

## CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Geopolitics as a concept is as old as human civilization. The word by origin is associated with Greek mythology which focused on the earth as mother goddess. Gaia/Gaeas is formed with the components of air, water, land, fire and these components from universal truth. Like in Greek mythology even in Hindu mythology, the fire is worshiped as the protector of all human beings. Geopolitics deals with far and recent past histories inclusive of nomadic and hunting age, prior to it. There were no human beings on the earth; there were only insects, reptiles, first and different types of land and water life.

During the early civilization, known as Stone Age, people invented weapons for hunting animals and fish in the sea. People started wandering here and there in search of grassland to feed grass for their cattle. Those people who did not have fixed place to live in and were wandering from place to place were called nomads. Those types of nomadic civilization, they stepped up and settled in a certain place. Thousands year later, they improved their life and became better than earlier (Nehru, 1983: 28).

Nomadic pastoral population with flocks and herds moved frequently to other pastures with the depletion of one pasture. Thus both the number and kinds of animals differ from place to place and the number in any single area, from season to season with variation in water and food supply. In general, the nomads realised that sheep and goats were more important where pasturage was poor, cattle were replaced occasionally by other animals such as 'yak' in high plateaus of central Asia. Horses and donkeys are also common in furnishing transportation; likewise camels at present are means of transportation in hot areas, and reindeer in the arctic. Though pastoral nomads inhabit approximately two percent of the earth's land surface and they inhabit all types of latitudes except the highest and lowest ones. Census of such population is very small and their relative importance is slightly higher for the areas where they occupy and they could have only limited opportunity (Davis, 1961: 380).

Nomadic herders must move with their animals from one pasture to another almost regularly some daily or weekly shift of location is necessary with the change of seasons. They

do migrate for greater distances, sometimes between lowland and high land. In Northern Africa, for example, on the northwestern border the nomadic pastoral tribes move into the desert during the winter but retreat to the Atlas Mountains with the coming of the hot dry summer months. Similar migrations occur on the descent margin of the plateau of Iran in Arabia and elsewhere. Though there is no individual ownership of land in the ordinarily accepted usage of the term, these migrations are within roughly fixed tribal limits, established by long years of custom (Davis, 1961: 354).

The wandering system of livelihood of human beings is affected by both environment opportunity and his stage of development, for each imposes limitations on the range of effective choice. In certain areas early men made their living in ways very different from than those of the present. Because they were tired of wandering place to place in search of food and water. This was in part because of later alteration of the environment and increased opportunity resulting from such change, but in greater part because, for long after man appeared on the earth, his lack of knowledge prevented him making use of all existing natural opportunity and thus restricting his choice of a method of securing a livelihood to the earliest human populations of the earth. The immediate and obvious source of food supply was wild plant and animal life which likewise afforded materials for clothing utensils, implements and shelters. Thus hunting, fishing and the gathering of wild fruits, nuts and other plant products furnished food and a supply of other products necessary for existence and the meeting of simple needs. Later on, it was discovered that artificial propagation of some of the plants of forest and grassland, such as seed-bearing grasses and fruit-yielding bushes and trees, could be undertaken for the advantage of human beings and their dependents. This adventure in cultivation undoubtedly marked the beginnings of primitive agriculture and the practice has great importance as a means of supplementing the food obtained by hunting and fishing. For thousands of years, man must have been a migratory collector, hunter, fisherman and toward the last and in lesser degree an agriculturalist (Davis, 1961: 364).

Even today, certain less advanced population still depends on hunting, fishing and primitive form of agriculture production, leading a migratory or semi migratory existence. Such population may be found, scattered from the equator to the margins of the polar ice sheets, but their number is not big and the regions they dwell offer little opportunities. In the areas of greater promise i.e. productive land, urban area etc. men have made sufficient progress. Men have lived everywhere from earlier periods of time although the regions might be polar cold, dry or desert area or humid tropics.

In North America, Eskimos live in Kalahari desert (Davis, 1961: 346) Bushman is still living in many states of the world and depend on various types of hunting. The Kirghiz people living on the high plateau of central Asia, still depend on nomadic herding. In Arizona and New Mexico, the Navajos Indian population groups live in the USA. In Nepal, the *Rautes* tribes still live in the forest area have recently faced a difficult situation. Because the jungle area is cleared up day by day. Likewise, in India, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and many other nations there are hunting and fishing tribes. Nowadays, they are forced to change their position in tune with the change in the world situation. Government should also formulate rules and regulations that could help to uplift the life condition of indigenous people.

Human activities are not only effected by the surface features of immediate surroundings but also by the conditions of near and far adjacent areas do not only affect human activities. The former limits the land use and local circulation and the later affects the accessibility and the possibility of gainful exchange with other regions. It is, therefore, insufficient to account local conditions only in a comprehensive evaluation of area opportunity as influenced by topography.

After many centuries, man's stage of development reached to more favorable parts of the world because he was able to sustain living from a relatively unfriendly earth more effectively. Then his number began to increase not only in those places of his first appearance, but in other places with limited opportunity. Thus population increased in the areas where there was initial opportunity and human population increased as a result of change in the stage of human development (Davis, 1961: 29).

Nature imposes difficulties but not impassable barriers to the spread of advanced population. High mountains or wide expanses of ocean create difficulty in man's movement from one part of the earth's surface to another. Neither do low temperatures scanty or excessive rainfall, nor do other unfavorable environmental conditions preclude the possibility of his occupation in certain area, as they did in the remote past. Due to scientific and technological development, man in contrast with species of plant or animal is able to settle anywhere. That's why human beings are found almost everywhere on the earth's surface. Human mind is major factor enabling human being adopt, adjust and resist everywhere (Davis, 1961: 10).

Human beings used the land for production where there was possibility of irrigation and built houses in the higher latitudes or near the poles. Though he is often forced to turn to the sea because most of this food supply and means to satisfy other needs are available.

Many of the components form the world's geopolitical space and have shown the signs of the survivals of the past system; others may be pointers to the stage in the evolution of the geopolitical surface. This surface is palimpsests to which new and unfamiliar forms are constantly being added and some of these forms are destined to become the dominant geopolitical realities of the future. The mixture of past evidence, present realities and future possibilities is the raw material of the world political map, in turn those political ideas which get translated into reality in the unified field, will determine its future shapes and patterns. The next important question is the extent to which wider patterns of state relationships can be identified and their effects can be felt on both the regional and the global scales. During to this fact, term 'Geopolitics' was popular not only in the past also in the term is based on a historical map of the state. The past evidence was transferred from one decade to decade.

The distinguished persons can investigate about it so as to find out the real feature of the state. As a result, space and earth had more meaning than human beings. That is why, nomadic men settled in certain places and began to occupy such land with their own ownership. After this movement, they began to demarcate their area saying 'it is my' Lebensraum meaning (Living Space).

There has been constant striving of tribes and nations for more suitable regions to secure their existence and this striving is associated with struggle and conquest, punishment, enslavement or annihilation and such striving have run throughout every human society. So the nomadic man changes as the civilized man in the modern world.

## **1.2 Statement of Problem**

In order to achieve the objectives, the following research problems have been formulated:

Does geopolitics play a vital role in the nuclear age? Can Nepal make plans to use geopolitics in the foreign policy? Will leaders develop their concept that nation is bigger than the individual in the minds of people? Do the leaders know that geopolitics is the will national interest? Can Nepal make policy to stop the encroachment of its borderland?

## **1.3 Significance of the Study**

The significance of the study is to know the geopolitical concept and its use in foreign policy of a nation. Geopolitical concept was not always the same. The definition and importance has differed from time to time and place to place. The originality of geopolitics in Germany was different from the use of foreign policy in America.

Geopolitics not only studies geography of a nation but also the human environment ranging from the neighborhood to globe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Geopolitics means the study of places, peoples and distribution of resources and formation of foreign policy.

The comprehensive description of geopolitics comes from Ratzel, Kjellen, Haushofer, Mackinder, who invented Geo+politics and Heartland theory and the significance of Geopolitics can be properly understood as it defines reality to its climate, land forms and natural resources. The geopolitics encouraged the people for national feelings.

Nation, nationalism and national aspirations are the basic features and components of Geopolitics. It tries to develop the capability of the citizen to become self-reliant and self-dependent.

The study of Geopolitics helps us know the following topics.

- (a) It helps study the boarder issues of a nation
- (b) It studies treaties and agreements
- (c) It studies about natural resources and its distribution
- (d) It studies about places, people and environment
- (e) It studies about the relationship between Geopolitics and foreign policy.

The most important aspect of geopolitics is to study about resourceful area of a country and its relationship with neighborhood to globalization. The method of Archival and analytical study will be used in this dissertation. Geopolitics is not a new word in this century. There are various aspects of Geopolitics. It was popular in Germany in Hitlaren era, and after the fall of Hitler, the subject geopolitics also lost popularity. During the cold war, in 1972 it has emerged. Then slowly and slowly, it was spread out to France, Italy, England, Japan and USA. Henry Kissinger was a well-known Geopolitician who migrated to America and held high government position led the subject of geopolitics.

Henry Kissinger was a well-known geopolitician whose ideas were used in formulating American foreign policy. The viewpoint of a country is different all over the world and they implement their foreign policy with different point of view. The ambassadors and envoy system of America is far better in the world because it studies about the particular country and its foreign policy frequently before it appoints the envoys for that country. That is why geopolitics is the backbone of the foreign policy of a country. In short, if the geopolitical aspects are ignored, the nation's policies may be ineffective. Nepal can't be an exception in this case. Developing nations fall because of their failure to implement the appropriate policies and economic diplomacy. A country's intellectual property must be used

for the knowledgeable thoughts and policies. Nepalese people especially the people living in the Kathmandu valley are unknown to the geographical contour of the country. TV programs and other media made it easier to understand the concept of geopolitics and with the lapse of time the meaning of the geopolitics is also changed.

The cultural links between two countries are better when they understand each other with organic cultural links and shake hand each other for good relations. The word "Mehman" or friend is quite different to each other. Specially the cultural links between India-Pakistan, India-Bangladesh, India-Sri Lanka, and India-Nepal changed in recent days refugee-friendly, refugee-movements between origin and refugee hosting states.

Geopolitics is an up to date knowledge of a country's policy formation which depends on leadership of the country. Leadership differs from place to place. When we analyze the eastern and western part of Nepal in terms of its development and other issues we find that the eastern part of Nepal is far advanced than the western part. Similarly, we find America more advanced place for equipped materials from other countries of the world. It has a lot of materials for study. Low races religion and castes systems are involved in politics of war. Why does the idea of war hunt human mind? Why do people like to fight each other?

Nowadays, we always listen about the conflict between the people within a nation. Though they don't fight each other for the extension of land of their nation but fight within the nation for other reasons. We always hear the sentence that the "Innovators change the world before the world changes them" as quoted by Schumacher in his book "Small is Beautiful". This shows the important role of geo-politician players, dedicated personalities and innovators who are the main figures of a nation to change its face.

Inventions are very fruitful to develop new technology. Pure science moves always with a solution of the problems that we are facing but geopolitical science is concerned with the value of the problem solving science. People's thoughts are the laboratory which is always interested to prepare national interest and national aspirations to reach its destiny.

In another view foreign policy requires the organic cultural links for hand-to-hand relationships between the nations but not the problems. In recent years, the refugee problems have created the coldness in the relations of the countries. In this context, Nepal's foreign policy also depends on geopolitical considerations. The geographical-setting of Nepal has been divided into *Himal*, *Pahad* and Terai. The shape and size of the land also imposes some Geopolitical compulsions in Nepal's foreign policy. Historically, Nepal has used neutral

foreign policy of *Panchsheel* from Prithivinarayan Shah to King Birendra. Nepal has been the follower of *Panchasheel* principles and is a member of Non Alignment Movement (NAM).

The researcher could not get the record any contributions of foreign policy experts and geo-politicians of Nepal. So the list of people who have written about foreign policy and geopolitics and their names have been cited in the dissertation, and a separate list of, such persons have also been submitted in Appendix. There as an attempt to discuss the topic as a Nepalese author on geopolitics. The high government officials ranging from the zonal and regional level to the secretary level, military and police officers have responsibility to safeguard the border area on the Indian side but we cannot return it when Indian occupies our land overlapping the border area. Nevertheless, Indian side never releases the problem but rather Nepal side for arguments and reasons. But the Nepalese authority cannot convince them. The Nepalese people near the border have always suffered from border encroachment. The construction of bridges and dams near the border by the Indian government has also created the immigration problem. Nepali side always suffers and cannot irrigate their own land despite the fact that the dam has been built on their own land.

Nepali people feel being cheated on the issues of border and irrigation. It is a chronic disease. The attitude of India to Nepal sometimes as very vague. India helps Nepal in health and education sector but India captures the Nepalese land step by step. No Nepalese government could acquire its land back. These issues always arise but nobody solves the chronic disease. There is no doctor to cure the chronic disease of border encroachment and land captured by Indian till date.

When the term geopolitics is described, it doesn't focus on the position and interest of a particular state but it focuses on the global issues. As such, the geopolitical codes are constructed on the basis of prescribed foreign policies. More specifically, a geopolitical code defines interest threats and the interests and the nature of the required responses to those threats. Globalism and regionalism represent two opposite geopolitical codes in US foreign policy.

The other word 'Geopolitical Discourse' refers to the forms of writing and speaking and the forms of power interest in the limitations of the ways of speaking in specific contexts. This term is commonly used in the 'East-West, heartlands, resources and these terms are not given natural names but they are rather artificial construction of knowledge that specifies the word. The use of another phrase 'Geopolitical Doctrine' referees to the positions of world leaders concerning global condition of influence since 1945. In the

beginning, the competitive stances of the leaders of the USA and USSR in Geopolitics declared policy and action was to defend themselves from their opponents.

Nowadays, the word mentioned above are used frequently all over the world that is why the term geopolitics was popular not only in the past but also in the present and the future. The mixtures of past evidence, present realities and future possibilities have been the raw material of the world political scenario.

Geopolitics always believes in the universal truth. It studies knowledgeable thoughts and definitions on foreign policy, diplomacy, politics and politicians, patriotism and treason. Geopolitics can be successful if its thoughts are full of these components. Geopolitician's thoughts would be used to prepare the principles of foreign policy. In this context, the relevant daily/weekly newspapers can create the environment for conducting the statecrafts by popularizing the concept of geopolitics.

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

The general objective of the study is to present descriptions of the geopolitics and Nepalese foreign policy. The specific objectives are as follows:

- (1) to examine the concept and theories of geopolitics,
- (2) to highlight the national aspirations,
- (3) to examine the role of geo-politics and Nepalese foreign policy, and
- (4) to analyze the foreign policy of Nepal.

#### **1.5 Hypotheses**

In order to achieve the above stated objectives the following hypotheses have been developed in the study.

- (1) Geopolitics encourage the feeling of Nepalese national aspirations
- (2) Geopolitics plays the vital role to implement the foreign policy

#### **1.6 Research Methodology**

##### **1.6.1 Research Method**

This is an analytical study of geopolitics in the context of foreign policy of Nepal. These studies basically follow analytical and descriptive methodology for the interpretation of geopolitics and Nepalese foreign policy. All the relevant information are thematically analyzed.



### **1.6.2 Sources of Information**

- (a) Some key informants such as academic personalities of different disciplines and political leaders related with relevant chapters (see Appendix-5),
- (b) Published articles, relevant speeches from different leaders and personalities,
- (c) Books-journals and magazines, and
- (d) Different relevant websites.

The other sources of information are- Vienna convention documents, text of different treaties of British-India, government of India and Nepal, chronology of Nepali geopoliticians, Ministers of foreign affairs of Nepal since 2007 to 2065 BS, list of foreign secretaries since 2007 to 2065 BS, former and newly appointed Nepalese Ambassadors head of the missions, founder of geopolitics, maps and photos. Similarly relevant annual publications from the institute of foreign affairs, library documents are taken into consideration (see Appendix 1, 3, 4, 7, 7(A), 7(B), 7(C) and 7(G).

### **1.6.3 Conceptual Framework**

The theoretical foundation and conceptual framework of the study is as follows:

#### **Theoretical Foundation of the Study**

#### 1.6.4 Limitation of the Study

This is very comprehensive subject in the changing context. Hence, Geopolitics and foreign policies occupy a wide range in the global context. This study does not cover overall range of geopolitics. So, it is delimited to the study of "Geopolitics and Nepalese Foreign Policy."

### 1.7 Organization of the Study

This research consists of five chapters.

The first chapter is introductory as it consists of Introduction, Methodology and Literature Review. Part one has main reviews on pervious descriptive works and research methodology. In Chapter II, there is discussion on the theoretical concept and historical background of geopolitics. Chapter III deals with, origin of Nepalese foreign policy and diplomacy. Chapter IV presents challenges, issues and problems of Nepalese foreign policy and diplomacy. Chapter V concludes with summary, conclusion and recommendations of the whole dissertation.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This research topic is based on relationship between geography (space) and subject is intimately associated with people and their politics. The subject is intimately associated with people and their behavior with others. Nation is no doubt a piece of land but is also related to the beating of heart. So the life style of a country depends on geography, geographical environment affects the political character of the nation.

For the security point of view King Prithvinarayan Shah said in his *Dibya Upadesh* "We should be clever but our south partner is cleverer than north partner, so we should be active for possible interference over security policy to maintain the sovereignty and integrity of Nepal. Nepal makes the masterful policy of our neighbors especially to the neighbors".

We protect and promote nationalism and sovereign entity against possible foreign interference in the Nepalese foreign affairs. It means Nepal should formulate neutral policies with both the giant neighbours, inter relation with neighbours make attempts for slow down the issues.

Some times the relationship with India became tensed and some times low way. Occasionally, India encroached Nepalese territory for making dams, barrage, road etc. It is said that India has encroached Nepalese boarder in fifty-three places and total encroached

territory is 11700 *Ropani* (Shrestha, 2000: 263). Changing of border pillars known as Junge pillar also create the problem. No solution can be found from 1815 Sugauli Treaty. Nepal is limited to small size of land as its one third of land had been taken by British India in Sugauli Treaty. Nepal has maintained principles of friendship, justice and fairness. We have no intention to attack any of our neighbours. Basic foundation of Nepal's foreign policies is reciprocity, no ill will or unfriendly feeling towards any country in the world. We have close and cordial ties with our neighbors. We need many more bridges that will link states and continents of minds, hearts and spirit that need reciprocal behavior. Nepal's foreign policy does not allow the use of her soil against any country. Based on its geopolitical situation, Nepal follows the principle of *Panch Sheel* and non-aligned foreign policy. We hope Nepal's neutral foreign policy plays positive role in the filed of politics. We cannot believe on the situation that an infant crying for bread and the super power give instead it a bomb. Nepal wants the world to be without the horror of war. Nepal is a poor country facing unrest and insurgency for the last one decade and the future is very uncertain. Nepal wants peaceful settlement of all disputes inside and outside the country. Because of this vision, peace is core element of our foreign policy. The domineering policy of our neighbors creates trouble to us. Refugee's problem, poverty and hunger constantly challenge our value systems, socio, and economic, moral principle. At present, our identity as peace loving country, the land of sages and saints, is changed into the land of war, violence, torture uncertainty. Nepal is a common flower garden of people belonging to thirty-six castes. Nepal adheres to the policy of peaceful co-existence and constantly endeavors to develop friendly relation with each and every country of the world, regardless of their social and political system and particularly with its neighbors on the basis of equality and respect for each other's independence and sovereignty. Nepal does not interfere into the internal affairs of any country.

So far no study has been done on geopolitics and Nepalese foreign policy. Almost all related books to foreign policy have shown the setting of geopolitics of Nepal. No book is written including both concept; geography and politics. Geopolitics and foreign policy go together. The researcher has consulted many concerned books, journals, internet materials on geo-politics and Nepalese foreign policy. There is no remarkably significant work on Nepal's compulsive geopolitical realities. The present study attempts to fill the gap. The following literature review unveils the background of and significance of the present research.

RD Dikshit's *Political Geography* (Dikshit, 2000: 1) shows a major change in emphasis. The theme and topics of the study are not new but the way of looking at problem is different. It shows how the study of political geography is an integral part of social structure. Dikshit clearly highlights the relationship between geography and politics. He has enlisted the names of distinguished writers who have contributed in formulating the theory of geopolitics with relationship as the central element in international politics. The pioneers of this subject are Mahan and Mac-kinder, Saul B Cohen. He has explained about the need of geographical framework for the study of nation building and states as politico-territorial phenomena. He added that geopolitics is the politics of place and power. The factors of geopolitics leading to the choice of a non-aligned foreign policy and global strategy gradually move to form the foundation rock of national policies. The book shows the profound knowledge of historical perspective in the field of political geography and geopolitics of Nepal.

RD Dikshit talks about how the contemporary world is divided between north and south, rich and poor on the basis of economic development.

In the line of discussion of geopolitics, Peter J Taylor Colin Flint's book entitled *Political Geography* (Taydor and Flint, 2004: 49-105) describes about significance of geopolitic. The chapter two in the book describes about Mackinder's Heartland Theory. It talks about especially political background from liberal to conservative and spatial structure land power versus sea power. There is detail discussion on as the book mentioned the geopolitics during the period from 1924-41, cold wars as a part of contemporary geopolitical world order. The book also categorizes super states and pan regions as a new geopolitical transition. The book especially explains about the studies of term related to world system. It is said that "There is some new wine in old bottles but also some old wine in new bottles means that the demise and rise of geopolitics since the Second World War has been quite remarkable.

Chapter two and three mention about two types of geopolitical heritage (a) power political heritage (b) Marxist revolutionary heritage. The authors have given the deep references "Geopolitics was useful sources of foreign policies of US," secretary of state Henry Kissinger's widely vision quoted memoirs. Then it produces a balance or equilibrium in world affairs.

Writers have indicated that geopolitics got priority in the US foreign policy and the focus was geopolitics and geo-economics after the cold war and added that "it is often said that geography does not change. In truth geography change as rapidly as ideas and

technology change, that is the meaning of geographical conditions changes." Now a day's all the changes have been taken place in geography. It is a stable factor but it changes the time and technology.

In the book, the writers have quoted about the alternative geopolitics codes and French Gaullist's geopolitical code and Russian political system. They described "Geopolitics is not the only topic in political geography that deals with world politics; there is also the political geography of imperialism". It is concerned of politics; geopolitics describes a rivalry relation, whereas imperialism describes relation of dominance. They also quote the name of Kjellen and Ratzel founding father of geopolitics that helped promoting the British Empire. They also defined the concepts such as core area, periphery and semi-periphery areas including features of land area. It is to be noted that the use of land was valuable in the period of geopolitical compulsions. In this new edition of the book geopolitics is categorised as given below:

- (1) 1985: foundation text, in which a particular theoretical perspective was brought to bear on the subject matter of political geography.
- (2) 1989: consolidation text, in which ideas were flashed out to make for a more comprehensive treatment of political geography (notably a terms of geopolitics and nationalism)
- (3) 1993: post cold war text in which arguments were developed that took account of the traumatic geopolitical transition participated by the 1989 (written in 1988) text.
- (4) 1999: globalization text, in some sense now the circle becomes complete since the original theoretical perspective emphasized the "global" when it was much less fashionable than it is today.

Taylor and Colin mention the above points in the book, and also new language of globalization is used. Politics of identity, an important idea, and lately political conflicts is added.

The new editions of the book with new agenda incorporate ideas from social science as the trajectory of social science and of course, it will develop new interests and ideas. In post Soviet fiasco new states have emerged on the world stage, as geopolitical order of the 1990's.

In the same trend of geopolitics, next book for discussion is *Global Geography* (Miller and Tinner, 2004: 35) by E Willard Miller, George T Renner and associates. The book

focuses on the future citizens and leaders of the world. It provided what Mackinder called "Environmental Reality" in world affairs. According to this book it is better to analyze situations geographically. It throws light on the relationship between human beings and environment. The main purpose of the book is to show the relationship between human beings and geography and how geo space, determines economy, culture, and politics that human beings are involved with.

Another important book for literature review is *Political Geography* (Muir, 1988: 43) with a new introduction by Richard Muir. It gives more importance to politics of territory and place, society and space, nation and state, growth of state, modern state, international dimensions and geopolitics, globalization and world systems. The author has quoted the speech of Mao-Ise-Tung as "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the policy for promoting the progress of the arts and the sciences".

The book has given prime importance to show the main concern to "Human" geography. It is related to geography and politics. More emphasis is given to politics of place and power. He has also advised to the geographers that they must be able to contribute fully and freely towards the salvation of the planet.

He has given the concept of land as potential home for mankind. As a politics of place, it is more concerned with the politics of identity, citizenship, gender issues and the politics of race. He has also noted that the state and nation have close relationship with people, groups, territories the sovereign boundaries. Recently it is believed that territoriality is a form of social and political control. The book as political geography is involved in studying human claims and conflicts concerning the use, partitioning and ownership of the land and its resources. It also involves neighbors, territorial claim, and influence of super power blocks.

In *Reorienting India*, the next book for discussion, the new geopolitics of Asia (Verghese, 2000: 84) is written by BG Verghese. He has written about the geopolitics and geo-economics. This book unholds a very macro view of Asian drama. It analyses certain trends, issues, problem areas and security concerns in Asia, and also describes about Asia as space, its people and boundaries.

It is also useful to include Alexander Dugin's the *Foundation of Geopolitics* in [www.mamma.com](http://www.mamma.com). It has summarized the definition of geopolitics its technology concept of Rim-land and border zones, geopolitics as the destiny, pioneers of geopolitics, the definition of new sciences, It also discusses Halford Mackinders geographical pivot of history, new geopolitics

order of south, geopolitics of orthodoxy, applied geopolitics of European destiny of state science, scientist and politicians.

The book *Geopolitics Past, Present and Future* (Parker, 1998: 28) by Geoffrey Parker examines the origins of geopolitics, traces its development and finally talks about its future role. It also explains the conceptual basis of geopolitical thinking and the use of appropriate technology. The book is a wealth of useful information in terms of concepts of major geopolitical thinkers.

A thesis of Mangal Siddhi Manandhar entitled *Geopolitical basis of Nepal's Existence* (Manandhar, 1969: 37) submitted in university of Kansas, points out the geopolitical realities of Nepal and its vital role between huge neighbors China and India. The thesis shows how centrifugal and centripetal forces act in this Himalayan Kingdom. He evaluated the territory as a core and periphery and discusses about nation and nationality from ethnic perspective.

*Diplomatic Strategy for Nepal* (Pradhan, 2003: 63) by Biswo Pradhan, explains Nepal's foreign policy and its affective role in international affairs. He stated that foreign policy begins at home, domestic support, international relations. He stated that foreign policy begins at home, domestic support and interlaid factors and also he gave importance to the role of diplomacy. He has discussed the nature of Nepalese foreign policy and its major issues.

Another very important book by B Pradhan is *Behavior of Nepalese Foreign Policy* (Pradhan, 1986: 190). In the book he has focused on the value of policy of Nepal as a key point to safeguard her sovereignty and territorial integrity. He also quotes *Dibya Upadhesh* of Prithivinarayan Shah "Nepal is a yam between two boulders friendly relations should be maintained with both China and India. Do not engage in office with them. Fighting if must, should be on the defensive basis only". It means we should be clever not to take support of any neighbor but maintain neutral relationship with both of them.

Ram Kumar Dahal's book *Nepal and the International System* (Dahal, 2002: 67) discusses how to deal with neighbor countries and how to face national and international problems in the recent decades. He has given his impotence to the foreign policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, also talks about the determinants of Nepalese foreign policy, characteristics, goal and objectives of Nepalese foreign policy, formulation and organizations of Nepal's foreign policies Nepal's external relations, Nepal and UN, achievements and challenges of Nepal's foreign policy and its formation in the world context. He also summarizes Nepal's foreign policies dealing with neighbouring countries as one of the most valuable factors to evaluate

the success of government. The death of twelve Nepalese in Iraq is the failure of governments' policies and the example of weak management of diplomacy.

In the book *Boarder of Nepal*, (Shrestha, 2000: 82) Buddhi Narayan Shrestha pin pointed the overlapped area of Nepalese territory in the border pillar called as Junge Pillar by Indian side. He has shown that 1179000 Ropani of Nepali land has been overlapped. Barrage was built by removing the original pillar called the Jung pillar. Dams were built indicated by removing original border. He is the only person who had presented border problem in national and international forums. This book is in the form of evidence of Nepalese border issue, many governments were formed and dissolved but the problems remain the same. India has always denied the charge of overlapping of territory of Nepal. Foreign affairs institutions organize seminars and meetings for formality only not for solving the problem. We seem to forget that nation is most important factor for citizen but citizen cannot be nation Buddhi Narayan gives a list of over lapped area in Indo Nepal border.

The book *External Affairs* (Dixit, 2004: 84) by JN Dixit and associates is a collection of analytical essays about Indian's relationship with its neighbors. It focuses on neighborhood of India but also on the broader and relevant strategic neighbor hood. The author's aim seems to show the multiple dimension of relationship with neighbours such as historical socio-cultural and economic dimensions. JN Dixit is a well known expert of Indian foreign policy like SD Muni.

Indu Bala in the book *Compulsion of a Land Locked State* (Bala, 2001: 13) discusses about certain compulsions of Nepal due to its landlocked geographical position. This book examines, in detail, problems of a land locked state problems of (LLS) in general, problems of Nepal in particular in relation to India specially trade and transit treaties and transit-state, she also describes about the physical features of Nepal. Writer has the opinion that three points must be considered about every country when we intend to discuss about the country.

- (1) Each country has its vague geographical (physical) features invariably associated with the name of the country.
- (2) The consequences of man's occupancies in the territory.
- (3) The relationship existing between this country and other countries of the world.

Jawahar Lal Nehru in his book *Discovery of India* (Nehru, 1946: 49) talks about the establishment of NAM (an organization) and the rise of nationalist movement in India. He



had shown the significance of geopolitics as the anchor of reality. He used jargon of heartland and rim land in relation to the mystery of national growth and decay.

Leo E Rose in *Nepal Strategy for Survival* (Rose, 1973: 65) explains about Nepal's relation with foreign countries as a buffer state and it has to implement its foreign policies needs certain tactics to maintain its political, cultural physical integrity. Relations are to be reframed in tune with the chanced time. There is to be notable changes from King Prithivinarayan Shah to King Mahendra and then to King Birendra and utmost important is present time.

The journal of international issues *World Affairs* (Affairs, 2004: 36) Jan-March 2004, published the special issues on Eurasia: An emerging geopolitical reality, forging alliance between Asia and Europe. The journal also describes about the geopolitics of the new central Asia, possibility of a wider and deeper co-operation between Europe and Asia.

Romaswamy R Iyer in the book *Water perspective, Issue, Concern* (Iyer, 2004: 15) clearly discusses about the importance of water in the world. Major focus of discussion is on water-related issues and themes. He pointed out that one of the serious issues among India, Nepal, and Bhutan is water security issue.

*Overseas Relation and Defense* (Overseas Relation and Defense, 2004: 45) is a compilation prepared by different organizations. The book pinpoints that Britain's foreign policy is to promote and protect its interests through world peace and economic growth. On this basis Britain frames its relationship with other countries.

Anand Aditya edited the book *The Political Economy of Small States* and in the book there is an article "Geopolitics of Nepal survival strategies of a small state" (Dahal, 1998: 37) written by Dev Raj Dahal and the article highlights the importance of geopolitical situation of Nepal as a determinant factor for Nepalese foreign policy. He has seriously handled about Nepal and its geopolitical environment past and present situation. He also pointed out that the foreign policies of king Mahendra depended on national identity and national interest.

The article *Neighborhood Routes and Maps* (Dixit, 2005: 5) written by JN Dixit, published in Time Journal gives seminal ideas of Indian foreign policy about close door neighbours "We have not taken note to an emerging trend of political instability and structural uncertainty affecting the countries in India's immediate neighborhood."

Dixit's article *Home/India's Foreign Policy* (Dixit, 2005: 5) discusses that India Nepal have been traditionally very close friends and been bound historically, culturally, all, linguistically and religiously so India wants good relation with Nepal.

The book *Geographic's of Development* (Potter (eds.), 1999: 185) edited by Robert B potter, Tony Binns, Jenni Fiv A, Elliott, David Smith, highlights the nature of specific development variable in particular geographical location. Concept of development is to related people with environment, and places of indifferent locations and at a variety of different scales, ranging from micro-level. In the book there is also list of location of major international water disputes.

The book *India's Boundary Disputes with China, Nepal and Pakistan* (Potter (eds.), 1999: 185) by the same editors focuses place from international boundary monitor (15 may 1998) international boundary disputes specially China boundary disputes, India vs. Nepal and Indian vs. Pakistan. There is also description of Kalapani disputes and Sugauli treaty 1816 between the British East India Company and Nepal. In the paper it is clearly mentioned that the boundary line is Mahakali River. Lipuyadhura not Lipulek is Nepal's land.

In the book *World Politics* (Rosenau, 1976: 237) by James N Rosenau, Kenneth W Thompson, Gavin Boyd. James N Rosenau the waiters express the study of foreign policy, analyze the foreign policy input and out put approaches. There is also discussion on the major sources of foreign policy as plans and foreign policy as behavior, in terms of location, time and systemic aggregation. Rosenau pointed out that politicians and bureaucrats are narrow minded and selfish people but their role in formulating foreign policy is very important. It is very important account of individuals and motives, ethnic groups, as basic factors for foreign policy formation.

In the home page of *Divine Geopolitics* (Rosenau, 1976: 237) esoteric aspects of geopolitics (conditions and features of work) there is description of geopolitical circumstances from the point of view professional and non-professional analytic position. From the point of view of the forecast of events, with the purpose of extraction of concrete practical benefit, such approach is appropriate only for gathering local information.

The article *Bhutan's Geopolitics, Indian Militants and Security* (Kathmandu Post, 1999) talks about the Bhutanese problems, shifting, information, mixes, communications, ISI, insecurity reasons for the presence of Indian military for Bhutanese security.

The journal *Strategic Analysis*, July-September 2002 (Gokay, 2002: 9) includes the article "Management of land borders" NS Jaiswal talks about the border issue. It also

included Stephen Cohen's classification of south Asia as an independent geopolitical region, not within a geo-strategic region. It is big enough to be a sub-continent in its own right, is guarded from the Eurasian powers by the massive wall of the Himalayas, from the Middle East by the Hindukush Mountains of the North West frontiers, and Burma and Indo-China by cower but heavily forested jagged mountain ranges. He also aptly highlights rampant bilateral disputes which put South Asian states in constant quarrel.

- (1) South Asian states have inherited from the colonial past the territorial disputes, demarcation of land and maritime boundaries.
- (2) Sharing of water resources from common rivers, including that of the Ganges.
- (3) Intra-state conflict involving ethno linguistic and religious groups with cross border affiliation.
- (4) Conflicting economic interests.
- (5) Smuggling, cross-boarder activities and a number of other issues.
- (6) No state in South Asia is able to control its boarder.

The mountain forum home page on 7 March 2002 with the topic *Oil, War Geopolitics and Hegemony* (Gokay, 2002: 9) by Bulent Gokay, An European studies Program director in a discussion group on world affairs quoted 'who rules the heartland commands the world Island, who rules the world Island commands the world (Hal-ford Mackinder 1919). The lines are explained with separate dramatic events. He has given emphasis on the role of world economy. Those who hold billions of oil dollars and natural gas; they really dominate the geopolitics and military advantages and enjoy a dominant position in the region.

The financial times, *Geo-politics Restrict Exploration* (Corzine, 2000: 7) Caspian Sea by Robert Corzine Coine highlights the significance of petroleum in Caspian Sea region in Kazakhstan's Kashagan. It is not exempted from Washington's geo-political ambition to see a transalpine oil export system, both Russian in the North and Iran in the South.

The topic "Himalayan frontiers" in the book *World Affairs Companion Global Issues* (Sehgal, 1996: 18) by Gerald Sehgal explains about India and China boarder disputes and the issue of co-existence.

The website "Judea/Samaria (the west bank) by Gerardo Jolle indicated *The Importance of Territory* (Jolle, 2004: 18) with the example of boarder dispute between Palestinians and Israel. The article was written just immediately after the death of the icon

leader of Palestinian people Aasir Arafat. There is example concern about what will be the position of west bank or territory fighters. Israel makes a wall around the Gaza step or heartland. This is the nationalist dispute.

*The American Government and Political Dictionary* (7<sup>th</sup> edition) Sharifs, 2004: 43) by Jan M Sharifs, clearly defined the concept of foreign policy and national defense. The dictionary is very useful for those who want to study about the foreign policies all over the world.

The article "Border conflicts and regional disputes" written by Sushilk. Pillai overview reasons of conflict in south Asia is *Searching for Peace in Central and Asia* (Kamp, 2003: 300) edited by Monique Meken Kamp, Paul Van Tongeren, and Hans Van de Veen:

- (1) Pre and postcolonial boarder alignments, the legacies are fiercely defended by their inheritors.
- (2) Ethnic and religious conflicts and the employment of terrorism and fundamentalism (which ignore boundaries) as a means to resolve them.
- (3) claims on land and maritime territories, rich in natural resources, have political or socio-cultural importance (factors such as organized crime and the conflicts) the book described not only South Asia but also Central Asia.

Verinder Grover's book *China, Japan and India's Foreign Policy* (Grover, 2003: 78) critically analyses Indian's foreign policy and her relations with China and Japan. The book specially discussed India's relation with two powerful neighbors China, Japan and highlights Nehru's policy of non-alignment. It shows the historical links between India and Japan for centuries. An important fact noted in the book is that both Chou and Nehru greatly contributed to the development of a foreign policy based on the principle of peaceful co-existence among the third world country's. The ties between Japan and India is primarily for trade purpose whereas India's relation with other south Asian states especially immediate neighbors is not so good as its relation with distant countries.

*Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Synder, 1962: 45) edited by Richard C Snyder, HW Bruck, Burton Sapin gives an approach to the study of internal politics expresses their views on international politics, not just a hotchpotch of ideas, in the past one reason or another have been shown in the recent. The foreign policy analysis has three factors:

- (1) It borrows conceptual frames, guides from sociology and social psychology
- (2) The decision method is a complex organization setting

- (3) It is new, research and theoretical activities.

According to this book, in the eyes of some observers the decision-making process is analytical and deciding course which differs policy decisions and action decisions makers, and situations. In the process of policy making, context plays a vital role. The following six points work as guidelines in the process.

- (1) Size of unit
- (2) Leadership
- (3) Centralization and decentralization of authority
- (4) Sources of information
- (5) Nature of communication network
- (6) Classification of task.

The writer suggests that properties of thinking obviously enter into decision making and that is exhibited in the behavior of individuals and that conceptualize two fundamental processes, intellectual and the organizational process which mobilize the authorities to act, time skills, information, and resources (means) and the building of consensus of policies or course of action that is communication, negotiation and agreement.

SM Habibullah in his article analyses how a super power USA formulates its foreign policies and what are its constituent factors? He has also described the factors of other states (Habibullah, 2003: 157). The USA foreign policy is in a way a directive principle of all over the world. The book *Nepal's Relations with United States of America* (IFA, 2005: 18) published by Institute of Foreign Affairs Policy Study Series 4 discusses about bilateral relations with USA and its policy study. It throws some light on Nepal-US relations on the futuristic outlook of the possibility of the ways and means for giving a new thrust to the warm and cordial relations. It begins from April 1947. In diplomatic history of Nepal USA is the 2<sup>nd</sup> important country with whom Nepal established diplomatic relations. Despite being distant neighbors the relations developed as a good example of how best the relations could be nurtured and developed between a super power and a small country like Nepal.

In the book it is also discussed how US policy supports democratic institutions and economic liberalization in Nepal. For Nepal its relation with the US is an important milestone of its foreign policy. Mr. Madhav P Khanal has studied Nepal-US relation in minute detail and

also American policy towards south Asian region. We hope that two countries will develop model relation. In the book there were attached treaties and understandings.

*Policy Study Series* (Dahal, 1999: 18) published by Institute of Foreign Affairs, recent publication is a continuation of the policy study series. The book deals with the relationships of Nepal with immediate neighbors China and India as Nepal has common borders with both of them. The article review of Nepal- India relation: issues and challenges (1950-1999) by Ram Kumar Dahal is with comment about the traditional style of identifying Nepal, not a sovereign state but a country bound with India. This saying depends on reality who wants to know the economic, cultural, technical commercial, military, and diplomatic factors which behind India. He argues though Nepal is a weak and small state it has some unique international identity in many fields. He also quoted BP Koirala's statement about Nepal's sovereignty on Nov. 29, 1959 and disagrees the treaty of 1950s. He noted irritations coming up from time to time in Nepal about India relations. He has quoted worsening relation between two countries based on demarcating Nepal India border by 58 rivers almost 38 of them have changed their course and the border encroachment is nearly in 65 places. It was not only in Dasgaja Pillar (Junge Pillar) Lipiyadhura but also in many places.

In the book Indo-Nepal relation, the writer BM Jain *Role of Super Power* expressed that this tiny land chiefly determines the US south Asia policy locked country's location in the Himalayan region. The consolidation of the strategic gains prompted the American administration to keep the Himalayan state free from both the Chinese as well as India influence. In the 1970's the regional peace and stability was aimed at keeping India in a low profile. The main interests of the US policy are:

- (1) To decrease Nepal's dependence on India
- (2) To keep India in a low profile in the region
- (3) To check mate India's over arching and over extensive strategic reach in and beyond the region.
- (4) To help maintain dependence and autonomy for Nepal and also extend oblique support to region.
- (5) To prevent China from exploiting the situation in its favor by exacerbating tensions between India and Nepal.

To gain these achievements US has been providing economic assistance to Nepal since 1950's for its development tasks. Nepal has always expressed its willingness to work out for mutually acceptable solution and meaningful talks (Jain, 2004: 336-37).

On the topic "International Relations Anglo-American Aspects" (Bajpai and Shukul, 1993: 36) from the book *Interpreting World Politics* written jointly by Kanti P Bajpai and Harish C Shukul discusses about the structural aspects of geography and their impact upon politics and it goes back to the period prior to Sir Hal ford Mac Kinder in Britain and those of Alfred Thyer Mahan in the united states. Both had enormous influence in their time and their academic contribution was widely acknowledged. They brought to the fore the importance of geopolitical relationship.

In the same book an article by Geoffrey Parker taken from *Domination to Non-domination: Towards a New Geopolitics* talks about the collapse of old global war and geographical distribution of power (Bajpai and Shukul, 1993: 221).

Geoffrey has made profound contribution about geopolitics in the past, present and future. He has motivated to achieve development within existing systems (Bajpai and Shukul, 1993: 221).

Levi (1952: 3) has emphasized on the foreign policy of a nation. He views that effectiveness of foreign policy depends on its formulation. He has recorded that in colonial territory, colonizers and colonized feel separated from each others and has no substantial relation of any kind between them, individuals either missionaries traders, refugee, laborers maintained some contacts on individual basis.

Glassner (1996: 311) in 1996 and a high importance of geo setting which surrounded the activities of human environment. In this book, the topic geopolitics analyzes the power of political geographers, political scientists, foreign ministry officials, military intelligence and specialists. He has stressed many factors overlap and most are interrelated territory, population, government, economy, circulation, military strength and foreign relations (Glassner, 1996: 311).

In another topic *Historical Concepts in Geopolitics* concerned with the study of states in the context of global spatial phenomena attempts is made understand both the state power and the nature of state interaction with one another. He has stressed that before the World War II, geopolitics was considered to be the application of geographic information and geographic perspectives to the development of a state's foreign policies. He has also informed that German geographers twisted it into the pseudo science of "Geopolitics", the chauvinist

aggressive and anti democratic version of geopolitics that led physical and intellectual distribution before and during the World War II. He had described Ratzel's organic state theory and the development of geo strategy concepts. It can be separated from our minds so we can develop different sets of ideas, thoughts in the world. So it is quickly changing its nature and policies.

As Martin indicated the term of geo-strategy included: geographical, physical, territory population members, National character, and governmental characters. He also quoted that the influence of geopolitik is found great in some area but quite insignificant in other areas. Hitler's *Main Kampf* contains many examples of geopolitical ideas. He has noted that geopolitiks died with the collapse of Nazi Germany in 1945 but geo strategy survived and flourished continuously.

In other topics related to contemporary geopolitics, there is discussion that geopolitics as again attracted attention and some activities were focused. Some of the credit must be given to Henry Kissinger, national security adviser and secretary of state under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald ford, USA as well as De Gulle, Willy Brand and other pragmatic statesmen. Geopolitics was revived independently in Italy, West Germany and France in the past. New texts on Geopolitics appeared in 1985 (G Parker) and 1986 (O Sullivan) (Glassner, 1996: 311). He also noted in the book of systematic political geography which repeated new kinds of geopolitics of peace. It affected the world and changed the world and its politico geographical situation. The writer raises many questions about the condition of the world in the future?

Khanal (1985: 73) argued that foreign policy cannot be perused in isolation from the home policy. Foreign affairs viewed not only as usual in the narrow geopolitical context which, given the circumstances of the origin and development of geopolitics in Germany needs to be implored more critically in Nepal. Khanal was an eminent expert about Nepalese foreign policy. He wrote many books about Nepalese foreign policy.

The book *India and Bhutan* (Chari, 1995: 184) edited by PR Chari describes in the topics "Treaty of Sugauli" Dec. 1815 in which Nepal losses 1/3 land. The treaty tried to establish peace and friendship between East India Company and Nepal. Its eastern boundary was given to Sikkim and the territory to the west was assigned to Abadh. The Cis-sutlej state returned to the native province. The east India Company took control over Garhwal and Kumaun in return East Indian Company paid 200,000 annually to compensate, Nepal. Nepali officials were obviously affected by the loss of their land.



*External Compulsions of South Asia Politics* (Kodikara, 1993: 19) edited by Shelton V Kodikara shows that the international system has influenced the regional sub systems of south Asia and another problem noted was cross-boarder intraregional interactions. The book also mentioned South Asia strategy, security relations with China, soviet Russia and USA.

