was to carry out research mostly via government offices and second was to control the teaching institutes. This created the lack of manpower in academic teaching of the subjects and professional scholars to perform and produce research books. The Panchayat Training Centre, Nepal Administrative Staff College, and the Centre for Panchayat Policy and Investigation were among the government institutes involved in political research (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 231). The reason behind was that the political atmosphere in the university had always been hostile to the partyless panchayat system. On the contrary, government research could hardly contribute to academic growth. In addition, the

government also tried to control research output in other ways, including via recruitment.

"What we have tried to produce is a synthetic combination of the empirical approach and the formal constitutional approach," the shift in study's path was justified (Malla 1974, p. 135). However, when a new course called "Nature, Method, and Recent Trends in Political Science" (later modified as a chapter in *Modern Political Analysis*) was introduced in 1966-68, it showed the issue of having not enough trained staff to take on additional courses. Some visiting Fulbright American academics (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 5) covered these sections because Nepali and Indian professors were unfamiliar with the new courses.

The first casualty of the political movement of 1980 was the educational system which collapsed the NEP of 1972. As it was the first area in which authority compromised, as it also agreed on a referendum to decide the fate of the Panchayat political system (Khatri, 2001, p. 140). The semester system came to an end and education process reverted to the earlier annual system. This was turmoil in the development of IR and the trend towards greater specialization in International Relations was reversed as the annual system of teaching was reintroduced with generalized courses.

As a result, regional studies were reduced drastically and courses on international organization and diplomacy were merged in to a single unit. Further, the course on advanced International Relations was removed but some of its topics merged haphazardly with the regular course on International Politics while course offering on foreign policy of the major powers was discarded (Khatri, 2001, p. 143).

In 1999, the curriculum of Political Science was updated but systematically poorly organized and were largely based on combination of previous experience.

While new course structures are updated somewhat in each of the earlier subjects, regional studies was given more emphasis with the addition of Western Europe and Western Hemisphere as separate courses on top those offered earlier. A more important was noticed at the graduate level courses with the addition of a second optional course on International Relations and Inclusion of Arms Control as part of the course on International Law. The most notable is the addition of a new field of study on national security, which is offered only at the Military Campus, in Kharipati, which is also affiliated to Tribhuvan University (Khatri, 2001, p. 143).

The inseparable link between the change in political system and change in educational system often jeopardized the development of IR in Nepal even though it existed under Political Science discipline. While it is evident that political science as a discipline flourished in terms of teaching and research during the Panchayat period, it is disputed if a "climate favourable to academic exercise" genuinely existed (Khatri, 2001, p. 141). The dread mindset of native political scientists under the regimented Panchayat system was the explanation for this. To avoid taking risks in their study, most PhD students during the Panchayat regime (1960-1990) chose foreign policy themes.

If there was ever a golden age in Nepal for the study of political science, it was after the People's Movement in 1990, when the Panchayat system collapsed and democracy was restored (Khatri, 2001, p. 141). However, the development of IR in Nepal after

1990 was obscured by an outlet outside the traditional academic turf with the irony in Nepal's highly burdened University bureaucracy, the study of political science as well as IR grew more unsystematically within this new political context. Consequently, the experts from CNAS and within the University shifted their focus to the availability of funds from donor agencies and moved to NGOs projects.

In addition, from 1990 onwards, the difficulty in finding jobs for those educated in the Political Science increased which led to the decline of social sciences. Although, some subjects within social sciences like sociology and anthropology were more popular than other social sciences subjects. To quote K.B. Bhattachan, “Due to ever-growing activities of international non-governmental organizations in Nepal and their increasing demand for sociology and anthropology graduates to work with them the discipline has become very glamorous” (Bhattachan 1997, p. 17). For the study of IR, there were no similar opportunities since the scarce of funding available to the subject rather the funding was ease for those who concentrated on research in the areas of democratic development in Nepal (Khatri, 2001, p. 143).

Nevertheless, Tribhuvan University was the focal point epitomizing both the strengths and weaknesses of the teaching standards in Political Science in Nepal. With many other universities operating in Nepal after 1990, teaching of political science was confined to only TU (Khatri, 2001, p. 141). The colleges affiliated with TU however introduced the course of Political Science aside from Kathmandu, for instance, in Pokhara, Birgunj, Janakapur and Biratnagar. Despite, the change in syllabi from time to time, the teaching of Political Science often involved regurgitating the same materials with very little emphasis in keeping up with developments on subject matters at the international level.

