**Geopolitics and Nepalese Foreign Policy** 

A Dissertation

# Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Tribhuvan University in Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

## DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

# **POLITICAL SCIENCE**

# Gopal Raj Khatri

Ph.D. Regd. No. 28/060 Magh

T.U. Regd. No. 2551-72

Kathmandu, Nepal

2011

### LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We hereby recommend that this dissertation entitled **Geopolitics and Nepalese Foreign Policy** prepared and presented **Gopal Raj Khatri** under our supervision be accepted by the Research Committee for the final examination in the fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

**Dissertation Committee** 

Prof. Dr. Ram Kumar Dhahal

Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Panna Kaji Amatya

Expert

#### RECOMMENDATION

Certified that the work incorporated in this dissertation **Geopolitics and Nepalese Foreign Policy** submitted by **Gopal Raj Khatri** was carried out by him under my supervision. Such materials as have been obtained from other sources have been duly acknowledged in the dissertation. I, therefore, recommend that the dissertation be accepted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.).

> Prof. Dr. Ram Kumar Dhahal Supervisor Center Department of Political Science Tribhuvan University Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal

Date: September 8, 2010

### **APPROVAL LETTER**

This dissertation entitled "Geopolitics and Nepalese Foreign Policy" was submitted by **Gopal Raj Khatri** for final examination by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University in fulfillment of the requirements 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 it for the degree.

> Prof. Nav Raj Kanel, Ph.D. Dean and Chairman Research committee Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Tribhuvan University Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal

Date: Nov. 22, 2011

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It gives me immense pleasure to get benefit from numerous discussions with scholars and academicians who have shared their experiences and ideas during my study period. I found a gateway to a new career of research. I feel that I have to go a long way. I remembered a Spanish proverb "There are no roads. Roads are made by walking". Anyway I have tried to develop arguments coherently and present the dissertation in acceptable form.

My experience as a researcher is that doing research is thoroughly enjoyable even if it is hard work at times. I feel it is an arcane or "Brevis Vita, ars longa". (Mind completely filled with particular thoughts).

While in the process of waiting this dissertation I have received immense help from several individuals and institutions. It will be great ingratitude to forget their contributions.

I am indebted to the co-operation received from Prof. Dr. Ram Kumar Dahal and Prof. Dr. Panna Kaji Amatya, Central Department of Political Science who not only encouraged me for research but also provided their valuable time to share ideas and helped me greatly with their precious suggestions.

I am equally thankful to late Prof. Habibullah, Prof Dr. Shyam Kishor Singh, Central Department of Political Science for their apt help and due encouragement. I heartily thank Prof. Dr. Krishna Chandra Sharma, who suggests me to write correct form, Head of the Central Department of English, Kirtipur.

I am also indebted to the Dean's office and its staff for providing recommendation letter that enabled me to work at various libraries inside Kathmandu and out of Kathmandu.

I extend my thanks to present Dean Prof. Dr. N.R. Kanel, Prof. Dr. Tri-Ratna Manandhar, Prof. Dr Ramesh Kumar Kuwar, Chief of Dr. Sushil Kumar Pandey, Assistant Dean Prof. Niranjan Sharma and Prof. Dr. Shishir Subba. Special thanks for viva external Dr. Khadga KC, Prof. Gopal Pokharel, Assistant Dean Tara Kata Pandey, Uttam Bhattarai, Neelam Sharma, Research Committee Member, Prof. Dr. Bina Ghimire, Prof. Dr. Shreedhar Gautam, Prof. Dr. Prem Raj Uprety, Prof. Dr. Sri Ram Paudel, Dr. Pancha Narayan Maharjan and Prof. Dr. Padma Chandra Pudel.

I am really grateful to Mr. Krishna Mani Bhandari, the Librarian of Central Library TU and also thankful to British Library Kathmandu, American Library Kathmandu and Indian Embassy Kathmandu which provided me books and magazines frequently as a library member. I am also thankful to UGC to provide books. I am heartily thankful to Anand Nepal, Ratna Pustak Bhandar and L.P. Pandey, Bhrikuti Pustak Pasal for providing me valuable materials.

I am no less thankful to the Journalists and the Academicians who provided valuable materials during my research period.