In the book SD Muni and M discusses about relationship between the United States and South Asia, Sino-Soviet relationship. Rose, Amal Jayawardena discuss about changes in soviet foreign policy since Gorbachev came to power.

*The Conquest of War Alternative Strategies for Global Security* (Hollins, 1984: 18) written by authors Harry B Hollins, Arill L power, and Mark Sommer, the book has been published for three generations. Harry Hollins made study on global security alternatives for more than forty years, Mark Sommer developed new approaches on global security and national defense, Averill powers worked for world policy.

The book draws ideas, problems, issues and organizations that participate worldwide movements that ultimately lead to abolish it. It described that the enemy of human race is the recurrent unmanageable disease that cause great misery and distress, death and sufferings, has hindered the evolution of human race so the suggestion is to wipe out such disease and establish the extra ordinary genetic potential for knowledge for the good life. The writer indicated that the threat of "Dooms day machine". The book shows that the national security policy is to control the battleground and it is useful for the field of peace and conflict studies.

*Arms Control and International Security* (Kolkowic, 1984: 23) edited by Roman Kolkowicz and Neil Joeck analyse the critical issues of arms control and international security in 1980's. This book is also helpful for national security and peaceful behavior at the political arena. The make of national security mirrors the foreign policy and that is again a mirror of nation and people.

Institute of foreign affairs *Policy Studies Series 2 Securities in South Asia 2001* (Kumar, 2001: 5-66) published various topics is edited by Prof. Mohan P Lohani. In one of the topics, Dhruva Kumar described in "A Nepali perspective vision for future security in south Asia" that the centralized states in South Asia are hollow in their make up. He has explained the scene of politics in South Asia, they are neither engaged, non-influenced, nor responded nor restored the trust of people though they govern, they showed a critical challenge to the security of South Asian states. Here is unsolved problems of national integration and lack of

managing skill the domestic chaos. He has also quoted the collapse of Soviet Union and its politics and territorial fragmentation. This as secessionist movement heavily affects south Asia, and its state building process. Historically India fragmented two times which became Pakistan and Bangladesh so as the secessionism is still active in different sectors. If the challenges managed properly as a result the region suffered over the past several decades because a mosaic of crises including insurgencies, secessionism, ethnic and sectarian conflicts, terrorism, irredentism civil and conventional war. He has estimated the figure of dead body as 2.4 million in this region of unending conflicts and violence.

John A Agnew's paper *Global Political Geography beyond Geopolitics* (Agnew's, 2000: 70) pointed that scholars with detailed place knowledge are increasingly in demand in the field of political geography. We need to understand settled ideas of states, the division of world and East versus West, communist versus capitalist and so on. Agnew's paper explained about political identities that can be equated to stable or fixed national identity; geopolitical claims are implicit in the practices of foreign policy and it can be deconstructed from the texts and speeches of political leaders and the various "intellectuals of state craft" from scholars to popular commentators and television pundits.

This paper indicated a global study of political geography as the study of location and physical environmental characteristics as the determinants of statecraft. He has quoted that political geographers are largely declared as crafters of formal strategic proposals to critical commentators on the actual state of world affairs and foreign policy. He has commented that world economy; new communications and weapons technologies pretend the death of geography in terms of trans global communications.

The writer's view was that global political geography and its prime concern was the role of geographical scale in establishing political including national identities. Geopolitic as a form of power/knowledge and shifts in the mix of geographical scales at which the world economy and world politics are organized.

Jean- Batiste Meyer, David Kaplan, and Jorge Charum have written *Scientific Nomadism and the New Geopolitics of Knowledge*. (Meyer, Kaplan and Charum, 2003: 73). All the researchers focused on a global knowledge society as the major factor of production in the new economy. Knowledge of human beings notably increases and is also the international marker for skills. It also discusses on skilled emigration from all sorts of places, too many different centers of attraction. The researcher have focused about few example of diversity movement situations such as- Colombian intellectuals to the US, Spain, and

Australia, Cuban doctors to south Africa, south African nurses to the UK and New Zealand, New Zealand post doctorate students to Canada: Canadian researchers to the US, French financial traders to the UK and Junior scientists to the US, Hong Kong engineers to Australia, the US and the UK. Indian information Technologists transferred to Germany and the US Argentinean psychoanalysts to Mexico, Spain or the US. Today, the flow of brain drain of scientists and engineers is increasing in the field of international market for skills. Skilled manpower is moving forwards to the developed countries where they get better facilities. Now a days huge brain drain to developed countries is a great charm. The system of global market make easy to join hands with each others. This is not new that the global knowledge; has seen mobility of highly skilled manpower from one place to another place what will be the result. The question arises the future of mobility. The whole world has become a family. (*Basu Daiba Kutunabakam*) scientists and engineers' mobility today responds to major geopolitical orientations with concentration as well as dispersion, flows and sequences.

Mathew Farish points about certain unstable position between many sites, cubist landscape of shattered geographies and unstable boundaries. Showing his vision in his topics "Modern witnesses: Foreign correspondents geopolitical vision and the First World War", he had inquired, if world war 1914 was of patriotic and xenophobic crowds in the European capitals in the book, *The Soul of the War*, (Farish, 1984: 260). Mathew indicated that Haushofer and his colleagues identify the new geopolitics be used as applied science in the current situation. New Geopolitics means that the country should begin seriously to consider possibilities of territorial rearrangement through the readjustment of its international boundaries.

Amrit Bahadur Rai in his book *Nepal's Foreign Policy: Historical Out Line and Future Perspective* (CAMAD, 2006) has described about the Nepalese foreign policy from them past to the present. In the article he viewed the recent world as a globalized world. Legend showed historical background also a point for establishing the foreign policy of a country. Foreign policy is an intelligent persuasion creating good guys and bad guy's behavior.

Geography and history play most important rote to build nation and its politics. Nepal has to play the dynamic role to develop international relationship with long standing. Nepalese have great natural wealth, water resources, and play very influential role with national interest in the national economic developments and national identities. Nepal is world's second largest water resource country in the world. Nepal's based as an instrument of foreign policy as a potentially suppliers of hydro- power. To develop foreign policy and formation of national interest is one of the main themes of nation.

He has categorized the article in ten chapters. In the background chapter he has described that world politics is a melting pot of foreign policies. He indicated that foreign policy is a sensitive field, which requires careful handling through astute maneuvers coupled with impeccable intelligence, persuasions and sometimes-even threats.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter he had discussed about the unification of Nepal and its foreign policy as mentioned by Prithivinarayan Shah and previous dynasties Kirat, Lichchhavi and Malla era. Prithivinarayan Shah's *Dibya Upadesh* "Nepal is a yam, between two boulders. Friendly relations should be maintained with both China and India. Nepal should do not engage in offence with them. Fighting, if it is must, should be only on defensive basis. This is the real geopolitical situation of Nepal. In his article Narrated Prithivinarayan Shah fought with British army in Pouwagadhi, Sindhuli by Captain Kinlock who came to serve the reign of Jay Prakash Malla on October 17, 1767. Prithivinarayan Shah drives the Christian pastors and tried to his best avoid external domination. King Prithivinarayan Shah did not allow exporting British goods to Tibet via Nepal. *Dibya Upadesh* advises how to promote domestic products in order to make the nation self stand. He was an early inventor of Nepal's foreign policy.

Thus, we can say that King Prithvinarayan Shah was the main guide of Nepalese foreign policy. Rajya Laxmi and Bahadur Shah gave Sacrifice to unification of Nepal. Bhimsen Thapa was a successful hero of unification. Besides this, Amar Sigh Thapa one of the heroes of Nepal, fought against East India Company.

Nepal's expansion campaign ended with Sugouli Treaty 1816. *Jaishi Kotha* was the institution of Nepal Government responsible established in 1769 for foreign relations. *Jaishi Kotha* was the only office where the foreign policy was conducted. When the war ended named Sugouli Treaty East India Company gradually started to meddle into Nepal's politics. It was badly festered with cruelty, conspiracy and insane family bickering among royalties and royal coterie. In later years, the British resident dictated Nepal's foreign policy.

Rai quoted the "Yam Theory" in Nepal's foreign policy as a contribution by Prithvi Narayan Shah, the founding father, was always prevalent for upto the present. It remains the same as geographical position of Nepal remains unchanged. After the Sugouli treaty Nepal lost one third of its land. In the article, the author described historical period in the following way: Rana era, Interim Democratic Royal take over, and after *Jana Andolan II*.

According to the era of Rana rule (1846-1951) in the history of Nepal was an era of isolation, full of sinister designs and killing of rivals. Prime Mister Jung Bahadur was keenly interested to establish good relations with East-India Company with a view to thwart any

conspiracy by exiled King and Queen from Banaras. At that time Jung Bahadur had taken long tour to Britain and other European countries.

After successful suppression of sipoy muting and its aftermath British India as a gift to Jung Bahadur returned Naya Muluk Banke Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur which was lost in Sugouli treaty. When Chandra Shamsheer came to power to secure his desired support from British ruler, he sent huge number of army to fight for British empire in the World War I and II. The treaty of friendship December 21, 1923 was a milestone to recognize independent Nepal and be cured transit right from East India Company and the treaty was life Line to the Rana ruler in August 15, 1944 India was freed from British Empire so Mohan Shumsher tried to change the Nepal's relation towards China, Tibet, France, Netherlands Brazil, Belgium etc. He also tried to enter into the membership of UN but USSR voted against it. Britain in November 1947 decided to divide 10 Gorkha Rifles Major Units continuing to serve in India some units to be shifted to serve in British Colony like Hong Kong. First presence of international arena in the first Asian relations conference was held in New Delhi in 1947. Nepal established diplomatic relations with India, USA, and France in 1949. Treaty of peace and friendship with India was signed on 31 July 1950.

During Rana regime "Munshi Khana" was first designated for looking after foreign affairs and it was re-organized by Bhimsen Thapa and Jung Bahadur resettled office into three divisions (1) The British-India Division (2) Jaishi Kotha (3) Munshi captain's office (CAMAD, 2006).

Rana regime ended after 104 years of autocracy, a black period of Nepalese history. For their family protection Rana rulers tried to maintain strong relationship with British-India. But Nepal in those days was isolated from outside world. When Jung Bahadur received as a gift, the land area of Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur, known as *Naya Muluk*. This event recognized Nepal as a sovereign country. There was no clear foreign policy during the Rana regime. It was only family controlled state system.

The period after 104 years rule of Rana family is called Interim Democratic Era 1951-1960. There was 'Delhi settlement', in February 7, 1951. King Tribhuvan was reinstated on the throne with full power. This event was called ending of darkness and beginning of new age in Nepal's foreign relations. Nepal began to participate in different international forums. As an analysis of Nepal's foreign policy during 1951-55, called as Tribhuvan Era, was dominated by India. Prime Minister Nehru declared in his address India parliament that "the foreign policy of Nepal would be coordinated with India". It showed that the Indian stand in Nepal and India

ambassador Chandreswor Prasad, used to attend cabinet meeting (CAMAD, 2006). The Koshi agreement (1954) was a period of special relation between Nepal and India with the Nepalese Prime Minister of Matrika Prasad Koirala and Jawahar Lal Nehru as the prime minister of India.

Prime Minister Matrika Prasad Koirala's government highlighted the basic guidelines of his government's foreign policy based on three fundamental characters- (a) To establish close friendship with India, (b) To maintain policy of non-involvement (block politics) and (c) To seek membership of UN.

Jawahar Lal Nehru was the first foreign Prime Minister who visited Nepal in June 1951. An Aide memoirs paper was presented to the King Tribhuwan in May, 1954, clearly effected Indian sentiment- (a) Nepal should consult the Indian government for foreign policy and other matter connected with foreign powers, (b) Nepal should consult with India even for Sino-Nepalese affairs and (c) India will give possible help if Nepal is found interested in relation with other countries.

Koshi agreement was signed in 1954 at the time of Prime Ministership of Matrika Prasad Koirala's and it made heated controversy, hue and cry in Nepal saying that India was given special rights over Nepal's soil and water. Before the controversy of Koshi agreement was fully cooled down, Nepal made another agreement called Gandak agreement of the same nature with India. For diplomatic, achievements Nepal participated in the Bandung conference in March 13, 1955 and acquired membership of UN on 14 December 1955 and established diplomatic relations with 21 countries. The age of foreign relations started. Rai analyses the Panchayat era (1960-1990) when king Mahendra started to steer Nepalese foreign policy with his he ascending to the throne on Mach 13, 1955. King Mahendra had a charismatic personality and attempted to balance relation with both neighbors. Rai quoted Leo Rose and Rager Dial about the magic formula of king Mahendra's foreign policies as the policy of Non-alignment and diversification. King Mahendra played vital role in international arena based on the principles or the policy of nonalignment peaceful co-existence.

Knowing the non-aligned role of Nepal, China gave recognition to Nepal with financial aid to construct Kathmandu-Kodari highway (110 km). Then Nepal started to receive aid from big powers such as USA, USSR, UK and China as result of her foreign policy. The East west high way (*Mahendra Raj Marg*) is a distinct example of the cooperative involvement of super powers. When King Mahendra ousted elected BP Koirala government in 1960, India expressed dissatisfaction whereas China remained silent. Himalayan frontier

security policy of India faded out during Mahendra's reign. Indian policy shows distinct shift during the time of three Kings.

- (1) King Tribhuwan's period, Nepal was in special relationship.
- (2) Mahendra's era tried to play Non-aligned policy.
- (3) King Birendra's era tried to maintain equi-distance or equal relationship with both the neighbors.

It is said that the epic Maha Bharat's 18th chapter *Shanti Parba* inspired late. King Birendra for his proposal of Nepal as "peace zone Nepal." In February 1975, 116 nations supported the peace zone proposal except the immediate neighbor India.

He made active efforts to elevate Nepal's identity on international form through charter of UN principles of non alignment and peaceful co-existence. Nepal was engaged in the establishment of South Asia Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), Nepal imported arms from China and this act angered India. India imposed economic blockade against Nepal in 1989.

In the article, Rai analyses that with the democratic restoration (1990) 15 months long economic blockade by India was suspended when the Prime Minister Kirshna Prasad Bhattarai visited to India. When Girija Prasad Koirala came to power in 1991 he promised his commitment to the principles of the UN charter, non-alignment, Promotion of human rights, non-interference in the internal affairs. Koirala expressed his view to change the Treaty of 1950. He said that the world is changed the situation of 50's, 60's, 70's and 80's are not the same.

From Bhutan, Nepali origin Bhutanese refugees entered Nepal from Kakarbhitta in 1990. To solve the Bhutanese refugee problem Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala and Home Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba visited Thimpu. But the problem remains unchanged. Meanwhile Girija Prasad Koirala made Tanakpur agreement and was criticized for the same.

In the mid term election, CPN (UML) scored largest number of seats in the parliament. First communist government was formed under the leadership Man Mohan Adhikari as Prime Minister. The government, addressed the diplomatic crops in Nepal on 12 December 1994, highlighted geo-strategic setting of the country, we cannot afford to have a tilt to one side in our relationship. We harbor no prejudice against any country and hence we shall always strengthen friendship and understanding with all countries", CPN (UML) government boldly took up the issue of Treaty of peace and Friendship 1950 with Indian side

during the rule. Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikari paid official visit to India in 1995 (CAMAD, 2006).

Rai's descriptive article pointed out when minority government of CPN (UML), collapsed, the tripartite coalition government of Nepali congress, National Democratic Party and Sadh Bhavana Party was formed in January 1996. During his visit to India Prime-Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba of Nepal and PV Narsingha Rao, the Prime-Minister of India signed the Treaty on integrated Development of Mahakali river. On February 12, 1996 Deuba government clarified that Mahakali treaty included Sarada Barrage, Tanakpur Barrage and Pancheshwar Project.

Rai presented in descriptive method the incident of Royal take over (1 Feb. 2005-24 April 2006) by King Gyanendra. He declared his tackle intention was to borne the Maoist problems but it remains unresolved. Major donors such as European Union, USA, UK and India disagreed to the Royal take over, King Gyanendra addressing the Asian-African summit 2005 held in Jakarta on 22 April 2005 tried hard to justify his action. He affirmed commitment of Nepal to the charter of the United Nations and the principles of the non-aligned movement.

His analysis pointed out that seven party alliances, popular movement and secured victory and reestablished democracy, and that brought the end of active Royal regime on 24 April 2006. With *Jana Andolan II*, seven party alliances under the leadership of Girija Prasad Koirala got victory proposed socio-economic transformation. In council of world affairs June 2006" deputy prime minister and foreign minister observed that time has come to bring out foreign policy from the enigmatic whims of handful of ruling elite and give it to democratic look. Secrecy has become a thing of past in the conduct of foreign relations of democratic Nepal, transparency is the voice of the present (CAMAD, 2006).

He had referred about the formation of the high-level foreign policy task force by the government of Nepal on 18 July 2006 under the governorship of Murari Raj Sharma, former foreign secretary, and the task force submitted its report suggesting necessary changes in the foreign policy in tune with the recent political transformation.

In the same observation he has indicated some outstanding issues such as Treaty of peace and Friendship 1950, border demarcation and regulation, utilization of water resources, and Bhutanese refugee problems that continue to work as irritants in Indo-Nepal relations. In another paragraph he suggested that the foreign policies of Nepal should be



broad based, in the past small group with narrow and shortsighted vision conducted it. There is acute need of incorporating people's voice for effective implementation of foreign policy. Popular participation in policy propagates moral and psychological strength to the policy making. Even though participation in foreign policy may not be as wide as in the domestic policy since it demands deep insight into politics, economics and law at international level (CAMAD, 2006). However, the quality of stakeholders in foreign policy has been increasing steadily day by day. The impact of public sentiment in conduction of foreign policy has been widening. Policy makers should be sensitive while formulating foreign policy.

Nepalese leaders and policy makers must alter their "we know better" attitude to listen and to commit to guidelines and the voice of ordinary people. He explained that the past time policy was secret negotiations, agreements, exchange of documents. Diplomacy under opaque veil, however, embroidered, cheats people and country confine them to darkness (CAMAD, 2006).

Without sufficient economic power, no country can gain sufficient strength in its foreign policy. Self-standing is lack of without economic strength. Politics is the gravitational point of a nation into which all other systems revolve around.

Talking about effective foreign policy in absence of credible and democratic politics is like making castle on the air. A civilized nation is based on values of fundamental rights, democracy, Justice and human dignity which enhance blooming of many contesting agencies but also foster myriads of creativity. So it needs credibility of a nation on the foreign front. Many small nations too maintain high level dignity and international prestige with European Union, North Atlantic Free Trade Area, South Asia association for Regional cooperation, Association of South East Diplomatic Footing with big countries.

The fear psychosis or big neighbor syndrome always disturbs the sense of self-confidence and bilateral relations. Nepal-India border issues have remained a source of irritations. It is said India always ignored Nepalese people's voice and issues of 1950's treaty.

The international scenario demands to formulate time-tested foreign policy. Nepal's foreign policy is always accustomed to geography, culture and history, Nepal cannot change its neighbors but it can change its policies and relations. International relations are not a zero-sum as suggested by old-line scholar Kautilya and Machiavelli. Win-win strategy can be more beneficial in the present world.

In the article, it is clearly indicated that in land locked, small and least developed countries, the internal part of foreign policy and diplomacy is very significant. Not only knowledge and experience but also dedication and commitments to effective foreign policy are equally important.

At the conclusion, the writer has analyzed and pointed the need democratization of foreign policy; our consensus body intellectuals would enrich our foreign policy. Politics and economy are two vital areas to pave the way for foreign policy formation. He also quoted that big power could border open in one side and close on the other. Geopolitically Nepal has no other option except to maintain balanced relations with her neighbours.

A Chinese proverb says- 'A journey of a thousand miles starts with small steps.' Now time has come to design and write new chapter in the history of Nepal's foreign policy. In this context Nepal will face new challenges and new opportunities but it has to play significant role in regional and global forums.

Mark Basin analyses his topic "Between Realism and the New Right geopolitics in Germany" in 1990. This essay explores the connections between geopolitics and political conservation. The introductory argument is that geopolitics is historically useful from two different dimensions: one aims to preserve the political geography of the existing international status quo and another seeks to establish a new international order. Geopolitics is a problematic concept and raises serious misgivings, especially when it is viewed in connection with Germany

In his essay, he has classified the following geopoliticians as a classical: Meander, Mahan, Kjellen, Spykman Henry Kissinger, Aleksander Dugbin and Vladimir Zhirinovski. It had more specific significance for nationalist conservation perspectives in Germany. The essay shows significant interest in geopolitics on the part of the international communist movement in 1920's and 1930's. It shows that left had strong interest in geopolitics. The situation of critical geopolitics is changed into national politics, international relations national and international security process. Geopolitics is able to respond to multiple directions and too many things may orientations and outlooks. It has foundational attitude toward the existing international status quo of state structures, boundaries and power relations. The respective idea of Mackinder's heartland theory, Kissinger's triangulation, and global balance of power. It intends preserving an existing status quo by preventing the emergence or extension of power centers and is levelled as defensive or better status quo polities.

*Good Guy's and Bad Guys Policy*, General tendency of majority of people is multi party democracy, however, in traditional thinking good guys and bad guys policy continues when a star views another state. This policy was followed by Chanakya in South Asia and the same was practised in Mugal era in India and was transferred it to Nepal. Machiavelli, European ruler was another policy maker to identify good guys and bad guys policy in medieval era. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century good guys good relationship bad guys bad policy, is the concept that Tally Land expresses in his expression that " states do not have friends states have interests (Mask,.2003: 352). He has analyzed the nation-state concept in the nineteenth century. He indicated that "geopolitics is the study of the influences of geographical space on the politics of a state (Mask, 2003: 352).

He explored that geopolitics gives a patriotic commitment and welfare desire for a brighter and more secured future. He also indicated that geopoliticians after 1990 are attached to the concepts and to some extent the language known as social Darwinism. It was believed that political phenomena and process can be explained in terms of same natural laws and principles which govern the operation of the organic world. For the geographical study of politics, the naturalism of the political states or organism rooted in the soil became the most popular doctrines of geopolitics.

Notably here, the natural organic perspective enters into the concept of geopolitik. Across the millennia nations become the immutable units of world history and world politics, in contrast to political states. They are not the product of artificial manufacture but of natural growth, nations that belong just as organically to those parts of the earth's surface that they cover as the roots, trunks and crowns of trees belong to the forest. They are simply irreplaceable, for example biology was renewed as a bio-geographical concept connoting the space which a plant or animal organism required for survival. Later on when the population increased, a nation's living space requirements are constantly shifting and growing and this circumstance in turn opened possibility for competition and conflict. The result was that nations involved in competition for their existence, and a long series of struggle, banishment, enslavement, or annihilation, runs throughout human history (Mask, 2003: 352).

The views of the nation as dynamic organism with ever evolving needs for living space leads to a realist perspective of international relations. The characterization of relations between states is really competitive with one another and help developing advance policies based on self interest. The field of international relations can be better for zero-sum rivalry or to make welfare state. The theory of new geopolitik classically in social Darwinistic terms emerges with the concept of eternal struggle for power among states (Mask, 2003: 352).

Mark Basin indicated Zaker's about (1992: 189) poor people with high birth rates find their root and native home lands inadequate so they search for new space for existence. It is very important point in the new world. New geopolitik always carry with it a good deal of old baggage for that is reviving, redefining and reusing it for contemporary world (Mask, 2003: 352).

Ralph S Clam, Department of International Relations, Florida International University, Miami explained that the collapse of USSR will have far-reaching geopolitical impact in modern era. Dissolution of Soviet Union turned Warsaw pact dysfunctional, the communist regime central, Eastern Europe with its political and economic system, political scientists were bound to adjust with changed paradigm.

It is probably fair to repeat the age-old question, what is Russia? As he noted that Russia has been many things in the past, both as a geographical construct and as an identity. Russia has vastness in its size; likewise key features of Russian geography are associated with its size. The new state is much weaker than the old Soviet Union.

It is very obvious to state that geography and history have the most important power to build a nation. Russians have the dynamic international relationship between inter and intra states with long standing. Russia has great natural wealth and because of resources it will play very influential role with its national interest and its economic development. Its natural resources play vital role in its relation with other countries. Russia is using its huge resource base as an instrument of foreign policy, as a potential supplier of petroleum to the United States or natural gas to Europe, or as means of influencing neighboring states by withholding supplies (Trenin, 2003: 329).

With the fall of Soviet Empire, the question is now being asked how long will China exist within its present frontiers? The unity of the state is threatened by over extension of resources, growing economic equity, and ethnic separatism. An attempt is made to quantify the potential for separatism of the Chinese provinces. The highest concern is to the provinces like Xinjiang, Tibet, Guangolong, Fujian and Zhejiang. The pull of strong Hong Kong and Taiwanese economics may create an integrated south Chinese economic space, stretching from Hainan to Shanghai. The pull from Turkey and Islamic states in central Asia may increase separatist- tendencies in Xinjiang (Jarmo, 1996: 1).

In his article Eronen Jarmo views that there were several factors to separate the provinces in China and also discusses about the reasons of chances of survival of China as the largest empire, China was historically under foreign rule (Mongol, Manchu) for

sometime. He has also indicated that there are strong culturally distinct minorities like the Vighure, Mogals and Tibetans, with their own autonomous regions, and have traditionally displayed separatist tendencies. Eronen Jarmo (1996: 5-6) analyses the language and separatist possible groups of China. He had explained the "A Geopolitical approach to China's future in his article in sep 1996" (Jarmo, 1996: 4). China can be fragmented like Russia. Jarmo clearly exposed China's cultural, language, religion, separatist ethnic minority's groups, a geopolitical map of future China.

Mamdouh G Salameh in his witting "The geopolitics of oil in the Asia-pacific region and its strategic implications" has the dramatic changes of economic growth in the Asia Pacific Region. It has developed national security and power. Asia Pacific Region has significant energy supplies that will require the mobilization of the trillions of dollars of investment along every element of energy supply system. He has calculated that China will be the big oil supplier country with new oil discoveries in Tarim basin and North West of South China Sea.

Chinese oil market will in the future grow more than France and UK. It deals heavily in this region. Like Caspian Sea oil, South China Sea and its maintenance requires high political or military power. He had discussed USA versus China and international system (Mamdouh, 1996: 4).

Gawdat Bahgat in his book *The Caspian Sea Geopolitical Game: Prospects for the New Millennium* examines the break-up of the Soviet Union in the early 1990's and thereby opening the door for the international oil companies to explore and develop the Caspian Sea's hydrocarbon resources. It indicated that the oil consumption could be 75 percent higher in 2020 than it was in 1995. The Persian Gulf states have taken river's seat in energy industry. In his article he has shown the oil estimate in the region, Iran and American have commercial geo strategic interest, showing the importance of Caspian oil in the world market and necessary to deal the region with these points.

- (1) Oil and Gas resources
- (2) The Caspian's legal status
- (3) Pipe line diplomacy.

The study showed that all issues of rivalry between a regional power- the Islamic Republic of Iran and an international one- the United States of America is oil politics. The

reality is that they have mutual interest to promote economic development and political stability in the Caspian region (Bahgat, 1999: 261).

Bahgat's another article *The Geopolitics of Nature Gas Asia* indicated about the importance of natural gas from producers to consumers Trans-Caspian pipeline and blue stream, Iran, Qatar, UAE and Saudi Arab to develop their natural gas resources and capture large share of Asian market. Geo-strategic and geo-economic interests will continue to shape the expanding natural gas market in the continent. Finally in his topic he has shown that natural gas resources capture large share of Asian market. Geo-strategic and geo-economic interests will continue to shape the expanding natural gas interest in the continent. The topic also shows that natural gas is fastest-growing primary fuel than oil energy. It will be more expensive in the future. This study suggests that in the foreseeable future, the Asian market will witness significant expansion in terms of both the volume of trade and the number importers and exposures. In the paper, it is hoped that the producers, such as the Gulf States, the Caspian Sea countries like Russia and consumers such as China, India and Turkey are likely to play a prominent role in the geo-policy and geo-economy of Asia (Bahgat, 1999: 261).

Bahgat Gawdat is a specialist for Caspian region and its resources gas and oil. In another article *Pipeline Diplomacy*, the focus is on geopolitics of the Caspian Sea region. "It examines that the Caspian Sea region is important to world energy markets because it holds large reserves of under developed oil and natural gas. The study examines four obstacles, rivalries between regional and international powers, domestic ethnic conflicts and lack of appropriate export routes. This article also focuses on the policies of the exploration and development of region's hydrocarbon resources since the collapse of Soviet Union in 1990.

Gawdat's analysis shows major international oil and gas companies have shown keen interest in Caspian Sea. He has described about the American and Russian policy towards the Caspian Sea. Instead, foreign policy goals and strategic considerations compete with commercial ones in formulating and determining where each these players stands. The collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 presented USA with a great opportunity to enhance commercial interests and energy security. Gawdat has identified four types of Characteristics of Geopolitical character. All players try to catch up oil and Gas resources as commercial competitions (Bahgat, 2003, 273).

Stephen Brichieri- and Robert W Brandnock in the paper "Geopolitics, water and development in south Asia: cooperative development in the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta" explore the geopolitical obstacles in the process of cooperation between states' joint

development of large-scale river systems and current opportunities for successful development. They also indicated that in the relation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, river issues dam building, barrage construction, population displacement, environment impacts and water sharing are the main issues.

The writer talks about the opportunities for effective use of Ganga- Brahmaputra-Meghna Waters making a barrage named Farrakka-Paksi-Mawa. He explored the map of geopolitics and the water development of South Asia. The paper has mainly discussed about present cooperation for Water barrage and Dam system of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Its focus is three states geopolitical water and developmental issues. Other South Asian states water, dam, barrage problems are not discussed (Stephen and Robert, 2003: 43-44).

Xiaoju Xua, a research fellow, in Petro-strategic studies in Beijing in "The oil and gas links between central Asia and China: a geopolitical perspective" has discussed on better understanding about oil and gas links between central Asia and China and its sequential implications. The author's message is of three fold.

- (1) China's growing energy constraints forces it to look for overseas resources. China has huge energy demands; there is economic and geopolitical importance of central Asian resources to China. China wants to build new bridges to link these resources with China.
- (2) Central Asian big oil reservoir allures China move westwards and neighboring regions. China has to bear the huge cost of overseas expansion and high risk, both economically and geopolitically.
- (3) All major powers involved with varying motivations and interests in central Asia, China can not ignore the "Great Game" China is advantageously positioned on the border of central Asia, and realises its geo-economic role in the region so as to become a more important geopolitical force. For this purpose China will give higher priority to market penetration and aggressive diplomacy. China wants geopolitical goals in central Asia, Middle East and Russia with effective management of the status of its geopolitical strength.

A professor of history addressing the central Asian issue Pre-eminent Greek mathematician and Inventor Archimedes (287-212 BC), once said that he could move the world with a lever on a fulcrum. But unfortunately, he never received the lever, such lever seems to be central Asia and the Trans-Caucasus region.

Xu's in his article has stated that for centuries central Asia has been the crossroads of Eurasia. So it has four civilizations that have controlled by central Asians. It has been able to control world system; some political scientists said the central Asia has the centrality of world systems. Great game has been played in this region for countries and continues even to day.

He indicated that central Asia and neighboring countries like China are concerned to energy linkages, i.e. oil and gas linkages between central Asia and China. China has given special emphasis on the geopolitical and economic importance of the region's oil and gas to China in the next decade. The central Asia is bordered by the Caspian Sea, Siberia, Mongolia and Tibet and Hindu Kush. In modern parlance it has been covered by vast territory of steppes, deserts and mountains, larger than Western Europe and half of the size of the USA. Its geographical location and its connections with world economic structures and political features are greatly constrained (Stephen and Robert, 2003: 35).

Xu's paper mainly focused about the oil and gas links between central Asia and its neighboring countries, he has explained about the economic and political development in this region. It has shown that the oil and gas link with Caspian Sea is China's great interest. In the paper China's geo-economic and new geopolitical reality has been shown as new geopolitical stakes. Major Powers joining the game are Russia, USA, France, Britain, Japan, China, India, Turkey, South Korea and Malaysia (Stephen and Robert, 2003: 49). Turkey is the natural bridge to the west.

In the context of central Asian connections with world markets, the author describes Turkey, Iran and China as an inner triangle and the west (principally the USA) Russia and China as an outer triangle. China is positioned at an inter section of the two triangles where it can interface with both Russia and the west. Turkey is the bridge of Caspian Sea and European Market.



Geopolitical triangles

## The west

In brief Central Asia is characterized by a dual geopolitical feature as both a Hinterland a geo-strategic mid land of Eurasia and maritime routes/corridors to the outside world.

A visionary view of new petroleum deposit win the new game in central Asia. China tries to meet the geographical transportation links and geopolitical strength (Xu: 52).

## CHAPTER THREE

### CONCEPT OF GEOPOLITICS

#### 3.1 Concept

Today's world is contesting and competing to gain the power and capacity. Most of nations are increasing power and capacity to be the super power in the world. For the capacity building developed or developing nations always concentrated their minds to satisfy the people. Besides this, power is viewed essentially as power over others since political contests what matter is who is on the steering wheel UML Maoist or Congress, the right or left. This is the conflicting view of power as against parson's consensus view. It is to mobilize complementary rather than contrasting since consensus view addresses the question "How much does a government have?" Whereas the conflicting view is focused on the question? In this context Parson (1967) acknowledged power means the capacity of a government on the commitments of its citizens in order to achieve collective goals; so that, more powerful a government is the more effective it would be in achieving societal goals" (Dixit, 2000: 1). Parson's highly consensus view was reflected the people's mandate. "Who exercises the power to rule rich or poor?" Thus, in recent years we have seen the shifting scene in the school of thought. The previous example of parson's consensus view, as in the Nepali context power means to compete in election each other party. All the parties competing to grasp the steering wheels. Firstly in democracy, the majority of people is the power of a government. To achieve the power which (parties) holds the majority commands the government and people. In this way, to achieve the power parties are contesting in the election and try to gain the people's verdict. Secondly, the consensus view or reciprocal environment is better to run with people's welfare.

The importances of identifying these both forms understand the relation between them. It is equally obvious that the practical aspect has decisively influenced. It means, Most of geo-political writers wanted to practice geo-politics. This new geo-politics will attempt to make sense of past and present geo-political reasoning of state strategy. It is not a theory but a practical formula and it develops national feelings. The state strategy (formula) is the main theme of the state both in long or short term.

Geo-politics means geographical setting and human activities of the country. So the geo-politics and geography are the bones of strategy, therefore, the state's geo-politics is

connected with its foreign policy. A state's foreign policy is formed with domestic and international feelings of the people's views, people's awareness drives the geo-politics. Geopolitical vision is the main board to establish foreign policy of a state. Reasoning has no function in vacuum.

Leadership is also a determinant factor of a country's foreign policy. Comparatively which nations have best leadership that leads the world politics. So the foreign policy and leadership are connected to each other. Geo-politics contributes towards comprehending a nation's problem seeks to develop capable political leaders, and their visions to direct state's development in politics, which shapes national integration and development.

The concept of geo-politics has undergone changes in different periods of history. History was the cradle of civilization. It encountered the passed politics in present history. History creates the world civilization. Civilization brings the changes in the concept of the geopolitics. Day by day ancient feelings has been changed from the period of Mackinder's era. Mackinder changed the ancient geopolitical views to highlight the nationalism, in the theory of Heartland. Nationalism is the evergreen factor of a nation. Like leadership, nationalism is also a determinant factor of foreign policy. As the discussion of the nationalism ancient history shows the early people saved their land by making wall, boundary line and river.

The concept defined by Oxford Dictionary political relation between countries and groups of countries in the world, in the field of international relations and the center problems of qualitative judgment and measurements. The meaning of the word is formerly related to the boarder of a nation.

Napoleon stated that "the foreign policy of a country was determined by its geography." Napoleon's definition means foreign policy is set by geographical settings. In the recent world, many factors help to set a foreign policy of a nation; its geography is also not a changeable force to formate national or international policies. The main interest of a nation is to protects its land safe.

### **Historical Dimension of Geopolitics**

One of the earliest academic disciplines was geopolitics. Greek philosopher Aristotle had defined geo-politics as an independent branch of geography. He presented a model of

ideal state. In his political volume two points are the sign of population and the nature of territory. Another Greek scholar who deserves discussion was Strabo (63 BC, 24 AD), his publication was politico geographic concept was quite different from Aristotles vision of state. In sharp contrast to Christian Europe, the Muslim world was making great dedication in the field of geographical scholar Muslim scholar In Khaldun recognized the importance of the city and the nomadic tribes, made a list of them and their activities.

In the sixteenth century geographic studies showed a great change in Europe. Many scholars became interested in the study of man's relationship with natural environment. In the field of geography two names were famous Bodin (1530-1568:16-17) and Rousseau (1689-1755-1968: 16-17) Rousseau concluded that "warm climates favour the growth of despotism and slavery, whereas colder climate encourage democracy and freedom. Ritter (1779-1859) believed that god had placed man upon the earth in an inescapable geographical framework. Darwin (1804-1882) found out the theory of natural selection and the survival of the fittest. He focused the man's relationship with his environment. The discipline was seen as independent branch of geography, after the publication of Razel's politische geographic (1897 in Germany) interest among students of politics, history and geography. Ratzel has high contribution to scientific political geography, the idea of German geo-politics. Darwin has inspired Fried Rich Ratzel (1844-1904) who was universally regarded as the father of modern political geography. He developed the organic theory of the state which viewed sovereign political entities as living organism, fixed in space and like other organisms in nature.

Fisher (1968: 8) studied Ratzel's organic theory, he has forwarded this argument at a time when the new industrial technology was revolutionizing age old relationship between human beings and the earth, and when shrink age of effective distance brought about by the railway and steamship was dramatically expanding the range of territory over which political control could be maintained. Ratzel viewed the transformation of a political map of the world in ecological terms as the product of the struggle between rival state organisms for space in which to live.

### **New Concepts**

It is already described about the new development of concept on the above lines. In the international political arena, new concepts, new definitions are developed. Dictionaries have explained new terms and trends. It shows relations to each and every nation or formerly related boarder issues. The Webster New International Dictionary, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition,

explained geo-politics as (William, 1980: 1049). "A science concerned with the dependence of the domestic and foreign politics of a people upon the physical environment."

Website "<http://www.dictionary.com>." (<http://www.dictionary.com>) indicates:

- (1) The study of relationship among politics and geography, demography and economy, especially with respect to the foreign policy of a nation.
- (2) A government policy employing geo-politics.
- (3)
  - a. Nazi doctrine holding that the geographic, economic and political needs of Germany justified its invasion and seizure of other lands. German, American and British use the theory of geo-politics frequently. Nazi Germans have the most geographic influence in the world politics. Germany's convenient point is that science of relationship between space and politics serves the geographical knowledge of political leaders.
  - b. A combination of geographic and political factors relate to or influence a nation or region.

It is the study of states in the concept of its geographical location and environment and how it affects its development

**Geopolitics:** (German geopolitik) (i) The study of states (ii) or nations viewed as organic entities in space, and as such it is subject to biological laws of growth and decline (in territorial extent and political influence as well as in economic and social terms) like other organisms engaged in a perpetual struggle for survival, for control over the space occupied. F Ratzel is credited for the introduction of the concept in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; English geographer, Halford Mackinder, by Swedish political scientist, Rudolf Kjellen, and later by the German geographer, K Haushofer, took it up. But it became particularly prominent (and disreputed before and during the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War) when adopted by Nazi party in Germany to advance its theory of racial superiority and to justify the third Reich's demand for lebensraums (meaning living space). The influence of the study is the influence of spatial aspects on the political nature, history, institutions etc. of states and economic relations with other states (Clark, 1998: 168).

Oxford Dictionary of Geography- Susan Mathew described geopolitics as follows (Mathew, 1998: 192):

**Geopolitics:** The view that location and the physical environment are important factors in the global power structure, the state may be seen as a realm in space. Early

proponents of study were Halford Mackinder (see heart land) and Ratzel, and the 1970 domino theory may be seen as a branch of geopolitics, other aspects of geopolitics include studies of relationship between states especially with reference to the growth and decline of great powers, and the importance of location in the ability of states to compete in the world economy, ideas of core and periphery. Geopolitics must not be confused with geopolitik.

**Geopolitik:** A view of geopolitics is developed in Germany in 1920s. Individuals are subordinate to the state which must expand with population growth clearing more territory Lebensraum (meaning living space) to fulfill its destiny. These ideas are not synonymous with National Socialism but were used as quasi-science by the Nazis to justify their territory demands.

**Heartland:** A term suggested by Mackinder (1904) indicates the wealthy interior of Euroasia Mackinder maintained that who ever controlled the heart land would eventually control the world as political units became larger and longer..

Dictionary of Geography by Edward Arnold, FT Monk House described geopolitics in this way (Monkhouse, 1970: 154):

**Geopolitics:** Those aspects of political geography that emphasize the geographical relations of states written by "Modern Dictionary of Geography," 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Witherick and Small (ed.), 2001: 108).

**Britannica Encyclopedia the World Geopolitics** (Gwim, 1990: 193) defines let knowledge grow from more and thus be human life environed.

**Webster New International Dictionary Coined:** (Neilson (ed.), 1980: 1049) "A science concerned with the dependence of the domestic and foreign politics of a people upon the physical environment."

Dictionary of Geopolitics edited by John O' Loughlin, indicated the meaning of "Geopolitik"- German school (Loughlin, 1994: 92-93). From the beginning of the twentieth century to the end of II World War, geopolitik the German variant of geopolitics, played an important role within and beyond geography. The central theme of this pseudo science between geography and politics was the geography of international relationship through a real politik (power political) and military lens.

In the recent above writers analysis, the theory of geo-politics is not out dated but it connects every walk of life. The geopolitical concept is struggling for the space power in the world. Recent discussion is that those countries which have enough

resources became rich and they are sufficient to save their own land. But the ancient theory of Heartland described by Mackinder is also useful now a days. Now a days it is used in space, war strategy, discoveries of new technologies (Perkings & Perkings, 1969: 45).

There is a saying "Time and tide wait for no man". The European changing geo-political lands care because the questions arise day by day and the definition is also changing. Now the world is also in the process of reordering and restructuring. Several nations have changed their foreign policy as nation's strategy of policy. Land locked nations are still weak because of the lack of national resources; they cannot make better strategy of policy. Castes, religions, poverty are also other effective factors to step down the geopolitical concept (Habibullaha, 1983: 1). So the challenging factors of recent world, is the possession of economic resources and those possessing enough resources are called sufficient nation. Nations with poor economy has difficulty in forming foreign policy. International environment also steps down the nation. In the present context, land power, sea power and air power are the most important factors in the world vision. Now a days the world is competeting the market of medicine and arms. Twenty first century is the era of medicine and arms race. Though disarmament is our policy but it has proved mere slogan. Saying and doing are different. Those who say world is to be armless, have enough weapons frequently sold them and brought them.

### **3.2 The Origin and Development of Geo-politics**

The term " geo-politics or *Jeoh Pahlutihks* has Greek roots: Geo or Gaia=the goddess of the earth and polis the city- state of classical Greece. Ge- represented humankind's terrestrial home in all its variety and the polis was the control and organization of it by human kind. The etymological derivation of "geopolitics" is thus the earth and the state relationship between the two, but its implications range well beyond this. They imply the concept of the state as one of the phenomena not just-on earth but of the earth: its nature derives from the fact that it is a component part of geographical space. The idea of Ge-as representing the whole earth leads on to the relationship of that portion of the earth occupied by one particular state to the earth as a whole and that of polis= to the relationship of one single state to the rest of the states. In other words, there is the wider relationship of the local geographical and political, circumstance to the physical and human totality of which they form a part the dictionary of word. Origin indicates that English word 'geo' comes ultimately from Greek geo-earth a word probably of pre-Indo-European origin, whose

Homeric origin from Gaia was used as the name of the Greek Goddess of the earth, (Ayto, 1990: 253). The origin of geopolitics can be traced back to the Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellen, and the German natural scientist and geographer Friedrich Ratzel. Both were active during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's. As the political scientists and nature scientists both of them try to find out what the reality on the world affairs as, 'Geo' and 'politic' combined. The word geo-politics which was used wide spread state boundary and safe their country. In the ninetieth century the past theory geography and geographical methods were used in politics as a policy at the period of state secretary Henry Kissinger in America. As the study of geography he has given the emphasis of this subject for the conduct of country's foreign policy. Geography and geographical methods were quite new in the late nineteenth century. In fact it was maps which revealed the physical and human features of the earth with reasonable points. The influence of geographical factors on the fortunes of states had long been accepted as a general principle. Geographical considerations had played a significant role in the French strategic thinking since the seventeenth century. It played a vital role in the French revolution in Europe. Such types of thinking were used in the period of Napoleon to give importance of geography to his military mission. But in the sixteenth century, the geography and humankind had not been accompanied by equal advance in humankind capacity. In 16th century Darwinism had represented a great advance in explanatory science, but its application to the human world remained controversial. Ratzel the nature scientist, was clearly motivated by the prospect of applying the methods of science to humanity, the motivation behind Kjellen's interest in this innovative appears to have been a rather different one. He was deeply troubled by the deterioration in the international situation in 1890's. It appeared to Kjellen and others who had established order and had existed throughout the greater part of nineteenth century.

The grim scenarios showing political, social and economic problems of the time was closure to global geopolitical crisis in Bryce's words. The end of that period of discovery and expansion was nearly five centuries earlier. In the nineteenth century the world was dismay than hope. In the final year, the great power of the world faced the realization like the dying of Alexander at Baby Lon. Bryce expressed the exploration of the earth now all finished in his Romances lecture of 1902. Bryce said "civilized man knows his home in a sense in which he never knew it before. It as a driving force in the progress of the world had in long run heightened the tension to produce a sense of urgency.