After running annual academic year system for more than three and half decades, in 2014, TU reinstated the semester structure of course study in central campus (Bisudhhi, 2014). The Central Department of Political Science (CDPS) structured the course structure accordingly and the syllabi for studies of IR became intense and refined. Consequently, several sub-fields of IR were added. In addition to the regular course on Masters Degree, International Politics has been offered in first semester and International Law in second semester. Further, Politics and Governance, Foreign policy of Nepal, International Political Economy, Diplomacy and International Organization was also offered. While Regional Studies also dominated the course structure including Middle East, South East Asia and Western Hemisphere. In addition, the department now offers M.phil program whereas Dean Office provides the PhD program.

#### **4.4 Status of International Relations in Nepal**

Although, the study of IR in Nepal took more than half a century to flourish in true academic sense since it was first taught in TU. Though, the prospect of creating IR department in late 80s was discussed among then CNAS researchers, it gradually lost out from sight aftermath the political changes in the country, there were number of factors responsible for this outcome. Among them include the country's political circumstances, the relatively gradual expansion of the workforce required to teach the disciplines, and the limited resource basis from which it has had to operate (Khatri, 2001, p. 139).

Against the background of political change of Nepal in 2006, being Federal Republic many universities was established. Currently, with 11 Universities operating in Nepal, there are at least three more universities in the pipeline (Ghimire, 2021). But,

International Relations studies are however confined to only two universities, one is the Tribhuvan University (TU) at Kritipur in 2013 (Poudel, 2013) and other is the Mid-Western University at Surkhet in the year 2013 (Basnet, 2015). Among them TU is the distinct of hosting one of the leading department of International Relations in Nepal.

TU started off its journey to separate academic disciplinary thinking “international” with one institutional program as it inherited the very first Masters Program in IR at department of International Relations and Diplomacy (DIRD), incorporated within the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, Tribhuvan University (TU).

Eventually, in very short period of time, the course was developed with a narrative to produce such a man power so that Nepal could shape and make foreign policy of its own. According to a webpage of DIRD, it adopts an interdisciplinary approach towards global politics and economy, and aligns an in-depth study of foreign policy and diplomacy, with special designed towards understanding Nepal’s foreign policy behavior and diplomatic practices. Similarly, in an interview with New Business Age (2013), a monthly magazine, Khadga KC then head of the department stated that, least developed countries like Nepal needs to expand its international relations even more. In the initial years, it functioned as a degree program and later in the year 2019, it was developed as a department of International Relations and Diplomacy. The Doctoral course on International Relations and Diplomacy was simultaneously introduced in 2018, with a goal to encourage and publish original and rigorous research in the field (“Department of IR, n.d.”).

The IR course at TU covers major subject of IR i.e. Foreign Policy Analysis, Public Policy for International Relations and Diplomacy, International and Regional

Organizations, and Diplomacy. In addition, Small States in International Relations, International Political Economy, Professional and Diplomatic Communication, Diplomatic Practices and International Law are included in the regular courses. The sub-fields of IR including Strategic Studies, State Building and Failure in Developing World, Peace and Conflict Studies, Politics of Climate Change and Politics of International Migration mostly remain confined to optional courses at the Masters level (“Syllabus, 2021”). In addition to the Masters course, the DIRD also offers M.phil-PhD program since 2018 (“mird, n.d.”).

The DIRD have conducted its program up to eighth batch and have played distinctive role in knowledge providing. According to the list thesis submission, more than 100 students have completed their dissertation. And the major research area of students at TU in their Thesis includes Small States, Regional Organization, Nepal’s Foreign Policy and Diplomacy, Soft Power, Small States, Climate Change, Bilateral and Tri-lateral Policy/Relations, Geo-Politics, Migration, Disarmament and Neighbor Studies.

In case of Mid-Western University (MWU), it offered IR study at Surkhet since 2013 and is incorporated under the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (“dirdmwu, n.d.”). Aside from TU, MWU has provided the both undergraduate and graduate course on IR degree since the beginning. The four years Bachelors Program has offered some major fields of IR in its curriculum including Foreign Policy, Diplomacy, International Law and Regional Study, however, the sub fields of IR are also offered in most of the curriculum like Nepal’s Domestic Politics, The Politics of Indian Ocean, Terrorism, Gender, National Interest, Security, Arms Control and Disarmament, Strategic Studies, Globalization, Human Rights and so on.

