

**NEPAL-INDIA RELATIONS: POLITICAL CHANGES  
AND INDIA'S INFLUENCES IN NEPAL**

A Dissertation

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**Submitted by**

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## LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that this dissertation entitled "**Nepal-India Relations: Political Changes and India's Influences in Nepal (1990-2020)**" is prepared by Saroj Kumar Timalina under our guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final examinations by the research committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.

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**APPROVAL LETTER**

This dissertation entitled "**Nepal-India Relations: Political Changes and India's Influences in Nepal (1990-2020)**" was submitted by Saroj Kumar Timalina for final examination to the Research Committee of the faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE. I, hereby, certify that the research committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore accepted for the degree.

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and does not contain any previously published material. I have not used the material for awards or other degrees of any kind. Where sources of other authors are used, they are acknowledged and nothing added without the knowledge of my research team.

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Saroj Kumar Timalina

Date: April, 2023

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Saroj Kumar Timalsina  
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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation has taken a closer look at India's influences on Nepal's political changes especially after the restoration of democracy (1990-2020). This research has been conducted using India's influence framework in Nepal's political changes. Its foundation has been the use of analytical and descriptive methods of interpretation to reach defined objectives. Additionally, the research is grounded in the geopolitical, realistic, sphere of influence, constructivist, and dependent (GRSoICD) theories of international relations. Purposive sampling of twenty people has used in this study. Key informant interviews (KII) were conducted with nine politicians, four civil society members, three diplomats, and four academics.

It appeared that India's leaders made an undisguised influence in the anti-Panchayat movement of 1990 which can be interpreted under the spheres of influence theory of International Relation (IR). India's deal on the 12-point agreement in preparation for Mass Movement II was guided by India's psychology (IR realism and geopolitical theory), fearing a possible Chinese trend by the rulers of Nepal. Nepal's peace process, directly influenced by India's overt security outlook, has clearly increased China's footprint in Nepal. India looked for maintaining its influence in Nepal after the triumph of Mass Movement II (2006) through the Madhesh issues and frequent changes in government.

India mainly intends to keep Nepal under its influence to minimize China's presence in Nepal. While some Nepalis perceive India's influence in Nepal positively, another section of Nepali sees it as India's undue influences in Nepal's internal affairs. Political leaders in Nepal should improve their ability to deal diplomatically with political changes by avoiding intra- and inter-party conflicts on matters of national interest. They ought to act on their own as true nationalist leaders.

The study justifies Nepali leaders and top bureaucrats taking it seriously that they should engage in rigorous policy discussions with those affected before embarking on any new course or making any new decisions in political change or other sectors in order to build a national consensus that helps to demonstrate unity in important national issues. By doing this, Indian influence and her meddling in domestic issues can be minimized. The policy of "balanced ties with neighboring countries" should,

nonetheless, take precedence in Nepal. By fostering open relations and strengthening Nepal's ability to manage and deal political movements in accordance with its own national interests, India's influence can be minimized. Nepal should also maintain protocol when dealing with Indian authorities and pursue an equal distance foreign policy in order to lessen India's influence. The key findings will assist Nepali political leaders and policymakers in developing and strengthening Nepal-India relations in upcoming days.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD -	Anno Domini
ACES-	Asia Pacific Exchange Cooperation Foundation
AINUS-	All India Nepal Unity Society
B.S -	Bikram Sambat
BCM-	Billion Cubic Meters
BEICG-	British East India Company Government
BI-	British India
BIPPA-	Bilateral Investment Protection and Promotion Agreement
BJP-	Bharatiya Janta Party
BRI-	Belt and Road Initiative
CA-	Constituent Assembly
CIAA-	Commission on Investigation for Abuse of Authority
CoAS-	Chief of Army Staff
CPIM-	Communist Party of India Maoist
CPM-	Communist Party Maoist
CPN Maoist-	Communist Party Nepal Maoist
CPN (ML) -	Communist Party Nepal (Marxist- Leninist)
CPN (UML) -	Communist Party Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist)
DPR-	Detail Project Report
EPG -	Eminent Persons Group
FDI-	Foreign Direct Investment
EU-	European Union
GoI-	Government of India
GoN-	Government of Nepal
HMG-	His Majesty Government
HoR-	House of Representatives
ICA-	Indian Citizens' Association
ICRC-	International Committee of Red Cross
IESCO-	International Safety Collaborative Organization
IMAG-	Indian Military Advisory Group
INA-	Immigrant Nepali Association
INGOs-	International Non-Governmental Organizations

IR-	International Relation
IPS-	Indo-Pacific Strategy
KI-	Key Informants
KII-	Key Informants Interview
KLO-	Kamtapur Liberation Organization
LTT-	Lashkar-e-tayyeba
MCC-	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MEA-	Ministry of External Affairs
MoFA-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoU-	Memorandum of Understanding
MPs-	Member of Parliament
NAM-	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NC-	Nepali Congress
NDFB-	National Democratic Front of Bodoland
NGOs-	Non-Governmental Organizations
NSP-	Nepal Sadbhawana Party
PLA-	Peoples' Liberation Army
PMP-	Pancheswor Multipurpose Project
PTI-	Press Trust of India
QIM-	Quit India Movement
RAW-	Research and Analysis Wings
RNA-	Royal Nepal Army
RPP-	Rastriya Prajatantra Party
RRT-	Rapid Response Team
SAARC-	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA-	South Asian Free Trade Agreement
SAPTA-	South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangement
SMEC-	Snowy Mountains Engineering Corporation
SPA-	Seven Parties Alliance
TIA-	Tribhuvan International Airport
TKP-	The Kathmandu Post
TRN-	The Rising Nepal
UCPN Maoist-	United Communist Party Nepal Maoist

UK-	United Kingdom
UMPHF-	United Madhesi Political Force
UNDP-	United Nations Development Program
UNMIN-	United Nations Mission in Nepal
UPR-	Universal Period Review
US-	United States
USA-	United States of America
USSR-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
UT-	Union Territory
VAT-	Value Added Tax
WTO-	Warsaw Treaty Organization
WWI/II-	World War I/II
ZoP -	Zone of Peace