The century was made up of a mix of pessimism and optimism both was important geographical facets. The scientific method to the understanding of the world was a whole



cause for hope. The mixture reflected the idea of Rudolf Kjellen. The application of scientific principles to politics borrowed ideas from natural sciences to the understanding of human activity and it is called Ratzel's methodology. He has developed the geographical dimensions of the state and state behavior could best be understood as being that of an "organisms" like this the natural world and its physical and human components (the biogeographically concept) of the state. The most important characteristics associated with spatial quality were those of Raum an Lage, territory and location, two interactions depended on a state. Ratzel has been forwarded a theory on organic phenomenon which was related to laws with the behaviour of the state. It compared with (non-human) natural world based on their territory. For the success of a state living space is needed. In this way a state needed domination, power and great power and world power for dynamic territorial expansion. In a very real sense, both nature and organic undergoing the same processes searching for universal laws and this should understand of geopolitical phenomena. That is why the Razel's organic phenomena.

Kjellen thus conceived geopolitics as being a science which gives clarity to phenomena. Up to that time the state had been treated as being primarily a legal constitutional entity. Its legitimacy and authority were considered as deriving from a combination of the successful conclusion of treaties, dynastic marriages and alliances together with blessing of the church and the pursuit of its objectives. It was a game of chess, in which the right moves play both in peace and war, determined the outcomes. Kjellen's geopolitics was founded on the legitimating of the state and its geographical space. This was the most important factor for its success and most powerful justification for its existence. He stressed that the fundamental resources were location, physical resources, morphology, territory and population or its full understanding of the state and behavior. He conceived of the state as being very much a person having a lifecycle from youth through maturity to old age, it possessed a kind of mind and a consciousness and out of this arose the perception of its needs and the means by which these could best be fulfilled. Special geopolitics placed the state on a wider context and relationships among states to expansion territory and international role of great powers. It should be noted that scientific method was its objectivity, and it as essential feature of the geopolitical approach.

So far the comparative study of Ratzelian theory was wide spread in France, USA and Brittan. Paul Vidal de la Blache considered political geography a part of a whole, the while is the geography of life. Vallux stated principles of analysis of phenomena a genuine science to explain spatial dimensions of political phenomena, Ratzel's analysis reinforced the idea of

Germany as a dynamic state to expand territorially and position of dominance. In the development of geography and geopolitics Ratzel choose to use the term politische geografie Kjellen called geopolitik. Ratzel was coming from the natural sciences and he considered geography to be essential part of politics, Kjellen on other hand, coming from social science, he puts the "geo" in the position of being an indicative prefix, later his wider analytical thinking of geopolitics. It has momentous consequence for the subsequent development of geopolitical study. Both those ideas political geography rather than geopolitics, was to enter the mainstream as the legitimate discipline for the study of the earth and the state, it is the fact that the impact of Ratzel's writing in Germany was greater than that of Kjellen writing in Sweden. German was the land of political geographies as the term geopolitik was first used there. The future role of the subject was much came to be uses to describe a particular school of thought, which advised the active participation of geographers in the affairs of state. This distinguished them from the academic mainstream it distanced political geography from politics. This divide become a chasm and for over half a century it was rather virtually impossible the decrement of the study of the earth and the state along those lines which both Kjellen and Ratzel had wished to go.

### **The Science of Geo-politics**

A grim scenario of the geopolitics has had different thoughts and ideas in ancient to present. As the realistic argument is that where the world state is stand there needs the territory. Brief points are given as the geopolitics entered the following disciplines:

#### The science of geo-politics

#### Concept

Ancient

New

#### List of thinkers

- (1) Change of Geo-political attitudes (Ancient to modern)
- (2) Geo- politics of Nepal

- (3) Territorial problems and the issues of state sovereignty
  - (a) Border (b) Land (c) sea
- (4) Multi disciplinarily and its scope
- (5) Relationship with other social sciences
  - (a) Cultural (b) Historical (c) Geographical
  - (d) Economical (e) Political
- (6) Emphasis on political geography and international relation.
- (7) The territorial aspects of political science and international law.
- (8) Maintain a healthy balance between systemic and regional analysis (Submit hanging world maps of past two decades)
- (9) Current issue
  - (a) US policy on polarization - A political analysis.
  - (b) ASEAN monetary regionalism - New regional leadership after Asian financial crisis.
  - (c) Oil geopolitics
- (10) Geo- politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century local and external players.
- (11) Signifying boundaries
- (12) Importance of geo-strategies in war uses.
- (13) Improvement of technological minds
- (14) Nepalese foreign and strategy policy,
- (15) Chronology of Nepalese geo-politics.

### **3.3 Way of Geopolitical Development**

The beginning of these two words geo+politics traditionally depend on geo setting of the country of two theories, heart land theory and theory of organism. But the process of development is different from the definition of Ratzel and Kjellen. Nowadays it studies theory of geo-strategy in national and international environment. The concept of globalization and global village creates the policy of good guys and bad guys, the feeling of conflict and cooperative.

The traditional theory therefore was quite different from the theory of modern days. Its definition is changing rapidly because of the international situation. Most of the nations

of this world have following the guidelines of foreign policy indicated by directive principles in the constitution.

**Way of Geo-political Development**

**Traditional**

**Modern**

### 3.3.1 Geopolitical Codes

The term geopolitics is already defined as the set of strategic assumptions that forming its foreign policy. It was closely related to what Hendrickson calls image plans- such operational codes involve evaluation of places beyond the state boundaries, in terms of their strategic importance and as potential threats. Geopolitical codes are not just state centric, they are also involved in a particular single state's view of the world. They are by definition, highly biased pictures of the world. Nevertheless, we must come to terms and understand it as the basic building blocks of geopolitical world order, geopolitical codes operated at three levels:

- (a) **Local:** It involves evaluation of neighboring states and governments of all countries.
- (b) **Regional:** States aspire to project its powers and potential regional powers need to map out.
- (c) **Global:** Finally a few states will have global policies and their governments will have appropriate world wide geopolitical codes, so that all countries have local codes, many countries have regional codes, and a few countries have global codes.

As a simple example which fixes these ideas, Bartlett gives a very clear example of one major power's three level's of concern in the first world war. For Germany, the war is one of defense against France, prevention against Russia but a struggle superiority Britain. Sometimes regional codes will be in conflict with a local code. The best example of this is the traditional local hostility between Greece and Turkey, which contrasts with their sharing similar regional codes set by membership of NATO. In fact treaties are a good indicator of codes, especially at the regional level. The change round of Australia and New Zealand from being part of Britain's global code, having their own regional (pacific) code is marked by the establishment of the Anzus pact just after the end of the World War II. Australian and New-Zealandian troops fought in Europe in both the World Wars, but it is unlikely that they will do so again Europe is now beyond their geopolitical codes.

The discussion will concentrate upon the global codes, but this does not necessarily mean that we believe the other code levels to be unimportant. Quite the opposite, local codes for instance are implicated in the vast majority of wars. In the large scale, quantitative analyses by political scientists conducted to find the causes of war. The result has been disappointing save for one consistent finding. War is more likely to take place between two

states which share a border. It was followed by political geographers than it was own analysis findings of political scientists. Although the entire world was involved in all geographical levels of activity most wars occur only between neighbors with conflicting local geopolitical codes. Even by restricting our concern to global level codes, it is still unable to begin to approach a comprehensive review of such a massive topic. It will deal only with codes formed as part of the cold war geopolitical world order. We are far too close to a geopolitical transition to evaluate contemporary codes properly, and hence we have to return again to the world order that has just passed on for our examples. In particular, we will concentrate on US codes for which there are good documentation and treat in less detail aspects of French and Indian global codes to indicate some of the variety within the cold war order.

### **3.3.2 Geopolitics and Applied Sciences**

Geopolitics has relation with other sciences from its origin. The original character of the words showed relation with each others not only social sciences but also applied science of space and technology, military science, geo strategy etc.

The growth of civilization depends upon two basic factors first, development of science and technology, and second the capacity of each society and economy to absorb and utilize improved science and technology for human welfare. The development of geographical and historical studies also depends upon the growth of science and technology in a congenial socio-politic-economic set up. Geopolitics as a concept of learning is as old as civilization. But due to the absence of a systematic growth of theory, it could not be developed into a systematic discipline. For want of a systematic theoretical basis, it is yet to become a regular discipline like geography, economics, history, philosophy, political science, sociology, military science etc. However, since the second half of the nineteenth century, it has been steadily developing as a separate branch of learning. The above notes are the basic elements of geopolitical studies, which are also the basic elements of spatial study. This is born out by ancient treatises on geography, history, economics, politics, military sciences etc. If we analyze properly, we find men material and mind are the basis of relationship. Every human being depends on nature so its activities are related with each other. Every subject should be more valuable for its study. The word geo-means the whole universe or earth and the politics mean organization of human kind. The world relates earth with the state.

### **3.3.3 Geopolitics and Leadership**

The most valuable resources of the world are men and their ideas and abilities. The greater the opportunity, greater the development, and greater nation's potential resources. But beyond being aware that good health permits man to live long enough to make a contribution to society, and that education equips him to exploit his abilities, we know next to nothing about biology, incidence, or cultivation of gifted men, be they political, military, economic, philosophic artistic, scientific, or industrial. We cannot say whether genius and near-genius is here to destroy environment, or where, when and under what conditions they crop up. In short, we know too little about them to predict their occurrence. Obviously, the study of gifted people is an unexplored field to which we can profitably devote for research. Studies to date, exploratory as they have been, have given us certain information about the gifted facts which might guide as well in subsequent research. But studying the lives of such persons, we can draw genial conclusions about their geopolitical thinking, by studying the civilizations in which they burgeoned, we can generalize, if only tentatively, about the conditions to produce them. In time we can perhaps begin to understand the parts that heredity and environment play in the development.

The lives and times of thousands of outstanding men and women as reconstructed in individual biographies, encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries and similar resources, have been examined in detail (Khatri, 2004: 135-139).

Khatri compiled as lists on the bases of sketches in reputable political thinkers-Asian, Greek, western and world wide in addition to these related on the concise dictionary of political Science. These studies have more articles listing different values personalities especially the list of notable person's of twenty centuries who did well in their human life. Not only the characters but also high ranking personalities of the century was maintained in the book. Philosophical, ideas are also discussed in the dictionary. On such sources of extensive study based on politician's philosopher's dedications. It includes heads of country of the past and present, name of the century's eminences, list of political words into Nepali and a list of notable events and a list of distinguished political scientists of the twentieth century.

Biographies of many great people are unrecorded, either because those people were prehistoric or they lived in remote areas of the world or political or other circumstances. In the study it is shown that lives of many men fail to be recorded in their rightful measure of fame, and the lives of such men are often over looked by biographers. There is the strict tendency of western biographers to apply western in selecting and representing lives, civilizations other than western ones is misrepresented. This short



coming make it possible for readers to form only tentative conclusions about the incident, and development. It is never the less thought provoking to see what conclusions can be drawn from existing studies.

### **3.3.4 Birth Places of World Famous People**

We know about the notable personalities, the following generalizations about their birthplaces can be made;

- (1) Recently few personalities of world were born in the tropics- between the Tropics of cancer and Capricorn despite the fact that the tropics contained more than one-fifth of the world population. Outstanding exceptions, have been Mohammed in MECCA, Arabia, Alexander Hamilton and JJ Andubon in the West Indies, Simon Bolivar in Caracas, Venezuela and Rudyard Kipling in Bombay India. Contrary to popular impression, Gautam Budha, Gandhi and Tulsi Das were born beyond the tropics in Northern India and Nepal.
- (2) The birthplaces of famous western personalities, in terms of their contribution to world civilizations are located from the mild climates of the eastern Mediterranean north to the cooler climates of Western Europe.
- (3) Once a civilization loses its position of world leadership, it is likely to produce fewer outstanding people. For example, Greeks and Italian, civilization except its ancient period did not produce notable figures for a long time
- (4) Birth places are likely to yield not single but diverse kinds of gifted people, scientists, artists, writers, and statesman.
- (5) Most world famous people were born in cities with enough facilities for scholarship academics.
- (6) Such birthplaces provide better space for knowledge.

In fact a country or a part produces the leadership to meet its needs. The notable thing is that leader biography should be looked from the past to present which effects to the future generation. In a historic point of time, a country develops ways to solve its problems and the active players settled issues socially, economically and politically. It gives the emergence of notable people, places with all facilities are suitable for better living. The nature of these types of people's followed by generation to generation. The ancestor's habit, behavior and character discipline formulates leading path to next generation. America Europe and other Asian nations the charismatic personalities have played a leading role in

the world environment. Courageous, brave and intellectual families usually have lead the country. Now a days we had seen different types of families; focused on certain qualities like bravery, research, (who invent nuclear weapons) intellectuals. The world has different types of geopolitical settings as shaped by earth surface. The history shows us that the notable people were from Aryan families, Jews families, Muslim families, Mongolian families Christian families etc. The doctrine of place is interrelated to the theory of geopolitics and leadership. Leadership is also interrelated to geopolitics (Miller, 1957: 225). In this context, the first necessary doctrine is the birthplace (nation) and second is the leadership and third is environment which is related with geopolitics. In the next century who leads the world is certainly based on quality, skill and excellence. The twentieth century was led by the mind from diverse space such as Asia, Europe, and America. The century was also full of war that killed millions of people. The war is also associated with place, ethnicity, people and resources.

The above suggested lines are the cause of relation between geopolitics and leadership, the indirect relation between geo and politics shows the human ability. Only few people become world famous are born in sparsely settled mountainous or hilly areas nothing more can be inferred from this fact that the cultures peculiar to such areas do little to develop leadership. We say that may famous people are born in well-populated fertile valleys, good living is possible where communities spring up on this basis what we can say is that the cultural environment is decisive factor in development of certain abilities.

As the discussion question of heredity is also a principle determinant in the production of leaders. Certainly not though biological inheritance is primary, an individual with poor genetically inheritance is limited in what he can do. Should we say only successful parents can give birth to successful children? We can only infer that the certain occupational groups have a better chance for success and the economic also play limited role in success. It has been already noted if we have enough human resources we can develop good leadership. Mackinder called it "environment reality" and it was true people's lives and geographical situations are closely related.

### **3.3.5 Geopolitics and Geo-economics**

Geopolitics is the science of earth and politics, and geo-economics is the science of economy. Geopolitics and geo-economics are now deeply intertwined and it is necessary to connect them effectively on the policy level. Moreover geopolitics and geo-economics are

also converging in other areas. For example China mixes political and economic carrots and sticks to persuade Iran and North Korea. Washington needs to reconcile the inherent tensions between its geopolitical and its geo-economic aspirations. Geopolitics is the meeting place of all branches of several disciplines such as geography, history, economics, politics, military science etc. This convergence and fusion of different branches in geopolitics is directly related to the advancement of science and technology. So the scope of geopolitics is much wider than that of any other branch of the humanities and social sciences. The work of geopolitics evolving as a scientific methodology of the subject matter is quite difficult is why geopolitical studies is taking more and more the shape of collective enterprise, with different writers addressing themselves exclusively to particular aspects of these studies.

### **3.3.6 Model of Geo-politics**

As the study of geopolitics the world divided as follows:

**A World divided**

Geo-Strategic	Geo-political	Socialist bloc of
Anglo America and Caribbean	Region	states led by USSR
South America	Middle east	
Maritime Europe and Maghreb	South East Asia	
Off Shore Asia and Oceania		
Africa South of SAHARA		

**Eurasian Continental World****Geopolitical regions**

Heart land (Eastern Europe)

East Asia

South Asia

(Potential Geopolitical Region)

Middle East (Fragmented area)

South East Asia (Area)

### Geopolitical Phenomena

Gateway Region	Russia the Europe
Central and Eastern Europe	gate way fully open east and west

#### **3.3.6.1 A Three Tier Political Economic World System**

The concept of peripheralization implies that these new areas did not join the world economy as "equal partner". If we define the modern world in terms of a rich countries of North America, Western Europe and Japan periphery stands for poor countries of the world.

A three tier politico economic world system-1980

Central Asia

Newly Independent states

Afghanistan

Central Asian States

Many geographers are confused about the nature of political geography and geopolitics. Geopolitics, is in fact only one of the subjects studied by political geographers; it is concerned basically with the study of states in the context of global spatial phenomena in an attempt to understand both the bases of state power and the nature of states, interacting with one another. Before the Second World War, in some countries, geopolitics was considered to be the application of geographic information and geographic perspectives to the development of a state's foreign policies. It was called with some justification "applied political geography". This concept, however, was distorted during the interwar period by German geographers who twisted some of the basic ideas of geopolitics to the pseudo

science of "Geopolitic"- or real politic of chauvinism, aggressive, and antidemocratic version of geopolitics.

### **Two streams of Geopolitical Nature**

#### **3.3.6.2 Organic State Theory**

Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1940) was a distinguished and prolific scholar, a geographer trained originally in biology, chemistry and other natural sciences. He was heavily influenced both by Darwin's discoveries and by social Darwinism. In his writings, particularly his classic *politische Geographies* (1896), used similes and metaphors from biology in the analysis of political science and geography, compares the state with an organism. Ratzel's theory of an organic state can be presented in very clear way as the following:

The state is land with human settlement conforming natural laws, and its development is associated with natural environment. States are like plants and people do not do well in desert or Polar Regions, states need food in form of lebensraum (living space) and resources, and they constantly compete for them. States like organism, must grow or die. They live through organic states of youth, maturity, and old age, and with possible rejuvenation. The vitality of a state can generally be gauged by its size at a given time. In 1896 Ratzel produced what he called seven laws of state growth. They are as follows:

- (1) The space of states grows with the expansion of population having the same culture
- (2) Territorial growth follows other aspects of development
- (3) A state grows by absorbing smaller units.

- (4) The frontier is the peripheral organ of the state that reflects the strength and growth of the state; and it is not permanent.
- (5) States in the course of their growth seek to absorb politically valuable territory.
- (6) The impetus for growth comes to a primitive state from a more highly developed civilization.
- (7) The trend toward territorial growth is contagious and increases in the process of transmission.

There is a great deal more in this theory, but even from this sample we can detect that Ratzel had a very deterministic view of the world. Never the less, he was a careful scientist, who emphasized that his description was mainly based on an analogy to an organism, and did consider the interrelationship between people and their environment in both directions. He took the perspective of a positive detached observer, making no policy recommendations. His British disciple Churchill also wrote in the same spirit. Many of Ratzel's followers were very careful; however, some ignored his cautions.

Like Ratzel, Rudolf Kjellen (1864-1922) was a university professor at Uppsala. Kjellen was a political scientist and a member of the Swedish parliament. He was a Germanophile, impressed with the new work in natural science and especially imbued with Ratzel's work in political geography. Unlike Ratzel, however, Kjellen was not a careful scientist instead he took Ratzel's analogies literally and insisted flatly that the state is an organism. He even titled his most important book *staten* to some life form (state is an organism, 1916). He presented his theory that the state is composed of five organs.

#### **Kjellen's Five Organs**

Kratopolitik      Demopolitik      Sociopolitik      Oekopolik      Gepolitick

Kjellen introduced quality of population, and regards the concept of nation as an aggregate as it constitutes the body of the state; in addition to moral capacity, there is the

'will', the cumulative psychological force of the state. The great power of the state is dynamic, psychological concept. Kjellen saw that the state in a condition of constant competition with other states larger one that would extend their power over smaller ones, and ultimately the world would have only a few very large and extremely powerful states. He envisioned Europe as a super state controlled by Germany.

Kjellen originated the terms Geopolitik and Autarky, and the book was translated into German in 1917, when the war was already going badly for Germany. At the end of the war, the book was seized upon by some German political scientists, geographers and nationalist used as a tool for rebuilding Germany into a world power and was subsequently used in the same way by Italy and Japan.

The first was Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914) a naval historian who eventually reached to the rank of admiral in the US navy, a prolific writer of about 20 books his most influential books. The influences of sea power upon history, 1660-1783 (1890) the French Revolution and Empire 1704-1812 (1892). In the books he argued that control of the sea route is crucial to protect commerce and wage economic warfare to a state. He, therefore, advocated for a big navy. He also discussed about six fundamental factors that affected the development and maintenance of sea power.

### **3.3.6.3 Thayer Mahan's Six Fundamental Factors of Geo Strategy**

#### **(a) Geographical Position (Location)**

The concept of controlling over the sea depends on the condition whether the state possesses coastal sea or not whether these coastal waters are inter connected; whether it has vulnerable exposed land boundaries, or not whether it can maintain overseas strategic bases and command important trade routes or not.

#### **(b) Physical "Conformation" of the State (the Nature of its Coasts)**

Whether the coastal line of state consist of natural harbors, estuaries, inlets and outlets as, an absence of harbors will prevent a people from having its own sea trade, shipping industry or navy. There is great the importance of navigable rivers to internal trade but also there is opening danger avenues for enemies.



**(c) Extent of Territory (Length of the Coast Line)**

The case of having coastal area is that it can be used to define the country.

**(d) Population Numbers**

A state with a large population will be more capable of building and maintaining a trade. Singapore is a classic geopolitical out post founded in 1819 as a trading post on an island, off the tip of the Malay Peninsula. Singapore evolved during the hey day of the British Empire as a major naval base and ship- servicing center near the strategic straits of Malacca. The island became independent in 1965 and has since become not only the world's largest seaport, but also a major industrial and banking center.

**(e) National Character**

Aptitude for commercial pursuits, sea power is really based upon a peaceful and extensive commerce.

**(f) Governmental Character**

Government policy is taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by environment and population to promote the sea power.

**3.3.7 Mahan's Geo Strategic View**

Mahan too refers (in items 5 and 6) to the question of the national "will", in terms of reminiscent of Kjellen's. Indeed, the later German geopoliticians sometimes wrote much as Mahan did. But Mahan was military man and tended to think in military terms. Moreover, he was writing at the apex of European imperialism, at a time when his own country was beginning to emulate the European imperialism and was also influenced by social Darwinism. He generally took the views that a state could survive only by being fit and defined fitness mainly in terms of military strength. But this too depended on people's moral and marital fiber.

Mahan was also a practical man. He made specific recommendations for US foreign policy based on the study of history, his military experience and his geo strategic concepts. He advocated that the United states should occupy the Hawaiian islands, take control of the Caribbean areas and build a canal to link the Atlantic and pacific oceans. President Theodore Roosevelt's administration used several of Mahan's suggestions as the basis of its foreign policy. He was even more influential in Germany, Britain and Japan.

Greater interests to the political geographer are the glimpses of Mahan's worldview from his later book, *The Problem of Asia*. In this work Mahan recognizes a core area in Asia and Russian land power and British sea power. Not surprisingly, he presumed that British sea power would be able to control Russian expansionism. He also predicted that controlling of Russia and China would become the joint concern of the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Japan. (It is well to remember that he was writing before the turn of the present century). He proposed that Russia should be provided warm-water ports in China with the guarantee that Russia could use those exits.

### **3.3.8 Sir Halford J Mackinder, 1864-1947**

In 1924, Mackinder propounded a little known counter hypothesis. The potentialities of the Heartland could be balanced in the future by Western Europe and North America. This idea Mackinder developed through the lessons of World War I "Constitute for many purposes a single community of nations." He called the north Atlantic "the midland ocean," in the midst of the area from the Volga to the Rockies which he called "the main geographical habitat of western civilization". In 1943, in the midst of World War II, Mackinder blended all these ideas and modified them in an article titled "The round world and the winning of the peace" He moved to the heartland, east of the Yenese River and renamed it Lena land. It is opposed to the Midland Basin (the North Atlantic and bordering lands separated by deserts and the Arctic). He felt these heartland contained soils and minerals equal to those of North America, but these two regions would combine against Germany.

Mackinder made a significant contribution to the world and his assumptions about the Heartland were later substantiated. However, there were three major weaknesses in his work. First he did not give enough weight to the growing power of north America, second he failed to explain the seeming contradiction between his thesis of the power of the possessor of the heart land and the relative weakness of Russia (USSR) until World War II, and third he failed to take into account the growing and very obvious importance of air power and other technological developments. Like Mahan he over simplified history and leaned too much in the direction determinism.

## **3.4 The Heart Land Life (The Matter of Pride)**

Every historical system by itself is unique. It is evaluated in terms of mode of production, organization of material basis of society or traditional cultural society. The key point of changing is the forms of social change and that ultimately affected the world system. We have known widely the world system and known what is better and what is

wrong for human life. Geopolitics must be as old as the quest for territory and security as old as diplomacy, strategy and fear. Alexander the great must have indulged in geopolitical scheming, so too must Napoleon and many other commanders, emperors and conquerors. In the more scholarly sense, Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan has been identified as the father of geopolitics, in which case the birth of the tradition must have taken place in Boston in 1890, with the publication of the admiral's study of *influence of sea power upon history 1660-1782*. It had to wait for nine years before acquiring a name, for it was in 1899 that the Swedish political scientist, Rudolph Kjellen, used the term geopolitics in an article on the Swedish boundaries. In 1905 Kjellen used the German geopolitik which was intended to denote "The science of the state as a realm in space." In 1917 Kjellen defined the term "Geopolitik" as the science which conceives the state is as a geographical organism or as a phenomenon in space is geopolitics. The organism was engaged in an unending contest for life-giving resources, of which territory was the most important.

As developed by early practitioners in Europe, geopolitics was a crude creative at times. It remained rooted in the old geographical materialism of the previous centuries. Wittfogel realized that the geopolitics postulated the geographical factors whatever their character (climate, soil, location, physical terrain, even race) directly influenced political life, where in reality such geographical factors did not directly influence, but rather political aspects of life in human societies. British geographer, Halford Mackinder in 1904 provided the first description of the world as functioning geopolitical realities. He opened his ideas about geographical pivot of history. This issue was resounding the planet. Earth was a closed system, where changes in one part of the system would affect the balance of relationships in other parts of the earth. During 1920's, the focus of geopolitical effort in Europe shifted to Germany. With the defeat of Germany in the World War I, some German geographers Ratzel's took ideas use with the systematic plan to return to great power status for Germany. The special strategy of German domination of Europe was influenced by the ideas formulated by these geo-politicians.

The term geopolitics, discarded in contemptuously after World War II was revived in the late 1970's and 1980's. When Haushofer founded the popular journal *Geopolitics* served territorial and ethnic policies of the Nazi, as at the intellectual underpinning for Nazi world conquest. Haushofer's ideology affected the geo-politicians about the importance of environmental determinism and "natural laws" in shaping the destinies of societies. On the other, he also developed the concept of Nazis race thus he developed two doctrines.

The difference between political geography and geo-politics is concerned to nature. Geo-politik is concerned with the spatial requirements of the state whereas political geography examines only its spatial conditions. The most important intellectual components of Haushorfer's geopolitics were the ideas of Ratzel, Kjellen and Mackinder, and these ideas re-worked to provide a geo-strategic doctrine rooted to Ratzel's mystical notion of lebensraum or the living space of the regions representing the German, Anglo-American and Japanese sphere's. Talking in terms of historical evidence, geopolitics at first died with Nazi state but later on it revived with Americans who raise the ideology of geopolitics as American policy markers. The theory was developed fully during the USA and Russian competition. In every field of aspect, geopolitics was used as instruments of political and military purposes. It competes with marine power and air power also.

### **3.4.1 Mackinder and the Heart Land**

Mackinder was the first inventor of the term geopolitics. Firstly, he provided unified nature of the world, secondly, continued to stimulate debate through out the century. His vision was rooted in the organist concept of Ratzel. He believed a common blood course through the veins of generations who have occupied the same region. His view was that the European civilization grew with struggle to resist invasions by Asiatic barbarians. These ideas were expressed as European supremacy. Mackinder expressed that his aim was human beings and nature both were large measure of controls. His concern was general physical control rather than causes of universal history. His vision was concerned to relative potency of land power and sea power as he had already explored Britain and British seas in 1902. He believed that the past and future were explicable in terms of the juxtaposition of inner and outer (recent territory, which was accessible to sea power, and a vast pivot area, very roughly coincident with Russia lacking the bays) inlets or navigable rivers which warships could penetrate was immune to sea power. Through out history, swarms of mobile nomads mounted on horses or camels and encroached the secure citadel of the pivot area to western civilization. He has given the importance of land power of the pivot area instead of horses and camels power. In pivot theory he makes the comparison between Britain and Russia as the whale and white bear.

Mackinder modified his ideas in 1919 and changed the concept of pivot area into the concept of the heartland. The theory of heartland domains all over the world; who rules East Europe, commands the Heartland, Who rules the Heartland commands the world island, who rules the world island commands the world. In his old version geopolitical ideas but this time he failed to command the attention of the western world. The trans-continental railways

failed Russia rise to superpower status but Eurasia because superpower under Stalin when the country's human resources were mobilized for commanding economy behind the frame of industrialization. It was the wealth rather than the desolation of the heart hand which proved decisive in this context. His Claim that the essential geopolitical limits of her existence of Russia implodes in Yeltsin era. He has gained supporters and apologists in every decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Mackinder's heartland policy defines the concept of drainage, land power and speculative heartland of the future. He abandoned the Heartland theory as it was understood quite differently in east and west. He postulated that balance as to be replaced by cooperation. Robert Walters (1974) considered that the Heartland had been one of the most influential contemporary geopolitical myths. In this dreadfully ominous world scenario, the silent castle, epitomized by the Kremlin itself and by the Heartland, loomed overpoweringly in the dark recesses of the mind. Heartland is the term used to describe the geopolitical and cultural center of a particular state or a nation. For instance, the so-called Hindu Heartland (from Hindu Kush Afghanistan to Himalayan belt the Aryan area) in India and the respective Heartlands of the USA, Russia and Gulf area. In a more general way, it is possible to talk of the Heart of England or of Europe, Mackinder used the term Heartland in very special way to denote the land-locked center of the largest continent. Heartland means a place endowed with such qualities a centre of gravity.

Mackinder envisaged heartland by means enough power to dominate others. He identified the American, Far East Heartland of Eurasia, the Eastern Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. Each of these was dominated, at the time, by a single great power, USA, Japan, Russia/Soviet Union, Germany and Great Britain. The great center of civilization slowly changes and the world power rise and fall rapidly. In recently the world power changed in the hands of America and European Union.

For, Mackinder, the possession of East Europe "Heartland Europe" was the principal key to the achievement of world powers. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the country which possessed the greatest share of this region was Russia, the gigantic empire. It also commanded a large part of the Heartland as a whole proof of the Russian desire to extend its command over the rest of the world Island followed from the continued Russian advance into the Far East, Central Asia and China.

During a decade and a half between 1906 and 1919 dramatic changes had taken place in the international scene. Russian empire renounced the embattled communist state, however, Mackinder had made no necessary correlation between Russia and the Heartland.

Indeed in the past, Turkish, Mongol and Chinese imperial states were tenants in the sense Mackinder considered that both Germany and China could be possible tenants. Thus the state came and went and the concept of the heartland was one of those immense geopolitical realities, which conditioned the history and led the present distribution of population and civilization.

To the German geo-politicians of the inter-war period, the concept of the heartland was seen as an integral part of the whole land power, sea power scenario, Mackinder had written the importance of geo-geographical master in pivot paper. The pivot Heartland became the central part of his heartland as the mystical cradle for world conquerors. The heartland has different significance for Oxford or London as viewed from Zurich or Berlin. Mackinder threatens the British Empire and immense of potential source of physical resources Germany could power challenge the dominant position of Britain. After 1945, the Heartland once came to forward as explanatory frame to compete east and west to translate the Geographical or Geopolitical factors in the reality.

With the end of dominance of the west, new golden age began for humanity. The replacement of western powers by Asiatic continental states resulted in great equality in the distribution of world resources. Beginning with the new era, continental power is its own. This was the crossroads of Asia. It was changing view, their problem is not how to control this development but how to adopt themselves to it. When the dawn of new era of geo-politicians was less sanguine, Edmond's geopolitical thinking was a part of armory of the west. Mackinder modified it and wanted to establish military and air bases to the close principal of maritime power. The formula most appropriate to the contemporary needs of Kremlin, said Walsh was who controls the rim land of Europe and Asia can protect the heartland of the world revolution. This meant that there was a constant threat to the security of the maritime world. The east world, India and China, threatens the west and build a counter veiling power.

During the cold war, heartland became the center of hostile power. At the period of maritime, the theory of heartland could be misleading as exaggeration of power. It was geopolitical expression of some thing which was mystery and terror. The heartland feeling of Bolshevism and communism were only contemporary emotional reinforcement to a much older idea. The heartland became a menacing symbolism; it became materialization of western psycho-historical fears and presence of danger located in the east. In the cold war period, there were new thinking on the real geopolitical significance of the heart land. One time Facocett expressed in a situation of balance of power who controlled the heartland controlled the Mediterranean Red sea and Suez Canal. Suez Canal was the most important part

to communicate between Europe, India and Far East. This would have affected the extension of heartland theory. Their functional criterion extends to physical conditions, cultures, nodal location. Mackinder also purposed the concept of smaller heartland extending from the Caspian Sea to Manchuria and including soviet central Asia, Mongolia and western part of China.

Pivot and heartland concepts for all pan-Asiatic regions are state boundaries. David Hooson developed the concept of new soviet heartland as Volga central Asia and Siberia, Volga-Baikal zone. In 1960, it was powerful magnet for economic development. The theory was developed step by step or extended as a worldwide from east to west or central Asia.

Thinking of heartland theory was the pride of nationalism. Each citizen feels pride of his land or nation. If a person has own ego that is the home, land, nation and human beings. At the theoretical thinking the inner portion of Eurasia is also called heartland, inaccessible to sea power which characterizes certain other regions to heartland. In 1945, observing the strength of the United States, Cressy examined the heartland theory, opposite the heart land theory of Mackinder. He argued that specifically northern America as heartland rather than Eurasia. He wrote "If there is any where a world citadel or heart land, it may well lie in North America rather than in Eurasia. The American continent has adequate size, compact shape internal accessibility a central location, good boundaries, access to two oceans, favorable topography, rich minerals, excellent climate and dynamic sprit in its people (Cressy, 1975: 201). Renner centered his heartland concept in the light of air transport. According to his views every great power, every state, has a heartland of its own. He stated "the natural world fortress or heartland, has been expanded including the inner parts of all the land masses, which from a ring around the arctic, Mediterranean Europe, Asia and North America" (Renner, 1994: 44-45)

This heartland concept has two aspects: transpolar and national. The transpolar heartland combines a region of high altitude aerial mobility- the arctic region with the interior power bases of Eurasia and North America. As in the "pivot area" of Mackinder mobility is the chief strategic factor. The second type of heartland is confined to the interior power bases of each nation, especially of the powerful nations of the region.

The theories of both writers Cressy and Renner were open to criticism. No doubt, the Southern hemisphere is rich in many respects as noted by Cressy, but from the standpoint of the size of land area, it cannot be compared with northern hemisphere. From the self sufficient point of view in minerals and other natural resources, the greatest power in the northern hemisphere (Pre-Soviet union now it is divided fifteen republic) is almost

fully self sufficient while southern hemisphere, the united states is not fully self sufficient. Both hemispheres have not sufficient minerals they depend each other. Therefore there is no evidence to say where the heartland lies. From the contesting point of view, Soviet Union rapidly competes with America to maintain national propensity and global balance of power. But now the evaluation of both worlds USA develops the dominant global power in the world. The Soviet Union is put to the shade. Other powers like China, Japan, India, UK are also emerging as powerful nations. As Renner's concept was transpolar aspect and was questionable in the light of growing importance of ICBMS and missile- carrying nuclear submarines. The nuclear and rocket, revolution in war science, is no part of globe can claim to be invulnerable. It is noted that there is focusing of the air power. But the land power is always the same and the power of air and marine would be changeable. Geopolitics is a dynamic subject, it is suggested to drop such clichés as 'pivot area' 'heart land,' the only power center, the only advantageous arena of movement etc.

We had seen the strong geopolitical catastrophe of Russia which divided it into fifteen republics. Globalness makes whole world one, wide view of world politics. Human development is the only focusing point of recent world. The geopolitics of globalization is the main theme of 21st century. From academic mainstream which sought to distance political geography from politics. This divide became a chasm, and for over half a century it was to render virtually impossible for the development of the study of the earth and the state along lines of Kjellen and Ratzel. Regional dimension is necessary for the development of a state.

### **3.4.2 Nicholas Dictum**

Mackinder had many critics, prominent among them was Nicholas John Spykman (1893-1943) born in Amsterdam, studied at Berkeley, a professor of international relations at Yale in 1920, US citizen in 1928. In his work he emphasized the power relations among states and the impact of geography on politics, but- he rejected the German school of Geopolitics. In his two books *America's strategy in world politics* (1942) and *The Geography of the Peace* (1944) Spykman pointed out two of the basic weaknesses of Mackinder's theories. First he felt, Mackinder over emphasized the power potential of the heartland, its importance was in fact reduced by the major problem of internal transportation and by access through the barriers that surrounded it. Second, history involving the heartland was never a matter of simple sea power and land power opposition. Instead Spykman felt, the real power potential of Eurasia lay in what Mackinder had called the "Inner Marginal crescent", and what Spykman called the Rim land. This area is vulnerable to both land and sea power and hence must operate in both modes. Historically, alliances have always been



made among Rim land powers or between heartland and Rim land powers. Spykman, therefore, proposed his own dictum.

"Who controls the Rim land rules Eurasia

Who rules Eurasia Controls the destinies of the world."

Spykman advocated that the Allies base their postwar policy on preventing any consolidation of the Rim land. Although there is no evidence that George Kenan (who proposed the containment policy of the cold war era) as ever or real Spykman, this policy represents the anticommunist position of the western powers because of the change in thinking represented by Spykman and it was basically a nineteenth century view of the world.

### **3.4.3 Karl Haushofer (1869-1946)**

While the two streams of thought in geopolitics were developing, a new school of geopoliticians was emerging in Germany, chief of them was Karl Haushofer (1869-1946), a career officer in the Bararian army Haushofer served in Japan (1908-10) and rose to the rank of major general in the army general staff, was serving throughout the World War I. Before the war, he took a Ph.D. in geography at the University of Munich. He was embittered by Germany's defeat in the war, blaming it in part on the incompetence of its generals, but also on a too early start of the war and the lack of links between the state leader's and the land. He was convinced that Germany should have won the war and wanted some how to average the defeat. He had been impressed by what he had seen of the power and expressionist ambitions of Japan and also by the power of Britain. He therefore devoted himself to the study of geopolitics.

Haushofer began lecturing at the University of Munich in 1909 and became a professor of geopolitics in 1933. With the help of a group of disciples working of the Haushofer was that as a new science blended together the organic theory of Ratzel refinements and elaboration by Kjellen and geo-strategic principles of Mahan and Mackinder added a heavy dose for Germany. To expansion territory they used slogans and pictographs to influence people. The Germany's theory was less supported by neighbors, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Kjellen advised Germany should be economic self sufficient than the south Eastern Europe. As the Nazi's influence economic policy in the Middle East was used name of the Heartland concept. They also used as weapons for Germany conquest geo-medicine, geo-psychology and geo-economics.

#### 3.4.4 Resurgence of Geo-strategy (Alexander P. de Seversky)

Advocacy of air transport and air warfare is not a new one. It began with the Wright brothers and continued through Lindbergh and Billy Mitchell, Glenn Curtis, Eddie Ricken Bacher, and many others round the world. One strategist, however, was Major Alexander P. de Seversky (1894-1974) was a practical engineer, businessman and imaginative thinker invented world's first fully automatic bombsight. He has developed innovative combat strategy and tactics, speed records production of aircraft.

As a result of this "new" view of the world, the United States and Canada erected at great expense three lines of Radar stations and air bases stretching across Alaska and Canada for the defense of North America against attack from the USSR by the shortest routes- over the North Pole. It is easy to criticize this view in an era of inter continental ballistic missiles and space tearing us away from our Mercator view of the world, by developing and interim defense system and by emphasizing defense instead of example as the prime goal of geo-strategy. The American concept of fortress was never accepted by policy makers, however, and the United States has become deeply involved in political affairs around the world. Various geographers, particularly in the United States have developed variations on the concepts represented by Mahan, Mackinder, Spykman and Seversky, but they have not been very innovative.

#### 3.4.5 Saul B Cohen

American geographer Saul B. Cohen was a inventor of geo-strategic regions like Severesky. Classified the world as follows:

South Asia– Independent area

Middle east and south east Asia- Shatter belts (regions of chronic instability, which states, appear disappear a reappear with changing their name's and boundaries).

He classifies south Asia as an independent Area, and he identified the Middle East and Southeast Asia as shatter belts. The term shatter belt or shatter zone has customarily been applied to central and Eastern Europe a region of chronic instability in which states appear, disappear and reappear with frequently changing names and boundaries, Cohen has omitted reference to this original shatter belt in deference to its partition in 1940's, between soviet and American power systems. This new Zones are quite justified in view of their chronic instability, but as pointed out in the third edition of *systemic political Geography* and repeated in the fourth edition, not the omission of central and Eastern Europe. The recent

stability of this region was deceiving since ancient rivalries and animosities were only temporally suppressed by communist togetherness, Even in the former French Indo-China, where all three states (Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam) were under communist rule all three until very recently have been fighting rebels or one another shatter belts do not disappear very readily.

Cohen has a great deal more to say, including recommendations for American policy makers, but a major thesis bears some special mention. He advocates maintaining the unity of Europe and the Maghreb by subtle economic and political persuasion, and propogerial is a realistic summation of actual trends in the postwar period, trends that go on, as it were under an umbrella (protective or Heartening) of nuclear Missiles and space satellites.

A very different view of the world was propounded by Lin Piao, late defense minister of China. In 1965 he offered a theory of world revolution that viewed the world as similar to a city and the surrounding countryside. The rich industrialized, largely colonies of the western countries represent the countryside. The poorer areas will gradually be convened to communism and using tactics similar to those described by Cohen but supplemented by guerrilla warfare, will confront and eventually over the cities. These are the tactics the Chinese communists used so successfully against the nationalists and the Japanese during the 1930's and 1940's and re described by McCall in his studies of "insurgent states" it also reflect in the later "core-periphery" concept and its variants discussed in this book. Applying them on a world scale, however, seems a bit unrealistic, if only because of the diversity within the developing world and the industrial world's great strength, insurgencies, in fact, have not all been successful, and even China has gone over to fighting conventional wars when it seems appropriate. Lin's basic thesis, however survives in a new incarnation as the core-periphery theory discussed earlier.

#### **3.4.5.1 The Development of Geopolitics**

There is a grave need of understanding connection between geopolitics and foreign policy. The introductory argument is that geopolitics historically has been appealing and useful for two very different expressions- one which aims to preserve the political geography of the existing international 'status' quo and one which seeks to transcend it and establish a new international order by own national policies. The word geopolitics operates for the most part at the fringes of political discourses in Germany, it does have a more specific significance for nationalist perspectives in Germany and else where.

Geopolitics is a problematic concept and raise serious misgivings. The ideas of classical geopoliticians such as Ratzel, Mackinder, Mahan, Kejellen, Spykman and other provide rich evidence for this bias, as do more contemporary examples of Henry Kissinger and Zsignew Brzerinski in the united states or Alexander Dugbin and Vladimir Zhirinorski in post-Soviet Russia. This is not to suggest that the view of geopolitics is exclusively conservative for the left and even the far left have demonstrated a strong interest. It played important role in international communist movement in 1920's and 1930's. It was used in anti-Vietnam war movement in France in 1960's and early 1970's. The critical geopolitics has been re-used then deconstructs the geographical mythological informing and supporting the exercise of political power.

All indications suggest that the orbit of academic political geography the traditional associations, remain firm in place. Now a day in the real world discourses of national politics, international relations and international or domestic security, the term geopolitics continues to play most powerful role connected with actors as perspectives and polities on the right wing.

A clean expression of this term geopolitics is able to respond to multiple expressions multiple directions have many different orientations and out looks. The diversity can be seen in the bifurcation of geopolitics between two foundational perspectives. These perspectives have their own attitudes- the existing international status quo of state structures, boundaries and power relations. As a broadly speaking, for existing role of status quo viewing their differences "Manckinder's heart land theory, the Kennan Truman doctrine of containment and Henry Kissinger's 'triangulation' of global balances of power. It was the policy of status quo or preventing the extension of power centers.

#### **3.4.5.2 The Word "Containment" Used in USA Geopolitical Codes**

During the cold war period, the word containment was used as a US foreign policy, a defensive posture against an expanding soviet enemy. The word containment has meant rather different things at different times. It is a family of geopolitical codes in which it was implicated on foreign policy of the us.

Kennan's geopolitical code was against the US foreign policy. In the period of 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, USA was pursuing one world policy after Truman's declaration of US foreign policy as changed into the frame of new foreign policy. Its purpose was to make everywhere people free. The US policy separated the world as a security point of view as broad zones:

- A. Atlantic community from Canada to Western Europe

- B. The Mediterranean and Middle East as far as Iran
- C. The Western pacific covering Japan and the Philippines

The theory of geopolitical code was compared with Britain's policy. Three key elements were:

- A. A diplomatic use of a balance of power strategy to present any powerful hostile alliances emerging
- B. No major military entanglements and no land wars
- C. A Willingness for limited intervention in key locations to maintain the balance of power

In 1950's onwards different types of geopolitical codes were seen as an alliances, policies safe its own state. US proclaimed foreign policy aimed millions of people to join the democratic system. The balance of power concepts changed as the doctrine of flexible response. The two world wars were dividend capitalism and communism as pressure group. But the third world followed the theory of balance of power as the alternative geopolitical codes have been seen in the nature of world politics as the dissolved of Russian unity. Three type of codes seen- US codes, European codes, (De Gulles) Third World codes (Nehru's codes). According to the situation, some times US used Kennedy's foreign policy and some times Henry Kissinger's. Hence the word geopolitics was used in justifying politics in balance of power model. At the end of cold war, the new relation began with Russia, new world in new guise.

For saving of democracy, the earlier conflicting policies were crossed their important bars and set a new relationships in the world politics. The US target area's Iraq war Afghanistan war, ended with arms race. Small nations cannot succeed to save its nation. There are many problems in geopolitical areas.