In addition, the Masters Program offers major subjects of IR including Foreign Policy and Diplomacy, International Organization, Nepal's Foreign Policy and Regional Study focusing South Asia, Political Economy, International Security, Area Studies and Arms Control and Disarmament whereas Cultural and Economic Diplomacy and The Study of Subaltern in International Relations are offered as optional paper in fourth semester. The dissertation is mandatory for both Bachelors and Masters Program in IR. According to the list provided by MWU, 67 students have submitted their dissertation on completion of Masters degree where the major research areas of MWU students choose at the thesis are Foreign Policy of Nepal, Climate Change and Migration, Regional Studies, International Organization, Diplomacy, Security and Regional Studies.

Besides TU and MWU, Global College in 2013 also introduced the Masters degree in International Relations affiliated to the University of Warsaw. However, after running two batches the program collapsed in 2015. The reason for not conducting the program is unknown.

Institutional strategies—at the national and regional levels—for sharing intellectual and literary resources for training teachers, making available locally-produced good journal, books and developing focused and up-to-date syllabi that take into account the geo-cultural sensitivities of the country/region in question and establishing good libraries and documentation centers in different countries in the region and even different parts of larger neighbor countries like India and China, have been lacking in the department. According to Khadga KC (2020), the DIRD requested JNU for having mutual understanding between the two universities however it didn't respond. While IR department at TU have mutual understanding with Sichuan University of China on

exchanging students and the resources, materials could be seen as a positive aspect. While the discipline merited greater attention from institutions—governmental and nongovernmental— because of its importance to Nepal and the contemporary global realities, the underselling of International Relations in Nepal is both a cause and consequence of neglecting the critical task of institution building. The coordination and nexus building between the department at TU and MWU is further poorly characterize as it doesn't have tie with various IR think tanks operating in Nepal.

Whereas, the Mid-Western University at Surkhet lag than behind TU due to the geographical constraint, lack of expertise and professional scholars in institutional building process. However, it has signed a MoU with Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA) in 2020 to exchange the academic resources that entails for both institutions development.

Lack of funds and infrastructure has severely impeded the growth of the field of IR in Nepal. While non-governmental organizations and think tank mushroomed outside the universities (Hachhethu, 2004) have multiple sources of funding, State universities like TU and MWU lacking funds from the government is quite odd and peculiar. In Nepal, the government remains suspicious, if not apathetic, towards the teaching of IR though its parent discipline-Political Science-flourished after the 1990 people's movement restored democracy and power was transferred to a popular- elected government (Behera, 2008, p. 6).

In a September 1, 2016 Republica interview titled "Foreign policy institution building not state priority," Khadga KC, then Coordinator and Associate Professor of Tribhuvan University's Master's Program in International Relations and Diplomacy (DIRD), revealed that the government is not enthusiastic about establishing foreign

policy institutions, despite the fact that many other scholars are advocating for their establishment. Nonetheless, political stability remains a major concern due to its direct impact on all aspects of the country.

A healthy IR discipline would entail 'a well-knit national community engaged in effective internal communion' (Rana & Misra, 2004, p. 111). The IR department has subscribed to international monthly magazine of Foreign Affairs, The Economist and Time. It also has collection of journal from the central department of Political Science named 'Journal of Political Science'. However, a healthy academic community is lacking in the department. The IR scholars at TU interact with each other, but there is little evidence to show that, according to KC (2020), 'they have so far tried cumulatively to build a coherent edifice of work in well defined areas, related to key IR disciplinary concerns and problems in some kind of dialectical correlation'.

Though, department at TU occasionally host guest lectures and seminars, it don't have an effective, functioning professional body of IR scholars. Likewise, according to Pramod Jaiswal, the director of NIICE very few IR scholars and students of TU and MWU participates the webinar organized by the institution though it has been performing outstandingly in recent years organizing webinars with highly recognized speakers from IR community like Joseph Nye, John Mearsheimer, Kishore Mahubani and many.

As Waever (1999) states that, "Journals are the lifeline of a discipline as they provide the most important platform for scholars to debate issues and methodologies and, to that extent, they are the 'most direct measure of the discipline itself'. The DIRD has produced three academic journals since its establishment with a name 'Journal of

International Affairs'. Various scholars from national and international have contributed for the journal including students and faculties from DIRD.

In addition, the department has recently upgraded its library facilities having more than 2500 books covering various sub fields of IR like Small States, Security and Strategic Studies, International Organizations, International Law, Academic Writing, Regional Studies, Diplomacy, Climate, Migration, Arms and Disarmament, Foreign Policy ("DIRD Library, n.d."). The department has added number of computers available for students and faculties, moreover upgrading to avail new research tools and techniques and academic papers from different online journals are now made accessible.