I extend my sincere thanks to School Management Committee and District Education officer in Dailekh for granting me study leave. I am sincerely thankful to former education ministers Bal Krishna Khanda, Pradip Nepal and Renu Yadav. I am also thankful its Mr. Biddhyadhar Mallik, Mr. Bala Nanda Poudel, Joint Secretary, Mr. Lava Tripathi, Mr. Rajan Khanal and Mr. Hari Prasad Shrestha.

I extend my sincere thanks to Lecturer Dr. Nanda Bahadur Singh, Central Department of Biology.

Special thanks goes to my wife Gyanu Khatri and my son Kumar Khatri, daughter in law Neetu BC Khatri, sons Ganesh Bhakta Khatri, Lok Mani Khatri and daughters Uma Thapa, Usha BC and Shasi KC. who have been always sound counselors indispensable supporters.

Lastly, my hearty thanks go to Nirmal Maharjan and Mr. Kushu Ghale who helped me for computer works.

**Gopal Raj Khatri** 

Date: August 5, 2010

### ABSTRACT

Geopolitics is simply the geographic dimension of foreign policy. Geopolitics has two levels, the background study of places, peoples, resources distributions and so on that provides the data for the foreign policy choices, and other is formation of spatially based policies designed to achieve specific objectives (the study of specific geography). It starts with different points due to different national aspirations. Geopolitics has introduced common language and has been used at all scales from neighborhood to global. It always accepts the people's view, ideas, and feelings. Whatever the size of the nation smaller or bigger their geopolitical expectations are different. Non-geographic analysis was seen on the global and regional ambitions.

As the geopolitical movements in China and USA are competing to be the first nation in the field of trade market in the world. The basic aspects of foreign policy is guided by the concept of geopolitics, geopolitics is a problem solving science based on the experiments in the laboratory of people's views and thoughts. It is the geosetting of country that formulates the foreign policy.

Geo-setting of Nepal plays vital role in her role with her neighbours. Nepal designs strategies for relationship with China, India, US and relation at Regional Context.

Geopolitics deals with far and recent history usually from 1870 AD to 1980's onwards. This was the beginning year of the country's geopolitical activities. The word geopolitics was invented by two writers: Kjellen and Ratzel from Sweden and Germany respectively in 1870. The word was used in mist of languages from neighborhood to global. After Ratzel, Germany (1844-1904), Kjellen, Sweden (1864-1927), Mhan, American (1840-1914), Mackinder, British (1861-1947) and Haushorfer, Germany (1964-1947) have analyzed different verities of geopolitics. They are the founders of the concept of geopolitics.

In the context of Nepal, she is located in between China and India situated like a yam between two huge builders. Nepal has used Neutral foreign policy but the world activities have certainly affected. Recent days Nepal's policies have no certain paths. Nepal's foreign policy faces greater challenges. It needs to explain geopolitically in changed context of regional or global affairs. Good guys and bad guys policy means good relationship (good guys) bad guys (bad relationship). States do not have friends states have interests. So it is realized that geopolitics is driven by a patriotic commitments and welfare desires for a brighter and more secured future of a nation.

This study mainly consists of two parts, part one is introductory part that consists of introduction, methodology and literature review. In the part of literature review, recent literature are collected and briefly analyzed. Similarly, part two describes the geopolitical concept and the context. Accordingly, all the relevant chapters are analyzed. The general objective of the study is to present archival and analytical description of the geopolitics and foreign policy of Nepal. The hypotheses 'Geopolitics encourage the feeling of Nepalese national aspirations' and 'Geopolitics plays the vital role to implement the foreign policy' are tested in the study.

Being a landlocked and least developed country Nepal always suffered from international surroundings. It cannot identify its dignity. Specially Nepal cannot identify the personalities of geopoliticians and foreign policy experts. Nepal feels big brother to its southern neighbour but it always encroaches Nepal's land so it is the behaviour of a friend or foe.

No record is maintained about Nepalese geopolitikers and record of foreign affairs. It is seemed that India always overlapped the no man's land but our border authorities look helplessly and keep silence and feel no responsibility. It is evident that from India leftist and rightist politicians get benefits. As the transitional period Nepal faces many challenges, problems and issues. If we enter the foreign ministry with the objectives to search the records of foreign policy expert, unfortunately, there is no record. Therefore, envoy system must be equipped with successful diplomats with full information on diplomacy and international relations in the modern world. But Nepal always forgets the norms for appointment of experts for the position of ambassadors or envoys.