### 3.4.5.3 Alternative Geopolitical Codes

US codes	Europe code	Third world code
Truman déclaration march 1947	(De Gaulle code)	(Jawaharlal Nehru code)
John Foster Dulles- 1953	1958 to 1969	(1947 to 1964)
John Kennedy - 1960	European Unity	NAM theory
Johnson (follow Kenndy's policy) (EU)		(third world theory)
Henry Kissinger - 1969		

### Regan Doctrine

As a dividend world, the alliances are most useful in the preservation of national security

<b>1983 (States)</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1993</b>
Atlantic alliance 36	37	37	45	44
Europe alliance 22	27	19	27	30
Neutrality 27	23	26	18	16

**Source:** Laird (1995).

The US foreign policy was already with targets that will follow later on. The coverage target was the policy of new representations and targeted area is always eyeing to change the technology and politics.

#### 3.4.5.4 Geopolitical Categories

Thus a major feature of the holistic para-diagram shift is that the earth sciences have moved to the fore, and this has indicated that intellectual climate in which geo has become an in word. As a prefix it emphasizes the consciousness of the environment present in a particular discourse and to politics. It implies the necessity for political action to take the global dimension into account. Geopolitics had divided parentage-political science and geography like illegitimate child of the other. The study of contemporary world, political science and earth science meet in new light of geopolitics. As a result, it has become distinguished from traditional political geography not because of questions as to it's objectively but because of every real difference in its subject matter, methodology and purpose. While geopolitics certainly merits the prefix two component parts of this

compound word mean basically what they always did. The central purpose of the exercise is thus to reclaim the tradition of geopolitics, and to do so by its disassociation from the state and its policies. As politics Nepal is village centered. All lack of discreteness is a separate matter from lack of distinction.

**(a) Politics in Asian-Pacific Region**

In the post cold war period, the Asian pacific region has spared the rise of the forces of ethnicity, religious fundamentalism and recessionary nationalism. There are huge problems in Asian pacific region. North Korea and South Korea are mainly competing for nuclear weapons. North Korea has become a threat to the world. Demanding of free sovereign status of Taiwanese lands always invoke conflict with China. Likewise, demanding of sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir is always creating tensions between India and Pakistan. Nepal's border being overlapped by Indian side is as a chronic disease between India and Nepal. Similarly, dispute between Japan and Russia over the Kuril Island is a bone of contention, main problematic issues in this region.

In the 21st century, political relations between Japan and South Asia are likely to be bedeviled by the Japanese stance, bilaterally and in concern with other major developed countries. On issues such as nuclear non-proliferation, environmental problems, restrictions on export of dual use- technology conditions attached to ODA and Japan's bid to expand the framework of regional operation and establish a political and security dialogue in the Asia-pacific region that demise a legitimate place to south Asia and its most important country India (Dubey & Jetly, 1990: 178).

**(b) South Asian Region**

Regional organizations as an effective mechanism of cooperation among nations have acquired significance all over the world. South Asia is a compact region with several commonalities and complementarities. There have been historic-cultural, geopolitical and socio-political and socio-economic reasons behind sharp differences among the member countries of SAARC.

Regional unity is the need of regional feelings. So I analyze two types of vision to develop regional concept.

- (i) Narrow vision                      (ii) Wide vision

**(i) Narrow Vision**

Narrow vision is seen in different sector of SAARC associations. The members of SAARC associations are weak by feelings and developments. They have no vision to make

SAARC like EU. Much diversity is seen in individuality on the regional concept, no compromising fact to each other. They look like dominant figure.

**(ii) Wide Vision**

USA is a nation of all types of cooperations. It deals with wide vision not as language, race, religions, so it can be said as strongly we should make United South Asia and develop the nation as a science and technology and economic aspects, there are many reasons to make strong unity.

Bird brain or not, our minds are full of pigeon- holes- Henry Kissinger was a diplomatic theorist. The primary of politics and the national interest are central to his consciously conceptual approach to foreign policy (Soper & Otte, 2002: 203).

### **3.5 The Future of Geopolitics**

The origin of geopolitics can be discovered in Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellen and the German natural scientist and geographer Friedrich Ratzel. Both were active during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the symbiosis of their ideas produced new dimensions of thought within social sciences. While Kjellen is acknowledged as having the inventor of the term itself, his interest was initially stimulated by the ideas of Ratzel, and it was through the latter that it became widely known.

Rudolf Kjellen (1864-1922) was influenced by German geophysical ideas on the geographical factor on nature and behaviors of the state were a revelation to Kjellen and introduced to an entirely new way of thinking about international relations and the state.

Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) was natural scientist concentrated towards geography, a synthesis of natural and human phenomena. The development of ideas on human geography and human behavior. In the nineteenth century his explanation of international relation was quite new. While Ratzel the natural scientist was clearly motivated by the methods



of science humanity but Kjellen's interest of innovative thinking appears different one the existence of state and its safety. His conclusion that the state was a person ranking higher than the individual and that it was the clash of state ideas at the root of the world war.

Gone are the days, the feeling of geopolitics was in crisis with so many problems. It appeared more dismay than hope. The long period of discovery and expansion was ended. One time Lord Bryce observed the exploration of this earth is now all but finished, He pointed out that "civilized man knows his home in a sense in which he never knew it before." The geographical horizon known as a geographical outlook of human kind. So it was the driving force of the discovery of new lands in their states. The above saying suggests that human and non-human elements are not fundamental opposition between the human and the natural. On the contrary, nature in the widest sense was taken to include humanity. So human and non human were embracing physical universe, to be successful human activity had to be based on an awareness of nature and of natural laws. The assumption that humankind was a part of nature was the scientific thinking of late ninetieth century.

In the nineteenth century, naturalistic thinking had preceded two new elements first is evolutionary theory in the explanation of natural phenomena and other was to specialization of scientific disciplines. In the age of Renaissance, it was essential to unify the two separate disciplines; David living stone said that the unity "the geographical experiment and it entailed keeping nature and culture under one explanatory umbrella Stepher Hall (1993) described the construction of a conceptual link between scientific knowledge and social world view. This mixture is reflected in the work of Kjellen. He perceived that there is a way out of the application of scientific principles to politics. Ratzel's methodology was inexperience of natural science to the understanding and explanation of human activity. Political science and the earth sciences meet in geopolitics and new light which it sheds has been one of the factors to its legitimacy.

The analysis of geopolitics explored the link between politics and the earth, in the study of contemporary world issues. The purpose of the study is to seek explanations of the behavior and interactions of the spatial objects as a component part of whole; its ultimate goal is to reach an understanding of geopolitical space and its processes. It was examined by the writer of the particular objective in geographical space. The geographical factors are such as climate, physical resources and relief features on human activity. It must be recognized with all science, having both features of pure and applied versions. It can be used

for the pursuit of knowledge. It should evaluate the impact of humanity and it was considered as morally pure academic discipline. In the nineteenth century it was discussed as physical and human feature of the earth to study military purposes and war on official conduct.

Twenty years after Kjellen's death, Edward Thormaehlen expressed that it was completely new and original true science of the state as a spatial unit. Peter Med War defined science as being the art of the soluble and he saw problem solving as being its main function. There is a fundamental distinction in science between the pure and the applied; between the objective analysis of data and the subsequent application of the results of analysis. We cannot look after differ each others. Natural phenomena and human phenomena run through behavioral science or geopolitics, space and earth mean everything that human being are associated with.

Geopolitics is a science about the study of an objective reality, and is subject to analysis and explanation in much the same way as other objects of scientific study such as the weather or the rotation of the planets (Parker, 1997: 27).

Of course, the reasoning point is that the subject matter of geopolitics is not a natural but a human creation. The Spatial objects are the raw materials of geopolitics, having their own structures and that combine together to make new ones in reality more like other structure in the human world than those natural structures. This is totally opposed to determinism which maintains that humanity is bound by many path.

In the context of the problem faced by the human race in the twentieth century it in the planet Bungle puts it "too small or war but big enough for peace". The heavenly planet, as he called it, was within reach but in order to achieve it 'we must keep our planet human (Parker, 1997: 169)

Bunge termed human race rather than national space is increasingly seen to day as being the essential areas of operation. The basic question of confronting the future of geopolitics can be successfully transposed from the state to the global dimension. There is addressed the relationship of geography and international relations in the age of globalization. It has become evident that since its inception, geopolitics has meant many different things to different people. In 1990's, critical geopolitics has made important contribution to the recognition of this fact. The object of the critical geopolitics was to find out the reality of geopolitics with verities of possibilities in its methodology. To O Tuathail, it is not an immanently meaningful term but a high ambiguous and unstable concept. He

attacked the way geopolitics had been used by the Americans during the cold war, in order to justify their own position. Institutionalized strategic gaze that examines normalizes and judge's states from central observation point. In this way geopolitics is about "advice to the prince".

This view of the geopolitical world is actually a view of the operation of the normative geopolitical process. The geopolitical process, on the other hand, is found on the premise that it does not follow value judgment which is inherent in critical geopolitics. It is a real poliotik countered by ideal politic having those and processes, those features. When Mackinder realized that the geopolitics was a real politic with many options so it dominated the whole world. It has many meanings in critical geopolitical concept. It may be that geopolitical discourse in global politics is understood to be the result of perpetual geography but there is a mythology, common to all of them not just to the grand strategies and reconstituting of geopolitics.

The critical geopolitics and alternative geopolitics both analyzed and seek to examine the alternatives which has been in existence and been exercised. The alternative of geopolitics is a turning point from alchemy to experiment. The possibilities for an experimental geopolitics appeared to be promising in the league of nations of 1920's but in, the nationalistic twilight of 1930's they were overshadowed by the return of normative geopolitics. At the end of cold war, the possibilities for alternative once more presented itself. If this respect for modern geopolitics has returned to first principles. Kjellen has identified the central importance of territory in understanding the behavior of states. Sidaway views the present as being characterized by hyper- mobility and (ultra) rapid response, reducing the significance of territory, as the major task confronting geopolitics as the millennium approaches. Sample called '*the solid earth*' can still have a central role in giving humanity the necessary points of reference in the age of cyber space and globalization.

As the geopolitical process has evidence the great powers and stronger. The smaller nation has maintained independence and order. Because of limited size and power, an over arching order which is mutually beneficial with the development of associative structures, facilitating trade over a wide area. Global issues have come to the fore in the intellectual climate of the present day and the global dimensions are seen as essential in addressing them. It made possible and necessary to conceive of geopolitics not a particular state's interest but the interests of the world as a whole. A global geopolitics view competing world views based on the nature of the geopolitical world and shaping the formulation of policy.

### 3.5.1 Geopolitics on Politics and Place

Richard Muir described in his book *political geography* politics and place the term 'place' has recently commanded a great deal of attention in geopolitical world in general. Politics of place is central to political geography. Never the less the geographical literature on place is often confusing. The reasons for the geographical fascination with place are obvious, as it handset to convey. A part of the problem derives from the fact that geographers are attempting to ascribe precise technical meanings to places-related terms in common usage.

As Harvey (1993: 4) explains: There are all sorts of words such as milieu, locality, location, locale, neighborhood, region, territory and the like, which refer to the generic qualities of place. There are other terms such as city, village, town, and megalopolis and state, which designate particular kinds of places. There are still others, such as home, hearth, turf, community, nation and landscape, which have such strong connotations of place that it would be hard to talk about one without the other. One of the most important explanations of the significance of place is provided by book reviewer for sociology who has explained three distinct, but not exclusive claims.

First of all, places are different from each other, i.e. social processes will be significantly different in different to. Secondly social life takes place in relatively circumscribed spatial contents and the distance imposes costs. Thirdly, people have ideas about place which have significant social consequences. Most of geographers accepted these sociological statements that symbolize a shift in geographical thinking. The change reflects the fact that place has been the major focus of attention of humanistic geography in recent years. Place is the product of human agency and it can be illustrated with regard to the brutish ritual of fox hunting and its efforts land escapes in the east mid land of England. This ritual form is developed during the eighteenth century. If the pattern of property ownership in England had resembled of France, in England much of aristocratic estates, or extensive areas of rural land (Muir, 1997, 16). The term inter relations between place and politics need explanation-

S.N.	Generic Qualities of place	Interrelated with Political Terms
1.	Milieu	That molded human culture
	Locality	Megalopolis, state, home, hearth, turf community nation relations.

	Location	
	Locals	
	Neighbor hood, caste	
	Region, territory	
	City, village, town religion	

### 3.5.2 Geopolitics on Culture

Culture is a powerful weapon in international environment. It, deals with imprinting personality with the templates through which most humans perceive events. Culture can be regarded as the social heritage not only all the community material goods and creations but also mental and spiritual artifacts like ideas, values, beliefs and preferences. Culture is not an individual thinking it embraces cultural community. It represents the influence of nurture over nature. The concept of culture not only has difference but controversial. In geography the concept of culture as an area occupied by single or similar cultures was developed at the end of the Nineteenth century by the German geographer, Friedrich Ratzel. He believed that every nation evolve as a symbiotic association of people and land. In the above hinted lines the writer Richard Muir showed the development of different types of culture with human behaviors in his life (Muir, 1997, 18).

Among the prominent geographers of recent time, both RJ Johnson (1991) and JA Agnew (1987) have advocated on the study of place which they regard as being fundamental to understanding of political geography. And Johnson has recommended a refocusing of human geography upon place. However, is explored in modern geography is much more emotive, complex and elusive way than a single intersection of coordinates on the map. As interpreted by a new, it has three major elements as given below:

- (1) **Locale:** encompasses the settings with which social relations.
- (2) **Location:** interprets the geographical area, which encompasses the setting within which the broader interactions between members of society.
- (3) **Sense of place:** concerns the local structure of feelings which involves nodes, like home, work, school and church, around which human activities circulate. The associations so formed combine to create the sense of place, embodied both geographical and social dimensions.

### J.A. Agnew's three major elements of society

**Locale**

**Location**

**Sense of place**

In Agnew's formulation, place refers to discrete elastic areas in which setting for the constitution of social relations are located and with which people can identify. He viewed that the sense of place need not be confined to the scale of the locality but could be summarized as follows: Locale is the core geo-sociological element in place, but it structured by the pressures of location and gives rise to its own sense of place, and in certain circumstances it extend beyond the locality. A view of locality is a space, constituted by a variety of different associations or networks of relations operating across varied scales and distances. In exploring episodes of local environmental conflict, they studied how actors are drawn into associations imposed from distances for example government policies and the analysis of power becomes the study of society, structure and power are associated outcomes as actors. Those who are powerful are not associations.

Agnew claims that western thinking has dominated the world by theory of modernizations and social change. It has involved traditional societies in the process of modernizations. The importance of place and geography in the political area point out the weakness of modernization concepts and state centered outlooks. It has assumed that modernization involved nationalization process where by the state experiences industrialization and urbanization, so citizens are mobilized into a national political community with the nation state. In this way, they are integrated more closely to place, home and region.

In the familiar localities, over the course of time, people may develop a sense of identity, they will establish a network of friends and will acquire those aspects of culture which enable them to form opinions and judgments about other people and places beyond the locality. It is convincing that place and space have important cultural connections. While places also have their political associations as local conflicts concerning communities dividend between members who wish to preserve particular places and those who seek or support changes to the geographical status quo. It is hard to understand why are the westerners and the US against the Muslim world which caused the attack on Iraq and Afghanistan. Nowadays we heard and seen different types of war, there is a cause of place, cultural connections, geographical status quo. In spite of the fact that we have no such fleet as we would have. We have conquered ourselves, a place under the sun. It will now be my task to see that this place in the sun shall remain our undisputed possession in order that the sun's rays may fall fruitfully upon our activity and trade in foreign parts that our industry and agriculture may develop. Within the state and our sailing sports upon the water, for our future lies upon the water

### **3.5.3 Geopolitics on the Organic Cultural Links**

The book *India-Pakistan a Theme Beyond Borders* (Chakravarty, 2004: 47) countries aspire for durable peace and friendship, however, there is complexities of development in the subcontinent. In his writing he believes that, it is essential to develop close and friendly relations. There are many things which both nations need each others as neighbors, morally and politically and there by rise the prestige and status of both. After the Indo-pak War of 1965 president Ayub khan, addressing the "Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, he said. "The geopolitical imperatives of their location on the map of the world make it necessary that for their survival they should have good neighbor dealings with big neighbors, China, soviet union and India," in the book, he Included the vision of future articulated by the leaders of both countries, they have to pursue as the unfinished agenda for resolving all the differences between them and ensuring peace and prosperity for their peoples.

With the reference of 1967 as the be cord anniversary of the tragic armed conflict of 1965 between India and Pakistan, he wrote in *mainstream* "the struggle beyond the conflict for achieving enduring peace becomes a more different but a more compelling struggle". It is no platitude but solid hand truth that neither history nor geography, neither cultural nor self interest can justify the continuation of a state of armed people in the relations between India and Pakistan. Describing that the economy of both India and Pakistan is more dependent, than that of Israel. Ties could be found in abundant measure among common

people of both countries. He made a journey to that country and collected fascinating experiences and interactions with a variety of people who unequivocally expressed their utmost desire for peace and good neighborliness. He emphasizes, all this good will transcend all barriers from all leaders, academician, professionals, lawyer high and low old and young their desire to make friendship with India.

When the writer visited to the side of Karakoram high way, an old man said to him "you are not a Mehman" or guest you are a brother" and the warmth and friendship was shown to him. It is a question of forging bonds of friendship between two neighbors with common heritage and organic cultural links. In the same book the writer describes "Nehru's death as an epilogue to his eventful life suspicion could be dispelled even to a small measure inside Pakistan." At a time when India has extended the hand of friendship to Pakistan in spite of the unabated cross border terrorism and the writer outlined the foreign policy vis-à-vis neighboring relation assume deep significance.

Nikhil Chakravarty writes that the leadership of miniaturization of Pakistan is also one of the unfinished reasons of democratization. Military has always taken the leading role of the country. One of the facts is that both the countries tried to be strong enough in defense production or building up the military strength. The defense policies of India were adopted by Krishna Menon started the idea of defense missiles. Recently India and America agreed to extend atomic weapons. Now both the nations tried to be the first nation in making long ranging missiles. Today they are fighting against terrorist supported from across the border in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The writer had analysed to understand the emergence of communal forces in Kashmir inter communal marriages in Kashmir had become more frequent than in any other parts of India.

Nikhil Chakravarty in his writings tried to solve the unfinished problem of Indian and Pakistan. Not only the problem of India and Pakistan but the problem of whole South Asian region. Like the voice of a old man who met Nikhil Chakravarty in Karakoram high way said "you are not *"Mehman"* or a guest you are a brother like this Nepal wants to warm friendship with neighborly nations. Like wise Mongolian, Muslim, Jews, American have organic cultural links.

#### **3.5.4 Geopolitics on Universal Truth**

In the contemporary world, geopolitics is most important component to formulate national policies and foreign affairs in the domestic and international forum. We see the universal truth in such statement "The Earth is Round", "The Sun Rises in the East" such



universal saying is true and always the same without changes. Man cannot change the earth's shape and size.

Geopolitics is a study of the relationship between geographical factors and the politics of states and nation and their interactions with the neighboring countries and international community. Geopolitics is concerned with the recent past the present, and near or distant future.

On the basis of analysis of the recent past the actual present and sometimes even of assessment of man's historical experience, the geopolitics can evaluate the future geopolitical trends and indicate what policy or policies a particular nation, or region, or the world, as a whole should pursue for its safety and welfare.

**Historical Aspect:** The Term geopolitics was coined in the late nineteenth century, and from the outset, it attracted considerable controversy. This was caused by supposed involvement in actual matters of national policy, and this has particular concern to academics. After World War I, in Germany geopolitics became very involved in national policy and making planning if the policy of territorial expansion and the justification of Nazi claim to a position of dominance in Europe. Finally after the end of World War II, German geopolitics was lumped together with the rest of the ideological baggage of Nazism and the whole was banished. Germany used the term as the expansion of territory and got victory over wars. Geopolitics is always rounding the natural phenomena of human beings, man, material and mind. Some countries have enough resources have called rich countries others have less resources are called poor. We can easily see south-south block, (Richer's Organization) south-north block (poor's organization).

**New Geopolitics:** New geopolitics took place during 1970's as pioneered in the United States and in France. In the former, it was particularly associated with American secretary of state Henry Kissinger, who introduced it into American foreign policy, it rapidly entered the established vocabulary of politics and international relations in the United States. At the same time, France and around it was being reintroduced by a Jew school of political geography led by Yves Lacoste. This centered on the journal Herodote and it was only after geopolitics had regained its academic credentials in general political vocabulary in France. By 1980's politicians journalists, business people and academics of all descriptions in the world were slipping it into speeches, articles and books on subjects ranging from global warming to multinational firms. Geopolitics is explains the dramatic changes of the world situation taken place in the perception of the overall relationship of humanity to its

geographical environment. The idea of mankind as "master" capable of transforming nature has been increasingly replaced by that of humankind as a participant, in our environmental totality and as such to treat nature with care and respect. The realization dawned that the global ecosystem is fragile and is finely balanced with a structure susceptible to irreparable damage.

Humankind is capable to search affective for longer term. We can count on human activity that attracts right and wrong. The human innovation destroys the human like Chernobyl, nuclear disaster of 1986. So human beings are more conscious of the essential unity of the planet and careful of the danger of the destruction of human space. We can prevent the disaster only by collective action, an action on a global scale. Every innovation of human being is made on earth. But the shape and physical structure of the earth cannot be changed. It will be changeable where strong natural disaster could destroy or scientific basis for understanding today's political map and for anticipating tomorrow's change. So the geopolitical map is more closely related to reality than to the political map. It is related directly to a geographic region, it expresses the unity of geographic features. It can provide a framework for an understanding of common political and economic action. It turns to geographical features fixed but it becomes dynamic with man's constant use.

### **3.5.5 Geopolitics on Races in Politics of War**

#### **3.5.5.1 Historical**

It had already been discussed about the relationship between geopolitics and leadership. Man's ideas and abilities are very important resources of the world. The greater the opportunity is for his exploration of development and the greater is potential resources. Beyond this, good health and long life make enough contribution to society one. Who is healthy mentally and physically should do many things for his society. We cannot say whether genius and near-genius is hereditary or environmental or where, when and under what conditions they crop up. Although, it cannot be said exactly how the genius person is born or live in the world? What were the necessary elements to develop biological or environmental factors (Khatri, 2004: 240). Charismatic personalities are seen in political field, some hereditary politicians in Asia and Europe are seen besides hereditary kingship. Some times the figure of family politics also help rise in the arena. Politics like that of Rana family, Koirala family, Gandhi family, Bhutto family etc. specially the family politics play crucial role in South Asian countries. The scenario of politics of war is differentiation between races of the world. It is accepted by all that Jews, are the best warriors in the

battlefield of as a calculation they fought with their enemy to save the land and political benefit of communal partnership.

### **3.5.5.2 Colonial Era**

In the colonial era, various races fought to save their land and they hired foreign nationals for this purpose. Nepalese also fight from the side of British-Indian government. Indian government had managed different types of regiments for commanding purpose of war as Sikh regiment, Assame riffles, Gorkha regiment and so on. Who are fit for war are chosen in regiments? Nepalese national serving in Gorkha regiment have secured high praise for valor. So in the history of British-India, Nepalese contributed highly in the politics of war. Every type of war such as World War I, World War II, India-Pakistan War, Grenada War, Folk Land War, Iraq War, and Afghanistan War Nepalese secured title brave everywhere.

### **3.5.5.3 Fighting Qualities of Race**

Among different races in Nepal, and India, the warrior sprit is assigned to heart of Chhetri, Muslim, Sherpa, Gurung, Magars, Rai, Sikh, perhaps their name is impressed by their birthplace. The choice of British recruitment army was Gurung, Magar, Rai, from Nepal. Historically saying, Jews and Nazis were the war fighters in the period of 1<sup>st</sup> and II<sup>nd</sup> World War. How and why the interest of fighting comes to the heart and they fight. What was the difference of gene? How does emotion come and how is this researchable issue?

### **3.5.5.4 Prehistoric Warriors**

Late ninety's, 30's and 40's data showed that the world's worst death toll had been pictured in world history records. Russian president Vladimir Puttin organized a Kremlin memorial day to celebrate the death of soldiers in World War II, in May 9/2005 Moscow. Sixty Asian, European and American were participating a parade on Red square, they both celebrated an anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe. They prayed for the thirty millions Russian souls in the World War II. Another Holocaust Memorial sixty years after the end of World War II, a controversial memorial to the estimated six million Jews killed by the Nazis German chancellor Gerhard Schroeder opened. The Holocaust Memorial Day of World War II is celebrated to remember the soul who lost their life's during the war.

## **3.6 Rise and fall of various Schools of Geopolitics**

The history of Geopolitics is not the same in the past century. It has risen to the height of public consciousness in the crisis years of global war and in the eras of strategic positioning. Foreign policy was in confusion since the end of the cold war. The

uses of following the words offer a picture of the rise and fall of various schools of geopolitics.

The study of geopolitics has been pictured by the unclear nature of the subject matter. For much geopolitics is simply the geographic dimension of foreign policy. In this view, geopolitics has two levels, the back ground study of places, people's resource distributions and so on that provides the data for the foreign policy's choice and the consequent formation of spatially based polities designed to achieve specific objectives. Geopolitics is a problem solving science which uses different parameters in different states like America, France, UK Russia, China and India. Geopolitics is international statecraft from the prospective of each state so we standup with geopolitics. Geopolitics is nine different types classical, Fascist and counter Fascist territory, military, new, colonial, alternative, democratic and critical Geopolitics. Common definition of geopolitics is "applied political geography" less objective and scientific than the mother discipline but nonetheless grafted onto it. As the worldview assumes the position of the country in question should be advanced according to national aspirations. Sometimes its uses national aspirations sometimes there is overlap between the national views. That is why geopolitics is standing un- certain activities in each statecraft. Debating, competing about the themes. Situation allies the geopolitics that is closely tied to statecraft and the games of the great powers. It goes behind the uses of methods and beliefs of the practice of geopolitics and Geopolitikers. To interpret the aims of geopolitics it is necessary to analyze the texts of speeches, documents, treaties and memoirs. Timely analyzing of the uses of words "geopolitics" values of different ways: Sometimes it is used as the world geopolitical codes, geopolitical phenomena, geopolitical discourse, geopolitical doctrines and geopolitical transition.

It discusses how the above words are used in political environment. Geopolitical codes represent more or less coherent perspectives on global geopolitics and the position and interests of one particular state. As such, they are at the basis of prescribed or perused foreign politics. More specifically, a geopolitical code defines interests, threats to those interests and the nature of the required responses to those threats. Globalism and regionalism represent two opposite geopolitical codes in the US foreign policy. The globalist perspective is represented by Colin Gray and Ray Cline. Regionalist perspectives are represented by a wide variety of authors, including Saul Cohen and Zsigniew Brzeniski. As the discussion regionalist and globalist perspectives have different views on four interrelated issues. First, the regionalist conception of security is broader than the globalist transcending

the narrow definition of security in military terms and encompassing political and especially economic dimensions. Second, while globalists stress the importance and responsibility of the United States in global affair, regionalists tends to have a less exception. Most importantly globalism and regionalism differ in the geographical scope of American involvement that is proposed, as well as in the preferred means of involvement. As the terms indicate, globalism proposes involvement around the globe without far reaching differentiation while regionalism suggests involvement only in particular regions (Loughlin, 1994: 92-93). The word "geopolitical discourse" generally a term used by scholars interested in critical geopolitics refers to the language and reasoning processes of geopolitics and how they function politically.

Commonly used geopolitical terms like ' east, west, heartlands, resources and choke points are not given in nature but rather are artificial construction of knowledge that specify the world in particular ways, with political consequences arising from the social values when liked together with other forms of political discourse and in particular, forms of security discourse, geopolitical discourse has been widely used to justify the contemporary political arrangements of international politics (Loughlin, 1994: 92-93).

The word geopolitical doctrines clearly reflect the stated or inferred positions of world leaders concerning global spheres of influence. Since 1945 there have been several explicit statements by leaders of the United States and the USSR of their competitive stances in geopolitics. In June 1957, the Eisenhower doctrine, in the form of a congressional resolution, extended the American sphere to protect the Arab States of the Middle East against" communist aggression, warning off the USSR from the territory uncovered by Britannia drawing in her skirts. The sources of instability were local weakness and ambition, which the Kremlin was willing to exploit but did not need to engineer. The rulers who needed American support were inhibited about applying to Israel's protector to prop them up. In May 1965, the Johnson Doctrine revamped the Monroe Doctrine. As he sent Marines into Santo Domingo, Dominican, republic, President Johnson declared that revolution was an internal matter until "the object is the establishment of a communist dictatorship," and the United States should act to exclude this prospect (Loughlin, 1994: 91). The voiced expression of polity of the Nixon, Kissinger era reflected the mixed strategy of containment and detente in era of negotiation rather than confrontation. The Nixon Doctrine laid the responsibility for dealing with local crises on local powers. Their inability to fend for themselves and soviet adventures in Africa and Southeast Asia in the mid 1970's led President Ford drop the term "detente" from his policy statements. The Carter Doctrine was announced in the state of

Union address in January 1980 in the aftermath of the fall of the shah of Iran. Carter evidently believed that the Soviet army deployed in Afghanistan constituted a threat to US control of the Persian Gulf. He proclaimed a far-reaching extension of the US sphere of concern. "An attempt by own outside force to gain control over the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of American and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." As elaborated by Zsigniew Brzeniski's image of an "arc of crisis (reaching) from the Horn of Africa to Chittagong was interpreted as a guarantee of US support against violent internal or external opposition to the incumbents in Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Oman and Pakistan. It justified increased expenditure on the US Navy and the building of the Rapid Deployment Force and it was psychological preparation of the precursor to US military intervention in the Gulf Crisis of 1990-91. What is taken to be the Reagan Doctrine though not acknowledged as such by him was read into the state of the union address in February 1985. This was held on the hope of an aggressive roll back of communist tyranny on the cheap.

The Soviets were to be fought by proxy with aid to right-minded insurgents obviating the use of US forces. The geographical limits for this doctrines application remain unclear. The most noticeable thing about this policy was that Reagan resisted efforts to apply it consistently and increasingly in a manner more consistent with the detente which the soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev, so obviously craved in 1980's (Loughlin, 1994: 92).

The phrase "Geopolitical Transition" refers from one geopolitical world order to another. A geopolitical world order represents a more or less stable set of international geographically based power relationship. The Cold War represents an example of geopolitical world order. This century witnessed two major geopolitical transitions. In 1940's multi-polar European order was replaced by the bipolar order of the Cold War. The present geopolitical transition of late 1980's and 1990's marks the demise of the postwar bipolar order but has not yet resulted in a new order. This phase of transitional change is sometimes labeled "geopolitical disorder" (Loughlin, 1994: 92).

Use of geopolitical word concluding suffix defined on different views like geopolitical codes more or less represent global and regional views, geopolitical discourse. It indicated the view of east, west, heart land concept and "them", "their place", "other", "us", "our space" and all these are key themes of geopolitical discourse. As the word Geopolitical Doctrine stated or referred shows the positions of world leaders concerning global spheres of influence. It means the competitive stance of geopolitics and personalities have expression of views in different context in different times. As like as Eisenhower Doctrine,

Johnson Doctrine, Monroe Doctrine, Nixon Doctrine, Carter Doctrine, Reagan Doctrine, Nehru's Doctrine, Gandhi's Doctrine, Maxims Doctrine, Mao's Doctrine, Mahendra's Doctrine. Geopolitical transition refers from one geopolitical world order to another. A geopolitical world order represents more or less stable set of international, geographically based power relationships. An analysis was over viewed that periodically seen the geopolitical world order such as cold war, Multi-polar European order replaced by bipolar world and bipolar world order changed when Russian politics collapsed and the American Uni-polar world order was established since 1996's. Uses of words those to refer powerful state help rising regionalism, making the unity of area. The resource of a country is highly important in the contemporary world.

It is said innovators change the world before the world changes them. Nepalese politicians cannot change their attitudes, feelings and activities in reality, people are always hopeful about leaders changing society with their views and ideology. In the state or poverty minds of people cannot be changed, poor country cannot feed its people always suffering hunger, famine scarcity of materials and depends on other country. So the saying poor countries cannot develop its nature and move towards stability. It is always necessary to step up to stand with natural resources and mobilize it with friendly relations. In Nepalese political arena, the word republic is used for 11<sup>th</sup> people's movement of 2063. Historically, the political words are changing with people's movement.

Resurrection of geopolitics took place in 1970's as the new geopolitics was pioneered in the USA and France. In the former, the American secretary of states Henry Kissinger introduced foreign policy of America. With the Kissinger's contribution, geopolitics with its associate adjective geopolitical rapidly entered into the vocabulary of politics and international relations in the United States and in France and it spread in Britain as less geographical studies. Semantically, it is a term which expresses a particular relationship between political activity and the terrestrial environment in which this auctioned is taking place (Parker, 1997: 27).

Political geography is no doubt the basis of geopolitics, but it would not be right to make it the only means to arrive at worldwide geopolitical implications, assessments and speculations. Most contemporary writers seem to over emphasize the importance of political geography. Let us not however, be little their writing. In preceding chapter different authors' valuable contribution to the subject is focused. Major emphasis is to evolve a scientific methodology, the attempt to study geopolitics, and thereby enlarge the scope of the study to include the relevant aspects of many other disciplines and facilitate a collective

approach. For this, the help of scholars from other branches of learning is submitted. The boundary of geopolitics is not limited. It has required wide vision. It is a comment on nationalization of geography in many other countries. It is associated with politics and political decision-making. Indeed, during the first half of the twentieth century, geopolitics came to be regarded by many geographers and political scientists as the subject too closely involved with policy formulation and a really objective discipline in its own rights. Matters to be dealt in geography and politics are, therefore, grouped together under the safe umbrella of political geography. It is related with political organization and environment as given below:

Already it is discussed that the word geopolitics comes from two descriptions one from geographical description and other from political science. It is discussed here how the words were initially invented and used in new applied science. I hope the magnanimity of the river, the kindness of the sun and humility of the earth is close to God. The two researcher/scholars Kjellen and Ratzel in different places discovered the word geopolitics. Both of them never met. In the beginning, the term had used as to spread out Nazism and expansion of territory. This was old concept wide spread in Germany in Hitler's reign. After World War II, its nature and impression effect whole world to traditionally the factors of geography and physical features play vital role in any country's survival independent security and identity. The term "geo politics" used popular language in all scales, from neighborhood to global. Henry Kissinger usually attributes its popularity in the USA to its popular use during the time when he was national security adviser and secretary of state. Today it is used for various sensitive things like geopolitics of technology, military geopolitics (study of battle fields, technologies and tchnics) geopolitics of Islams, geopolitics of economy, geopolitics of boarder issues, contemporary geopolitics and so on. All this refers to political geographies at scales below the international one. In this light, geopolitics seems to have shorter history compared to political geography. In common definition of geopolitics it is "applied to political geography" has objectives considered to be scientific discipline.

### **3.6.1 Changing Scene Showing the Seeds of Change**

During 1970's the term geopolitics as a new term was used in France and USA. The term practically was used in American foreign policy by secretary of state Henry Kissinger. It was used to establish politics and international relations in the United States. At the same time in France and in some other European countries it was introduced by a new school of geographers led by Yves Lacoste. This was centered on the journal "Herodote" and geopolitics had regained its academic credentials in general political vocabulary in France. By



1980's politicians, journalists, business people, academicians of all descriptions in the world were slipping it into speeches, articles, books on subjects ranging from global warming to multinational firms.

In his way present, geopolitical studies include the country's territorial size, location, natural resources. Level of economic development, composition of population and its size. Its organizational and intellectual abilities, communication and circulation, and their impact on nation's role on international politics as well as country's foreign policy with economic globalization. There increases inter dependency. It can be seen in international laws on various issues, formation of international organizations like United Nations, world trade organization, evaluations of international regimes such as universal declaration of human rights, international atomic energy agency, environment protection acts, crime preventive regimes etc. The traditional roles of geographical factors as described by many writers determine a country's position in international arena has lately significantly declined. "The decay of the value of distance has to day diminished the relevance of geography and the nation's ability to gain power status by geographic means has markedly declined, even it has not disappeared completely" (Dahal, 2002: 25). The collapse of the soviet union was a dramatic geopolitical shift that should have led to major changes in the nuclear posture of the united states and the event of September not only influence the geopolitical definition and scopes of an individual nation but has tremendous implications on the global politics. Likewise, in Nepal out throwing of monarchy and dramatic geopolitical changes have influenced international atmosphere. The modern technologies in the area of transportation and communication system have brought a revolution that connected people and nations together.

**3.6.2 The Contributor's Geopolitical Ideology**

Research area	Fried Ratzel state as the spatial (Organizes 1844 - 1904)	Rudolf Kjellen Friedrich Nauman 1864-1922 Middle Europe	Helford Mac kinder 1869-1947 Geographical Pivot of history	Karl/Housofer 1869-1946 Konti nevtal Blocke'	Thyer Mahan 1600-1683 Sea Power	Nicholas J. Spyman of Mackinder, central Importance of Rim land	Geoffrey Parker 1933 - 1997 The origins of Geopolitics to trail its development and consider future role
<b>Research area</b>							
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Education the German "organistic school"</li> <li>2. The state as the spatial organism</li> <li>3. Raum is the political organization of ground</li> <li>4. The Law of expansion</li> <li>5. Weltmacht and the sea</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The definition of new science</li> <li>2. The state as form of life and interests of Germany</li> <li>3. Concept of middle Europe</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Scientist and politician's thought</li> <li>2. Geographical pivot of history</li> <li>3. The key position of Russia</li> <li>4. Three geopolitical</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. War and reflection</li> <li>2. New Eurasian order</li> <li>3. Compromise with thalassocracy</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sea power</li> <li>2. The sea civilization. The mercenary civilization</li> <li>3. Subjugating world by the U.S. manifest destiny</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In service of America</li> <li>2. Corrections of Mac-Kinder</li> <li>3. Power determining scale</li> <li>4. Mead land ocean</li> <li>5. Architect of American victory</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To examine the origins of geopolitics</li> <li>2. To trace its development</li> <li>3. To consider its future role</li> <li>4. To use appropriate technology always kept in mind</li> <li>5. To use terms related to information sectors.</li> </ol>

### 3.6.3 Military Geopolitics

Military power is likely to undergo far-reaching changes in the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, although the epithet of "revolution in military affairs" may appear to be somewhat overstated. Long-range strike capabilities are becoming more central to expensive professionalized militaries and cost factors may inhibit more frequent uses. At the same time, historically, as weapons have acquired greater range and accuracy, the tendency towards preemption has increased resulting in increased instability. On the other hand, increasing vulnerabilities of modern states both developing and developed are making war less viable as an instrument of politics. Refinement of military power, risks of regular interstate wars and technological changes all point towards greater use of a more sharpened military instrument for political purposes.

Subtle, but fundamental changes in the nature of military power and the way it would be employed are taking place in the global defense spending has come down by more than one third from the peak of \$1285 Billion in 1988, Barring India (which cut back its defense spending by 37 percent to a level of 2.3 percent in 1997) and Japan (which has maintained its spending level). All other countries of Asia have recorded a significant increase in the allocation of national resource to military capability. China is the largest military power in Asia, has tripled its defense spending since 1988, in spite of a 30 percent cut back in four levels. The enough use of money in defense purposes will be effect the futures generations.

While the financial crisis is bound to take its toll in future, East Asia's defense spending in current US dollars has increased by 62 percent during the five years since 1900. Some of this rise in defense spending is due to modernization as indeed was that of India in mid 1980's. It had started to generate images of a new armaments race in Asia. It is barbering to recall that the military build-up that started with Iran's arms acquisitions in the yearly 1970's had led to a chain reaction and finally, wars in the Persian Gulf region caused the economic difficulties in many Asian countries. There is likely to be apparent paradox in the military situation in the future. Defense spending will fall because of the financial difficulties in many states. Economic problems could lead to political turmoil, and this may increase the military role in domestic situation.

The important issue is not merely the level of defense; it is also related to expenditure and arms acquisition, but also the politico strategic doctrines for the employment of military power. The countries of Asia, as a general trend are not formally articulating their strategic doctrines. This generates uncertainties and creates problems in making assessment. The shift towards higher technology weapons and equipment especially

reliance on long range strike would tend to push strategic doctrines towards on offensive orientation. So the reduction of arms and equipment in industrial countries has serious impact on defense industries. It is increasing as a budgetary deficit with drastic reduction of arms in post II World War scenario. In Asia, basic costs of manpower, infrastructure and production are low.

Russia has self-sufficient defense industrial system, from early 1980's a qualitative jump in technology commenced, imposing a dynamics on the industry applicable in the west by 1992, it employed nearly 4 million people in 2000 production and 600 research design centers. Russian defense industry could not sustain itself from crossroads of collapse or revival. It cannot provide financial support without collaborative programs and co-production arrangements. National power depends on large measure upon economic productivity and military power depends upon economic strength. Paul Kennedy viewed that wealth is usually needed to underpin military power and usually needed to acquire and protect wealth. The history of the rise and fall of leading countries in the great power systems since the advancement of Western Europe in the sixteenth century shows a very significant correlation other the longer term between productive and revenue raising capacities on the one hand, and military strength, on the other, the geopolitics of globalization (Ray, 2005: 41).

### **3.7 Changing Geopolitical Realities of the World**

Changing in the sky of international arena of politics has brought a number of quantitative and qualitative issues. After World War I, the democratization processes had occurred in every individual country which altered the conditions of international relations. The success of Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, the formation of the league of nations in 1919, and the then US president Woodrow Wilson's 14 points out line agenda for the international relations (Scott, 1996: 41). Though the failure of the league of the nation and the rise of fascism and Nazism in Europe and subsequent eruption of the World War II in late 1930's and the process of decolonization and antiapartheid movements, formation of the non-aligned movements of the third world were some of the developments in the process of democratization of world politics. This changing scene of the international politics has had tremendous impact on the domestic politics as well as interstate relations. Diplomacy and the foreign policy are more open and transparent in the national politics. The process of development of governmental organizations (executive, judiciary and parliamentary) play decisive role in making foreign policy.

Another tremendous change visible in transportation and communication converted the world as "global village" and burgeoning social and economic transactions are creating "a world without borders." These technological achievements have had two way effects. The developed nations have contributed in the expansion of the international relations in both fields. The two-way effect in travel and communication increased in bilateral and multilateral connection between the states as well as international organizations. To meet the targeted area, international conferences, summits and meetings in regional level as well as international level have increased remarkably. This has also enhanced the mobility of the financial capital and population. The scientific innovation and transformation make a globalization in the world, such processes made easy the world into global village but also made a global village much complex especially for the poor and uneducated access to become almost impossible.

But the classical or traditionalist approach cannot determine the scientific study at state behaviors. International government could not lead to the balance of powers. UN general assembly and human rights declaration played the vital role for "all states are equal", although the role of UN efficacy was failure to prevent humanitarian crisis. Universal declaration of human rights has created a global level framework for activate political, as well as socio-economic and cultural rights. For national sovereignty, the Westphalia perception challenged the post war global politics. The sovereignty means not just the supreme power over the citizens and unlimited authority in the domestic affairs. The certain obligations and responsibilities are given to the citizen and increasing globalization. The view of nationalism changed as well as national sovereignty.

The nature connecting the world is rapidly changed with worldwide unexpected results. The incident of Sept. 11 changed the whole pattern of world politics. The cases of national or regional actions and decisions of any country could affect the whole world. It draws the attraction of international organization or international community. It would be cross-border problem of a sovereign nation or massive violation of human rights would be concerned worldwide. The powerful national governments and states share the global arena for the definition of interstate relationship as well as the international level which concern foreign policy matters. The rise of geo-economics regionalization and globalization has contested the geopolitics of nation-states and evolved multiple memberships of people in regimes.

The politics of today's world does not concern with traditional geopolitics such as security and military affairs but it is concerned with globalizational issues. Likewise such issues terrorism, drug, human rights, pollution, epidemic, violent, conflicts etc. have no geopolitical borders and are

increasing becoming transnational policy issues. The demand of geopolitical collaboration and co-operation among nations are more relevant and realities. Last fifty years, numerous international, regional, bilateral government and non-governmental organizations have introduced networks in global arena. The growth of numbers of political agencies and organization has led the changes in decision-making structure of world politics. It shows the development of multilateral and multinational policies involving humanitarian agencies. This type of development is connected though the growth of diplomatic relations and the growth of international organization invited to develop responsibility of foreign affairs at domestic level which reflect the global relationship and also formation of foreign policy of a country of domestic problems hardly a country can solve alone. Big or small all nation's are effected with international environment. The core value and norms of contemporary global society of states are national sovereignty, self-determination, national independence, peace and security.

The factor that changes geopolitics is the demographic mobility. There is the growing trend of migration, movement in the world wide by reason of natural disaster, war, civil war, ethnic religious or political persecution, situations where people are forced to flee their homes and countries. At about 17 million people were migrated to pass their lives as refugees. A large number of people moving from developing countries to the industrialized countries, such demographic scenario affect the country's geopolitical factors altering internal social and political equilibrium. Increasing movement of people from one country to another helps to build relations between the states as well as people and contributed in broadening the scopes of the foreign policy issues.

The competitiveness of economic growth is increased in the world as an economic diplomacy. Natural resources are also the country's geo-strategy. The countries, which have enough natural resources, are sufficient to feed their people. Central Asia and Gulf Country's have developed their economic status high. Such and such newly changing scenario of every activity of human beings changed the life style of men and geopolitical concept. With the collapse of USSR, New trio of Asia, the bi-polar world is changed to multi-polar world or uni-polar world. Early years of twentieth century developed new world powers, uneasy balance of power a geopolitical scene changes alliance of those powers that were arranged and rearranged with the shifts of political expediency. It means that the geographical settings cannot be changed as location, shape, size etc. In the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, science and technology cannot change geo-setting and national calamity.