#### **4.5 Research Institutions in IR**

Research is the lifeline of a discipline as it provides the most important platform for scholars to debate issues and methodologies and, to that extent, it is the most direct measure of the discipline itself (Waever, 1999, p. 57). As Nepal came out from its policy of isolation in 1950 onwards that it took for more than a century. As a late comer in academia, research history in Nepal too can be traced back to the 1950s with the emergence of democratic era. During 1950s, except for the domination of Nepalese in the field of history, it was-mainly foreign scholars who conducted research in the social sciences in Nepal. These foreign writers were mainly westerners and Indians (Hachhethu, 2002, p. 51).

According to John Whelpton, Nepal has allowed foreign researchers' freer access than in other parts of the Himalayan region, and probably also because many researchers simply found it a "congenial place to work" (Whelpton, 1990, p. 14). Another important reason for the flow of Indian and Americans writers in the 1960s-1970s was

the strategic location of Nepal between China and India along with its importance at regional and international levels during Cold War. Thus in terms of research production of Political research, Nepal had no strong foundation and had to rely on foreigners findings in the related subject matters. Prior to 1990, there was a hostile environment for critical internal politics research under the regimented Panchayat system (Hachethhu, 2004, p. 236).

### **University-Affiliated Think Tanks**

Research in Nepal at the government level as a new phenomenon started from the mid-1960s and expanded later. The establishment of Tribhuvan University also paved Nepali scholar in the field of research. Government research served two purposes during the Panchayat regime: building an ideological and philosophical foundation for the then-party-less Panchayat system, and providing policy input for growth. With the multiparty democracy in Nepal in 1990, the first objective's significance faded, but the importance of the second remained evident.

The space and scope for research in occurred during 70s when TU established its own specialized research centers designed to produce social science research in Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS) and development research in Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA). This marked a switch from purely teaching-based to research-based social science knowledge production (Hachethhu, 2004, p. 236). The Center for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS) (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 244), which began as the Institute of Nepal Studies (INS) in 1969, changed its name to Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies (INAS) in 1972, and finally to its current title in 1977, was primarily responsible for conducting social science research, with a focus on history, politics, sociology, anthropology, and language.

The role of TU's own research centers needs to be observed to understand the state of political science and international relations research in the university. The development took place not in the area of teaching, but in the area of research which the CNAS had then committed to undertake under its new Director (Khatri, 2001, p. 143). The high point in the growth of studies on IR occurred in the 1980s, independent of what political science was then experiencing as a discipline. Political science was added in 1978, although the new wing's focus was on Area Studies and domestic politics research was highly discouraged by the Panchayat establishment (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 244). Although, CNAS continued the quality research in various areas of social sciences, it started branching out into the field of international relations in the late 1970s by recruiting the needed manpower. During the early period when CNAS had a strong section on international studies, many scholars from the department were recruited full time and part time as well to meet the program requirements. The number of experts specializing respectively on Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, India, Japan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, regional affairs and International Relations was also remarkable achievement of CNAS research wing during its high growth (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 244).

The outstanding of CNAS's research on a wing of political science was shown by the publication of the journal. The Center started a bi-annual journal, entitled 'Strategic Studies Series', in addition to publication of 'CNAS Yearbook' which provided an overview of political developments in all the SAARC member countries (Khatri, 2001, p. 143) in addition to their contribution to 'CNAS Forum'. The center was intensively involved in this area, its contribution was widely recognized in the region and a few of the highly recognized regional experts used to also contribute to its journal, 'Strategic Studies Series'. To facilitate research and making a healthy

academic community, CNAS also subscribed to a number of international journals and leading newspapers from South Asian countries, plus it concentrated research on South and East Asia area studies until 1980s. Discussion Programs on current issues were also held regularly and its proceedings were published in its CNAS Forum. It published Documentation on SAARC for the years 1988, 1990 and 1990-95, cataloguing books and articles published in South Asia relating to regionalism (Khatri, 2001, p. 144). In addition, the center also had a manpower development program that encouraged country specialization in each of the SAARC member countries, in addition to Japan and China (Kumar, 1989).

Though, some hesitation existed between the Palace and TU academicians, studies of International Relations and foreign policy research went in to the depth of it. The Nepali Journal of Political Science, published from 1979 to 1983, showed this reality.

“Out of 29 articles published in the total six issues of this journal, papers on Nepali politics account for only three, the remaining being on Nepal’s foreign policy, regional affairs, international relations and political theory. Similarly out of 10 papers in the ‘Current Issue Series’ brought out by CNAS forum, nine articles are related to Nepal’s foreign policy and south Asian affairs and one on development (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 232)”.