### **South Asia a Geo-political Setting**

Geographers have recognized two forms of regions. One is single feature region; the other is multi-featured or composite region. The multi-featured region is what geographers call the geographical region. The geographical setting is the organization of space, based on both quantitative and qualitative criteria. The various elements are geographers consider the region to be merely device for separating real features. It is a community of physical biotic and societal features that depict, or are functionally associated with man's occupancy on area. Whereas the geo-strategic region is the expression of interrelationship of the large part of the world in terms of location movement, trade orientation and cultural or ideological bonds. The geographical region is a subdivision of geo-strategic region. It expresses the unity of geographical features. Because it is derived directly from geographic regions, this unit can provide a framework from common, political and economic actions. Contiguity of location and complementary of resources are particularly distinguishing marks of geopolitical region. Geopolitical regions are the basis of multiple powers within a geo-strategic region. Viewed in this context of the south Asian region is a composite unit. A broadly accepted view of "region" highlights such factor as geographical contiguity, socio-cultural similarities evolving from shared historical experiences, perception of the regional states as belonging to it

and recognition of such a perception by states outside the region. Even within the limited focus of geographical unity, south Asia has been variously regarded as comprising of different states, some times extending to Afghanistan in the west and Burma in the east. Though they have some common features with other countries of south Asia, Afghanistan and Burma are usually included by most of the accepted classification in west Asia and south East Asia respectively. Geographical compactness and contiguity, added to the common legacy of British rule giving birth to similar political and legal systems and administrative institutions and overlapping of religious and languages cuttings across their respective territorial boundaries, make the core countries of south Asia undistinguishable from each other.

In geographic terms, south Asia is used in relation to the continent of Asia, one look at the map of Asia would make it obvious that, with reference. As see the Asilan contental mass, the horizontal (imaginary) line which could define Asia into North and South would ran roughly along the 40 degrees northern latitude, this would therefore roughly denote South Asia as the continental Asian region extending from Istanbul (Turkey) and Beijing in the North, from Suez Canal in the west, to Tokyo in the east.

East Tokyo

North Beijing

West Suez Canal

South Turkey

- (1) Civilization differentiation
- (2) Geographical compactness

It can be identified with civilization of differentiation in the region, conceptually this classification of south Asia also brings into focus many geopolitical communities and issues generic to the region so defined. It is, therefore, essential that south Asia be so defined i.e., the region roughly composed of areas encompassed between Japan, Turkey, the Maldives/Laos and the Indonesian archipelago. On this basis we may regard the south Asian region as comprising of the states of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal and Maldives. However, these nations come together and South Asian regional co-operation was proposed in 1980 by the then president of Bangladesh Ziaur Rahman.



Thus countries have generally similar processes of historical evolution for example, colonialism. Colonialism gripped India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives but left Nepal and Bhutan formally annexed, however, these Himalayan Kingdoms could not escape most of the undesirable influences and implications of colonial rule. The most indicating factor is that the region is always in isolation there is absence of activities among neighbouring countries. The economy of each dependent territory and their polity were in extricable link to the metropolitan political economy in the west. The new elites were more familiar with language and culture of the "mother country" as well as its political institutions. As a result, it is a real need to identity regional development and extent of social and cultural interaction from inwards. Cohen has rightly pointed out that "so long as south Asia remains politically divided, geographical unity remains a goal not a reality."

The understandings of South Asian System revolve around the following tenets: a compact area of geographically proximate states, sharing common bonds of history, culture etc. South Asian minus India has two types of powers. Pakistan in this region can limit Indian aspirations though Pakistan's own limitations come from its geographic location and economic military development. Economically and militarily, it has not been able to out run India. With the help of other countries it has been able to check Indian aspirations, given such limitations Pakistan plays the role of a major partner for India in South Asia. On the other hand countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives are of course small powers in size but do have their own significance. These small countries have not much value to the core states except they have a bargaining power in time of crisis. These small countries could not develop their economy properly in South Asian region which has two major grounds for their identification. First geographical entity, limited to the sub continent of India and even the Maldives islands and Sri Lanka to the south Asian state system, on the other hand, a common civilizational heritage, ethnicity, religious and linguistic and common level of interaction bound them. Secondly, these states, in the past had undergone colonial experience or the British Raj, directly or indirectly, and it provided another common heritage. The British had geo-strategic imperative of Indian defense in the whole subcontinent of South Asia and extended its environs to Tibet and Afghanistan involving command of the Indian Ocean. Recently Afghanistan had acquired the membership of SAARC and China is selected as an observer country. Among the eight countries of the region, three shares borders with Afghanistan and India. India, on the other hand, has borders with five South Asian States- Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. They have strong cultural and same democratic political linkages.

A clear implication of this Indo-centric nature of South Asia is that the issues at the regional level are mainly bilateral and related to India only, at the bilateral level Indo-Pak relation have undergone three major armed conflicts. The burning issue of nuclear arms race at regional level has worsen the situation. India has lunched the IPI projects, gas pipeline from Iran via Afghanistan Pakistan to India. As the relation of India with its neighbours is almost irritating. There is always boarder settlement issue between India and Nepal, India and Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka. Some other regional problems like Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. Problems of trade, problem of Transit Rivers, water distribution, Dam and Bridges building may be cited as examples. Therefore any body who wants to know about this region know easily problems (Khatri, 1996: 56).

The concept peripheralization suggests that in south Asian region did not join equal status with partners lack of sufficient resources. Spiegel described "organizational back ground or activity among a group of states which produces a central focus of international politics in that region which applicable in only a limited sense. So it discusses the south Asian states quantity and quality" (Khatri, 1996: 56).

As a giant plateau China is also linked to this area. Core country has the desire to include China and Afghanistan in this region. Pakistan is also invited to participate in South West Asia and Central Asia. The region in fact is a set for the strategy of political and cultural unity. SAARC nations' meeting of 2005 held in Pakistan granted a proposal to grant Afghanistan for membership and China as an observer country.

### **3.7.1 Peripheral Location of South Asian Politics determining Policies**

The volume is concerned to the conceptual level of international system is influenced by regional sub system. There is systematic influence of regional subsystem and systematic influenced of USA and European organizations. In the sub system, China is also on the South Asian periphery. The South Asian blocks want Afghanistan and China enter the scenario China and Afghanistan also dwelt in this plateau. The

land of Indian sub continent the China was peripherally a part of South Asia. It is also concerned with the manner in which the South Asian States have invited external powers for to military assistance as well as economic and political assistance. The geographic and cultural boundaries of the South Asian region have traditionally been looked as a unified entity. As the power balance in bilateral conflict of South Asian region China entry to regarded very important. South Asian region is militarily indo-centric in character. India seeks to regionalize security within a sub-continental framework.

South Asia definitely constitutes a system. Nations are drawn into mutual relationships by geographical proximity, shared problems, and even mutual hostility, and south Asia has all of these in abundance. South Asian subsystem is highly unbalanced in its internal situation as its two major members are in dangerous relationship. Pakistan is neither strong enough to assert itself effectively against India nor is it so weak that it can readily acquiesce in subordinate position like other neighbours. The model is much more similar to that of France and Germany than the United States and Canada, or Malaysia and Indonesia (Kodikara, 1993: 1).

It is suggested that South Asia's problem in particularly India and Pakistan, Hindu Muslim antagonism, brutal communal violence marked the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 and the historic rivalry of Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka, resulting civil war for many years. There is no doubt that Pakistan frequently gets arms from USA with militarily powerful to compete with India, USA made a front line with Pakistan when Soviet occupied Afghanistan. In the same way Soviet assisted arms to India, fuelled the arms race between India and Pakistan. Pakistan still lives with the US bilateral deference argument of 1959 and similarly India linked with Russia by the treaty of 1971.

Leo Rose in his writing *Impact of Sino-Soviet* (Rose, 1973: 36) US normalization and south Asian on" points out the changes in soviet foreign policy since Gorbachov and its impact on south Asia. Jayawardane believes that in the changed international context south Asia's relations with extra regional powers have undergone a significant metamorphosis. Unfortunately India and Pakistan are still far away from bilateral relationship. In recent time, India wants oil pipeline from Iran through Pakistan. Pakistan did not accept the proposal. But the reciprocity in Jammu and Kashmir war. India is becoming strong military power China also competing as the super power of this region. Both neighbor's competition fought war in Jammu and Kashmir brings question to the south Asian sub continent as dominated by two core contenders. Both competing with nuclear weapons one other, with

strong capability. So these two nations are regional big powers. SAARC, the South Asian Association for regional cooperation has been established in the year 1985 but this association could not succeed because the decisions are not implemented truly. Not only India and Pakistan but also all south Asian nations have interregional ethnic and religious rivalries and terrorism wide spread all over the region. Even though it effected all over the world. In fact, the politics of intra regional sub system is the bases of international relations depend on its behavior. Waltez presented in his path finding study "man, the state and war, human behavior was no doubt important as a component of state interaction (first-image), and the internal structure and processes of states did affect their foreign policies (second image) the state interaction and their conflict behavior in a situation of international anarchy where 'every body' strategy depends on every one else's (third mage)" (Rose, 1973: 13).

At the policy formation, Waltz explained without the first and second images there can be no knowledge of the forces that determine policy". Within the framework of analysis there as constant rise of ethnic nationalism, challenges to the authority of the nation state, religious fundamentalism, the upsurge of terrorism as an phenomena, the spread of insurgency and guerilla war, the increasing incidence of intervention of states in the internal affairs of others. John Burton's assertion that the international conflicts must be understood in terms of the 'spillover of domestic politics into the international system or every body's strategy depends on everyone else's strategy. Many interstate conflicts in the present international system have originated in internal conflicts, as ethnic religious, ideological, and economic conflicts. In many cases, there are many issues in the interstate conflicts not only Pakistan and India but also in other South Asian nations such as: Nepal and India, Bhutan and Nepal, Bangladesh and India, Sri Lanka and India etc. have been identified. Both core and peripheral members of this region both national and international systems are likely to operate as powerful determinants of foreign policy. Rosenau presents a series of hypotheses of global and regional level of analysis as internal and external determinants factors of foreign policy (Rose, 1973: 16). Geographical setting of south Asia is engaged in different types of problems:

### **3.7.1.1 Geographical Problem**

One of the main problems in south Asia is geographical problem, geographically south Asian countries are far different from each other. Moreover south Asia's location is shatter belts. Nepal and Bhutan both are known as land locked countries, they have to depend on India, and have no alternatives roots because the China is rounded by the Himalaya.

### **3.7.1.2 Political Problem**

The political problem exists not only in Nepal but in all countries of the region. On disputes over border and water, problems blame for each other. Suffering from political instability, conflict between states and inter states always arise in this region. Terrorism, communal violence is also another problem in this area. No state follows good neighbor policy mean's like European Union in this region.

### **3.7.1.3 Social Problem**

South Asia is located with cultural diversity such as Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism. Seldom, the violence of ethnicity or communality is raised largely. Languages and ethnicity are other challenges in this area.

### **3.7.1.4 Economic Problem**

Economic problem is a vital problem in south Asia. Due to political instability, domestic conflict and other problems like refugee issues, trade and transit issues, border issues, water disputes, there is often open and close border systems as one of the main reasons for economic slow growth.

## **3.8 Media and Geopolitics**

In view of geopolitical shortcomings in news reporting and commentaries as mentioned above, certain principles and techniques may be formulated to relate the media and geopolitics.

### **3.8.1 Develop a Geopolitical Prospective**

One should keep in mind the wide divergence in geopolitical quality of the news, maps and commentaries presented for public consumption. Very important is the recognition of the fact that the geopolitical significance is attached to a press dispatch, editorial or news commentary and it usually depends upon the mind of geopolitical thinking we ourselves are prepared to do rather than upon the actual geopolitical

content of the material presented. The most significant contribution of the journal on geopolitics lies in the numerous geopolitical implications of articles rather than the expressions and interpretation of places and events reported upon.

Moreover, a correct perspective of world events consists in proper combination of significance of time and space relationship of events. Historic events are rooted in the past environments; whereas current events are rooted in the present day environments. The readers who would discern, the geopolitical implications of a current events related articles or news reports. It must be ready to reflect on certain fundamental geopolitical concepts and principles. Such articles will be aware of the fact that most current events do not "just happen" but are related to a definite geopolitical region. It follows, that the full significance of an event whether historic or present can be appreciated only if we perceive the total regional picture in which the event has taken place. We understand about the ecological principles of man environment relationship to analyze and evaluate such relationship. The new dynamic concept of geopolitics is the only one worth considering in studying the affairs of mankind. It brings our historic and contemporary characters of institutions, and events "down to earth". It shows how the significance of an event will differ geopolitically as to space, place or position in each stage of historical development.

### **3.8.2 Knowledge of Geopolitics**

A geopolitical perspective of world affairs presupposes, first of all, a familiarity with the world itself, a space relationship, a consciousness of its places and peoples. Knowledge of world facts such as the location of countries and their population is not geopolitical intelligence. Many people think that one cannot form any geopolitical concept of currents affairs or have a clear understanding of world problems without such basic knowledge. Despite the fact that Yugoslavia occupies one of the most critical geopolitical and controversial diplomatic relationship to the then Soviet Union and the United States.

The mere knowledge of the population figure of a country does not in itself constitute geopolitical intelligence, but the lack of such does mean that a person cannot speak intelligently of the nation's problems like that of social and economic effects of population growth. Once the basis facts of the world are known, the next step is to see how such facts are related physical and human relationship. Since the best medium for expressing the role that space relationship plays current event as well to focus attention on such news articles and TV

programs that provide a cartographic frame work of the story setting. Most of the best known news analysts on TV have the habit of using a map largely as an atmospheric prop for screen black ground, as any wall or stage fixture.

Even the weather man, whose program is ideally suited for dramatizing with the aid of a map, the basic principles underlying weather making and whether changing conditions from one day to the next. Its uses up most of exact temperature and precipitation data for dozens of map stations throughout the country. Although complete meteorological explanations for the weather of yesterday and the weather fore cast for tomorrow. A serial program could be arranged where by weather creating phenomenon or a weather forecasting principle could be illustrated with the aid of diagrams, charts phenomenon. Pakistan TV channel broadcasts regular program about the geography under the channel 'geo'. In Pakistan they opened a geo office with its logo means in Urdu "Let Live" describing the Himal Journal 6 June 2005, the article written by Sonya Fateh (Fatah, 2005: 45). Sometimes geo-politics column is also published in papers of Nepal daily.

### **3.9 Relevance of Geopolitics to Nepalese Foreign Policy**

Geopolitics is relevant in Nepali context. The factors of geopolitics are the factors of the foundations of foreign policy. Foreign policies depend on geographical roots to relate each other states. Now a days the state foreign policies constituted in the constitution of a country as directive principles whether the country has the system of democracy or communism. The word geo represented human kind's terrestrial home in all variety and polis- was the control and organization of it by human kinds.

So that, the geopolitics is rounding with human nature and activity. David Living Stone considered geopolitics is the natural phenomena keeping nature and culture under the explanatory umbrella. Stepher Hall described the conceptual link between scientific knowledge and social world view was the mixture reflected in the work of Kjellen. As the result geopolitics means a way out of the application of scientific principles to politics. Ratzel's understanding and explanation of human activity was more effective. The word geopolitics, coined by two author's Ratzel and Kjellen. Political science and earth science meet in geopolitics and new light on which it sheds has been one of the factors its legitimacy. It plays significant role in the global and regional contest. The thinking of geopolitics of past was limited but now a days it is spreading out in whole world. It

has been observed that the world's geopolitical surface is different shapes and sizes. Its importance is same although the country is small or large and landlocked.

For a small country like Nepal, foreign policies depend on territorial size, location. Their landlocked positions depend on economic development with India and China. As Diba Upadesh by late King Prithvinarayan Shah "A yam between two builders" this was the real scenario of Nepal's foreign policy taught by the history. This is the year of Nuclear power and technologies, globalization although nobody can forget the importance and most relevancy of geopolitics. As like as Nepal Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, Zimbabwe which are geographically locked. So the relevancy of geopolitics in the foreign policy of a country is strongly still considered.

### **3.10 Geopolitics of Nepal and its Neighbours**

The country's geographical location, size, population, cultures and religions, its economic strength, vital resources etc. are the major determining factors in defining the geopolitics of the country as well as these are the factors in formulating the geo-strategy for survival and defense.

Geopolitically Nepal is a landlocked country. Internationally landlocked states depend on the basis of international law has easier sea routes for transportation and economic development. In Europe, landlocked states have developed access to the sea ports through neighboring coastal states through navigable rivers or joint transportation systems. In Africa and Asia however the landlocked states are economically poor, politically new and lack of developed transport system. Only few states have alternative routes from the sea. It realized that the more coastal neighbors and the landlocked states have wider would be its choice of routes but in the practice the situation is different from as the most of the landlocked states rely on only one neighbor for transit routes because of political and geographical factors.

Geopolitically, Nepal always seeks help from its neighbors whose seaport have nearer, so as to save the cost of transport. Nepal wants friendly ties with India such as a transit state for opening sea routes. Nepal fails one neighbor policy because it has different location shape and size than other European States.



Nepal is locked by both neighbors China and India. China has not potential transit and trade routes near Kathmandu, it is more than 5000 k.m. away from Nepal. But India (Calcutta) is approximately 575 k.m. Near from Nepalese border. It is the problem of geopolitical factors, the distance nature of the tension between the economic and landlocked state have the core area on its neighbors or between its core and good sea port. Being a hilly nation, the Tribhuvan High Way cannot passes heavy transport, as the roads are narrow. But now a day's Nepalese east west high way connect with Indian border area. Historically Nepal is suffered with trade and transit routes. Landlocked and weak states cannot safe its systems challenge. The neighbor's policy always threatened the whole system. It is saying that no nation can interfere any other. But in practice it is vain. Economic blocked destroy the whole system. For example some years ago India blocked the border area the Panchayat system was end only fourteen days movement

Because of the landlockedness Nepal is facing like Mongolia, Botswana, Lesotho and Malawi problems. Because of the open border always India encroached Nepal's land. Nepal feels friendship but India always cheated Nepal. The lack sea routes, poverty, hunger, famine, natural disaster lack of resources, Northern neighbor China is locked by Himalaya. So it cannot overtake Nepal's internal issues.

So the India overtake Nepal each and every times. But the history showed the socio-cultural relation between two. Nepalese say "We are sovereign status but whereis sovereign state?"

In recent year India China compete for economic growth, nuclear development but Nepal cannot escape from this situation. American stand also effect the India China policy in this region. Most of the landlocked states are in Africa, Asia and in South Africa. Five states are from Asia-Afghanistan, Bhutan, Laos, Mongolia and Nepal which have lowest per capita income. The lack of territorial access to the sea compounded by remoteness and isolation from world markets appear to be an important cause of their relative poverty and constitutes a major obstacle to their development. In this way Nepal built its foreign policies as a geographical setting of land, size topography, geo-settings river systems, strategic problems and economic problems. It means geopolitics is the influence of geographical factors over the foreign and other policies. Based on geopolitical realities, Nepal's foreign policy depends on protection of national interests by cultivating good will and cordiality among the neighbors.

Because of this Nepal always high sounded the cordial relationship with its neighbors and deals as a neutral or non-aligned country. Geopolitical situation of Nepal is unending element of Nepali horizon.

### **3.11 Analyzing Geopolitics in Broader Perspective**

In practical term geopolitics must be as old as the quest for territory and security, as old as diplomacy, strategy, envy and fear. The term Geopolitics was coined in the late nineteenth century, from the outset it attracted considerable points. After World War I in Germany geopolitics became very popular in making National policy and it was used for planning of the policy of territorial expansion and justification of Nazi claims to a position of dominance in Europe. As the result of this end of World War II German Geopolitics was backed with Nazism ideological baggage.

Geopolitics plays very significant role in the global context. The intellectual climate of the present day in which global issues have come to the fore and the global dimension is seen as being essential factors. It made possible and necessary to conceive of a geopolitics which is directed towards the interests of the world as a whole. The thinking of geopolitics of the past was limited but now a days it was world wide spread out. It was observed that the world's geopolitical surface is different shapes and size's. It is varied enormously both large and small or land-locked all the people exist or have existed in geographical space and represented aspirations to fulfillment have frequently grouped together with particular areas. In the days of global world there have been two types of behavior appeared of the states- the conflictual and the associative. The interstate relations and cooperative feelings made the end of conflict.

For the developing country's policy makers, scholars, and of course the general public, understanding its relationship to the globalization process is certainly of elemental importance to day.

The changing scene wars seen since the collapse of bi-polar world in 1985 when the Soviet Russia disintegrated into fifteen republic states the world changed as American leadership as unipolar world. The American leading world driving the New trends in Arab world. Although the regional organizations are functioning their works. The looking view of American grand strategy is different. As the saying geo-strategically least developed country like Nepal the looking view of super power is differed. As the regional super power India and China's attitude is different. India interferes Nepal

and China cannot. India and China both Nation compete Nuclear energy and economic progress. Geopolitically Nepal wants balanced foreign policy. Nepal's geo setting creates the balanced foreign policy for its immediate neighbours.

Nepal is facing a serious crisis after the war with the British-Indian regime in 1814-16. After the Sugauli treaty India always encroached the land. Geopolitics is a study of the relationship between geographical factors and the politics of states and nations and their interactions with the neighboring countries and international community. The geographical as well as physical features exert impact on relations between the nations. It is focus about the geographical features was more on mountains and oceans and its impact on international politics as well as interstates relations. Geopolitics indicates and links causal relationships between political power and geographic space.

The change of global situation especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the rise of the United States as a sole superpower and the event of September 11 not only influence the geopolitical definition and scopes on individual nation but it has tremendous implications in the global politics as well. The modern technologies in the area of transportation and communication system have brought a revolution in connecting people and the nations, together. Such a development has incredible impacts and changes in defining the traditional forms of interstates relations. It also made easier for the people to move around and communicate each other.

For a small state like Nepal foreign policies role in the international politics is limited, by a numbers of factors. The most limiting factors are the location, level of economic development and territorial size. In a real term the strategical points based on the more importance of land power and sea in the world history. The geography have some strong concerns like geopolitical correlates of power in world politics, the identification of international core, periphery and semi periphery areas relationships between Naval and terrestrial capabilities.

As the currently issues economic globalization increasing inter-dependency, introduction of international laws on various issues, formation of international organizations like United Nations, World Trade Organization, evolution of international regimes such as Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Atomic Energy Agency, Environment Protection Acts, Crime Prevention Regimes etc. The tradition roles of the geographical factor described by various writers in determining a country's position in international arena have slowly declined but the relevance of geography even it has not disappeared completely. Being a small country like Nepal's role of international politics limited because the level of economic

development, territorial size. The freedom of choice and external relations of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) are similarly dependent geographical location. Such as Nepal mainly economic dependence with India and has landlocked position limit the freedom of foreign policy. So that as being of two giants as depicted by King Prithvinarayan Shah as "Yam between two giants" historically signaled its foreign policy. Those landlocked Nations always depend mercy of big giants. Nepal had adopted foreign policy to protect itself by aligning with either of two of its neighbors. The technological innovation changes in the global system but the gap between the powerful and weak, wealthy and poor and big or small has still been widening. The third worlds are seeking their subordinate position within the world.

Again the fearful progress in technology transport and communication growing international, regional organizations provided greater scopes not only big and developed nations but also economically weak underdeveloped and land locked country like Nepal to expand its roles. As the case of Nepal, it has been taking comparatively active and assertive foreign policy. One of the strong reasons of its activeness lies in its early gaining membership of different international and regional organizations.

The active participation on BIMSTC and SAARC was also the result of its successful foreign relations with member states of the SAARC. American, European organizations are active to built peaceful relations and renaissance of Nepal to establish Human Rights and Civilian Rights. As the method of cooperation should be followed in the spirit of unity, cooperation, equality, mutual benefit and mutual assistance by giving priority to the special difficulties of the least developed countries.

The situation of Nepal's domestic environment needs to settle the peaceful circumstances and to make new constitution. Lack of the constitution Nepal's peace process will not be established.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### GEOPOLITICS AND NEPALESE FOREIGN POLICY

#### 4.1 Foundation of Foreign Policy

Geopolitics is the study of analyses geography history and social science with reference to spatial politics and patterns at various level's domestic to international levels. It examines the political, economic and strategic significance of geography that determined the foreign policy. Traditionally by the geo-setting, it was considered, the factors of geopolitics are the factors of the foundations of foreign policy. Foreign policies depend on geographical roots to relate each other states. Now a days the state to foreign policies constituted in the constitution of a country as directive principles whether the country has the system of democracy or communism. The etymological derivation of geo-politics is thus the earth and the state, relationship between the two, but its implications range well beyond this. Foreign policies discovering the tactics and clearverness for dealings neighbor's, its surrounded by geopolitical realities. The two factors centripetal and centrifugal, both forces, are quietly involved in country's forces which develops the feeling of regionalism, nationalism internationalism (Manandhar, 1988: 1).

According to the internal centrifugal forces, divisive force such as the flow of trade, people, ideas are very important in the political organizations of a territory. According to Deutsch one of the informalities found in the growth of a nation-state is linking with important rivers, towns, trade flow of transport, travel and migration, modern roads, border areas, resources identification of topography, location morale, culture and building hydro power, all of above hinted qualities belongs to geopolitics. Both related with earth and states.

The internal and external geopolitical forces explain and justify the continued existence of a state. The importance of centripetal forces is that a state which does not have a strong reason for being, disintegrate sooner or later. The main problem of every state is to bind together separate and diverse areas into an effective whole. The binding factor could be nationalism, language, internal organization, religion, a homogeneous population, common history, sharing of economic interests, "an idea of the state" common cultural heritage. Every state has disintegrating factors like regionalism diverse ethnic groups, diverse languages, divergent economic interests, physical barriers or human barriers. The survival from the disintegration of a country will depend upon dialectics of forces for disintegrating, integrating and which proves stronger each and every state have its own problems not as all equals.

The nature of specific development variables in particular locations, geographies of development, should consider relationship between people, environment and places from different scales range the micro level (Potter (eds.), 1999: 185). Another most important fundamental factor is water resource for human existence and economic development. The dawn of civilization emerged in arid areas where people were able to create gardens from the desert by intricate irrigation systems industrialization was heralded only a few hundred years ago. We could hear the noise of a myriad of water driven mechanical hammers reverberated through European forests. The above point indicates that water resource is very important factor for human civilization. It is noted that natural resources create relationship with human activities. The relationship ranges from micro-level such as the individual or the house hold, through the local community level to the regional, national, international and ultimately to the global level. These relationships are however, by no means static. On the contrary, the nature and relative significance of these relationships are changing constantly, both through time and space and are themselves determined to a large extent by complex movements and flows of people, commodities, finance, ideas and information.

It was notified that the issue of geopolitics is also the issue of foreign policy. For example geo+polis = earth and activities of human kinds are called Geopolitics' which in fact produces the foreign policy. The foreign policy pursued by any state is to a great extent's determined by the country's geographical location and its spatial relations in the context of the other international system particularly the leading military and economic world powers of a point of time.

All the factors of geopolitics are very important factors of foreign policy of relationship with neighbors and globalization are main resources of foreign policy.

"Who rules East Europe commands the heartland. Who rules the heartland commands the world's island. Who rules the World Island commands the world" (Potter (eds.), 1999: 185). Mackinder's original model is a very broad conception of world history. The theory of Heartland is a reality of feelings of nation. Therefore the Heartland rim land concept became an ideological tool for US foreign policy makers. It continues to form debate on foreign policy. It relates to the fact that provided a simple spatial structure that precisely suited the needs of US foreign policy after 1945. This policy conceptualizes the new situation in post cold war scenario. This theory was not only Heart land Europe but the principle key to the achievement of world power. Like heart land thought the beginning of twentieth century Russian empire commanded a large part of the Far East, Central Asia and China. Geopolitically it was seen a big land power and sea power.

Henry Kissinger was assistant for national security affairs to America from 1969 to 1975, and secretary of state from 1973 to 1977; he used the term geopolitics in order to emphasize the growing diversity of the political world. What he considered to be the unrealistic approach of all American foreign policy is the light of the super power confrontation. American foreign policy is idealist and human rights and democracy are at the core of it (Aryal, 2011: 7). Indeed Regan administration explicitly cited Mackinder's theory as the basis of its geopolitical strategy.

The above noted points are only examples to relate land and human beings in the world concept or how the geopolitical formation influences the foreign policy of a country. New geopolitics creates an important strategic role to play in the coming years. In this article two closely interconnected topics, of decisive importance to the world future are discussed. The soul of martyr means related to the piece of land and nation.

Walter Scott composed a poem "Patriotism" about the homeland in relation to the role of a martyr:

Breathes there's the man with soul so dead!

Who never to himself hath said!

This is my own my native land.



Whose heart hath never within him

As home his footsteps he hath turned (Scott, 2020 BS: 8).

These lines explain that the home and heart are interconnected each other like geopolitics and foreign policies. It can be analyze the following lines about the feelings "ours instead of "mine" from the heart (Khatri, 2004: 48). "Saying my family, better than my society. Saying my society, better than my village. Saying my village better than district saying my district better than my nation, saying my nation, better than whole world" (Khatri, 2004: 48).

The above hinted lines expressed national feelings of ourselves where we pass our daily life. Then we feel globalization means near to near or the whole world is a family we feel humanity as a friendly way brief quoted from Sanskrit BASU DAIVA KUTUMBAKAM is appropriate whole world is family. Zechariah Chafee, Jr. (1885-1957) professor of law from Harvard university- explained the patriotism as: "You make men love their country by giving them the kind of government and the kind of country that inspire respect and love".

It can account some independent variable which analyse foreign policy plans and behavior which is the determinant factors of geopolitics.

#### **4.1.1 Size**

Size had been considered to be one of the determinants of the foreign policy orientations, planning and activities of nation states. The size of a state's territory, its population means human and non-human resources with which to move toward goals. Of course, size does not co-relate perfectly with resources. In a size there will be resources or less resources of a country, small or big in size, there are qualities or non-qualities citizens' nation's demands for better qualitative citizens. No necessary a nation has a limitation of size. It would be big or small. In a state's size there would be cultured, skilled unskilled population. The size is a liability rather than an asset. In state's size new economic relationship should be encouraged. In other words, diplomatic relations should be wide spread as world politics, and to develop economic status each other. Lesser powers must consider the implications of such interaction for their relationships to the great powers. All small nations wanted the world should be in balance and parallel in making regional and sub-regional organizations (Kenneth & Thomson, 1976: 118).

#### **4.1.2 Geography**

Same can be said about geographic factors as sources of foreign policy. The configuration of land, its fertility and climate, and its location related to other land masses and water ways to mention few of more important geographic factors. Geography limits the people can be self-sufficient. Land locked nations in the tropics and those bordering a super power, for example are likely to be less self-sufficient and to have different perceptions some have access warm-water ports some have temperate zones and those far resumed from any of super powers. Geographic factors can make important inputs to foreign policy. Geographical factors only set national policies, setting of Atlantic and pacific Oceans compelled Americans isolationist foreign politics in the nineteenth century. Like size, geo-setting very slowly. To be sure human intervention occasionally alters geography, for example Suez and Panama canals.

#### **4.1.3 Economic Development**

A country may be large or small in size but is ready to move agricultural and technological industries area which is to intensive investigation as a source of foreign policy plans and behavior. Industrial societies have different needs therefore different links to their environments for their development process. They made different kinds of monetary relations with their trading partners and to procure different kinds of knowledge than to less developed countries. The level of people's skills and a society's human resources both can be determinant foreign operations. Naturally, the third world countries are less able than industrial countries. After, the World War II, some countries in the world rapidly developed their GNP rate for example, Japan and China. But modernization is not a rapid process.

#### **4.1.4 Culture and History**

Country's economic development involves the norms and traditions which underlies the relationships of their common heritage in a community. The importance of culture as a foreign policy input many in Asian and African nation-states were accepted as groups of sub groups in world politics. Information of foreign policy, important societies its degrees of unity support it. The society's communication system has different values some are business oriented societies rely on foreign economic policies: For the achievements of objectives, there are dominant values

religious or military. Similarly every society has mechanism to preserve memories of past commitments and accomplishment. The norms, memories and behavior patterns that constitute people's culture become largely habitual responses to the requirement of every day life. The long-standing social boundaries divide groups and the vast differences show distinction between western and oriental culture.

#### **4.1.5 Great Power Structures**

The most important factor was relationship in any era of history. The capabilities of big states going to unite those relations are called a balance of power system. In the period of cold war, the world was tight bi-polar the world one and two. In 1970's power balance system emerged. Both the great powers make identification of friendly relation with each other. Now days the bi-power system was ended and start uni-power system undertaking the leadership by USA and European Union.

#### **4.1.6 Alliances**

Setting great powers in lesser states are made ally and alliances. It can encompass wide ranges issues, of commitments to future action, and of formal decision-making machinery. Alliances however commonly continuing sources of foreign policy. To be sure alliances promote the state to make independent plans and actions. Foreign Minister of a nation travels annually to participate in the formal deliberation required by treaty arrangements and to otherwise sustain ties with their allies.

#### **4.1.7 Technology**

Technology can be a powerful source of foreign policy. It improves technical know-how activity in all walks of life, technological advances have been a continuing feature of modern times. From military to agricultural machinery produces changes the people' life to invent the technology. The invention of nuclear weapons, development of computer and launching of communication satellites are make equipped for foreign policy.

#### **4.1.8 Social Structure**

The social structure of a society changed the social factors. Internal and external issues play the vital role to make new foreign policy with new challenges. Does the nation efficient to adopt the international winds. Which affect the whole political system and foreign policy. In social structure there needed so many factors for better society. The civilized society changed its people altogether changing its factors. Leadership is also important feature in formulating foreign policy.

#### **4.1.9 Moods of Opinion**

The public's shifting sentiments is equally important set of societal inputs. Public opinion usually follows the policy making process. Type of public sentiment makes the policy for a government. Public sentiment is the most important factor to make decision. The government is active public role is major role in all types of government.

#### **4.1.10 Political Accountability**

The government is responsible to activate the public opinion in foreign affairs. Policy makers also flexible in their responses to situations aboard. There are two types of system open or closed. In closed system the public opinion was also closed. So the politics can be run through public sentiment.

#### **4.1.11 Governmental Structure**

A government can be highly centralized and authoritarian or relatively decentralized and democratic; of course it can lie between the two. Democratic government structure can contribute significant inputs to the contents and quality of foreign policy. There are two types of government one is cabinet system another is presidential systems. These types of government cannot easily be changed but the formation of government is different. Different systems of government activate the foreign policy by the decision of executive, legislative or etc. Democratic government may be less efficient and flexible in foreign policy than their authoritarian counterparts. They are more effective in reaching their goals.

##### **4.1.11.1 Situational Factors**

In formulating foreign policies, a dozen of new formula related to situational factors, day-to-day events are found important. The most recent twist or turn of a conflict among different nations, is related to United Nations aid currency devaluation in Europe, the nationalization of an oil company in the middle east, the release of a proposed arms control agreement and the emergence of wide spread famine in Asia, A revolution in Africa, Moist Conflict in Nepal are such few examples of events related to world politics. Nations have to cope with day-to-day stimuli from their international environment.

Numerous situational factors presented for analysis, categorize situations case-by-case approach. The situation may be of short range, for limited time and place, conflict may be regional or distant. Continuously changing issues should be analyzed as situational environment. Perhaps most frequently issues are diplomatic, economic, cultural and military. The analysis of plan and activities of foreign policy several new developments are seen on the world. Needless to say, this is of course not only the issue but classification scheme has been developed. Other aspects of situations are threatening and giving little time for decision, defined as crisis or non-crisis situation.

Societies of course scan differ greatly, depending on structural variables. Any country of the world can formulate an isolated foreign policy, that is, unaffected from the situation at home and aboard. The example of internal situation is political scandal, an outburst of violence, a crippling strikes, an unexpected result in a local election the cost of living etc.

In a society there can be many changes caused by the top roles, their attitude and behaviors. The role of a leader in the field of international arena and the intellectual personality can influence the planning and execution of foreign policy.

As American foreign policy makers, and writers the following names are very significant. Harry S. Truman, Dwight David Eisenhower, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Lyndon Baines Johnson, Richard Milhous Nixon and Gerald R Ford. Such as Nepalese foreign policy makers and writers are Rishikesh Shah, Yadu Nath Khanal Mangal Siddhi Manandhar, Ram Kumar Dahal, Biswo Pradhan, Ramesh Nath Pandey, Jaya Raj Acharya, Padam Bahadur Khatri. In less developed i.e. the third world countries governmental and non-governmental leaders also play great role in building of foreign policy. Discussions of input interactions help making the foreign policy strong, namely external policies such as decisions, plans, commitments and actions. Such policies and plays are experienced, sorted, evaluated and reconciled by identifiable individuals. Individual's leadership subject expertise, wise

councils; national and international environment heavily affect the foreign policy. Input and output interactions through which policymakers reach collective decisions to explain and transform external behavioral intervention of many internal and external variables.

In formulating and implementing foreign policy a number of intellectuals views are accepted. Both situation, internal and external help to make foreign policy affairs. A number of variables can intervene and reduce the performance of capacity of policy makers.

The foreign policy of a nation is handled quite differently from internal life and external needs. It is acknowledged as complex subject in recent years. Generation to generation analysis as also useful for long time policy, making some are new and some are old policies formulating by the nation. The importance of attached national interest is in the constitution as a national policy. If we analyze the recent years foreign policy is not fixed but changeable due to situational factors.

The professional of Foreign Service cannot play a decisive role in formulating foreign policy because key are generally isolated from the realities of public life in Nepal. As a result the institutional role of the ministry of external affairs in foreign policy matters remain marginalized and such condition, generates deep resentment and skepticism.

## **4.2 Foundation of Nepalese Foreign Policy**

Prithivinarayan Shah described in *Dibya Upadesh* "Nepal is a yam between two boulders". Friendly relations should be maintained with both China and India. Do not engage in offence with them, if it is a must, should be only on a defensive basis. "Foreign policies basically depend on internal conditions and developments. Internal progress is essential if we are to play any effective part in world affairs. It is even more essential, of course, for our own well being" -Prithivinarayan Shah.

Jawahar Lal Nehru expressed that foreign relation, with local independence. "It consists fundamentally and basically of foreign relations that is the test of independence local autonomy." - Jawahar Lal Nehru

FN Northedge expressed his views on foreign policy in this way: "The framing of foreign policy is a necessary part of the modern states. Its arises from the circumstances, firstly, that the state is not an immured island but a member of a society of states participation in which is

inescapable. Secondly, in this society political power is not centralized but distributed among the states in unequal measure. While foreign policy resembles any other state activity, like maintaining educational or medical services or upholding law and order, it differs from these examples in that the state has, if any, only every imperfect control over the world society in which it likes domestic policy according to social control through law, foreign policy is the use of political influence in order to include other states to exercise their law making power in a manner desired by the state concerned". - FN Northedge

FN Northedge further expressed his views on foreign policy, concerning us with it as though we were having that illness- Coronnel Ataturk president of Turkish broadly speaking each and every government determines and develops its process of making foreign policy guide lines and their modus operandi is based on national interests. In the formation of national policy on the domestic front, government takes into consideration various factors and renders a continuous series of related traditions, systems, geopolitical systems social and economic structures and many other variables. While in external front, the foreign policy making process is determined by vortex of conflicting forces that it encounters. -FN Northedge

#### **4.2.1 The Physical Features**

Republic of Nepal is roughly rectangular in shape about 870 KM in length by 130 K.M in width, on an axis running from WNW east. Its total area is about 141180 KM In latitude it ranges from 26.22 to 30.27 N, and in longitude from 80.04 to 88.12 E. In altitude at ranges from about 70 'above sea level it the Terai in the south east, to 8848 meters, at the summit of Mount Everest, 150 KM to the north is the tallest point on the Earth. In brief, the geographical location of Nepal and its physical features are not very conducive to internal or external trade. Topographically Nepal can be divided into seven roughly parallel Zones, from South to North. Toni Hagen has divided the country on the basis of its physical features into seven regions.

- (1) The Terai
- (2) The Churia or Siwalik Hills
- (3) The Mahabharat Range, (some times known as the lesser Himalaya)
- (4) The Mid main land hills

- (5) The main Himalayan range
- (6) The Inner Himalayan
- (7) The Trans Himalayan valleys and hills
- (8) The Tibetan marginal mountains.

In eastern and central Nepal, the Mahabharat range is often bounded to the north by valleys running approximately east and west such as those of the Tamur and Sun Kosi, the Trisuli and the lower Kali Gandaki, the Kathmandu valley forms a similar boundary at the centre. In the far west of Nepal, the northern boundary is generally less clearly marked (Khatri, 2004: 4).

#### **4.2.1.1 The Terai**

It is a narrow tract of Level only 200 meters above sea level, situated between the Indian frontiers and the foothills. This Terai is Nepal's modest share of Ganges plain, nowhere more than 45 k.m. in width to the east of Narayarni River even completely distant about 65 k.m. noted for food production along Indian border.

#### **4.2.1.2 The Churia Siwalik Hills**

It comprises the southern part of mountains of the Himalayan system, the hills rise straight out of the Ganges plain without any foothills. Like the latter the Siwalik zone is characterized outwardly by a marked log back landscape, caused by rock formations. The highest summits of the Siwalik chain rise to about 2000 meters, though on an average they are only about 1500 meters in height. It is however not an entirely independent range. In some areas the Mahabhart chain Swialik zone, in other areas the two ranges are separated by wide valleys, called *Duns*. The biggest dun valleys are Rapti, Chitawan and Dang. The Siwalik zone in parts exhibits a series or sequence of isoclinal chains one behind the other.

#### **4.2.1.3 Mahabharat Range of Hills**

A striking chain of mountains running from west to east across almost the entire country, its summits rising to as much as 3000 meters, it forms a natural barrier or defensive wall towards the south of the Nepal midlands. Its roof is steep and jagged. The weathered forms are created



only by regular erosion, for the Mahabharat lek in general comprises. Only little differentiated and rather uniform crystalline rocks, are granites. The valley floor of the transversal gorges, in which the great Nepalese rivers flow out in to the Ganges plain lie at a elevation of only 200-400 meters above sea level. The Mahabharat area is steep therefore; it is not densely populated area. The settlements grow sparser with increasing altitude and above 2000 meters. In high altitudes only dense woods of oak and Rhododendron are found. At lower altitudes, however, on ridge- depressions and saddles, across which the important trade routes lead into the hinterland, some big towns have been sprawling up. Tansing and Dhankuta, for instance are today important trading places. In earlier times, however, they guarded the entrances to midlands of Nepal. In recent times Narayangarh is the main way to enter Kathmandu and Hetauda is the main way to enter part of Nepal.

#### **4.2.1.4 Mid Land of Nepal**

It is the heart of nation, protected from south by Mahabhart Lek range from north by giants of high Himalayan Mountains. The average breadth is between 60 and 100 km. The midlands are cut into nine Natural divisions by the wide valleys of the large transverse rivers Chamlia, Seti, Karnali, Bheri, Mahakali, Gandaki, Trisuli, Sunkosi, Arun and Tamur.

#### **4.2.1.5 The Himalayas**

This chain of mountains towers up out of the midlands especially in central Nepal. The gorges of the great rivers are among the deepest "Cuttings" in the world. A slight idea of the breadth taking depth that the summits of Annapurna, for example, rising to an altitude of 8078 meters and that of Dhaulagiri with its height of 8712 meters are hardly 35 km. Because the Mountions along the Kali Gandaki river, only 1200 meters above sea level at Dana. The summit of Manasalu is 8125 meters and of Annapurna 2 (7937 meters) lie about the same distance from each other and between them the Marsyandi river has eroded for itself a gorge down an elevation of 1400 meters. These rivers are the sole traffic arteries between the midlands and the inner Himalayans.

#### **4.2.1.6 The Inner Himalayas**

This is the principal chain of soft sediments, the Tibetan marginal mountains. These valleys naturally run from west to east, The Thak Khola region forms an exception, owing its origin to transverse fault through a rift similar from west to east, are called Humla, Mugu, Langn, Thakkhola Navang, Kutang, Kyirong, Rongsher, Khumbu and Karma. These are the real "high mountain valleys" of Nepal surrounded on all sides by ice clad giants, some of glaciers extend right down to the valleys floor. The valley systems of the Inner Himalayas contain villages and towns, some of which are quite big and the maintained by the Tibetan origin.

#### **4.2.1.7 The Tibetan Marginal Mountains**

The southern part of Tibetan plateau is called marginal mountains. It is less high than giant Himalayan range and its summit attains a height of 6000-7000 meters at the most. It is covered by scanty glaciers. Its arid climate is the sores at the foot of the mountains. The few channels fed by the small glaciers have no force to carry away the debris. The latter seems especially thick on account of level of the deposits of the youngest geological ages. Only the Principle Rivers were able to erode cannon like valleys in the area. In this vast area, only the old terraced landscape remains.

Physical features of Nepal shows that it is a mountainous country where transporting goods from one part to another part is difficult, however not uncondusive to trade. Because of the mountains and valleys, it is difficult to build trade routes, especially on the northern border and between mid lands and the inner Himalayans. Besides those mentioned above, another unique feature of Nepal is it's over land routes from Kathmandu to outlying district in the east and west, it goes across the Indian border. But now-a-days the road runs through Mechi to Mahakali called Mahendra Highway. The inside Nepal middle Pahadi Highway also going to build. Nepal depends on India not only for foreign goods but also for internal trade. As for China, the main population centers are far away from Nepal. Thus trade with China has not developed much. This had made Nepal greatly dependent on India. So, Nepal is physically an independent country but heavily dependent on India. It was hinted the word of Prithivinarayan Shah said to be clever, to be active to be stand self-dependent 'both neighbors are clever. The version was better for followed and still it is real. Because the reason of border and making of barrages Nepal sound their voice only the Indian side always denied like the American and Canadian border systems. If we cannot realize the problem we always suffer. We hope India will think reciprocally as the European states but

we think about geopolitically of our nation how we can be safe and preserve ourselves. So, that we prepare our foreign policies on the basis of geopolitical situation as a real politik.

#### **4.2.1.8 Economic Foundation**

Trade and commerce is the lifeline of a state. For the necessities of life and developmental works the imports of goods and services is necessary and export to be augmented considerably. Nepal too is bound by this principle to be a least developed state there was a need to promote its trade outside world. Nepal has to seek trade routes through the territory of Indian due to which a relationship of dependency developed between Nepal and India.

Nepal always channelizes the trade and transit through Indian territory. From time to time there occurs misunderstanding in the friendly relationship. This puts both countries in trouble. The market for Indian goods in Nepal is more than 50%. Import and export of Nepal heavily depend on sea route Calcutta port. Nepal has to please India for trade purpose, Northern border Tibet is far from Kathmandu valley whereas Indian outlet is not only geographically nearer but also historically and culturally. Nepal proposed a trade transit point between China and India. In recent past former king Gynendra proposed Nepal should be a transit point for its development.

It means that developing nations like Nepal always faces strategic problems and economic problems. But the developed nations have been granted special status under international law for the opening the sea routes to serve important water ways for transport economic development.

#### **4.2.2 A Study of the Pillars of American Foreign Policy**

As the study of constitution makers of the world the American written their constitution by their four makers. It is the example for Nepal to count the name of constitution makers. But no names mentioned on the record.

The United States has a variety of foreign policy traditions to draw upon overlap, reinforce, and some times conflict each other. The writer Walter Mead has used the device of identifying these traditions with the names of past leaders as a helpful way to distinguish them. The realists

who prudently pursue national interest are named after Alexander Hamilton, populists, who emphasize self-reliance and frequent use of coercion, he names for new Jackson. He calls "Jeffersonians" those who pursue democracy intensely and aggressively (Quincy Adams's words) going forth in search of monsters to destroy". Finally Wilsonians are the idealists who follow Woodrow Wilson in seeking to make the world safe for democracy. Each approach has its virtues and faults. The "Hamiltonians" are prudent, but their realism lacks a moral appeal to many at home and abroad. The Jacksonians are robust and tough, but lack power and allies. Both the Hamiltonians and Jacksonians deficient in soft power. The Jeffersonians, on the other hand, have plenty of soft power, but not sufficient to achieve main foreign policy goals. The Wilsonians are also long on soft power, but some time idealism leads unrealistic ambitions. It is danger to say that American foreign policy vehicle has often have strong accelerators but with weak brakes and has the danger to go off the road.

Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians tend toward product and conservative foreign policies that do not rock the boat. Wilsonians seek to transform the international situation. In the case of Middle East, for years, the United States followed Hamiltonian policy that sought stability through the support of autocrats but that in the end, did not prevent the rise of radical Islamist ideology and terrorism. Wilsonians use a transformational rather than a conservative or status quo foreign policy. In their view without democratization the Middle East and other regions will continue to be a breeding ground for rogue state and terrorist threats. More discussion have been heard inside the Bush administration over the Iraq war, between traditional Hamiltonian realists (such as secretary of state Colin Powell) and a coalition of Jacksonians (such as vice president Dick Cheney and secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld) plus Neoconservative Wilsonians (such as deputy defense secretary Poul Wolfowitz). The part of the American objectives in going to war was that the administration used different arguments to appeal to different camps. The suggestion of a connection to Al Qaeda and September 11 was important to Jacksonians, the argument that Saddam Hussein was developing war weapons of mass destruction in violation of UN resolutions appealed to Hamiltonians and traditional Wilsonians in congress and to remove a bloody dictator and transform middle east politics was important to the new Wilsonians.

In recent years the Wilsonians have divide into two camps, President Wilson, of course, was a democrat, and traditional Wilsonians continue to stress both the promotion of democracy and the role of international institutions. The neo-conservatives, many of whom split off the Democratic Party, stress the importance of democracy. Wilsonian emphasis on international institutions to focus on democracy. In that sense they

advocate for soft power. Ironically, the neo-conservatives appear on the world stage as imperial power acting unilaterally. A considerable point what they miss is democracy cannot be imposed by force from outside. American people like to maintain power from the American public. This process is the model of world stage. Jacksonians like defense secretary Rumsfeld may support developing international legitimacy and sharing burden with allies and institutions.

They would prefer to punish the dictator and come home engaged in tedious nation building. For example in September 2003, Rumsfeld said about Iraq. I don't believe it's our job to reconstruct the country (Rumsfeld's, 1986: 226), but neo conservatives like deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz has different stand. They understand the importance of soft power but fail to appreciate all its dimension and dynamics.

Soft power grows out of American culture, out of American domestic values and policies and out of their foreign policy. Many of the effects of American culture for better or worse are outside the control of government. Much more can be done to improve American public diplomacy in all dimensions. The impact and success of a new US communication strategy should be measured continuously on country basis. An independent public affairs firm should report weekly on how US messages are received in at least the world's 50 largest countries. It is important that many countries are watching America as guidelines. We know the four pillars of American foreign policy. Different types of administration came and went but the vision of American foreign policy is implemented strongly. The American policy inventors, Jeffersonians, Wilsonians, Hamiltonians and Jacksonians were the pillars of American foreign policy. They made America stronger.

These four pillars of American foreign policy makers are the example of world foreign affairs. On this basis, we have to find out the makers of Nepalese foreign policy. So we have enough knowledge from the above hinted lines to try to make Nepalese procedures. Such persons who have contributed in forming Nepal's foreign policy are to be noted down.

Government comes and went but the American policy remains the same and is followed strongly. No reaction was seen in the foreign policy in the name of national interests. The question is how the newly elected President Barrack Obama and Hillary Clinton (Foreign Minister) will

conduct American foreign policy in time of globalization in the 21 century. In fact, both the American and the European approaches to foreign policy were the products of their own unique circumstances (Kissenger, 1994: 20).

### **4.3 Foreign Policy**

The modern world is a world of nation-states in communication with each other and thanks goes to modern technology. Managing one's relation with other state is a necessary activity of every state. This activity may very generally be called the framing of foreign policy. It arises from two facts of the international situation. Firstly, no state is an immured island but a member of a society of states participating. Secondly, power is decentralized in international society that is, distributed among states on unequal basis.

Every state has a domestic policy and foreign policy. Domestic policy is covered with activities within the nation such as, maintaining law and order, education, security, medical services etc. Foreign policy is as George Modeliski observes "the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. The difference between domestic and foreign policy is clear; while domestic policy exercises social control through law, thanks to the centralization of power in the state apparatus, foreign policy is the management of relation with other states which are only partially under it's control.

Foreign policy begins at home. Domestic support inter alia, is fundamentally a decisive factor for foreign policy. Its requirements create sound and stable political system in the country. For the country's economic development, foreign policy is a solid foundation. So that, geopolitical factors are very important having indelible impact on foreign policy making. The foreign policy encourages the diplomacy. Both are two sides of a coin internally co-related with each other.

### **4.4 Guiding Principles of Nepalese Foreign Policy**

The fundamental objective of Nepal's foreign policy is to enhance the dignity of Nepal in the international area by maintaining the sovereignty, integrity and independence of the country.

The foreign policy of Nepal is guided by its firm faith in the charter of United Nations and policy of nonalignment. The basic principles guiding the foreign policy are as given below:

- (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- (2) Non- interference in each other's internal affairs,
- (3) Respect for mutual equality,
- (4) Non aggression and the peaceful settlement of disputes,
- (5) Co-operation for neutral benefit.

#### **4.4.1 Constitutional Provision on Foreign Policy**

The directive principles and the state policy of the constitution of Nepal (1990) identify the cardinal principles, parameters, and general directions of Nepal's foreign policy. They are:

#### **4.4.2 Directive Principle**

The state in its international relations shall be guided by the principles of the United Nations' charter, the *Panchsheel*, international law and the value of world peace (clause 26.15 changed).

The state shall pursue a policy of making continues efforts to institutionalize peace in Nepal through international recognition by promoting co-operation and cordial relations in the economic, social and other spheres on the basis of equality with neighboring and all countries of the world (clause 26.16 changed).

#### **4.4.3 Key Objective of Nepal's Foreign Policy**

Nepal's foreign policy is guided by some vital objectives. The key objectives that have been the hallmarks of Nepalese foreign policy are protection and preservation of sovereignty, territorial integrity, attainment of social and economic development, welfare of Nepalese people and promotion of international peace and security.

#### 4.4.4 Policy

In accordance with the overriding objectives and the fundamental principles guiding the foreign policy of Nepal has been pursuing a policy of making continuous effects to institutionalize peace by promoting co-operative and good relations in the economic, social and other spheres on the basis of equality with neighboring and all other countries of the world. Being desirous of promoting cordial relations and co-operation with other countries, Nepal has established Diplomatic Relations/with 113 countries in the world. It is an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement; the United Nations (see Nepal and the UN relation). It has specialized Agencies as well as other international organizations and a founding member of the south Asian Association for Regional Co-operation.

Foreign policy is generally explained as the methods followed by the governments' national institutions and expert individuals. It is guided by the geo-political situation, theory of *Panchsheel* and NAM policies. The guiding policies are formed by the constitution as directive principles; actually foreign policy is a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests. Every sovereign nation has its foreign policy based on national interests. It has mainly two policies internal and external which depend with the state activities-economic upliftment, security and well being of the people along with the tasks of preservation and maintenance of the physical integrity of the country, its independence and sovereign status. While domestically it seeks to establish law and order, up-liftment of socio-economic welfare of people. The main purpose of the foreign policy is to establish security, development, to promote national interest.

Nepal's foreign policy is guided by some vital objectives, which have remained immune to the changes. Vital role of key objectives has been mentioned in the constitution. The principles and objectives of the UN charter, the respect for international law, the principle of non-alignment as well as the international law and NAM's policies, principles or peaceful co-existence have been the planks of our policy to pursue these vital objectives. Foreign policy of Nepal is relevant to the will of people and their desires. It is mutual understanding of neighboring countries. Nepal's foreign policy depends on its geo-political structures. For making policy of Nepal, first of all, attention is to be given to the geo-strategies. A well designed foreign policy strategy brightens the prospect of domestic policy. Inter State relations are the responsibility of the discipline of international relations. And this minors the popular view that divides politics into domestic and foreign policy. But the geopolitics, based on



articulating model relations across different geographical proximities, this topological model of the state is the key point for understanding the states. As the simple concept of foreign affairs had no meaning in the chaotic political geography of the fifteenth century. Then it was changed slowly, and the ruler belonged to territory. The treaty of Westphalia in 1648 changed the concept of territorial sovereignty. It reorganized that each state was sovereign in its own territory.

The above hinted outlines are the centrifugal forces as the nation compact inwards and outwards made state-state relationship safe and secure from outwards. The main purpose of Nepalese foreign policy, seeks to be safe and secure by outwards physically, its policies are dependent on the theory "To Live and Let live" Here I discussed the theory of core periphery, semi periphery, this means giving importance to territory.

#### **4.4.5 Pre-Study**

Nepal's foreign relations depend on its dynamic and tactful role with neighboring country. In mid 18<sup>th</sup> century when King Prithivinarayan Shah was ruling Nepal, he described the Kingdom in central Himalayas as "a root between two stones." King Prithivinarayan Shah was a far-sighted king, once he said "among our two huge neighbors the Northern is clever and the southern is too clever we should maintain our policies as a setting of our soils and be careful with both big brothers. As Prithivinarayan Shah's analysis of Nepal's role in the Himalayan area should be accepted past, present and future. In a way after Prithivinarayan, it was King Mahendra who used certain dynamics in Nepal's foreign policy. The then version still sounds in the minds of Nepalese people; this aspect of Nepalese history must be respected honestly. If we take a side with India or China it would be like Tibet and Sikkim. The two big brothers easily conquered these nations. Now a days we can see the Bhutan's geopolitics depends on: Indian Militants and security system or defense-protectorate of India (Chhetri, 1999) foreign policy is a long term plan, drafted by responsible people at the helm of power and their technocrats are considered to be far-sighted. Rishikesh Shah who was a strong nationalist highly argued that- "There seems to have been a prophetic ring about the following words of Sylvain Levi recorded half a century ago when all the countries mentioned unredeemable burdened under the yoke of British imperialism separated from India, they (Nepal, Kashmir and Ceylon) can never be parts of the sub continent and they pursue their destinies by themselves, cut off from their surrounding (Shah, 1977: 2). Quoting Mangal

Siddhi Manandhar's thesis paper MA Lawrence Kansas University America' Shah's above agreement emphasize the sense of nationalism among Nepalese manner which considered the most important factor of geopolitics.

Nepal is not separated from Himalayan sub continent geographically. Geo-politically Nepal is a land locked country. Then main important point of Nepal's existence is its geography. So the frame work provided by Hart thorns articles the functional approach in political geography. Mangal Siddhi Manandhar has quoted theories of Gottman Jones Deutsch (Manandhar, 1988: 3).

Every state, Harthorne holds, possesses regional differences and similarities, differences that tend to disrupt and similarities that tend to bind together. He says that which does not have a strong centripetal force a *raison d'être* (reason for being) will disintegrate sooner or later. The main problem of every state is to bind together less separate and diverse areas into an effective whole. The binding factor could be nationalism, language, internal organization, religion, a homogeneous population, common history sharing economic interests an idea of the state "or common cultural heritage. The binding factors may be found singly or in various combinations, similarly every state has active despite grating factors could be regionalism, diverse ethnic groups, diverse language, divergent economic interests physical barriers, or human barriers". Considering Nepal's geopolitical location between two giant states, India and China, as well as Nepal's historic relationship with Britain and China, will also be considered and analyzed.

According to Mangal Siddhi Manandhar geopolitics is basis of Nepal's existence, like Americans to analyze the various divisive forces at work in small nations like the Nepal as internal centrifugal forces (Manandhar, 1988: 56).

#### **4.4.5.1 Lack of Circulation**

As a Hartshorne indication, a state's most important factor was the contact of communication. Gottman regards circulation as a centripetal force which permits space to be organized. Jones sees circulation or movement, as he prefers to call it, as the link between the idea and the "state", Karl Deutsch recognizes the development of communication grids as one of the most important uniformities found in the growth of nations.

#### 4.4.5.2 Regionalism Vs. Nationalism

Hartshorne states that centrifugal forces are also produced when regions are separated by barriers, or divergence from outside connection, and the diversity of character of population. Nepal is a land of topographical ethnic diversity. People are separated by natural barriers and the divergence by outside connective particularly from Tibet and India. The centrifugal forces typically emphasized by political geography are the physical characteristics of a state's territory. The size and shape of a country is very important, the centripetal forces of Nepal include as like as the physical separation of East West Germany, East West Pakistan and North South Korea.

##### (a) Internal Organization

According to Hartshorne "No state area constituted by the nature of its land and people is a unit for a state in which one merely needs to create a government which shall proceed to operate it as a unit. ..." Every state has to organize its space into a cohesive whole. The viability of a country often depends upon its organization. In case of most developing countries, Nepal is presently developing a new administration organization designed to overcome past weaknesses.

##### (b) Nationalism

Hartshorne regards the best *raison d'être* as being the "idea of the state" itself. It is realized that this idea is often the same as nationalism. A sense of nationalism among the Nepalese is still to be developed. Although it does not provide a sufficiently strong *raison d'être* at present, it is increasing, particularly through conscious efforts of the government.

#### 4.4.5.2 Monarchy

Hartshorne also points out that "Idea of the state" may exist at a primitive level as simply a "loyalty to a personal ruler" i.e. hereditary monarchy. This is true at present for Nepal, but increasingly, people are regarding their country "as representing some thing of value to them."

There are many internal and external centrifugal and centripetal factors which have affected Nepal.

- (i) British recognized Nepal's independence in 1923. This recognition gave a special status to Nepal, separate from the rest of the British ruled Indian subcontinent.

During the British Raj (1858-1947), Nepal sought geo-strategic isolation. This traditional isolation partially was the product of the relative freedom, the country enjoyed from external intervention and domination. From the Mid nineteenth century when Britain emerged as the unchallenged power in India and the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) in China was in decline. Nepal made accommodations with Britain on the best possible terms. Without surrendering autonomy on internal matters, Nepal received guarantee of protection from Britain against external aggression and interference. London also considered a steady flow of the Gorkha recruits from Nepal as vital to support Britain's security in India and its other colonial territories.

A land locked country, Nepal was sandwiched between two giant neighbors- China and India. To the north, the Himalayas constituted a natural and mostly impassible frontier, and beyond that was the border with China. To the south, east, and west, Nepal was hemmed in by India without an outlet to the sea; Nepal was dependant on India for international trade and transit facilities. That is why, Nepal is surrounded from east to West by Indian territory. It is a land locked country. For every subject about foreign affairs we wait for Indian reactions. Even though the case of trade or transit, buying foreign weapons, making barrages, dams, change of Jange pillar, over lapping of Nepalese territory, in each and every aspect, India shows keen interest. Nepal always hopefully articulates a broad transforming bi-lateral vision on co-operation. Geopolitical studies shows the influence of geographical factors over foreign and other policies India will not always be an epicenter for Nepalese events.

#### **4.4.6 Problem and Status**

If anybody can analyze freely the problems of state, too much variations are found, Nepal also has many problems as follows:

##### **4.4.6.1 Strategic Problem**

Geo-politically Nepal is a land locked country. Internationally land locked states on the basis of international law has easier sea roots for transportations and economic development. In Europe land locked states are developed and have access to the sea ports through neighboring

costal states and through navigable rivers or joint transportation systems. In Africa and Asia, however, the land locked states are economically poor, politically new and lack of developed transportation system. Only few states have choice of alternative routes to and from the sea. It seems that the more coastal neighbors a land locked states have the wider would be its choice of routes but in the practice the situation is different from as most of the land locked states rely only one neighbor for transit routes because of political and geographical factors.

Geo-politically Nepal seeks help from its neighbors whose seaports are nearer, so as to save the cost of transport. Nepal wants friendly ties with India such as a transit state for opening sea routes. Nepal falls one neighbor policy because it has different location shape and size than other European states. Another side is India and other north side is China. China has not potential transit and trade route near Kathmandu, it is more than 5000 km. away from Nepal. But India (Calcutta) is approximately 575 km. from nearer Nepalese border, it is the problem of geopolitical factors, the distance nature of the tension between the economic core of land locked state and the core area on its neighbors or between its core and a good sea port. Being a hilly nation the sometimes ago, Tribhuvan highway cannot pass heavy transport, as the roads are narrow. The Tribhuvan highway connects Kathmandu with the Indian border from east to west of Nepal. Now a days the highway runs through east Nepal to west Nepal inn Nepalese land.

Because of its land locked condition, Nepal is facing hardships like Mongolia, Botswana, Lesotho and Malawi, are facing similar problems.

#### **4.4.6.2 Economic Problems**

Most of the land locked countries are in Africa, Asia, and in South Africa. Five countries from Asia, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Laos, Mongolia and Nepal taken together the population is 35.2 million and their average per capita income is lowest in the world. The executive secretary SAMS, Kabira pointed out at the meeting of ESCAP that "Low income and lack of infrastructure are the major added handicaps of the land locked states in their struggle to modernization."

#### **4.4.6.3 A Report by UNCTAD**

Land locked developing countries are generally among the poorest. The lack of territorial access to the sea, compounded by remoteness and isolation from world markets appears to be an important cause of their relative poverty. Their relative poverty is constituted a major obstacle to their

development (UNCTAD, 1992: 200). In this way, we built out foreign policies as a geographical setting of land, size topography, geo-settings river systems strategic problems and economic problems. Our immediate neighbors are well aware of the geopolitical realities, with which Nepal has to survive and maintain a precarious balance between the two nuclear powered neighbors, Nepal has a proud history of neutrality and independence, its independence makes a highly important contribution to peace and stability in the entire region. We maintain good relations as small nations and have moderate voice in international organization (IFAP, 2004: 4).

Based on geopolitical realities, Nepal's foreign policy depends on protection of national interest by cultivating good will and cordiality among the neighbors. Because of this Nepal always high sounded the cordial relationship with its neighbors and deals as a neutral country. Geopolitical situation of Nepal is unending element of Nepalese horizon.

The foreign policy of different countries have been influenced by a number of factors, some permanent of a geographical nature, some emotive and intellectual in the context of historical memories and some rapidly shifting even from year to year during a transition in domestic or external political environment (Damodaran, 2000: 48). The foreign policy of Nepal is different because of formation and foreign policy depends on geopolitical realities. Geopolitics considers the state in its physical setting from the viewpoint of its need in the field of foreign policy. About geopolitical situation Mackinders indicates that "Each country has its own geographical perspective Cohen observes- the essence of geopolitical analysis is the relation of international political power to the geographical setting (Sen, 1978: 18). Geopolitical views vary with changing geographical setting and with man's interpretation of the nature (Sen, 1978: 48).

International relations are interplay of the foreign policies of different countries and foreign policy is also intimately related to geopolitics. The foreign policy of a country is guidelines governing the external relations of an independent state. Fairfield and Percy observe "A boarder interpretation of geopolitical study of the state from the view point of the foreign policy".

National interests must be guided Nepal's foreign policy and should be on the basis of international norms and values. Bhek Bahadur Thapa former foreign minister wishes Nepal to play a significant role in international peace and also wants to be a beneficiary. Yadav Kant Silwal said a "balanced" foreign policy is needed for the new scenario because India and China are the emerging economic powers in Asia. Foreign policy experts commented as well as suggested what leaders role should be play the then king play in this regard "The King should not only win the Nepal council of world

Affairs, Keshav Raj Jha said it was time to take stock of the last 50 years and formulate a road map for the next 50 years regarding the foreign policy. He said if the king's visit succeeds on assessing that role, it would be a milestone in Nepal's history of foreign policy. Foreign affairs expert Hiranyalal Shrestha said home and foreign policies are inter dependent so the major agenda of king Gyanendra's visit should be peace through development.

Pointing out that the Afro-Asian conference and Bao Forum are an opportunity to regain the confidence of the international community, he said "Friendly countries should be made aware of the ground realities at home".

#### **4.4.6.4 Nepalese Authority on Geopolitics**

Geopolitics is ideology in which the feelings of people are expressed in realistic form. In fact realism is more ancient than other ideology. There are many people in the world who wants the future to be different from the past and who fear that unless this is so, fresh wars and disasters, on a more colossal scale, will follow this present one. But those who have power and authority do not appear to be much influenced by these considerations, or are themselves in the grip of forces beyond their control. In Nepal we revert to the old game of power politics on a gigantic scale. An American authority on geopolitics, professor NJ Spykman, has written in a recent book. The statesman who conducts foreign policy can concern himself with values of justice, fairness and tolerance only to the extent that they contribute interfere with the objective power. They can be used instrumentally as moral justification form power quest, but they must be discarded the moment their application brings weakness. The search for power is not made for the achievement of moral values: moral values are used to facilitate the attainment of power. Different nations have continuation of power politics on vast scale, and it is difficult to understand how they can see world peace or co-operation emerging out of it. America is a curious mixture of what is considered to be hard-headed realism and a vague idealism and humanitarianism. The mass of people may think, foreign policy remains a preserve for the experts. In the 21<sup>th</sup> century, the fear of innovations will be go ahead and change the old traditional powers.

As a world concept many nations have many power centres. For example Russia, China South Asia etc. As the ASEAN nations India and China want to stand to be powerful nations. So we should learn the role of Indian foreign policy in this regard.

Nepalese authorities should give aspirations for Nepalese foreign policy but our ambassadors and beurocrats are only nominal. They are only for designation not for sincere at their work. Fewer personalities have seriously contributed. In this context, a poem by William Wordsworth "The River", is relevant to quote here (Worth, 2020 BS: 17):

"The River"

For men may come

For men may go

But I go on forever

These lines talk about the person who contributes to his country becomes a living person even after his death the indication is that personalities like professors, foreign ministers, ambassadors, secretaries so on should contribute to the nation. In Nepalese context there are only countables who have contributed to the nation. Nepali strategic planners have failed to find a way of problem solving activities.

We cannot generalize that politicians and bureaucrats are narrow and selfish people. Some are and some are not, but their behavior in making of foreign policy is better understood or rooted in the nature of complex systems than as rooted in individual qualities and motives. Probably their roles in the policy making process are loyal, intelligent and well intentioned for Nepalese land and resources. Our politicians and Bureaucrats are not committed to the issues of the nation for example India, Nepal border issues like America and Canada. Eminent civil servants, diplomats and analysts, who have not only theoretical knowledge but have direct functional experience of dealing with immediate neighbors (Dixit, 2003: 3).

We have heard the most valuable worldwide philosophy, which Mackinder has invented about the idea of realities, heartland theory in geopolitics. So the Americans who gave priority to the geopolitical strategy in their foreign policy is still famous for more nations' in the constitution. The feeling of Heartland theory important in central Asia, Russia, China, Africa Eastern and Western Nations. I meant to say that the heartland theory is related to certain areas of a nation. It can be regions, borders, rivers, dams, a city, a zone, a belt, a centre of gravity and other resource area. The concept of Heart and Heart land are deeply co-related because the term used the geographical and cultural center of a state, for instance so called Hindi heartland, central Asia, East and West Europe etc. (Dixit, 2003: 3).

"The Native Devotee"

Devotee never ends



When the nation cannot feed  
 The fish never lose its native nest  
 Loss means the end of life  
 So the patriotic heart  
 Never forgets the dwelling place  
 Living shall forfeit fair renown  
 And doubly dying shall go high  
 For his boundless wealth (Khatri, unpublished matter)

If we have the patriotic mind we save our country like "Two gentle men of Verona" written by Yub Raj Singh, prose selection, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 2021, p. 11 Khatri GR written a poem titled "The Native Devotee" expressed the patriotic life is necessary for nation building how the two little boys save their country. Feelings must be shown in action.

Both the theory and practice have recognized the strategic importance of infrastructure in promoting the feelings of geopolitics in foreign policy development. It is now increasingly recognized that geopolitics and foreign policies would have a faster pace of development. The foreign policy relation promotes to fruitful goals of nation's strategies. The concept of responsibility encountered stormy weather in the foreign policy community. In Nepalese foreign policy bureaucracy is most part staffed by individuals who have dedicated themselves to what is in Nepalese society, a rather orthodox career so that they may promulgate and implement their views of a better Nepal (Kissinger, 1994: 718). At the outset, I should state that the creation of suitable forums for learning each other's experiences would be a great advantage. For any developing country's policy users, scholars and, of course, the general public, understanding its relationship to the globalization process is certainly an elemental importance today. Globalization is to make a binding by financial aids.

#### **4.5 Geo-Formation of Foreign Policy in Nepal**

### **Formation of Foreign Policy**

Prithvinarayan Shah managed the fruitful foreign policy without any agencies. After the era of British India Raj Nepal established a Jaisi Kotha and Munshi Khana to conduct the foreign policy of Nepal. The period of Jung Bahadur established six divisions for foreign relations. Nepalese foreign policy is based on geopolitical considerations or geographical settings.

### **Nepalese Geopolitical Consideration**

#### 4.5.1 Nepal's Geopolitical Realities

Founder of Modern Nepal, the great historical figure, king Prithivinarayan Shah unified kingdom of Nepal. Nepalese people respect him from different points of view. Some looked him as a manager of Nepal or some said him far-sighted intelligent hero of Nepal. From security and diplomatic point of view, he had enough thinking about strategy of Nepal. His suggestive view about Nepal as "A yam within two stones". His ideas are collected in the book *Dibya Upadesh* he suggested that Nepal's most formidable problem was in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, and in the preservation of the country's independence in the face of separate threats from northern China and Southern India. Thus present day Nepal perceives its critical geopolitical situation in terms of a long tradition as a buffer state and with some deeply ingrained attitudes toward the policies and tactics required to maintain its political and cultural integrity (Rose, 1971: preface). So that, Nepal should maintain friendly relations with both the giant neighbors to preserve its national independence and security. Even to-day the great king's ideas in *Dibya Upadesh* remain as a guiding principle in formulating the country's geo-strategy for an active foreign policy. It was the 1<sup>st</sup> shah king's dictum interpreted as a defensive strategy. It still remains the point of reference for the foreign policy makers. Because of Nepal's preoccupation with mere survival, its foreign policy inevitably has psychological orientation different from that of larger states, inevitably has a psychological orientation quite different from that of larger states. Including India and China, whose physical attributes are in them a fairly reliable guarantee of security. King Prithivinarayan Shah's analysis of Nepal's role in the Himalayan area and his selections of tactics can be attributed to the paucity of alternative policies for a country in Nepal's position. Nepal has remarkably broad consensus on foreign policy during most of the modern period; it was not only on broader objectives but also on tactics. Nepal, therefore, provides a useful case study of the processes and styles with which a small state in a difficult geopolitical situation confronts and confounds the industrialist and directive policies of the major powers (Rose, 1971: preface).

The geographical location of Nepal and its physical features too are not very conducive to internal or external trade. Swiss geologist Toni Hagen has divided the country into seven regions on the basis of its physical features (Indu, 2001: 10). It plays important role in determining its foreign policy as well as gives milieu for its responsibility in international politics.

The discussion about Nepal's geopolitical realities, the geopolitical settings cannot be changed. It is always the same. So in making policies one has to look the geographical differentiated Nepal, a land locked country its physical facilities divided into seven reasons. The situational changing is possible but the geographical setting cannot be changed it is always the same. Geographically Nepal's foreign policy is determined by the basis of geo settings. To conduct the nation's transportation or trade policy has necessary to make transit point it affected Nepal's security. Since the external environment is not constant and keeps changing and it always affected the country's policy.

In the post world war era, many nations strive to act in international policies collectively to get their voice and visibility needed in policy making. Their joint efforts to secure equal membership states and voting rights in the UN General assembly, world trade organization and many other international and regional forms, some of remarkable achievements in favor of small land locked and least developed countries. The discussing point about the geo-strategy of our country, the normalization of Sino-India relations need to be considered. The reciprocal relationship is needed between the two countries. The growing bilateral trade investments, science and technology and common sharing on international issues would have implications on Nepal's foreign policy setting.

The issues of foreign policy and geopolitical factors have been playing a vital role in Nepal's domestic politics too. Due to its geographical location Nepal cannot stand on side support. So it would look both sides China and India later. King Gyanendra in his short rule announced to develop trade system to make Nepal a transit point or meeting point of two nations. The transit point policy is very useful for a country like Nepal. However, during its last 236 years of modern history, Nepal attempted to challenge its geopolitical dictate from time to time. Many time in the history, Nepal tried to counteract unwarranted obstructions posed by the surrounding environment especially after the 1950's to its foreign policy goals. It has been vigorously pursuing high degree of interactions with the global forces. Before 1951, Nepal had diplomatic relations with only five countries. At present, the number has grown to 113, with permanent diplomatic mission in 22 countries (British Government, 2005: 78).

The expansion of Nepal's role in the international arena could also be viewed in the economic front. The foreign debts, aids as well as grants in the last fifty years have been dramatically increased. As Madan Dahal states that since the first five years plan Nepal received \$ 2.4 billion by the last decade it is a huge amount of a small country like Nepal. The strategic motive of big powers is rather expanding than the production structure of Nepalese economy to support a cohesive welfare state.

#### **4.5.2 Prithivinarayan Shah**

During the era of king Prithivinarayan Shah, Nepal managed to carry on a dynamic and fruitful foreign policy without the aid of either national Security Council within the government or planning divisions within the foreign office (Damodaran, 2000: 188). Foreign policy however, is only the content, the substance, and the form, the organic shape visible to the world out side and not merely the trivial trafficking of the cocktail parties and large conferences that represent diplomacy. The finest foreign policies can be eroded both from outside and inside. YN Khanal once wrote, "If a diplomat is an engineer, a foreign minister is an architect."

For the formation of foreign policy: geopolitics is the major part, it is concerned with the recent past and also with the present and the future. The geopolitician can evaluate future geopolitical trends and indicate what policy or policies a particular nation or region or the world as a whole should pursue for its safety and welfare (Sen, 1975: 2). The geopolitical situation vindicated Mackinder's statement "Each country has had its own geographical perspective Cohen observes." The essence of geopolitical analysis is the relation of International political power to the geographical setting. As international relations are nothing but the inter play of the foreign policies of different countries, foreign policy is also intimately related to geopolitics (Sen, 1975: 18). In this context, Fifield and Percy observe "Geopolitics considers the state in its physical setting from the view point of its need in the field of foreign policy (Sen, 1975: 19). In a geopolitical analysis it has different attitude from one geopolitician to another geopolitician. The geopolitician who favors peace and one who favors war and territorial expansion will interpret and assess the same situation in entirely different ways. Each and every person has higher own thought because it depends on implementation it would be watched by the people and how much liked it. They serve their respective outlooks and interests.

It is already discussed about King Prithivinarayan Shah as the founder of Nepalese foreign policy. He had sharp outlooks about Nepal, its geopolitics and history. It is a known fact that analysis of the past always helps understanding the present and speculating about the future. Fifield and Percy summaries the differences and inter-relationship between history and geopolitics in this way: "The elements of history are man, place and time, while the elements of geopolitics are the earth and the state" (Sen, 1975: 20). The geopolitical interpretation in the recent is based on the history of the past while the geopolitical events of the future arise from the conditions of the present.

Foreign policy is especially formed by domestic strategic policy. As real case of great importance, the geopolitical factors are very important on foreign policy making. Formation of foreign policy and its operative part is diplomacy. Two sides belong to the same coin with internal and external factors, politico-economic state affairs close bilateral issues with close neighbors, domestic economic scenario, all are the geo strategy of Nepalese foreign policy. To be a capable diplomat or foreign policy maker one needs a bird's eye view on the role of diplomacy (Pradhan, 2003: 6).

It was not only India and China that European authority began to retreat after the first Great War. Afghanistan, Nepal, Siam, Indo-China and Indonesia, the situation underwent a marked change which, no doubt, was in a measure due to the altered position in India and in China. British treaty recognized Afghanistan was recognized as an independent sovereign state.

The position of Nepal was strikingly different after the war 1914-18, the Gorkha kingdom also claimed and obtained the recognition of her state as an internationally independent country. A Nepalese legation was opened in London and the relations between the Indian government and the Nepalese court was placed on an international footing. But Nepal was not anxious to go beyond this formal position for reasons peculiarly her own. Her leaders realized that diplomatic relations with other counties would inevitably raise issues connected with the status of the Nepali king who like the Japanese emperor before the Meiji restoration, had been deprived of his powers and kept in the background.

The historic policy of British government in India had been supported by the Rana hereditary. Gorkha army was garrisoned in India. Nepal wanted diplomatic relation with other nation as it did for Japan the constitutional problem of the Monarch's position. Nepal was therefore content to have her position recognized technically as an internationally dependent state (Panikkar, 1999: 234).

#### **4.5.2.1 Founding Architect Prithivinarayan Shah**

King Prithivinarayan shah was a farsighted idealistic leader of Nepal who unified Nepal as a nation. He was the founder of Nepalese foreign policy. He has given a path, which is always suitable for Nepalese national interest and policy making. He was the founding architect of Nepalese foreign policy. It would be pertinent to recall his persona and his socio-political background before we proceed to evaluate Nepalese foreign policy and his achievements, in safeguarding national security. In over all terms Prithivinaryan Shah is judged as idealist, persons of good will, genuinely interested to establish of Nepalese foreign policy. He was the pathfinder of Nepalese domestic and international policies.

Here I simply coded that the patriotic hero of Nepal was King Prithivinarayan Shah who identified Nepal a sovereign state in the world of politics and nation-building devotion. Simply China was ruled by Manchu dynasty who were not Chinese such as India was ruled by Mughal empires they were also not Indian however, historically Nepal has been ruled by Nepali. It was a great achievement in the sub continent during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

#### **4.5.2.2 Tentative Statesman**

The country always needs to produce a tentative statesman who always watches the country's situation to formulate domestic policies and solve problems. "Sleeping dogs cannot bark" so clever intelligent person become a statesman of a country. In a worldwide context, the person of developed nations are the statesman of their country like USA, UK Japan etc.

Historically we count king Prithivinarayan Shah as a skillful statesman of Nepal. Whether one agrees or not king Prithivinarayan shah was an undisputable statesman of Nepal.

#### **4.5.2.3 Master Mind**

Geographically, Nepal is a land locked country. It cannot develop its stage independently. Nepal always seeks sisterly relationship with both the neighbors India and China. It cannot develop its independent status without both countries' reciprocal understanding. The historic evidence showed that, King Prithivinarayan Shah designed the foreign policy about how to deal with neighbor countries. His intelligence, witty, and sincere

mastermind played a vital role to initiate foreign policy of Nepal. To his vision he still pay his regards. Because of the kings, version had expressed looking the future of Nepal.

Paintings to Nepal's delicate geopolitical realities, founder of Modern Nepal king Prithivinarayan shah said "Nepal is a yam between two boulders" and suggested that Nepal should maintain friendly relations with both of its giant neighbors and preserve its national independence and security. Even to day, his pronouncement remains as a guiding principle in formulating the country's geo-strategy for an active foreign policy. Though the first shah king's dictum was interpreted as a defensive strategy. It still remains the point of reference for the foreign policy makers.

#### **4.5.2.4 Far Sighted National Hero**

Knowing the situation of the country, king Prithivinarayan Shah, time to time suggested as a tentative statement with the knowledge and far-sightedness in his strategic design. He was one of the far-sighted national hero. His tentativeness brought country's independent status. His ideas always led Nepalese soul. He was a man of great vision, insight and sound judgment. He showed a great wisdom in the ideas that friendship be maintained with both the powerful neighbors. King Prithivinarayan Shah like Bismarck unified the nation. He had an uncanny ability to grasp the political dynamics of the country that had seized his affection. His understanding power of the geopolitical realities was truly remarkable.

#### **4.5.2.5 The Great Ambitious Person**

National hero like Prithivinarayan Shah did not like to confine to tiny states. So he had felt the need of extension his state to make great kingdom of Nepal. He had established Nepal as a big kingdom. In general, Shah Dynasty paid attention to the people mandate. His lonely thinking power of Chandragiri hills produced a good result.

#### **4.5.2.6 People's Vision vs. King's Vision**

The voice and visions of Nepali people always motivated Shah King's in Nepal. It is the model of leading people's voice in the world systems. Shah dynasty was never far from people's vision and voices. Therefore, king and kingliness is deeply related to the people's life. In the past, people always looked king as a guardian. Prithivinarayan Shah was not far from the people's contact he and his dynasty always followed people's



suggestions. I think people and kingship maintained cooperation and affection for a long time. Each and every moment Nepali people looked towards the king for solution. History shows how closely destiny of people was connected with that of kings.

#### **4.5.2.7 Boldness and Innovation**

Prithivinarayan Shah was bold and farsighted king. He always remembered what the voice of the people was. He had more innovative power because his thoughts remain popular for a long time. The thought the Slogan Schumacher had written in his book 'small is beautiful', innovators changes the world before the world changes them" (Schumaker, 1973: 1). It is better to say that king Prithivinarayan Shah was a wise, renowned, witty, sincere king of Nepal who innovated many practices in Nepal. He had given sincere counsel to Nepali people. Some people might blame the writings as attempt to glorify the shah dynasty but I wonder, whether Prithivinarayan Shah's Nepal will remain united in the days to come. Now the feelings of disintegration by the line of caste, province, and ethnicity are fore grounded as puzzles in the country.

#### **4.5.3 Pillars of Modern Nepal**

##### **4.5.3.1 Bhakti Thapa**

The life of Bhakti Thapa is associated with Nepalese history in the period of great expansion. After his death, the vision of the great Nepal was crumbled. He died at the age of 74 in the battlefield of Deothal.

At the time of British war in 1815, Nepal had lost hope to win British Indian army. During the war, the western command had made up mind to lay down arms. However, Bhakti Thapa was adamant to fight; Bhakti Thapa at the age of 74 was able to fight with British force at Deothal. He did not lay down to the British force, he had handed his infant grand son in the custody of Amar Singh Thapa just before going to battle field. Defiant Bhakti Thapa with a small force of just 400 marched to the battlefield against British force with the number 3500. Bhakti Thapa laid down his life and each of 400 Nepali soldiers were killed or wounded. British casualties were also high, Bhakti fought with Khukuri. It was said that even after the death his stiffened hand was firmly holding the Khukuri. The following day his fingers were cut to release the Khukuri from his hand before cremating the dead body in the pyre.

#### 4.5.3.2 A Legend in World History

A quite elderly person of 74 was bravely fighting in the battlefield, with blood body he fought till the last hour. Even enemies were full of praise to see the bravery of Bhakti Thapa. British officer honored the dead body and wrapped with shawls.

These are the sentiments expressed by Nepal's national poet Madav Prasad Ghimire in one of his books of poetry about the outstanding bravery of Bhakti Thapa.

*Parinchha satta jaba khanda khanda*

*Rahanchha ke rastra tihya akhanda ?*

*Thutchha patta jaba khata khata*

*Siddinchha shova aani phulbata.* (Ghimire, 2060 BS: 29)

Bhakti Thapa became a legend in the eyes of British historians. CB Khanduri quotes "Bravest of the braves had been used by Napoleons for Marshal. Very, whose bravery retreat from Moscow 1 in 1812, whom Napoleon the word was used. Seeking the fighting capacity of Gurkha's British officer used the word in Anglo-Nepal war 16 April 1815 at Deothal. Bhakti Thapa was a person of devotion. He had been fighting in the last hour because he wanted to settle an honorable position in the eyes of British. Bhakti Thapa had played an important role in the expansion of Nepal territory from the Bheri River to Punjab. He was the commander of vast territory. The great Nepal to the west of Chepe-Marshyardi in 1970's, free hand to decide Nepal's foreign relations.

It was noted that British government was not in position to fight longer. Britain would have been forced to recognize Nepal's legitimate right over its entire territory. Bhakti Thapa hoped that the courage and bravery of a man of his age would inspire other Nepali soldiers. British commander David Ochterlony wanted to enter the central Nepal for attack. Many commands of the disbanded Nepalese force in the west had joined the army of the king Ran Jit Singh.

Just a few days later the Deothal battle, Bam Shah, Nepalese governor in Kumaun surrendered to British force. Thus Nepalese force fighting in the vast region to the west of the Mahakali river was completely encircled. Historian CB Khandur writes about it. Bam shah always looked unsafe himself against British force. He could not think of falling back to the more formidable defenses of Garwal, which were within three days turn round. He created the grand opportunity of surrendering Kumaon and paving the way for Gorkha to exit safely. It is seldom realized that Almora became the undoing of Gorkhas.

Mr. Kirkpatrick was not welcomed at Kathmandu after 1792 Sino-Nepal war. He was not allowed to proceed further than Azamgarh. Ram shah knew that Krik Patrik was a wise and good man. Ram shah was the man to cut the handle of defense of a vast territory about two third of the great Nepal.

According to the historian MC Regmi, Bam Shah continued to perform the duty of chief of army in diplomatic affairs. Bam Shah appeared to lack strong will power and firm determination to defend greater Nepal. In the conclusion, the great Nepal crumbled after the death of Bhakti Thapa). Its major players did not follow the daring path shown by Bhakti Thapa. Like Bhakti Thapa Nepalese people did not follow for the future of great Nepal. For territorial expansion Nepali people always remember him (Rimal, 2005: 27).

## **4.6 Role of Diplomacy and Nepalese Envoy System**

### **4.6.1 Diplomacy and Diplomats**

Reports are the lifeblood of the diplomatic process. It is to be noticed that the mission or the official at the headquarters may gain access to valuable information for the foreign ministry. Diplomatic reports are no longer the prime source of information of foreign ministry; information arrives much faster from public sources like the global TV Networks, the print media and the Internet. For that availability of equipped information, the foreign ministry must equip the successful diplomats with full information on diplomacy and international relations in the modern world. It is directly related to the government's policy concerns and forecasting needs. Diplomatic reports are also based on the observer's national perspective. Article 3 of the 1961 *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations* sets out the function of diplomatic missions collecting information is a

core activity of diplomacy. For the special kinds of diplomatic documents like the action plan, management plans and ambassadors instructions are necessary to cover performance of diplomatic reports, for the communication take a teeth to tail ratio.

The above-mentioned useful suggestions are most important factors to be followed by a diplomat so I have suggested some ideas for our ambassadors or envoys. It is the business of diplomats to render honest, intelligent and good advice (Rana, 2002: 182).

Names of persons with the rank of ambassadors or envoys are given in Appendix.

#### **4.7 The Specific Phase of Geopolitical Diplomacy**

Montenegro Vs. the powers of Europe: By the end of the first Balkan war, there occurred in London's conference the desire to create a peace by treaty between the defeated powers, Turkey and the victorious Balkan powers of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro. The peace conference was also to solve the problem of the division of land that the Balkan powers had won from Turkey. The fact that the peace conference was held in London shows the interest Britain and the other great powers had in the geopolitical importance of the Balkan Peninsula, and it reveals the diplomatic strength that those great powers could exert at any given crisis. However, as the conference of the diplomats continued king Nikita of Montenegro had his own plan for the division of territory and was busy besieging the city of Scutari which was still occupied by the Turks. The diplomats of the European powers at the London conference asked king Nikita to stop his military action against the Turkish Scutari but he refused. The king of little Montenegro defied the great powers of Europe. The European powers then sent an international fleet to blockade that section of the Adriatic coast lying between Antivari and the Drin River. The diplomats of great power designed this blockade to bring the king of Montenegro to his knees. King Nikita, however, had just received well calculated shipment of munitions from Russia, so there was no shortage along that line. The Montenegrins were used to living on meager food reserves and hence they had the benefit of very mountainous terrain land knew that the international fleet in the Adriatic could not penetrate this mountain barrier, and so they refused all diplomatic overtones from London. Next the diplomats decided to offer the king of Montenegro a "Loan" if he would give up his siege of Scutari, but the king anticipating this diplomatic move announced that at the time he had no need for such a "Loan". The king made diplomatic approach to the Turk leader, Essad pasha, for Turks honorable escape from Scutari. The latter accepted and Montenegro finally reached its goal.