For most of that decade, the Center functioned as “Think Tank” of the country on international matters through its research studies and topical workshops and seminars. An international seminar was held in 1985 on regional security issues in South Asia, with luminaries from the region (Khatri, 1987). However, the difference between the Director and one of the senior political scientists, on India-Nepal relations and

particularly on India's blockade of Nepal in March 1989 (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 245), resulted in dividing the political scientists of the center. Later, many researchers were transferred to TU's other campuses from CNAS. Since then, the publication of Strategic Study Series, CNAS Year Review and CNAS forum stopped permanently. After this event, the CNAS political science branch shifted its concentration from foreign policy to internal politics, albeit this was largely due to a shift in research priorities following the restoration of democracy in 1990.

CNAS under the post-1990 democratic regimes has not been able to thrive as an institution due to the lack of institutional approach in setting research agenda, collecting funds to conduct research, ever-increasing bureaucratization, political influence, lack of resource materials and involvement of some of its academics in consultancy research outside the university (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 245). Moreover, most of the original manpower were no longer with the Center and those working at the institution had largely redirected their attention more to studies on democratic development in Nepal than on international issues.

Despite of having many ups and downs in CNAS history, it is nonetheless a leading university think tank for social science research, substantially contributing to the understanding of Nepali society, culture, foreign policy, diplomacy, history, linguistics, contemporary politics and Asian Studies. In addition, two things remain unaffected although challenges mount in span of time, one is the regular publication of its journal 'Contributions to Nepalese Studies', over the last three decades and the other is quality of its research output.

According to Mrigendra Karki, current director of CNAS, a poll conducted by Pennsylvania University in 2019, the Centre is ranked 67th among the top 100 think

tanks in Southeast Asia and the Pacific region. Similarly, since 2018, CNAS has revived India, China and Japan Desks. The desks are focused on the study of the respective countries from Nepali perspective, employing country-specific academic networking strategies (Karki, n.d.). In addition, 'Strategic Studies Series' was also revived in 2021, publishing its 11th series after the gap of 35 years.

CEDA-like CNAS, another research centre at TU is an interdisciplinary center focusing on only one area, development. Since its foundation in 1969 as an autonomous research institution, which was later integrated into the university in 1972, CEDA has focused on two areas: applied research and training (Hachethu, 2002, p. 68). In terms of IR studies CEDA had a role to play but minimal had been its output and contributions. Despite being the BIMSTEC Network of Think Tanks and a focal point of SAARC, CEDA has done little in terms of research production. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, CEDA did publish books on Nepal's foreign policy and regional cooperation in South Asia, although its interest in politics is occasional because of its primary concentration on development issues. (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 237).

After the political change of 1990, there was an up surge in the number of research institutions or think tanks. However, social sciences research in the university became neglected and marginalized. Particularly, after the restoration of democracy in 1990, most of the institutions were highly politicized, which hindered the institutions from producing the anticipated outcomes. And, the mushrooming of NGOs and INGOs after 1990 and the availability of funds from donor agencies led many TU social scientists spirit to divert to the quest for money (Hachhethu, 2002, p. 69). Another issue that had not been addressed repeatedly since TU initiated research was the

separation of research and teaching jobs, as well as the prevalence of enmity between those who worked in research centers and those who worked in teaching departments. As a result, teaching and research had never been considered as mutually beneficial which hindered the overall condition of the discipline.

### **Governmental-Affiliated Think Tanks**

To demonstrate the diversity and growth of research on Nepali politics and IR, it is important to highlight the names of the prominent governmental and non-academic think tanks in Nepal but have contributed in the study and research of IR.

Before the beginning of formal education in political science and international relations, Nepal Council of World Affairs (NCWA) came into existence with a commitment to foreign policy deliberations and other key issues of global concern. It was established in 1948 as a non-profit organization (“ncwa. n.d.”). Indeed, the think tank came into being with the benefaction of late King Tribhuvan, late King Mahendra, and late King Birendra. Former King Gyanendra had granted patronage to the Council as the Head of the State (Jaiswal, 2021, p. 50). On national level, NCWA aims to serve as an information center of world affairs and to discuss and disseminate information on current affairs of national and international importance and contribute to human welfare and generating awareness citizens.

The thematic areas of NCWA interest include foreign policy of Nepal, its bilateral relations and engagements, and global affairs. In addition, it also carries out research on those areas. The organization over the years has carried out several talk programs by visiting dignitaries and scholars to enhance awareness and understanding among nations of the world. Seminars and workshops on international understanding, global events, and issues of national concern have also been frequently conducted. It also

produces a number of publications like journal of NCWA, NCWA e-bulletin, commentaries, and exchanges publication with other institutions. There is an exchange of goodwill visits with various foreign institutions with the intention of advancing international understanding (Jaiswal, 2021, p. 51).