#### 4.7.1 Geopolitical Diplomacy

Diplomacy has a geographic foundation, as man has populated the earth. He has striven freedom, space, strategic locations or resources. He has perpetually been confronted with political problems and with cultural adjustment to environmental conditions. He has an earth surface condition that isolates him from adverse political conditions threatening his peace or he has used them in the planning of war strategy. It has been necessary for him to understand his neighbors and the people adjacent to them. Nations have had varying degrees of success in seeking solutions to their problems. The difference between success and failure in these problems was often the difference in the understanding of geography embedded within the problem. If the diplomats of the United States are to assume leadership in the quest of world peace, if they are to prepare decisions, it become essential for them to recognize and understand the geopolitical foundation of diplomacy.

All continents of the earth have been dividend into political entities with varying degrees of sovereignty. Although men have not populated and utilized all regions of each continent because of adverse geopolitical conditions, they have not hesitated in advancing their political claims. No two political conditions are there in national organization, ideology methods, attitude or influence. These political conditions are far less permanent than the environmental conditions, location, climate land farms resources and even most of man's geopolitical relations to them, change takes place only over long periods of time. In the study of geopolitical relations to them, change is there only over long periods of time. In the study of geopolitical areas, an understanding of these permanent factors can be extremely important since they may well determine or partially determine the policy within the state and the state's relationship with other political institutions of the world.

Each political area, dependency has a basic plan on policy consisting of two interrelated purposes. One is to guide the internal or domestic needs and the other is to regulate the external or foreign association of the external division. It is usually far more extensive because it must consider the internal and external division of the polities of all other states of the world and at the same time strive to keep its own territory in fact. Internal portion of the policy has also an advantage that it can be enforced by the legal system of the state area but the external policies of states. International law exists simply as a body of rules; and each political unit has the actual choice of respecting or ignoring them. Some particular strategic accident has usually arisen to determine whether a state would accept or reuse to obey international law. International law has not yet proven entirely

effective and can well be seen by the fact that during the World War II empty trucks were permitted to pass through Switzerland enroute to Germany from Italy. This, of course, was in accordance with international law but at the same time acted in an unnatural fashion against the allied nations.

In order to conduct any negotiation deemed necessary with other state-areas, corps of persons called diplomats are employed by governments. Each corps of diplomats tries to secure advantages for its state. This tactful art is called diplomacy. Anyone engaged in this art or anyone interested in understanding the action and reaction of diplomacy and state area policy should have a strong foundation in the understanding of man in relationship to the natural and cultural environment i.e. geopolitics. It is already stated that the environment is a more permanent nature than the criterion of political policies and hence understanding becomes basic in the quest of freedom, space, strategic location, and resources. Diplomats should have the benefit of studying cultural geopolitics and geo-economics as well as other divisions in the field of knowledge of American history. It only indirectly requires a little "place" geopolitics one small and relatively minor portion of the broad field of geography (geo-politics) (Miller (eds.), 2004: 44).

The example of geopolitical diplomacy will be divided into two phases: The first is the general phase where the geopolitics of large areas and the political action of many states are involved. There are examples of diplomats being involved in order to secure the agreement of many states for one common purpose. The second, the specific phase, is where the geopolitics of limited areas and the political action of few states are involved. The environmental conditions of location, climate, size natural resource and relief, with each in relation to a specific group or group of peoples can be found in both portions. In other case whether it be the general or be the specific, the important fact is to remember that the same environment conditions existed before, during, and after the diplomatic negotiations. These environmental conditions were the permanent factors involved in the political actions. It was upto the diplomats to recognize and understand geopolitics as an integral part of the problem. Examples are used to demonstrate that in some cases the significance of geopolitics was understood while in other are not understood.

The general phase of geopolitical diplomacy, the balance of power- theory has long been and is still, employed by diplomats. This theory is ceaselessly a major portion of the foreign policy of Britain and is based on the idea of the weaker of two major powers unifying its purpose and force with an advantage and such advantage may vary but it is usually geopolitics in nature. England in order to pursuit her objectives fought with

Louis XIV and Napoleon when France threatened to achieve European hegemony. Because of German attempts to expand southeastward and to challenge her naval and colonial supremacy, she fought at the side of France against Germany in the World War I. Her position in relation to Russia varied almost in the same manner. When that country seemed to be the major threat to British interests in the near middle or Far East, British opposed her. Britain joined with Turkey to block the Czar at the straits, fearing the imperial Russian Black sea fleet should have access to the Mediterranean Sea and jeopardize the British life of empire to India. Latter on Britain joined with Japan when Russia moved south in Manchuria and threatened Hong Kong. However, when Germany started her Drag Nachosten, the British policy was aimed to curb the ambitions of France. This restraint took the form of seeking to reduce the war indemnities, refusing to guarantee. Germany attacked France opposing the French occupation of the Ruhr coalfields and France did not accept the change.

At present with the USSR bidding for controlling European peninsula, Britain has allied herself with the United States to balance the power of the USSR within the area of Europe she now occupies. The United States has many geopolitical attributes to offer Britain and the other NATO counties in this problem. The states quo condition that now exists in Europe is a result of diplomacy. It should be recalled that this is a solution to a current strategic problem and if the problem changes, the balance could shift to unknown direction.

Recently the geopolitical powers of the USSR after it being divided into fifteen Republics, is changed into geopolitical catastrophe. As Russia could not save its land from divisions.

#### **4.8 Foreign Policy as Geopolitics: Mahendra's Triangular Diplomacy**

"Morning shows the day" is an English proverb used for every one's activities. Often, we heard when the Chinese Tourist Hong Sang had arrived in Nepal and said "Nepalese face reading shows that they are smart but they are not really honest. They are unbelievable."

After the ending of war King Prithivinarayan Shah unified the tiny states as a United Kingdom of Nepal. A major invention of Nepal's foreign policy would have been the dynamic growth of National interest. "Ideas are the main source" in the formation of national policy, Nepal's perception of its own security. Neighborly states eye each other ideologically and belong to separate blocks. There are new opportunities for Nepalese diplomacy presenting itself serious views in the world.

After the unification of different states into one Nepal, 237 year's ago, the situation demanded particular policy based on past geopolitical reality. Prithivinarayan's idealism enabled Nepalese leaders to conduct its global role with policy vigor. He had guided the country that was new to international affairs and confident in its ability to follow any problem through the final state.

King Prithivinarayan inherited a frustrated society whose future would depend on its ability to frame attainable long-term goals and preserve in those goals even in the face of adversity, and without yielding self doubt in Nepal's goals of preserving its territory without interference. Essentially, foreign policy begins at home, domestic support, interalia, it is fundamentally a decisive pre-conditioning factor for foreign policy with any real measure of success. To put more stress on domestic support would mean requirement of sound and stable political system in the country, coupled with its economic development to lay solid foundation of foreign policy. In addition, of course, the geopolitical factors are very important having indelible impact on foreign policy making. Once the foreign policy is framed, other important thing is its operative part of diplomacy, catered to attain its objectives. Clearly speaking, it would mean proper functioning of diplomacy through meticulous care and observation. Foreign policy is the end whereas diplomacy is the means. Both are two sides of the same coin, inextricably linked to each other (Pradhan, 2003: 4).

Quoting of origin of diplomacy, first of all, in Homeric period of Greece. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines "the management of international relations by negotiations. As a dedicated person's gift Kautilya was a contemporary Chanakya of Greek era. Now the word Chanakya means knowing" a man is very clever, tactful capable for reigning the state. At the ancient period Chanakya's policy was followed, the envoy system was followed in the era of Malla dynasty in Nepal. In Kautilya's *Artha Sastra* in the *Mahabharat* and *Ramayana*, we find the reflection of war peace especially in *Shanti Parva* of *Mahabharat Pancha Tantra* and the *Arthasastra*. They not only provide a fairly graphic account of the activities of spies in the Mauryan and post Mauryan polity but lay the foundation for the statecraft, dishonest behavior without moral and guile practices advocated by this Master strategist (Hali & Capt, 2005: 6). These great Hindu epics have influenced highly in rural side of Nepal. Such texts like *Hitopadesa* and *Manusmriti* were written for the education of princes of Royal families. These books in the form of fables about animals teach the young Princes wisdom and statecraft in order to equip themselves with the future tasks of responsibility to reign over their subjects. They too offer us a glimpse of Nepalese thinking on government, state and diplomacy (Mookerjee, 1973: 9).



It is also the conception of diplomacy in the sense of civilized and orderly conduct of relations between one state and another or between two groups of human beings. According to the recorded history, the first diplomats were the "angel's" in the Christian Church who worked actually as messengers or ambassadors between the heaven and the earth (Mookerjee, 1973: 4). China's diplomatic tradition basically focused towards the preservation of frontiers of the state so they made great wall at China. According to the culture and tradition of China, the emperor of China is called the son of Heaven. John E Willis book "The Chinese world order", quoted by Girija K Mukeerjee- for Chinese the contact with foreigners was very much restricted (Mookerjee, 1973: 22).

One should read the beginning of "Diplomacy" in the 18<sup>th</sup> century from official papers of France. Romans used the word diplomatic corps with the meaning as connection with foreign policy or foreign affairs of a country (Mookerjee, 1973: 99). The first traditional diplomacy was introduced in the Treaty of west Phalia (1648) which started the concept that diplomats were in charge of representing 'the political positions and the National interests of their countries progressively over the next 350 years. The conceptual boundaries of the nature of diplomacy have evolved and widened (Longhorne, 2004: 290).

Diplomacy and foreign policy are two sides of the same coin. As the founder of Nepalese foreign policy, king Prithivinarayan Shah, was far sighted in his strategic design. He found himself in the position of guiding Nepal like Nixon's guided America through effective leadership. Prithivinarayan Shah passes his life under most difficult circumstances. After a long gap King Mahendra showed such genuine interest to lead the country's foreign policy in diplomatic way. He generally learnt just enough about Nepal's past to absorb the rudiments of the facts pertaining to its circumstances. Yet he had an uncanny ability to grasp the political dynamics of any country that had seized his attention. And his understanding of the geopolitical realities was truly remarkable. Both King Prithivinarayan Shah and Mahendra handled domestic politic successfully. When it came to foreign policy Mahendra's powerful analytical skills and extraordinary geopolitical intuition were always crisply focused on Nepal's interest. King Mahendra and his son Birendra counted on a balance of power to produce stability and thought strong Nepal essential to the equilibrium of the world. Nepal hopes that the balancing power means each balancing the other not playing one against the other, an even balance (Kissinger, 1994: 705). Mahendra's views on Non alignment and Birendra's peace zone concept fore grounded Nepal on the international arena.

It should be noted that Nepalese traditional society is dependent on Nepalese culture and tradition. So it obviously affected Nepalese policy formed by King Prithivinarayan Shah.

Then, King Mahendra's dictum was that a practical geopolitical judgment but as a moral maxim. The great dilemma of Mahendra's statecraft was popular to save country and people. His ideas lighted the people's moral high for nationality. He has been identified as nationalist king in the neighborly countries and international arena.

Being a tiny state, Nepal is identified with its peculiar qualities existing 'Nepaliness' between two huge countries. We are proud of our identity. If our foreign policy is devoid of national interest it means *Real politick* would be missing. Realizing this fact king Mahendra selected such occasion to put forward the principles of *Panch Sheela* and Non-alignment that would guide Nepal's new approach to international relations. This new approach forwarded the country to formulate the foreign policy with the spirit of *Panch Sheela*.

Nepalese categories oftenly excluded geopolitics, present foreign policy as a subdivision of theology and others view foreign policy as a subdivision of psychiatry. Negotiations had already been made to solve all types of problems. Our objectives in the first instance, is to support our interests over through foreign policy. The more that policy is based on a realistic assessment of our and others' interests, the more effective our role in the world can be. We are not involved in the world because we have commitments. We have commitments because we are involved. Our interests must shape our commitments, rather than the other way round (Kissinger, 1994: 712).

Nepalese policy would be based on a precise understanding of the nature of Indian and Chinese system. Neither of them underestimated the depth of both nations' ideological commitment, not fell prey to the illusion that both countries leaders "have already given up their beliefs or are just about to do so that nor would Nepal permit itself to become emotionally dependent on relations with any state. The criterion for progress would be substantially expressed in precise agreements reflecting mutual interests and not mere atmosphere.

Above all, relaxation of tensions had to proceed on a broad front (Kissinger, 1994: 712). We follow our interest; we will judge them by their actions as we expect to be judged by our own. Specific agreements and the structure of peace may help build from a realistic accommodation of conflicting interests. It was considered that the emphasis on national interest is a form of moral disarmament. It is one of the principal tasks of

statesmanship to understand subjects which are truly related and can be used to reinforce each other. For the most part, the policy makers have little choice in the matter; ultimately, it is reality, not policy that links events. The statesman's role is to recognize the relationship create a network of incentives and penalties to produce the most favorable outcome (Kissinger, 1994: 718).

Similarly, in diplomacy, the more options one side has, the fewer will be available to the other side, and the more careful it will have to be in pursuing its objectives. Indeed, such a state of affairs may in time provide an incentive for the adversary to seek to end his adversarial role. Such foreign policy or diplomacy is for example one elementary lesson for students of chess, that in choosing among moves, one can do worse than to count the number of squares dominated by each choice. In other words, an administration that bases its foreign policy on a geopolitical conception might face the risk. If the balance of power is taken seriously, then the very prospect of geopolitical upheaval must be resisted. By the time the change has occurred, it may well be too late to oppose it. At minimum, the cost of resistance will go up exponentially, Nepal offers good case study about the role of personalities in the conduct of foreign policy. Mahendra was the first King since Prithivinarayan Shah who conducted Nepalese foreign policy largely in the name of the National interest. King Birendra frequently spoke of a structure of peace, structures are instruments that committed in the hearts and minds of society.

About Nepal's foreign policy three Kings worked in different ways. Prithivinarayan Shah offered his ideas in *Dibya Upadesh* for Nepali people to deal with foreigners. That was traditionally maintained popular as a Nepalese Society's structure; his expressions were outcomes to think only for Nepal. Philosophy of Mahendra's on foreign policy was different. It was not only foreign policy guidelines but also established a system basically, identify a friend from a foe and that forms the country's foreign policy. His design was timely advanced project for nations. It means that Nepalese cannot bow down before any foreigners. Nepal was not to back the stronger nation against the weaker one in any power situation. King Birendra was one of the soft minded king in Nepal as well as a far sighted King. He proposed the peace zone proposal which was supported by 116 nations, but the attitude of India was negative for the proposal. He wanted to see Nepal a safe country from international upheavals.

#### **4.9 Nepal and Regional Politics**

The world geopolitics is to recognize the necessity of geographical factors. Regional politics is rounded its neighbors each and either perspective. Time and tide wanted to make necessary peace management.

The process of falling the colonization resulted large number of new states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These newly independent countries needed to establish the regional framework, in terms of peace, cooperation and conflict management among themselves and that is to be the most suitable strategy of economic development. It is being widely accepted as a strategy for meeting the challenges of the present economic order and imbalances.

The growing South-South Cooperation is one of the essential components of the new international economic order. The South-South cooperation is only way out against the trend of protectionism practiced by the north. South North motivating factors cooperation are to unite the developing countries in politico-strategic and in economic spectrum at regional level. Regionalism is a term that covers such diverse functional as well as geographical regional phenomena such as European integration NATO the commonwealth, and voting block in the United Nations. Regionalism is the way though which people are necessities are identified and easy to make planning.

A regional framework would minimize tensions and conflicts within the region. It is based on mutual benefit and on national self 'Interest.' The regional cooperation is interring governmentalism that seeks to harmonize interests. As the broader sense, it helps to cooperate the fields of national and international policies to promote and increase mutual relationship with other parts of the world. Competent regionalism helps not only itself but the whole world.

Regionalism identified on the basis of geography, cultural and other affairs are Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Russia, North America, East Asia, South-East Asia, South Asia and the Middle East. The first three Western Europe and the Russia and North America constitute the industrialized and developed regions with global interests or the capacity to dominate the processes of global and trans-regional politics. In these parts of the world regional integration have been largely successful although for different reasons it made a great success in Western Europe. It is said that unity is strength and it provides space for development. Regional unity also threatens the other blocks.

Geographically, the regions are divided into different sectors. In recent world, European Union and American states are forwarded their steps in the world concept. Now a days the world functions as a global village. Globalization means near to each other with friendly relation.

The concept of the third world established ASEAN after the World War II. South East Asian Nations SENTO and Central Treaty Organization CENTO were also established. As bilateral agreements US naval and air bases were clamped down on Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines. After the security oriented organizations, the economies oriented organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Latin American, Free Trade Association (LAFTA), Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) etc. were also established in 1970's and early 1980's. The third world has undergone a tremendous change in the international scenario to develop the economic conditions. Although, South Asia has long been identified as the distinct nature region in the world market, not only geographical diversities but also socio-economic, cultural commonalities. But as the competition the world's organization was already established, South Asian Nations organization was lately established. The regional development of South Asia is quite slow because of its geo setting.

As right from the beginning, Nepal entered international organization specially after the fall of Rana Aristocracy. Nepal has taken membership of UNO in 1955, NAM, and SAARC. During the establishment of third world's force, Non Aligned Movement, Nepal has played the vital role for national and international coordination's. As the member country Nepal played active role in the UNO. The friendly coordination between Nepal and UNO was well established then and now. Although the self diversities of the SAARC countries, Nepal played active role to develop economic, technological, agricultural and political coordination with the establishment SAARC secretariat. With geopolitical imbalances, the tension had been within SAARC countries. Nepal always played vital role even though UNO, NAM or SAARC. Nepal always opposed foreign nation focused politics.

Geopolitically Nepal is landlocked country it cannot stand without the help of its neighbours. Its geo-setting differed from other nations. The internal politics of regional states have been suffering from their internal problems. Such as Nepal- India, India-Pakistan, Bhutan-Nepal, Sri Lanka-India, Bangladesh-India relations of them. All have own problems. Mostly, the contentious issues, which vitiate the political atmosphere among the South Asian Countries, are bilateral, such as the Kashmir question people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka, presence of Sri Lankan Tamil

Militants in India, refugee problems from Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan, India Nepal border issues. India is a major point of all issues. India has always been against the Chinese and American stand in this region. America always played the balancing role in this region. America support Nepal, China and Pakistan for balancing India. India is the dominant figure in this region. Now and then, India interferes its neighbor's pretending something. In the absence of a satisfactory resolution of conflicts between these two countries, mutual distrust and hostility will continue to dominate the SAARC deliberations. India's interest plays vital role in Nepal and its monopoly in the Nepali market because Nepal is largest trade partner of India in South Asia. Another interest of India is to capture the Nepali resources. Third is the security and strategic importance of Nepal in the context of the Asian power equation. Thus Nepal's geopolitical setting is very important as the member of the region or the globe.

In foreign policy formulation, the geopolitics has to be considered. Geopolitical situation is the foundation of foreign policy. By and by anybody who wants to know anything at last reaches to the final points like climbing of up the Everest.

#### **4.10 Suggestions for Future Policy Planners**

Now discussion is on the suggestions for future policy planners. Geopolitics is soluble subjects with people's view. People's view is the soluble that is the real point of problem that needs solving. Now and then nobody can ignore the people's view. The great changes have taken place in the world context because of the strong people's view. Geopolitics has always identified the people's problems.

Today's world politics does not only attach with traditional geopolitical concerns such as security and military affairs but it also covers economic, social and ecological issues. Likewise terrorism, drug, human rights, pollution violent conflicts, global and regional contexts etc. which have no geographical borders and increasingly becoming transnational policy issues. The expansion of scope and areas on geopolitical issues demand more collaboration and cooperation between the states and non state actors.

As a result during the last fifty years numerous international, regional, bilateral organizations and networks of governmental and non-governmental organizations have been established. There are thousands of (INGO's) NGO's, community based organizations, pressure groups in

bilateral, regional international and intercontinental level which aim to pursue the goals and objectives which have a bearing on international rules and authority system.

Geopolitically the world's new trend effects each others. For example the old reign of Egypt effects the whole Muslim world (Arab world) as a changing wind of a new democratic era. Although nobody can forget the geographical factors of own state. As the context of Nepalese geopolitics is caught between the dragon and the elephant, Nepal has to balance both the Indian and Chinese strategic and security interests. Now China is geopolitical competitor because Nepal's geopolitical position has compelled it to adopt a balanced policy with its immediate neighbors. There is 1800 km. open border between India and Nepal without any buffer zone like Tibet between Nepal and China. It is indicated that India always fears the entry of third country in Nepal, which it thinks might damage its security interests.

Explaining Nepal's geopolitical realities, the founder of modern Nepal King Prithivinarayan Shah said "Nepal is yam between two boulders" and suggested that Nepal should maintain friendly relations with both of its giant neighbors to preserve its national independence and security. These guidelines identify a friend from a foe. Even today his pronouncement remains as a guiding principle on formulating the country's geo-strategy for an active foreign policy. Though the first Shah King's dictum was interpreted as a defense strategy. It still remains the point of reference for the foreign policy makers.

Foreign policy is an elementary lesson for students of cheers, that in choosing among moves, one can do worse than to count the number of squares dominated by each choice. As the suggestions, the dedication of academicians is always evaluated and remembered in the eyes of people. History is the evidence transfer of knowledge of decade to decade. The written documents are the only records of the characters of historic events.

On the basis of analysis of the recent past, the actual present and sometimes even of assessment of man's historical experience, the geopolitics can evaluate future geopolitical trends and indicate what policy or policies a particular trend indicates to a particular nation, or region, or the world, as a whole it should pursue for its safety and welfare. Geopolitics is concerned with the recent past, the present and near or distant future. As the discussion of policy formation man's ideas and abilities are very important resources of the world. The greater the opportunity is for

his exploration of development and the greater is potential resources. Beyond this, good health and long life make enough contribution to society. Who is healthy mentally and physically should do many things for his society or nation. We cannot say whether genius or near-genius is hereditary or environmental or where, when and under what conditions they crop up. In the process of policy making one should study the world geopolitics with historical aspect and new geopolitics with new trends.

The term geopolitics was coined in the late nineteenth century, and from the outset it attracted considerable controversy. This was caused by supposed involvement in actual matters of national policy and this has particular concern to academics. After World War I, in Germany, geopolitics became very involved in national policy and planning if the policy of territorial expansion and the justification of Nazi claim to a position of dominance in Europe.

Finally, after the end of World War II German geopolitics was backed with ideology of Nazism. Germany used the term to the expansion of territory and got victory over wars. Geopolitics is always rounding the natural phenomena of human beings, men, material and mind.

New geopolitics has taken place during 1970. It was spread out in America and France. By 1980's it was so popular, all kinds of description got involved to develop the geopolitics with new trends of environment, the idea of mankind as "Master" capable of transforming nature has been increasingly replaced by that of humankind as participant in our environmental totality and as such to treat nature with care and respects. The human innovation destroys the human activity like Chernobyl, nuclear disaster of 1986. Human beings are more conscious essential unity of the planet and careful of danger of the destruction of human space. We can prevent the disaster only by collective action, an action on a global scale.

Many innovations are made by human beings on the earth, however, the shape and physical structure of the earth cannot be changed. It will be changeable where strong natural disaster will take place. This needs a scientific basis for understanding today's political map and for anticipating tomorrow's change. So the geopolitical map is more closely related to reality than the political map. It is related directly to a geographic region. It expresses the unity of geographic features. It can provide a framework for an understanding of common political and economic actions.

Geographical features are fixed and it becomes dynamic with man's constant use. Nepalese policy based on a precise understanding of the nature of Indian and Chinese system is very significant.



- (1) Geopolitical map is more realistic than the political map,
- (2) Follow the new national and international trends where the people's views are expressed,
- (3) Geopolitics has soluble nature where the lab tested the people's problem (view),
- (4) Friendliness is better to treat immediate neighbors than the feeling of foe,
- (5) Cooperation, coordination, reciprocal feeling is the main stream of friendship,
- (6) Adopt a balanced foreign policy for national and international arena,
- (7) Nobody can ignore the geographical factors,
- (8) To encourage the local product we have to influence Chinese and Indian market,
- (9) Media's role should be more important to transfer the geopolitical thoughts and views,
- (10) Make tactful strategy to end the chronic disease as India always encroaches the Nepali land,
- (11) To make syllabus to teach geopolitics at every level,
- (12) Don't use liked or non-liked policy,
- (13) Adopt a new trend in relation to world deals.
- (14) Geopolitics is compulsory subject to become every system.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### PROBLEMS, ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN FOREIGN POLICY OF NEPAL

#### 5.1 Problems in Foreign Policy of Nepal

In changing scenario, Nepal is facing many problems from neighbors and immediate neighbors; however Nepal cannot survive itself without the support of its neighbors. In present context, Nepal is unable to maintain its sovereignty and economic progress without support from neighbors as it has many political and non-political issues to be handled. The traditional role of inter state relationship is changed to the interests of people to people contact. It changed its multitask relationship between governments and people of different countries but also facing issues like security threats, outbreak of diseases, financial crisis, trade disputes, political and economic harmony, culture and religions links. In this global situation, the crisis that Nepal has been facing is its implications in Nepal's geopolitics, geo-economy and geo-strategic situation.

America is facing a serious dilemma dealing with India and Nepal, like India and Pakistan. So the main purpose to stand America in South Asia is to make balance with small states. In fact, it is hoped to deliver good will, liberal and humanitarian support to the region. If the people of South Asia are bound together, bring unity and make friendliness. In reality we do not have misunderstanding between south Asian countries if we unite we will be strong. So we do not interfere each other. We can't hate any state. Don't pressure small neighbors. We hope India's good will gesture "will make a major contribution to regional stability and good neighborliness. We hope our sovereign status will be respected by our neighbors. It means that others deal with us as per our behavior or our interests. The lack of consensus among the political parties of Nepal regarding Nepal's basic principles of Nepalese foreign

policy (including its India policy), lack of vision and capability on the part of bureaucrats: administrative management; lack of expertise in the country and the irresponsible behavior of political leaders and such acts have created many problems in this direction.

Least developed or small states are always facing the problem of food crisis. As an analyst Saul B Cohen described two basic regions, first one was geo-strategic region and second one was geopolitical region. Geopolitical region was a shatter belt, it means lack of political unity and mutual sympathy, in real sense, the problematic area is south East Asia and Middle East. These areas are always facing certain problems, likewise Nepal is also facing the problems, and reasons for problems are Nepal's geopolitical location, size, population, cultures and religions. Country's economic strength, vital resources are the major factors to make the country sound in each field. Therefore, economic strength and vital resources, Nepal can not face its main problems and challenges. The geographical setting is compelling Nepal to depend on India like open border system, culture between two countries, migration, dependant of economy and trade system etc. Its geographic position has undoubtedly affected its policies. Due to open border system between India and Nepal, there are a number of challenges affecting the relation of two countries.

We always heard that India has overlapped our land, political leaders have come and gone. Nepal's management system of boarder is weak so that the border problem remains unsolved. People always say Indian has taken our land pretending this and that issue. Nepali administrators are always mute on the border area. Nepal is always dominated by India in every sector. Nepalese are badly cheated in water resources, peace zone proposal, barrage building etc.

## **5.2 Issues in Foreign Policy of Nepal**

Many subjects have their own challenges and issues. A small plant has many challenges and issues to grow up and remain safe. Especially the subject of geopolitics is not a new one; it was popular since the era of Hitler. It was wide spread out in many institutions, schools, colleges and university in Germany. Kjellen and Ratzel found out the terminology (Encarta Dictionary, 1899) from the two streams (Natural and Political Science). Mackinder later described the concept through the theory called heartland theory.

In this dissertation, the focus of discussion is about the use and practice of geopolitics in Nepalese space. Nepal is a land locked country so it doesn't have enough resources to establish sound economic condition. Our neighbors both in north and south are competing for the first position in global

economic race. By geosetting, we do not have sea and raw materials so that we are always dependant on India, China, America or we are in other words '*Bidesh Mukhi*'.

The 21<sup>st</sup> century international politics is forced to confront new issues in all the sectors of life, including in foreign policy and diplomacy. Likewise many issues are ahead to be determined by the domestic politics and foreign policy, moreover they are interrelated in a way that the nature of domestic politics determines the capability of the latter. The lack of common consensus among the main political parties of Nepal concerning the crucial issues of foreign policy including Nepal's national objectives, interests, goals, defense policies, with immediate neighbors and other friendly countries create confusion in this field.

The activities of the diplomatic agents in Nepal in the last few years have become controversial issues in Nepalese politics, foreign policy and diplomacy, raising a number of issues including their intervention in internal affairs and politics. Being this there are the internal issues management of place process, drafting of New constitution to integration combatant in the Nepal Army.

Caught between the dragon and the elephant Nepal has to balance both the Indian and Chinese strategic and security interests because Nepal's geopolitical position has compelled it to adopt a balanced policy with its immediate neighbors.

The open boarder system has created a lot of issues. It is not looked from the perspective of beneficial relationship. It has helped only smugglers and terrorist activities. The problem of scientific demarcation of boarder and its delineation, boarder encroachment in no man's land by India in nearly sixty five places including in Kalapani in West-Nepal are increasing. The destruction of Dasgaza (boarder pillar) has generated mistrust and discord. For boarder management, the task force (2040) headed by former minister of Harka Gurung suggested three phrases:

- (1) to register the names of persons who cross the border check post,
- (2) to give multiple entries to those people who live within 10 km of boarder area,
- (3) to make a regular passport system.

### **5.3 Challenges in Foreign Policy of Nepal**

Nepalese foreign policy is always facing many internal and external challenges since the time *Baise Chaubise* states. Then it was suffering from both the domestic and foreign affairs and the reason was shape and size of the country, so it is a yam between two giant countries. It has many challenges for ups and downs. Many arguments were made in for and against. Some people believed it was better subject to protect the nation and its defense. On the other hand some, people say this age is not for using geopolitics which was suitable in time of Hitler. After cold war, it was slowly spread out in America, Japan, France, Britain and Italy.

In the book *Policy study Series* Ram Kumar Dahal enlisted the challenges in Indo-Nepal relationship (Dahal, 2008: 6):

- (1) Demographic challenge
- (2) Economic challenge
- (3) Border regulation/administration
- (4) Security issues
- (5) Extradition of criminals
- (6) Smuggling
- (7) Special relations: Equidistance or equiproximity
- (8) India and Bhutanese refugee problem
- (9) Psychological challenge
- (10) Environment challenge
- (11) Demand of greater Nepal
- (12) Water resources challenges

- (13) Nepal's diplomatic challenges
- (14) Recommendations
- (15) Effective management of boarder
- (16) Peaceful and diplomatic solution of boarder issue
- (17) India's role in Bhutanese refugee problem
- (18) Control of criminal activities
- (19) Policy of equanimity
- (20) Revision of the 1950's treaty
- (21) Utilization of water resources
- (22) Big brotherly attitude
- (23) Ultra nationalism
- (24) Nepal for a high level mechanism
- (25) High level political mechanism
- (26) Bureaucratic mechanism
- (27) Diplomatic mechanism.

The challenges are political, demographic, psycholoical, environmental, socio-cultural and economic challenges. Issues are like border, peace and friendship treaties, regulations, administrative, security issues, illegal border trade, smuggling, terrorism and criminal

activities. Like India, China also has challenges and these are like free Tibet movement from Nepalese soil, essential to connect trade route from China to Nepal. So far China is acting like a sleeping dragon.

Ram Kumar Dahal presented a seminar paper regarding “Issues and Challenges of Nepalese Foreign Policy” (Dahal, unpublished matter). In this paper, he indicated that issues of national existence and issues for the promotion of national interest becomes a subject of prime importance to all sections of Nepali citizens. He added, the proper formulation and effective implementation of the foreign policy, becomes the most sensitive issue and subject of common concern of the critical mass in general. Fundamentals of Nepalese foreign policy is determined by the former regime that needs to be revised changed and reoriented. He has pointed that the challenging issues for Nepalese foreign policies are as follows:

- (1) Political issues and challenges
- (2) Diplomatic issues and challenges
- (3) Economic issues and challenges
- (4) Administrative issues and challenges
- (5) Socio-cultural issues and challenges
- (6) Psychological issues and challenges
- (7) Defense issues and challenges
- (8) Communication issues and challenges.

There are many more internal and external issues and challenges in the least developed countries like Nepal, so that we have number of issues ahead with our immediate neighbor, especially more issues are to be discussed and settled with India.

Dahal’s frank and highly intellectual suggestion is that the indicated issues and challenges can be met easily, this way of recommendations bring the country to light. Another suggestion was for establishing a scientific research centre for teaching and

learning, the diplomatic skill and capability. Without foreign policy clear goals, objectives and characteristics of foreign policy does not work in time and situation. The position of the country is being questioned and it should be advanced in tune with its national aspirations.

Journalist Vijay Kumar quoted the version of Leo E Rose that, “Normally foreign policy of a country is an extension of its domestic and financial interests but in case of Nepal the process is reverse, where its foreign policy largely affects its domestic policies” (Kumar, 2007: 6).

Indian nationals heavily dominate Nepal's economic sector, although they inter here in Nepal and participate in different sectors. Our business has no independent identity.

One of the most important challenges affecting Nepal India relationship is the flow of migration from Nepal to India, India to Nepal. Nepal is also facing immigration problem from Burma, Bhutan and (Bihari Muslim) Bangladesh. The migration of Indian Nationals is especially for business, job seeking and others purpose. On both of side's, border area of people go on working during daytime and return homes at night. The use of open boarder system so nationals or both side go for job near the border area. Culturally, people of both sides of border area do not feel alien but feel easy and at home.



**CHAPTER SIX****SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION****6.1 Summary and Conclusion**

The study presents the valuable items of how geopolitics would be structured. The necessary quality of geopolitics and the basic aspects of foreign policy is guided by the concept of geopolitics. Geopolitics is a problem solving science and its soluble nature is based on the experiments which practiced in the laboratory of people's views and thoughts. When the researcher gets new knowledge through the experiments, at that time, the experiment seems better for real taste. Since Nepal's geopolitics has been shaped as per the Geo setting of this country, it gets automatically formation the basis of the geopolitical consideration which creates the foreign policy of Nepal like other countries of the world.

Nepal's past foreign policies have not logics behind their formations but have been shaped only by geo setting of the country. There no specific and policy- based solid foundations which can contribute to make the Nation's foreign policy fully functional and its foreign relation strategy essential for maintaining the sovereignty and integrity of Nepal.

Examined and judged through geopolitical approach, the Nepalese foreign policy can be found to have been dependent on the behavior demonstrated by Nepal's neighbor countries. Geographically, Nepal has been compared as a yam between two huge builders. Can Nepal escape from these two huge builders? This attitudinal question has filled the psyche of the common people who fear that Nepal can't escape from this condition. On the surface, such questions seem quite sensible and to change such mindset is almost impossible but there is hope for overcoming such attitudes because the friendly behavior of the other nations can change such self-destructive attitude towards the geo setting of the country. The perception that Nepal is a yam between two huge stones creating some problems in the relationship of Nepal with the neighbor countries. There is a general perception that the northern neighbor makes no interference to Nepal's internal affairs but the southern neighbor always interferes in such matters. Although we easily blame our friendly neighbors for their interference upon us, such blame is biased and is the result of our own false approach to deal with the relationship with them. In some cases, our leaders rely more on the southern neighbor and bow down themselves to cherish their petty political interests. Still in such conditions, there is a doubt how Nepal can improve its foreign policy.

To get rid of such perception, Nepal's southern neighbor always interferes on Nepalese internal affairs than the Northern neighbor. Nepal should be active to face such possible interference by formulating a strong and effective security policy. By following the geopolitical approach, we should make some functional strategies so that we can maintain the sovereignty and integrity of Nepal. Construction of the bridges, dams and irrigation systems on Nepali rivers and encroachment of the bordering land, popularly known as no man's land, is one of the best examples of the interference by the southern neighbor. Prithivinarayan Shah, by closely observing the security position of Nepal during his time had said that our southern friend is too clever, therefore, we must be careful so that there is no penetration by others in our territory. This statement has always remained true. Our leaders therefore should be clever to stop any interfere on Nepal in the days ahead.

As per the findings of this research work, the concept of geopolitics is important and useful to the field of politics. The main significance of the topic lies on the betterment of life of the citizens. Not only feelings of the citizens but also the multidimensional aspects of their life can be changed by the study of this subject. The piece of land or the motherland is dearer than the beat of heart. The geographical environment affects the political character and human nature equally. The geographical environment therefore is one of the powerful determinants of a nation's foreign policy. The geographical unity is an important pre-disposing cause to political unity as shown by Britain, where neighboring nations the English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh clearly marked off to join into one state. The historical truth of Nepal is the evidence that Prithivinarayan Shah united the *Baisi* and *Chaubise* states to build a stronger and greater Nepal in the process of unification.

Open boarder system also creates the problem for Nepal and India. But European countries are challenging it by opening their borders and suggesting that the open boarder system cannot harm any nation in the long run. They opine that Nepal and India can adopt the common currency as European Union has introduced the Euro as its currency by opening themselves to each other. On the other side, it is obvious that the open border system creates different types of problems such as cross boarder terrorism by using the lucrative road for illegal means and purposes. We can protect and promote nationalism and sovereign entity from the possible foreign intervention in the Nepalese foreign affairs by following the basic fundamentals of the geopolitics. In this context, if Nepal had followed the basic thrusts of geopolitics while formulating and implementing its foreign policies, Nepal mightn't have faced the problems of boarder issues in the time when (Bi-noman's land) India encroaches Nepal's border land in more than fifty-three places having about 117900 *Ropani* land (Quoted by Khatri GR- The science of geopolitics).

This study has also indicated various aspects of Nepal's experience in the management of international relations. Nepal wants to implement its foreign policy and manage its international relations based on the principles of friendship, candor, justice and fairness, but such qualities also demand the reciprocal treatments from other side. Nepal hasn't demonstrated its bad intentions or any unfriendly feelings towards any countries in the world. Of course, Nepal takes pride in its stances based on such qualities and hates unfriendly ties based on misunderstanding with its neighbors. We need many more bridges that can link our nation with minds, hearts and spirit of different countries and continents which are ready to respect the reciprocal approaches in the international relations. Nepalese people want to be completely free from the horror of war arising in the national and international

level. We are always suffering from the domineering policy of our neighbors and consequently, we are getting far from each other due to lack of mutual understanding in our relations

Socio-culturally, Nepal's identification is popularly known as a peace loving country which has a common garden of various human flowers belonging to thirty six castes. Present study has also suggested that this identity can be better protected by formulating and implementing our foreign policies on the guidance of the principles of geopolitics.

Finally, the study has highlighted that democracy and nationality are essential factors for the civilized life of a nation. Like two wheels of a cart, these two basic factors can not operate separately because they depend on each other for their smooth operation. In this backdrop, nationality and democracy demand for a foresighted and visionary leadership for their successful activism because it is believed that a successful politician is a watchman of the people's mind and moods. The empirical study of the subject has inferred that 'Geopolitics' is a term based on a historical map of the state. The past evidences are transferred from one decade to another decade and the objective of an eminent person's investigation is to find out the real feature of a state. Geopolitics shows that in comparison to space and earth, human beings are insignificant because human attitude, mind and psyche towards politics are shaped dominantly by the factors like space and earth.

As the summarization of this dissertation, varieties of geopolitics had been seen in 1870 onwards. So as, the geopolitics of different country's thoughts and views, were different such as American geopolitics differs from Indian geopolitics. So the geopolitics differs country wise like China, UK, Brazil, Japan etc. Their situation created the nation's own problem and they set a strategy for the time being. At beginning Ratzel (Germany) Kjellen (Sweden) invented the geo+politics as the means of the earth and human activities. But the Greek mythology focused on earth as mother goddess. Gaia/Gaeas which form universal truth components: air, water, land and fire. Like the Greek mythology Hindu mythology also worshiped fire as the saver of all human beings. During the early definition except Ratzel and Kjellen Thyar Mhan (America), Mackinder (United Kingdom), Karl Houshofer (Germany) invented the geopolitics in different orientations and views.

### **6.1.1 The Major Pragmatic Geopolitician**

Ratzel- (Organic study theory) law of state a government has five organs:

Kjellen- Five State Organs

Thyran Mahan- Fundamental factors of the strategy principles

Halford J Mackinder- Heart land theory

Nicholas Dictum- Impact of geography on politics

Karl Haushofer- Development a new school of geopolitics

Alexander P Severky- A geopolitical view of the world based advance power, imaginative thought

Saul B Cohen- Innovator of geography and politics find out a region of chronic instability

Geoffrey Parker- Viewed the role of geopolitics past, present and future.

The above scholars were the founder of geopolitical knowledge; Ratzel was the first political geographer who invented the "Organism" related to the blood and soil. Kjellen was a developer of the geopolitical state theory. Mahan analyzed who have claimed the power of the land and sea being a world power. Mackinder indicated that "to control the world Island who controls the heart land. "The heart land having certain area from Volga River to east Serbia and Himal to Arctic Ocean." Haushofer's paper presented the discipline of the ideology. Several types of geopolitics are as territory, military, critical, classical, contemporary and new geopolitician seen in the geopolitical sky. Geopolitics is a field that ever changing its nature but recent years it changed its nature, new regional and global connection.

In the dissertation, the Nepalese era of geopolitics was mentioned such as: (1) Rana oligarchy, (2) Shah dynasty 1979 BS, (3) Democratic era 2007-2017, (4) Panchayat era 2017-2046, (5) Democratic Republic 2063 on wards.

As to evaluate the world geopolitics the following eras are discussed:

### **6.1.2 Era of World Geopolitics**

(1) The half century from 1870 to 1920 period of classical geopolitics.

- (2) The year of 1920-1945- period of fascist and counter fascist geopolitics
- (3) The Era of 1945-1980's- The period of American democratic geopolitics.
- (4) The period of 1980's onwards- the year of critical geopolitics.

In the final phase of geopolitics, Saul B Cohen geographic described and non-geographic analysis of foreign policies and security community still continue in this kind of geopolitics. There is much more voice has seen in the main streams of geopolitics and outside critical voices operating in part modernist and Marxist traditions. So the development of theory and concept of geopolitics has changed as the global and world context changes. So that Henry Kissinger Brezinski, Alexander Dugin and Vladimir Zhirinovski have been working as the uses of geopolitics in foreign policy of a nation's directive principles on the constitution. As the comparative study of different types of geopolitics uses varieties of geopolitics on the world. No any country's geopolitics is same Americans used the geopolitics in their foreign policy for long term and short term project. American followed the four pillars of constitutionalism, and they were Jeffersouian, Alexander Hamilton, Wilsonian and Jacksonian. Those were the experts of the constitution of America. But in Nepal nobody knows the names of constitution expert and same is the case with foreign policy.

Geopolitically saying, geography is also corner stone to make strategy. So it has affected the intelligence capacity by the birth place and leadership. Many more of nation's dwellers lack the knowledge of geo setting. Lack of knowing the issues of treaties, agreements, border issues, dam and barrage buildings, if we could have enough knowledge of one country's geo setting we could be really intelligent.

As for the suggestion, the dissertation strongly suggests that citizens need to know national interest and the knowledge of foreign policy and also how the foreign policy is formed then and now, the experts of geopolitics and foreign policy. We should know how the word geopolitics came out in the contemporary world. The study shows that an example how American constitution was formed. It gives broad knowledge how the Nepalese foreign affairs was established like Jaishi Kotha and later on it now became foreign ministry.

The argument suggests that a citizen needed to understand sovereign status. With indicates people and territory. Territory is much favoured than a bit of heart of the body. Always we must be careful about the encroachment of our land.

Geopolitically it argues that the mind of people and leaders have to feel national aspirations. It is hoped that political identities or fixed national identity of geopolitical claims are implicit in the practices of foreign policy and it can be demonstrated from the text and speeches of political leaders and the various "intellectuals of state craft from scholars to popular commentators and television pundits. The dissertation has indicated that foreign policy is a sensitive field, which requires careful handling through astute maneuvers coupled with polite intelligence persuasions and some times even threats. So national aspirations are the basic features and components of geopolitics. It tries to develop the capability of its citizen to become self-reliant and self-dependent citizens.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

Geopolitics is a hard and fast changing subject, although it takes a time to change and practice its nature, as ancient Greek mythology described the term "Geo" means the goddess of earth. But the inventor was not the Greek. At the beginning, the term in Greek mythology explained geo means universal elements such as, air, sky, land, water and fire. These are the universal elements which the Greek always used to worship as a goddess of the earth. In turn the term became wide spread all over the world.

From time to time, the definition of the terminology got changed, the term inventor Kjellen and Ratzel gave the meaning of the word "geo" means, earth, location and politics which means human nature. So the subject studied here is human activities. The definition given by Greek civilization was different from the present one. The subject was practiced with a different meaning. Hitler used it to extension of the state, on the fall of him, the term became unpopular. After the cold war Henry Kissinger used the word geopolitics in American foreign policy. Nowadays the term "geopolitics" has been used for different meanings such as to save nation, to make relation and diplomacy in international level and use of resourceful area or human space, globalization. It has many challenges and issues as the concept of ancient and now, it has main problems to submit the term geopolitics as a directive principle in the constitution. The theory is one side and the practice is another side. Nowadays-new challenges and issues are ahead to challenge the term geopolitics. Nothing can change the nature of geography but the globalization changes its concept with international environment. Many geopoliticians hoped that the subject geopolitics is an applied science, its soluble nature is problem solving. Demands and desires are many, but the need is problem solving. So geopolitician always said it is an applied and pure science like natural science.

They said, applied and pure science means problem solving for the people's desire, the role of media is important to collect the people's desires and demands. It is better to submit the subject in every level for study. Without the knowledge of the country's geopolitics, no study can succeed in proper way.