Nevertheless, the institution is keen on contributing to peace by promoting mutual cooperation among the nations of the world (Jaiswal, 2021, p. 50). The NCWA remaining one of the governments initiated not-for profit think tank organization has maintained an exchange of goodwill visits with various foreign institutions since its establishment.

The government initiation of research in Nepal first started from mid-60s as scope and space for government research intensified and diversified with the establishment of Tribhuvan University, eventually setting up a number of area-specific state-owned research offices for which CNAS was credited above in conducting research of IR and Political Science. Secondly, after the restoration of multiparty democracy, the Administrative Reform Commission formed in 1992 suggested setting up a separate policy-planning division in each major ministry and department (Hachhethu, 2002, p. 70). Thus, was born Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA) in 1993 as an organ of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nepal (MoFA). This was the first specific think tank institute designated to work on the matter of international relations. At the time of its founding, the Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA) was ostensibly a topic-specific center and was envisioned as a think tank on foreign affairs issues. It was originally created to meet the professional training needs of Nepalese Foreign Service officials and staff, but it was reconstructed as a semi-autonomous entity in 1998. Despite being a leading think tank, it is hardly operating for which it was established due to its legal and

structural foundation under MoFA, its embellishment and improvisation is not within the functional periphery which is shown by its only single produced journal in 2021 with a name 'Journal of Foreign Affairs' since establishment.

IFA as a state fund is a leading think tank working toward generating national consensus on foreign policy issues (Jaiswal, 2021, p. 6). Although, it has begun to produce journal, conduct seminars and conferences, holding symposium and forums in current international affairs, funding has always been its problem since its establishment. It conducts research on issues of national importance, particularly Nepal's interactions and behavior with international countries (Jaiswal, 2021, p. 6).

However, both as state think tank having a long operating history has become senile. CK Lal in 'Diplomacy for dummies' (2006) compares the Nepal Council of World Affairs (NCWA) and the Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA) and says that both are irrelevant and uninspiring (Lal, 2006) . This remains true, even after 28 years of its establishment, owing to lack of political will and little regard for research centers, the think tank is yet to be institutionalized. Moreover, rendering the staffers accountable and creating a sense of belonging to the institution still remains amongst its major problems. The op-ed entitled 'Polity-policy interface' published in Kathmandu Post some years back, reflects the dire situation of the foreign policy institution, as stated ".....the foreign ministry's Institute for Foreign Affairs is a joke, with ministers picking up cronies as heads.

Back in 2013, when Baburam Bhattarai was Prime Minister, he pitched the concept of establishing the Institute of Strategic and Foreign Affairs Studies and the Institute of Economic and Development Studies with government funding, but it remained just that: an idea. However, in 2018, the government came with a government affiliated

think tank, Policy Research Institute, with the objective of reviewing public policies, programs, and strategies through rigorous research and analysis so as to provide policy recommendations to the Government of Nepal.

Policy Research Institute (PRI) incorporates various subjects and areas which include governance, economic growth, equity and inclusion, infrastructure, international relations, agriculture, education, tourism, and other sectors. It has also put forward its mandate to work in IR domains i.e. National Interests, Foreign Policy and Strategic Affairs (Jaiswal, 2021, p. 52).

### **NGOs /IR Think Tanks in Nepal**

At the end of the 1980s, major political shifts on a global scale opened up new opportunities for nonprofit groups (NGOs) vis-à-vis think-tanks and their activity in the international sphere. Their room for maneuver was particularly expanded with the end of the Cold War and the related opening of the Iron Curtain (Stone, 2005). Since the 1990s, NGOs and think-tank have become significant players on the international arena.

In Nepal's case, although some NGO's did establish during 70's and 80's, it was only after the first people's movement of 1990 mushrooming of NGOs and availability of foreign research funds increased (Dahal, 2000). However, most of them were NGOs functioning for developmental research program and very few working on political science and international relations. Like New ERA, established in 1971 as Nepal's first non-governmental not-for-profit research organization-which have their own credentials of being consultancy and client based research centers focusing mainly on areas of economic development (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 229). Similarly, the diversifications of research by non-governmental think tank organization but non-

academic in nature located in Nepal and the main areas in which they have contributed are worth mentioning here. Like, Society for Constitutional and Parliamentary Affairs (SCOPE) on the constitution and parliament; Institute for Integrated Development Studies (IIDS) on election, South Asia Partnership/Nepal (SAP-Nepal) on peace and conflict resolution, Informal Service Sector (INSEC) on human rights, Nepal Foundation for Advanced Studies (NEFAS) on governance and civil society, National Democratic Institution for International Affairs (NDI) on gender, corruption, parliament, political parties and governance; Coalition for Actions for South Asian Cooperation (CASAC) and South Asia Forum for Human Rights (SAFHR) on peace, conflict resolution and regional cooperation (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 247 ).

In addition, major political parties established think tanks in the names of their leading figures after 1990, such as the BP and GP Koirala Foundations of the Nepali Congress and the Madan Bhandari and Tulsilal Amatya Foundations of the old CPN-UML. They employed their own foundations, while the party's foreign policy team and cadres feel compelled to organize events. To arrange programs, no foundation has its own funds; instead, it receives donations from the Nepal government and other governmental and non-governmental organizations throughout the world (Adhikari, 2018). So far, nothing hard has been coming from the political based think tanks in terms of IR studies.

In the post-1990 period, research on political and other subjects by the private sector did thrive with the availability of foreign funds. But gradually, the focus shifted from politics-related research to the study of legal-structural aspects and to the question of

empowerment of local bodies and marginalized groups (women, dalit, Janajati, local governance, decentralization etc.) (Hachhethu, 2004, p. 237).

In recent times, autonomous and independent IR think tanks have emerged in Nepal that are functioning with significant independence from any interest group or donor, and are autonomous in their operation and funding from the government, for instance, Center for South Asian Studies (CSAS), China Study Center (CSC), Nepal International Cooperation and Engagement (NIICE), Martin Chautari, Nepal Institute for Policy Research (NIPoRe), Nepal Institute for Strategic Studies (NISS), Niti Foundation, Nepal Forum of International Relations Studies and Social Science Baha (Jaiswal, 2021, p. 14). Sangam Institute for Policy Analysis and Strategic Studies during the initial year of its establishment once functioned quite well and produced numerous articles mattering IR but has disappeared as murkily as it first appeared.” Unfortunate to see the message "domain name has expired" while attempting to open the webpage Sangam Institute for Policy Analysis and Strategic Studies — this could have happened owing to an investment concern (2016).

The autonomous think-tanks like Centre for South Asian Studies (CSAS)-2010 organize the conference and events on regional issues of South Asia along with publications and Asian Institute of Diplomacy and International Affairs (AIDIA)-2014 basically focuses on organizing the talk program, seminar, and conference – making public the video of its events is appreciable. Moreover, Nepal Institute for International Cooperation and Engagement (NIICE) was established in 2020. This particular organization has produced numerous virtual talk series in recent months with various IR scientists of the world. In addition, it has also produced a bi-annual journal named ‘Journal of Security and International Studies (JSIS)’.

## CHAPTER V

### ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The field of International Relations (IR) took to be the centenary of the discipline in 2019 since it came into being as a formal field of study in 1919 in response to the catastrophe of the First World War. Compare to this, IR in Nepal is nearly a century late separate discipline, if marked to the establishment of DIRD at TU in 2013.

Shaped by changing domestic political circumstances, national objectives, and educational circumstances, IR study in Nepal have developed in a sluggish way.

Nepal encompassing markedly different experiences of modern international relations (ir), covering full range of social and political events from the time of PN Shah's foreign policy, Rana's isolation policy, Cold War alignments and rivalry between Indian and China, the dynamics of IR was mostly absent in Nepal. The disciplinary perspective deployed by institution like TU clearly shows that there was no domestic notion of an IR paradigm from Nepal's standpoint. In the beginning, it was taught from the Anglo notion of IR, dominating most of the course structure by the Area Studies, nonetheless, it didn't produce the kind of knowledge suitable for the country. After 1990, though prospect was created to develop IR by redefining and as a distinct scholarly community, the heavily politicization in the university transgressed the disciplinary boundaries.

As all knowledge is generated within a particular social, national and academic context, the environment and the conditions within which IR knowledge evolved in Nepal was mainly the western narrative taking the post-colonial and development theory. However, a separate academic discipline of IR establishment in two of the universities in Nepal now should infuse a new spirit into it, entailing risks to redefine

its concept indigenously and through grass-root levels. This is indispensable as Nepal was neither a colonized country to carry the legacy of post-colonial thought of IR nor did its 'ir' evolved at the time of development theory was conceptualized. Since, theories are always for someone and for some purpose, Nepal's IR theory should have a reference to its formation as a nation-state. It doesn't mean to discard the western theory of IR study but rather to take the first step in an attempt to search for an alternative.

Thus, IR study in Nepal demands a separate scholarship and national narrative in theorizing its foreign affairs and study of IR. While history can complement the discipline of IR study, Nepal has comparatively a plus point in theorizing IR of its own taking the reference of Prithvi Narayan Shah's foreign policy. It is pertinent while Nepal's foreign policy took the root from '*divya upadesh*', any attempt to study IR should take the epistemological blueprint to develop it as an academic discipline.

It is therefore to make IR study more comprehensive and systematic in Nepal. In doing so, building IR academic community to develop domestic mechanism of IR study and laying foundational road to Nepal's international engagement is full of opportunities and challenges. Though, the year 2013 is marked as a historically milestone in Nepal as two universities TU and MWU introduced degree in IR studies, it has nonetheless become a distinct field of study. The role of the university in respect to world affairs, then, is not simple or easily fulfilled. It involves the entirety of an institution and is focused on research which advances students knowledge of other countries and of the relations among countries. It is equally focused on the training of young person's-most of them as leaders in civic and vocational fields on which world affairs have direct bearing, some of them as specialists in the further

development of international relations as a field of systematic study. It leads, too, to the function of the university as a counselor to society, a voice in the formation of public opinion. In all these capacities, the institution faces complex problems both of policy and of operations. But unless all of the them can be realized, the nation's participation in world affairs will be severely handicapped.

In this connection, a major effort would be required further to systematically cover intellectual traditions of IR study and research in Nepal. Being in the geostrategic location and having unique positioning of history in South Asia, IR study in Nepal could be an important site of learning and research with strong programs, journal and professional associations. The ever changing nature of the international system requires own theory, methods and concepts on its own subject matter to address it accordingly. Therefore, improvement of the quality of IR study in Nepal must require robust plan to develop the course structure to the social and national need. For this, IR institutions providing course should be able to answer some of the questions like what is taught in IR curriculum which leads to the question of why it is taught, and why it is taught in the way that it is. Likewise, the need to develop area and theme specialist with specific area of expertise is ever increasing as shifts of international priorities to non-traditional security concerns.

As research is the backbone for any discipline to embellish and improvise, academic journal, newsletter and analytical reports must be produce regularly as well as academic community must be created for conducting numbers of workshops, debates, discourses, discussions, seminars and conferences. Further, infrastructures facilities should be improved by identifying and generating internal and external funding sources for the discipline to develop. Since, the education system in Nepal is biased

against the teaching and research of social sciences, the coordination and cooperation between researchers and faculty members of teaching departments should lobby the university authority to provide all the necessary concerns regarding the development course.

Further, the study of IR should make series of networks with academic stakeholders in various regions globally. This will provide opportunities to promote exchanges of students, faculties, resource materials and further contribute to flourish of the discipline. The students must be given opportunities to examine the dynamics of foreign policy and international engagements in various government think tank organizations. Not limiting to government but also in the independent think tank organizations working in the IR domain.

On top of anything, study of IR must be free from political systematic influence of a country as findings has shown that IR study has long suffered from a political tendency from the time of its evolution more than sixty years ago though some sign of progress has been in recent years. Amidst such an emerging perspective, IR study must on top of what Nepal envisions to image itself in global community by making international engagements. The Nepal is still passing through a time with frequent political squabbling and fledgling democratic phenomenon, education mustn't be a commodity hanging on the political horizon of the country. Meanwhile, IR study in Nepal has to be a knowledge-based and expertise-infused society.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: KEY RESPONDENT

<b>Name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Time</b>
<b>Dr. Shambu Ram Shimkhada</b>	<b>Resident</b>	<b>20/12/2019</b>	<b>11 A.M</b>
<b>Shreedhar Kumar Khatri</b>	<b>Resident</b>	<b>13/09/2020</b>	<b>11 A.M</b>
<b>Dr. Khadga KC</b>	<b>T.U.</b>	<b>06/02/2021</b>	<b>3 P.M</b>
<b>Dr. Rupak Sapkota</b>	<b>IFA</b>	<b>20/05/2021</b>	<b>1 P.M</b>

**Table 1 Table describing key respondent**

## **APPENDIX B: QUESTIONS FOR THE KEY RESPONDENT**

What was the master narrative behind teaching IR studies in T.U during the time of its establishment?

How were the teaching mechanisms of IR during those early days?

What led to the eroding of IR studies at T.U?

What was the main narrative of establishing separate IR study in 2013?

What is the state of IR studies in Nepal?

How can we further explore and develop IR studies in Nepal?

Where are the carriers of IR graduates in Nepalese market?