Particularly geopolitics has been considered as the directive principles, because it shows the country's real future. In the land locked and least developing country, submitted geopolitics in directive principles on foreign policy. It gives every person sovereign status and full of national inspirations. It helps the country to formulate national and international policies. For example America formulated grand strategy for short term and long term relationship in world activities in its constitution. Directive principles derive to formulate policies in domestic and international affairs. American geopolitician have already plans for formulation. Americans have the grand strategy to establish national feelings. It means to quote here model of the policies and foreign affairs in the world context. International community plays vital role not only in forming relationship but also globalization and as a member of the international organization. Land locked countries have the lack of sovereign status they make decisions on international pressure. They cannot make their own decision freely. They are bound by economic issues.

To implement the geopolitics on the basis of country's foreign policy is difficult. One is geopolitics, other is international situation hard to conduct foreign policies. The concept of human space, open border system, globalization, inventory system, international community all threat the geopolitical movements. Present days government policies failed to implement diplomacy and preserve the national interest. Nepal government is totally failure to awake foreign policies and appoint competent and qualified ambassadors. Party's cardholders are appointed as the ambassadors without diplomatic ability. Frequently interfered by foreign diplomats in Nepalese domestic affairs was another case. A present, Nepal's sovereign status is collapsed. Actually foreign policy is a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests. Geopolitics is the foundation of diplomacy. It is necessary for man to understand his neighbors and people have to adjust with them, diplomacy has a geographic foundation, man's capability to identity the problems was often the difference in the understanding of geography. Location, climate and place are the near and distant identity elements. We know easily the difference between friend and foe. Nation's strong problem is geo-setting which creates hunger, famine, disaster, different types of dieses,



unstable government, lack of sea roots, border problems, dams and barrage problems. Peace process, constitution making, integration combatants in Nepal army are major problem of stable government.

In fact, the least developed countries have many more problems and they cannot feed their people properly.

**Appendix-1**

**Geopolitics: Foundation**

**of Foreign Policy**

**Source:** Richard Muir, "Politics of Place," *Political Geography*, London: Mac Millan Press Ltd., 1997.

## **Appendix-2**

### **Geopolitics & Nepalese Foreign Policy**

**Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nepal.

## Appendix-3

### Nepalese Geo-politiker

#### Identification of the nationality of an author in Nepalese context

Yadunath Khanal - *Diplomatic Strategy for Nepal*

Padam Bahadur Khatri - *Tryst with Diplomacy*

Rishikesh Shah - *Nepal and the World*

Dr. Mangal Siddhi Manandhar - *Geopolitical Basis of Nepal's Existence*

Dr. Dev Raj Dahal - *The Political Economy Small Nations*

Prof. M. Habibullah - *A Study of Foreign Policy of Nepal*

Dr. Ram Kumar Dahal - *Nepal and the International System*

Dr. Jitendra Dhoj Khand - *The Contribution of Monarchy in Nepal*

Ninu Chapagai - *Tanakpur National Interest or not*

Narayan Man Bijukshe - *Nepal India Relation*

Buddi Narayan Shrestha - *Boarder of Nepal*

Gopal Raj Khatri - *The Science of Geopolitics.* (Researcher)

B.C Upreti - *SAARC: Dynamics of Regional Co-operation in South Asia*

#### **Institute of Foreign Affairs**

Prof. Biswo Pradhan - *Nepalese Foreign Policy and Diplomatic strategy for Nepal.*

Hirannya Lal Pradhan - *Nepal Parichaya*

Puspa Hari Adhikari - *Geopolitics of China Nepal Boarder issues*

Yagy Bahadur Malla - *Ecology of Nepal's Foreign Policy*

Surendra Bahadur K.C. - *Diplomatic Relation of Nepal*

Krishna Gopal - *Geopolitical Relations and Regional Co-operations a Study of South Asia, 1996*

## Appendix-4

### Chronology of Nepali Geopoliticians

- 1769 - Prithvi Narayan Shah United Nepal
- 1846 - Jang Bahadur established Rana Rule
- 31 July 1950 - India- Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship.
- 26 Oct 1950 - Chinese forces invade Tibet
- 6 Nov 1950 - King Tribhuwan seeks Asylum in Indian embassy, Kathmandu
- 11 Nov 1950 - Nepal Congress forces attack as king flies to India
- 23 Jan 1951 - United States and Nepal Sign point four agreements
- 18 Feb 1951 - Rana Nepali congress government takes office
- 10 Nov 1951 - Coalition government dissolved
- 14 Nov 1951 - M.P. Koirala forms Nepali Congress government
- 16 Jan 1952 - USOM established
- 22 Jan 1952 - Un Successful Coup detat by K.I. Sigh, Sign flees to peeking
- 10 Aug 1952 - Nepal Congress Splits, Koirala forced to resign, King, Rules with Advisory council
- 19 Feb 1953 - Nepal U.N. Technical Assistance Agreement
- 15 June 1953 - Advisory Council dissolved M.P. Koirala formed government of Newly Created National Democratic Party
- 2 Sep 1953 - Kathmandu Municipality election, Communist Party won 50 percent of Vote
- 18 Feb 1954 - NDP government dissolved M.P. Koirala forms coalition government
- 28 Apr 1954 - Nepal Ford Foundation Agreement on Aid
- 18 Feb 1955 - King Tribhuwan vests all Royal powers in crown prince Mahendra
- 3 Mar 1955 - Koirala government dissolved, Mahendra begins direct - rule
- 13 March 1955 - Death of King Tribhuwan
- 27 Jan 1956 - T.P. Acharya forms Praja Parishad Government
- 7 Oct 1956 - China grants Nepal \$ 12.6 Million during visit by Prime Minister T.P. Acharya
- 21 Oct 1956 - President Rajendra Prasad of India arrives of Kathmandu and assures Nepal of economic support commitment of 21 Million
- 25 Jan 1957 - Chou En-Lai pays four-day state visit to Nepal
- 15 July 1957 - Acharya resigns and the government dissolved
- 26 July 1957 - K.I. Singh of United Democratic Party forms government.
- 14 Nov 1954 - Singh's government dissolved, King Rules with National Council.
- 15 May 1958 - Multi Party Council of Ministers formed
- 23 June 1958 - Communiqué at conclusion of King's visit to USSR, USSR's commit to aid Nepal.
- Feb-May 1959 - General election

- 16 Feb 1959 - Nepal signs technical assistance agreement with SHAG, Privately financed Swiss projects, commenced in 1955
- 24 Apr 1959 - Nepal USSR Sign \$ 7.5 Million aid agreement
- 27 May 1959 - B.P. Koirala forms Nepali Congress government
- 28 Jan 1960 - India discloses New Aid grant of \$ 29.5 Million
- 21 Mar 1960 - Nepal and China reach agreement on boundary issues and China grants \$ 21 Million in Aid during B.P. Koirala visit
- 27 Apr 1960 - King Mahendra Pays State visit to the United States, receives \$ 15 Million grant.
- 24 Nov 1960 - Three Man Israeli team starts varied surveys in Nepal
- 15 Dec 1960 - King dissolves Nepali Congress government; begins direct rule as Chairman of Council of Ministers
- 26 Feb 1961 - Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain pays state visit, Grant of 15 Million grant
- 21 Aug 1961 - Nepal and Israel jointly form National Construction Company of Nepal Ltd.
- 3 Sep 1961 - China agrees to grant \$ 2.1 Million in Cash and \$ 3.3 Million in Commodities to pay local Costs of Chinese aid
- 27 Oct 1961 - On return from state visit to China, King Confirms Nepali's agreement to Kathmandu Lhasa road
- 1 Dec 1961 - West Germany offers \$ 750,000 for workshop project
- 5 Oct 1962 - Marshal China Yi, Deputy Premier of China, offers Nepal Support in event of aggression
- 4 Nov 1962 - Demarcation of Nepal -Tibet- border Completed
- Dec 1962 - Tulsilal Amatya elected general secretary of radical wing of Communist Party
- 17 Dec 1962 - Promulgation of New constitution
- March 1963 - District and National Panchayat elections
- April 1963 - New Muluki Ain, Abolition of National Guidance, Ministry, Radical communist split into Tulsilal Amatya and Puspa Lal Shrestha factions
- 14/4 - Rastriya Panchayat holds first session
- Dec - Rishi Kesh Shah becomes Chairman of Raj Sabha Standing Committee
- 30 Jan 1964 - Hanging of Durgananda Jha for attempt on Mahendra's life in 1962
- July 1964 - Rishikesh Shah removed from chairmanship of standing committee of Raj Sabha
- 6/1/1965 - Surya Bahadur Thapa becomes Chairman of Ministers (title changed to Prime minister other following year)
- Jan 1967 - First amendment to the Constitution
- Sep - Oct 1967 - Plea by 17 members for liberalization (Prompting King Mahendra to secure a Rastriya Panchayat resolution that there was no alternative to the Panchayat System)
- May 1968 - Pushpa Lal Shrestha establishes own communist party with third convention at Gorkhpur, India
- 15/5/1968 - Subarna Pledges loyal co-operation with King Mahendra
- 30/10/1968 - Release of B.P. Koirala and Ganesh Man Singh
- 11/12/1968 - Subarna returned to Kathmandu
- Feb 1969 - B.P. Koirala went to voluntary exile in India, Man Mohan Adhikari and Shambhu Ram Shrestha released from Jail
- 25/6/1969 - Kirtinidhi Bista, Prime Minister, denounces defense agreements with India

- Oct 1971 - Ram Raja Prasad Singh Stripped of Membership of Rastriya Panchayat
- Dec 1971 - Man Mohan Adhikari, Mohan Bikram Singh, Nirmal Lama etc. set up central Nucleus to promote leftist unity
- 31/1/1972 - Death of King Mahendra and accession of King Birendra
- 12/5/1972 - Surya Bahadur Thapa puts forward demands of reform.
- 16/6/1972 - Censure motion on Prime Minister blocked
- 13/8/1972 - Surya Bahadur Thapa, Ratna Prasad Kharel, Prakash Chandra Lohani, Krishna Prasad Bhandari arrested under Security act
- 25/8/1972 - Congress armed raid on Haripur (Sarlahi district)
- 4/3/1973 - Jhapali Group communists Killed while being transferred from one jail to another.
- 10/6/1973 - Congress activists hijack Nepali aero plane to Forbesjungs in Bihar
- 16/3/1974 - Biratnagar Bomb attempt on Birendra's life by Bhim Narayan Shrestha and a companion
- 12/12/1974 - Congress armed group under Yagya Bahadur Thapa captured at Okhaldhunga: King Birendra announced Planning for reform Commission
- Apr 1975 - Akhil Nepal Communist Revolutionary Co-ordination Committee (M-L) (forerunner of CPN (M-L)) established
- 26/6/1975 - Indira Gandhi declares emergency rule in India
- 12/12/1975 - Second amendment to the constitution - Back to the Village National Campaign committee given 'politburo' role and class organizations lose Rastriya Panchayat representation
- 30/12/1976 - B.P. Koirala and Ganeshman Singh return to Kathmandu from India and are immediately arrested
- 17/2/1977 - Death sentences passed on Bhim Narayan Shrestha and Yogya Bahadur Thapa
- March 1977 - Janata Party wins Indian election
- June 1977 - B.P. Koirala released
- 8/11/1977 - B.P. Koirala returns to Nepal, after Subarna hands over presidency of Congress
- 9/11/1977 - Death of Subarna in Calcutta
- Feb 1978 - B.P. Koirala dissolves Congress working committee
- 3/3/1978 - B.P. Koirala again goes abroad for treatment
- 4/6/1978 - Statement by 38 Congressmen (mostly Subarna group) reaffirming 15 March 1968 statement accepting the Panchayat system. Later they establish a new working committee under Bakhan Singh Gurung
- 31/10/1978 - B.P. Koirala has audience with King Birendra
- 26/12/1978 - Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist) established
- 8/2/1979 - Execution of Bhim Narayan Shrestha and Capt. Yogya Bahadur Thapa
- 6/3/1979 - After return from third medical trip, B.P. confined to the Kathmandu Valley
- 6/4/1979 - Student Protest march to Pakistan embassy
- 23/4/1979 - T.U. announces closure of campuses; police clearing of Amrit Science Campus hostel.
- 27/4/1979 - Police firing at Hetauda
- 28/4/1979 - B.P. Koirala placed under house arrest
- 2/5/1979 - Appointment of royal commission



- 8/5/1979 - Release of B.P. from house arrest and of other arrested under security Act, Police Firing at Bharatpur
- 23/5/1979 - Army called out
- 24/5/1979 - Birendra announces referendum; Kirtinidhi Bista resigns from the premiership
- 29/5/1979 - Suspension of BVNC
- 1/6/1979 - Surya Bahadur Thapa becomes Prime Minister
- 1/12/1979 - King Birendra announces Rastriya Panchayat will in the future be elected by universal suffrage
- 5/2/1980 - Surya Prasad Upadhyaya expresses support for the Bakhan Singh Gurung Congress faction
- 2/5/1980 - Referendum
- 15/12/1980 - Third amendment to the constitution
- 9/5/1981 - First direct election of Rastriya Panchayat
- 11/7/1983 - 'No confidence' motion against Surya Bahadur Thapa passed; followed by Lokendra Bahadur Chand's appointment as prime minister
- Nov 1983 - Mohan Bikram Singh sets up Masal as a Communist Party separate from the 4<sup>th</sup> Convention
- May 1985 - Congress launch *Satyagraha*
- 20/6/1985 - Bombs go off in Kathmandu
- 22/6/1985 - Janabadi Morcha claims responsibility for explosions
- Nov 1985 - Mashal splits from Mohan Bikram Singh's Masal party
- 16/12/1985 - King Birendra announces commitment to Basic Needs by 2000
- 21/3/1985 - Nagendra Rijal replaces Lokendra Bahadur Chand as prime minister
- 12/5/1985 - General election
- 15/6/1985 - Marichman Singh (Shrestha) becomes prime minister
- May 1987 - Death sentences (*in absentia*) on Nepal Janabadi Morcha leader Ramraja Prasad Singh and three others for 1985 bombings
- 21/8/1988 - Earthquake
- 25/8/1988 - Murder of ex-M.P. Karna Hyoju in Bhaktapur
- 23/3/1989 - India closes all but two border crossings after expiry of Trade and Transit Treaty
- Aug 1989 - CPN (M-L) conference agrees to work for parliamentary democracy as an interim goal.
- 18/1/1990 - Start of Nepali Congress Conference
- 15/1/1990 - Formation of United Left Front announced
- 1/2/1990 - Announcement of 'Joint Coordination Committee' between Congress and United Left Front
- 14/2/1990 - Announcement of formation of United National People's Movement by radical communist groups
- 18/2/1990 - Start of *Janandolan*
- 20/2/1990 - Several deaths in clashes in Bhaktapur
- 9/3/1990 - Announcement of forced resignation of Keshab Kumar Budathoki from the government
- 20/3/1990 - Arrest of intellectuals attending meeting at Kritipur campus of Tribhuvan University
- 30/4/1990 - Patan 'uprising' begins

- 1/4/1990 - Cabinet reshuffle
- 2/4/1990 - Shailendra Kumar Upadhyaya resigns as foreign minister
- 6/4/1990 - Dismissal of Marichman Singh's government; appointment of Lokendra Bahadur Chand as prime minister; Darbar Marg shootings
- 8/4/1990 - Dan political parties lifted
- 16/4/1990 - Dissolution of Rastriya Panchayat; Krishna Prasad Bhattarai appointed prime minister.
- 23/4/1990 - Lynching of suspected 'Mandales'
- 27/4/1990 - Local Panchayat dissolved
- 7/5/1990 - Abolition of zonal commissioners and of National Sports Council
- 11/5/1990 - King Birendra unilaterally announces membership of a 'Constitutional Reforms Recommendation Commission'
- 22/5/1990 - Legislative and executive power of the dissolved Rastriya Panchayat vested in interim government
- 31/5/1990 - King Birendra appoints new Constitution Recommendation Commission on prime minister's advice
- 30/6/1990 - Nepal Buddhist Association demonstrate for a secular state
- 23/8/1990 - Attack on Queen Aishwarya at Pashupatinath
- 10/9/1990 - Draft constitution handed to King
- 21/10/1990 - Leaking of 'palace counter-draft' of constitution
- 9/11/1990 - Promulgation of constitution
- 23/11/1990 - CPN (Unity Centre) established (includes Mashal, 4<sup>th</sup> Convention and CPN (Peasant's Organization) )
- 31/12/1990 - Malik commission submits its report
- 8/1/1991 - Merger of CPN (M) and CPN (ML) to form Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist and Leninist) - the UML
- 4/2/1991 - Three killed in clash between police and *Sukumbasis* at Nawalparasi
- 12/5/1991 - General Election
- 29/5/1991 - Congress government under Girija Prasad Koirala sworn in
- Dec 1991 - Girija Koirala's cabinet reshuffle intensifies conflict within Congress
- Feb 1992 - Congress holds Jhapa convention; Krishna Prasad Bhattarai re-elected as president, Thapa and Chand factions amalgamate to form United National Democratic Party  
Radical communist groups form Joint People's Agitation Committee
- 2/4/1992 - Police shooting of left-wing demonstrators in Kathmandu
- May 1992 - Congress win over half the seats in local elections
- July 1992 - Shailaja Acharya resigns from the government
- Dec 1992 - Supreme Court rules Tanakur agreement must be put before parliament
- Feb 1993 - UML Conference approves *bahudliya janbad*
- 16/5/1993 - Death of Madan Bhandari and Jivraj Ashrit in jeep accident at Dasdhunga
- 17/8/1993 - After series of violent clashes between demonstrators and police, agreement for a renewed investigation into Dasdhunga incident signed by UML and Congress

- 7/2/1994 - Following intensified dissension within Congress, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai loses Kathmandu by - election
- 27/3/1994 - Raid on a house in Kathmandu by armed Indian police
- May 1994 - United People's Front splits into Baburam Bhattarai and Niranjana Vaidya factions
- June 1994 - Public Accounts Committee report suggests Girija Prasad Koirala may have acted improperly over the award of a contract by RNAC
- 10/7/1994 - After dissident Congress M.P.S., engineer a government defeat in Parliament, Girija Prasad Koirala requests dissolution
- 27/7/1994 - Congress actions agrees to fight the election jointly
- 12/9/1994 - Supreme Court rules the dissolution of parliament as constitutional
- 15/11/1994 - Mid-term election
- 29/11/1994 - Man Mohan Adhikari appointed prime minister
- March 1995 - Padmaratna Tuladhar sparks controversy by reportedly questioning the ban on cow slaughters
- May 1995 - C.P. Mainali and M.K. Nepal questioned about 'Sugar Scandal'
- 8/6/1995 - Congress requests special session of parliament
- 9/6/1995 - Man Mohan Adhikari requested the king to dissolve parliament and hold mid-term elections
- 13/6/1995 - Parliament dissolved
- 14/8/1995 - Prime minister Man Mohan Adhikari injured in helicopter crash
- 28/8/1995 - Supreme Court quashes dissolution
- 10/9/1995 - UML government leaves office after parliament passes no confidence motion
- 11/9/1995 - Sher Bahadur Deuba becomes prime minister heading Congress-National Democratic Party-Sadbhavana coalition
- 18/9/1995 - Deuba government wins vote of confidence
- 3/2/1996 - Maoists attack a police post in Holeri, Rolpa signaling 'people's war'. Earlier, Baburam Bhattarai presented a 40 point demands to prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba who ignored it and went to India on a state visit
- 25/2/1996 - Home Minister Khum Bahadur Khadka promotes a hardline approach and says the Maoists can be crushed " Within days"
- March 1995 - Deuba convenes an all-party meeting to look into the Maoists issue but there is lack of seriousness
- Rest of 1996 - Maoists make sporadic raids on police stations in Mid-western Nepal and Sindhuli, capturing weapons and ransack distilleries and multinational targets
- Feb 1997 - Government launches a harsh police crackdown in the Midwestern hills, but many innocents suffer in this feeds the Maoist insurgency with fresh recruits
- March 1997 - There is continued disarray in coalition politics in Kathmandu and disillusionment with the return of Panchayat-era apparatchik Lokendra Bahadur Chand as a prime minister in a UML-RPP coalition
- May 1997 - Maoist boycott local election, eight people are killed in a campaign of violence. Government forms a task force to find a political solution to the Maoist control.
- July 1997 - Home minister Bamdeb Gautam tries to pass the Terrorism Act, but backtracks after protests

- Oct. 1997 - The RPP splits, Surya Bahadur Thapa replaces Chand and forms a government with the NC and NSP. By now more than 50 VDCs in Rolpa alone are under Maoist control
- March 1998 - Public disenchantment with political parties grows as the UML also splits and Girija Koirala takes over and immediately launches Operation Kilo Sierra Two to stop the Maoists before it's too late. By the end of 1998, 500 people had been killed, most of them not Maoist
- Oct. 1998 - The Maoists spread out of the Midwestern hills for the first time into central Nepal and the eastern hills
- May 1999 - Parliamentary elections are held and the Maoists call for a boycott. Krishna Prasad Bhattarai becomes prime minister and he appoints She Bahadur Deuba to a committee to find a solution to the Maoist problem
- March 2000 - Congress infighting intensifies and Koirala ousts Bhattarai, Maoists use the chaos in Kathmandu to continue attacks on police posts and government offices. Police start pulling out of rural areas in the Midwest
- 25 Sep. 2000 - Dunai attacked and 14 policemen killed in the first of many subsequent human wave attacks by Maoists on district capitals. Home Minister Govinda Raj Joshi resigns
- Oct. 2000 - Deputy PM Ram Chandra Poudel meets Maoist leader Rabindra Shrestha in Kathmandu to find a solution
- Feb. 2001 - Maoists use anniversary of war to announce to Prachanda Path doctrine
- April 2001 - In a wave of attacks in Rukum and Dailekh Maoists kill 70 policemen in a week and loot weapons. Police chief says he can't fight Maoists by himself and the paramilitary Armed police Force is set up
- 1 June 2001 - The royal massacre, Nepal has three kings in four days. King Gyanendra is enthroned. The Maoists infiltrate street protests in Kathmandu
- July 2001 - Maoists begin attacks against public schools and declare war on alcohol
- 6-13 July 2001 - Maoists attack Holeri, army refusal to rescue captured police creates a political crisis and Koirala resigns as Prime Minister to be replaced by Deuba. Maoists Kill 40 policemen in wave of attacks in Lamjung, Nuwakot, Ramechhap, Gulmi, Dailekh, then agree to a ceasefire
- Aug. 2001 - Madhab Kumar Nepal and Bamdeb Gautam meet Prachanda in Siliguri in India
- Sep. 2004 - After small explosive goes off a USIS, the Peace Corps is withdrawn from Nepal
- Nov. 2004 - Dailekh's mothers can't take it anymore and rise up against the Maoists. Several are killed in Maoists retaliation against the resistance
- Dec. 2004 - Raids in Argakhanchi, Dailkeh, heavy casualties on both sides. Maoists blockade Kathmandu for one week
- 1 Feb. 2005 - King Gyanendra sacks Deuba again, dissolves parliament, cuts phones and internet and sends army into newsrooms. Hundreds of politicians and civil society activists are jailed. International condemnation
- April 2005 - After debate at the UN in Geneva, an office of the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights is set up in Kathmandu. Deuba arrested on corruption charges
- June 2005 - Maoists blow up bus in Madi, Killing 37 passengers and injuring 70. Worst ever-terrorist attack in Nepal
- Sep. 2005 - Maoists declare three-month unilateral ceasefire, government fails to respond. King Gyanendra continues his walkabouts in various parts of the country

- Oct. 2005 - Tourism bounces back with ceasefire
- Nov 2005 - Government cracks down on media and prepares guidelines for NGOs. Seven party alliance and the Maoists sign a 12-point agreement in New Delhi
- Dec. 2005 - Maoists extend ceasefire by a month
- 2 Jan. 2006 - Back to war
- 22 Apr. 2006 - King Gyanendra announces restoration of parliament after 19 days of nation wide pro-democracy protests
- 21 Nov. 2006 - Peace Accord signed by Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala and Maoists Chairmen Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda)

## **Appendix-5**

### **Persons consulted during the Study**

1. Kumar Khatri - U.S.A., Texas
2. Lok Mani Khatri - U.S.A., Texas
3. Ganesh Bhakta Khatri - Saudi Arab
4. Mohan Prashad Lohani - Advisor, Foreign Policy Building
5. Pradeep Nepal- Former Education Minister
6. Prof. Dr. Tri Ratna Manandhar- ex- Dean, Humanities
7. Prof. Niranjana Sharma- ex-Assist Dean
8. Dr. Nanda Bahadur Singh - Lecturer, Biology Department
9. Mani Ojha- Joint Secretary
10. Arjun Koirala- District Judge
11. SanJaya Burma - Indian Embassy
12. Saroj Sharma - Librarian, Indian Embassy
13. L.S. Niwas - Librarian, Indian Embassy
14. Prakash Thapa - American Embassy
15. Krishna Bhandari - Librarian, T.U., Central Library, Kirtipur
16. Prof. Dr. Gopal Prasad Pokharel, Foreign Policy Study Center
17. Surya Koirala - Co-Secretary, Attorney General
18. Ashok Aryal - Co-Secretary, Education Ministry
19. Yagya Bahadur Hamal- Joint Secretary, Foreign Ministry
20. Nischal Pandey- ex-Director, Foreign policy study center
21. Bidhyadhar Mallik- Secretary, Finance Ministry
22. Laba Prasad Tripathi - Co-secretary, Education Ministry

23. Govinda Shrestha - Proprietor, Ratna Pustak Bhandar
24. LP Pandey - Proprietor, Bhirkuti Pustak Pasal
25. Krisna Bahadur Singh - Editor, Gayatri Super Science
26. Keshab Bohora, Lumbini Sugar Mill
27. Iswor Guragai, Jhapa
28. Prof. Dr. Panna Kaji Amatya
29. Trilochan Silwal - Former Prof., T.U.
30. Ganesh Bahadur Khatri - District Education Officer, Dailekh
31. Jaya Prasad Sharma - Former District Education Officer, Dailekh
32. Madhav Koirala - Administrative Officer, Humanities, Dean's Office T.U.
33. Dr. Shisir Kumar Subba - Assist Dean's, Humanities Office, T.U.
34. Ganesh Bahadur Thapa - SP, Police Head Quarter
35. Siba Maya Tumbahamfe, Social Worker, Ph.D. Scholar
36. Dr. Dambar Narayan Yadav - Former Minister, Nepal Government
37. Prof. Dr. Ram Kumar Dahl - Central Department, Political Science, T.U.
38. Prof. Habihullah - Former Chief, Central Department of Political Science, T.U.
39. Dr. Surendra K.C. - Lecturer, Central Department of History, T.U.
40. Narayan Pd. Bhatta- Reader, Trichandra Campus, English Department
41. Phon Bahadur G.C., Lecturer, Patan Campus, Department of Mathematics
42. Ananda Nepal - Managing Director, Ratan Pustak Baghbazaar
43. Maha Shram Sharma - Co-Secretary, Department of Education, Sanothimi
44. Nar Bahadur Hamal - Former Parliamentarian, Dailekh
45. Narendra Paudel - Principal, Shepherd College, Tinkune, Baneshor
46. Ramesh Kuwar, Former Dean, Dean's Office, Humanities, T.U.
47. Radha Krishna - Section Officer, Ministry of Education
48. Dr. Sharba Raj Khadka - Dhapasi
49. Bal Krishna Khadka - Former Education Minister
50. Siba Raj Adhikari - Advocate, Baghbazar, Kathmandu
51. Milan Rai - Advocate, Baghbazar, Kathmandu
52. Kritinidhi Bista (Kriti NIDHI)- Former Prime Minister, Kathmandu
53. Santa Bahadur Thapa - Lecture, Trichandra Campus, Department Political Science
54. Ram Bahadur Khadka - Director, Higher Secondary Council
55. Surya Bahadur Sen Woli - Former Zonal Commissioner, New Baneshor
56. Prof. Dr. Khagendra Luitel - Central Department of Nepali, T.U.
57. Indra Bahadur Dangi - DSP, Kathmandu
58. Dr. Jibendra Dev Giri - Central Department of Nepali
59. H.K. Rai, DSP, Baneshor

60. Hanspure Subedi - Lecturer, Nepal Law Campus
61. Govind Koirala - Advocate, Supreme Court
62. Prof. Dr. Dil Bahadur Chhetri - Chief, Pokhara Campus
63. Bishnu Pd. Thaiba - Co-secretary, CDC, Sanothimi
64. Bala Ram Thapa - Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Animal Science
65. Dr. Punnya Regmi - Reader, Chitwan Agriculture Campus
66. Aas Bahadur Tamang - Colonel, Military Camp, Ramechap
67. Prof. Dr. Jagat Bahadur K.C.- Former V.C., Purbanchal University
68. John Den Upkyab- Former Zonal Commissioner
69. Janardan Sharma, Kathmandu
70. Prof. Dr. Madan Kumar Dahal
71. Journalist Rajendra Hamal - Geafont
72. Bala Nanda Poudel - Secretary, Education Ministry
73. Janardan Nepal - Director, Education Department
74. Prof. Kapil Shrestha - Central Depart of Political Science, T.U.
75. Hari Kumar Shresth - Joint Secretary, Education Ministry
76. Bharat Simkhada - Deputy Secretary, Education Ministry
77. Khem K.C., Dailekh
78. Dilli Khatri, Dailekh
79. Kirshna Shahi, Dailekh
80. Mrs. Nitu BC

## Appendix-6

### Words which are used in Germany

Geopolitique	=	Geopolitik
Weltanschauun	=	A simple rehabilitation of an order
Ausschwitrmen	=	Native home land
Normal burger	=	Normal Litizens
Selbstbehauptungs wille	=	will for self assertion
Lebensraum	=	National home land
Zeitbeding	=	Contingent
Zwischeneuropa	=	In between Europe
Herumligende Bausteine	=	questioned for rearrangement in the future.
Machtinstanzen	=	Different power centers.
Amputieren	=	Amputated
Raum	=	Teleolozies of interwar
Neue Geopolitik	=	New Geopolitics

Macht	= Power
Raumge bundenheit	= Geographical realities
Raumwirksam	= Active in space
Raumabhängig	= dependent upon it
Lage	= Above all
Mittellage	= Relative to other powers
Versailles ohne Krieg	= Treaty of Versailles without the war
Entwestlichung	= de-westernization
Lebensraum	= Living space
Wehrgeographice	= Defense geography, The geography of states
West bindung	=
Zeukunftsaufrage	= Hub of Europe severige (Sweden)
Schick salslage	= Location of destiny
Schicksalsseite	= direction of destiny
Fiihrensrolle	= Leadership role
Ordnennd Wirken	= Established order
Wacht an deroder	= Watch on the order
Die wacht am Rhein	= The watch on the Rhine (much loved by Nam's among others)
Jahrhunder taufgabe	= Task of the next century
Geistige	= Spintual Conditions
Emotionalitat	= imagination and passion
Volkisch	= Natimalism
Tauglichkeit	= suitability
Uneingelostes Vermachtnis	= Unredeemed legacy
Bodenstandiger	= Identification of political state.
Organismus	= Organism rooted in the soil
Politische Geographie	= Political geography
Volk	= Nation
Per se	= State
Gemeinschaft	= The Nation essentialized as an organic
Uebewesen	= Living creature
Selbstver stand lich	= Understandable
Das Wort Lebensraumin den Mund Zu nehmen	= Even to let the word cross one's lips
Pouvoir, i.e.	= The concept of power
Der Traum Von Afrika	= Dream of Africa

## Appendix-7

### **Ambassador at large at the beginning and appointed at non-Minister or Foreign Affairs after**

1. The institute of Nepal's Foreign Office is one of the oldest of its type in Asia. When King Prithvi Narayan Shah, the Great, reunified the Kingdom in 1769, it was called Jaishi Kotha. The nomenclature changed to Munshi Khana during Bhimsen Thapa's premiership in the early part of



nineteenth century when Jaishi Kotha was retained as a unit of Munshi Khana. After 1934, the Munshi Khana was also referred to as the Foreign Department in correspondences in English.

2. Prior to the Political change of 1951, the Rana Prime Minister used to make all decisions relating to foreign affairs. During the time of Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere (1901-1929), a high ranking Rana started to be designated as the Director General of the Department of Foreign Affairs. The post of Director- General was successively held by Kaiser Shumsher, Bahadur Shumsher, Singha Shumsher, Krishna Shumsher and Bijay Shumsher.
3. A five member Royal Advisory Council headed by Principal Royal Advisor Sardar Gunja Man Singh and in existence from Baisakh 1<sup>st</sup> to Magh 12<sup>th</sup>, 2012 B.S. (April 14, 1955 to January 2, 1956). The portfolios of the advisors were not made public. However, correspondences relating to foreign affairs of the period indicate that Principal Royal Advisor Gunja Man Singh was in charge of foreign affairs.
4. During the first ten years of democratic rule (1951-1960), the head of government was primarily responsible for foreign affairs and, in most cases, the Prime Minister himself looked after the portfolio.
5. During the period of almost thirty years of Panchayat System (1960-1990), the Royal Palace was the focal point of Nepal's foreign affairs. One of the important secretaries of His Majesty the King was allotted the foreign affairs portfolio and was the de facto Foreign Minister issuing all important policy directives and monitoring the activities of the Foreign Ministry. On a number of occasions, it seemed that the Foreign minister played a second fiddle and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported all important policy details, even some routine matters, to the Palace Secretariat looking after foreign affairs.
6. Sardar Yadu Nath Khanal and Major-General Padma Bahadur Khatri, both veterans of Nepal's diplomacy and former Foreign Secretaries, were top-level advisors on foreign affairs for a number of years. Khanal, a noted scholar and an articulate spokesman of Nepal's foreign policy, had the distinguished record of being Foreign Secretary twice, ambassador to India, the United States of America and China and topmost foreign affairs advisor to practically all the leaders in power from 1960 to 1994. General Khatri was in power from 1960 to 1994. General Khatri was also Foreign Secretary twice and ambassador of Nepal to the United Nations and United States (two terms), was later appointed to the post of Foreign Minister.
7. During the first five years of multiparty democratic rule (1990-1994), the Executive Prime Minister himself looked after the portfolio. Ministers in charge of other affairs like Finance, Tourism and Civil Aviation, General Administration and Information and Communications were periodically deputed to represent the Ministry. Yadu Nath Khanal and Jaya Raj Acharya also served as advisors during the period.

8. During the period of the CPN (UML) Government (1994 - 1995) the Deputy Prime Minister looked after the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was assisted by two senior members of the party, Sita Nandan Ray and Jeetendra Narayan Dev, as part-time advisors.
9. The Nepali Congress- Rastriya Prajatantra Party-Nepal Sadbhana Party coalition Government (September 1995 - March 1997) appointed a development economist and scholar, Madhukar Shumshere Rana, as Special Advisor to the Foreign Ministry, a politician, Mohan Raj Malla, as Political advisor and three retired joint secretaries, Govinda Dev Pant, Buddhi Ratna Tuladhar and Indra Bahadur Singh, consultants, Mr. Rana Continued to serve until March 1998.
10. Rishikesh Shah, a noted intellectual and politician and Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay, a former Minister, served as ambassadors prior to taking over the post of Foreign Minister, some others accepted ambassadorship after serving as Foreign Minister (Matrika Prasad Koirala, Khadga Man Singh Basnyat Gahendra Bahadur Rajbhandari and Krishna Raj Aryal). While Matrika Prasad Koirala is so far the only example when the two-time Prime Minister of Nepal accepted the position of Royal Nepalese Ambassador (to the United States), Gyanendra Bahadur Karki was ambassador both prior to and after taking over as Foreign Minister.
11. The only person to hold the position of subordinate Minister of State in the Minister of Foreign Affairs was Krishna Prasad Panth who was in the office for 48 days in April-May, 1979 when Kirtinidhi Bista was Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. Tulsi Giri was the only Deputy Minister in the Ministry as he held the position for 34 days in May-June 1959 when B.P. Koirala was in power as the first democratically elected Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.
12. Sardar Medini Prasad Rajbhandari was the last head (Popularly called Bhote Subba) of Jaishi Kotha unit of Munshi Khana dealing with Nepal's northern neighbor, was also the advisor to the Ministry of about three decades until his death in early 1980s.
13. Hari Bansh Jha, Dhruvabar Singh Thapa, Hari Prasad Sharma, Prof. Laxman Kumar Upadhyaya, Surya Subedi and Surya Nath Upadhyaya served as short-term advisors/consultants to the Minister for Foreign Affairs during the crisis period of Nepal-India relations (1989-90).
14. Madhukar Shumsher Rana, Dr. Badri Prasad Shrestha, Prof. Mohan Prasad so far held the position of Special Secretaries. Some senior officials who were appointed ambassadors, Bharat Raj Rajbhandari, Ishwori Raj Pandey, Mrs. Bindeshware shah, Jai Pratap Rana and Yadav Kanta Silwal (later Foreign Secretary and SAARC Secretary-general), served as Additional Secretaries in the Foreign Ministry.

**Appendix-7(A)****\*Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Nepal since - 2007-11-7 to 2065-3-30**

<b>S. N.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Date of Appointment</b>	<b>Remarks (Designations/additional charge)</b>
1.	General Mohan Shumsher Rana (Dec. 23, 1885-1965)	2007-11-7 (Feb. 18, 1951)	Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.
2.	General Mohan Shumshere Rana (Dec. 23, 1885-1965)	2008-2-27 (June 10, 1951)	Prime Minister and Minister for Defense and Foreign Affairs.
3.	Matrika Prasad Koirala (1912-1997)	2008-8-1 (July 21, 1952)	Prime Minister and Minister for Public Affairs Management and Foreign Affairs.
4.	Matrika Prasad Koirala (1912-1997)	2009-4-6 (July 21, 1952)	Prime Minister and Minister for Public Affairs Management Foreign Affairs, Finance, Home Food, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Land management.
5.	Khadga Man Singh Basnyat (197 Oct. 3. 1994)	2009-4-3 (Aug. 17, 1953)	Counselor for Foreign Affairs, Land Revenue and Forest.
6.	Matrika Prasad Koirala (1912-1997)	2010-3-3 (June 17, 1953)	Prime Minister and Minister for Public Affairs Management, Finance and Foreign Affairs.
7.	Dr. Dilli Raman Regmi (Dec. 18, 199)	2010-11-7 (Feb. 18, 1953)	Minister for Foreign Affairs, Education, Self-Government and Health
8.	Chuda Parsad Sharma Dhungana (Dec. 5, 1916- January 19, 1989)	2012-10-3 (Jan. 27, 1956)	Minister for Foreign Affairs, Forest, Food and Agriculture.
9.	Dr. Munwar Indrajit (K.I.) Singh (May 1906- 1982)	1014-4-11 (July 26, 1956)	Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs and Home Minister.
10	Sahebjy Purendra Bikram Sheha	2015-2-2 (May 27, 1956)	Foreign Affairs and Minister Defense
11	Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala (Sept. 8, 1914- July 21, 1982) Dr. Tulsi Giri (Oct. 9, 1926)	1016-3-16 (May 27, 1959), 2016-3-16	Prime Minister and Minister for Defense and Foreign Affairs, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.
12	Dr. Tulsi Giri (Oct. 9, 1926)	2016-3-16 (June 30, 1959) for 12 days	Prime Minister and Minister for Defense and Foreign Affairs, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.

13	Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala (Sept. 8, 1914- July 21, 1982)	2016-3-28 (July 12, 1959)	Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs
14	Dr. Tulsi Giri (Oct. 9, 1926)	2017-9-13 (Dec. 27, 1960)	Foreign Affairs, Defense, Communications, Power, Irrigation and Royal Place Affairs Minister
15	Rishikesh Shah (May 1925)	2019-3-18 (July 2, 1962)	Minister for Foreign Affairs and Finance
16	Dr. Tulsi Giri (Oct. 9, 1926)	2019-12-20 (Apr. 2, 1963)	Chairman, Council of Minister and Foreign and Royal Palace Affairs Minister
17	Kirtinidhi Bista (January 15, 1927)	2020-12-27 (Apr. 7, 1964)	Foreign Affairs and Education Minister
18	Kirtinidhi Bista (January 15, 1927)	2021-10-13 (Jan. 26, 1965)	Deputy Chairman, Council of Minister and Foreign Affairs and Education Minister
19	Kirtinidhi Bista (January 15, 1927)	2021-11-14 (Feb. 25, 1965)	Deputy Chairman, Council of Minister and Foreign Affairs and Education Minister
20	Kirtinidhi Bista (January 15, 1927)	2-22-3-2 (June 16, 1965)	Deputy Chairman, Council of Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Land Reforms, Agriculture and Food.
21	Kirtinidhi Bista (January 15, 1927)	2022-10-8 (Jan. 21, 1966)	Deputy Chairman, Council of Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs
22	Kirtinidhi Bista (January 15, 1927)	2023-4-16 (July 31, 1966)	Deputy Chairman, Council of Minister and Foreign Affairs and Education
23	Kirtinidhi Bista (January 15, 1927)	2023-10-14 (Jan. 27, 1967)	Deputy Chairman, Council of Minister and Foreign Affairs and Education
24	Kirtinidhi Bista (January 25, 1927)	2024-2-15 (May 29, 1967)	Deputy Chairman, Council of Minister and Foreign Affairs and Education
25	Gehendra Bahadur Rajbhandari (1923-1994)	2025-6-10 (Sept. 25, 1968)	Minister and Foreign Affairs and Health.
26	Gehendra Bahadur Rajbhandari (1923-1994)	2025-12-25 (Apr. 7, 1969)	Minister and Foreign Affairs, Health and Information & Broadcasting

27	Gehendra Bahadur Rajbhandari (1923-1994)	202-12-31 (Apr. 13, 1970)	First Minister Heading the Council of Minister as Minister for Royal Palace, General Administration Foreign Affairs and Minister
28	Gehendra Bahadur Rajbhandary (1923-1994)	2028-1-1 (Apr. 14, 1971)	Minister for Foreign Affairs and Health.
29	Kirtinidhi Bista (January 15, 1927)	2028-5-13 (Aug. 29, 1971)	Prime Minister and Minister for Finance, Foreign Affairs, General Administration, Defence and Royal Palace Affairs.
30	Gyanendra Bahadur Karki (1927-1992)	2029-1-4 (Apr. 16, 1972)	Foreign Affairs and Education Minister
31	Gyanendra Bahadur Karki (1927-1992)	2029-4-1(July 1, 1972)	Foreign Affairs and Education Minister
32	Gyanendra Bahadur Karki (1927-1992)	2031-7-15 (Oct. 1, 1975)	Minister for Foreign Affairs
33	Krishna Raj Aryal (Dec. 1928)	2032-8-15 (Dec. 1, 1975)	Minister for Foreign Affairs
34	Kirtinidhi Bista January 15, 1927) Krishna Prasad Panta (August 15, 1933)	2036-1-1 (April 14, 1979) 2036-1-1 (April 14, 1979 for 48 days)	Prime Minister and Royal Palace Affairs an Foreign Minister Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Law & Justice
35	Khadga Bahadur (K.B.) Shahi (July 1929)	2036-2018 (June 1, 1979)	Minister for Foreign Affairs and Communications
36	Khadga Bahadur (K.B.) Shahi (July 1929)	2037-2-19 (June 1, 1980)	Minister for Foreign Affairs
37	Surya Bahadur Thapa (March 21, 1928)	2038-3-2 (June 16, 1981)	Prime Minister and Minister for Royal Palace Affairs and Foreign Affairs
38	Maj. Gen. Padma Bahadur Khatri (1914-1-1995)	2029-6-24 (Oct. 10, 1982)	Foreign Affairs and Water Resources Minister.
39	Maj. Gen. Padma Bahadur Khatri (1914-1-1995)	2040-3-29 (July 13,1983)	Foreign Affairs and Water Resources Minister.
40	Lokendra Bahadur Chand (March 15, 1940)	2042-1-31 (May 13, 1985 for 1 day)	Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Royal Palace
41	Ranadhir Subba (January 1909-	2042-2-1 (May 14, 1985)	Minister for Foreign Affairs and

.	February 1992)		Education & Culture
42	Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay (1929)	2043-3-2 (June 1, 1988)	Minister for Foreign Affairs and Land Reforms
43	Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay (1929)	2044-11-26 (March 9, 1988)	Minister for Foreign Affairs and Land Reforms
44	Hari Bahadur Basnet (1942)	2046-12-19 (April 1, 1990 for 13 days)	Minister for Foreign Affairs and Water Resources
45	Pashupati Shumshere J.B. Rana (May 7. 1942)	2046-12-24 (April 1, 1990 for 13 days)	Minister for Finance, Water Resources Foreign Affairs and Communications
46	Krishna Prasad Bhattarai (Dec. 22, 1924)	2047-1- 6 (April 19, 1990)	Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Royal Palace
47	Girija Prasad Koirala (1924)	2048-2-15 (May 29, 1991)	Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Royal Palace
48	Madhav Kumar Nepal (March 8, 1953)	2051-8-14 (Nov. 30, 1994)	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defense
49	Sher Bahadur Deuba (June 13, 1953)	2052-5-27 (Sept. 22, 1995)	Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Royal Palace and Defense
50	Dr. Prakash Chandra Lohani (April 21, 1944)	2052-6-22 (Sept. 22, 1995)	Minister for Foreign Affairs
51	Rabindra Nath Sharma (May 10, 1933)	2053-11-29 (March 12, 1997 for 12 days)	Minister for Foreign Affairs
52	Dr. Prakash Chandra Lohani (April 21, 1944)	2053-12-11 (March 24, 1997 )	Minister for Foreign Affairs
53	Kamal Thapa (August 4, 1955)	2054-2-29 (June 11, 1997)	Minister for Foreign Affairs and Housing & Physical Planning
54	Kamal Thapa (August 4, 1955)	2054-5-13 (August 19, 1997)	Minister for Foreign Affairs
55	Kamal Thapa (August 4, 1955)	2054-6-2 (Oct. 7, 1997)	Minister for Foreign Affairs and Agriculture
56	Kamal Thapa (August 4, 1955)	2054-8-19 (Dec. 3, 1997)	Minister for Foreign Affairs
57	Girija Prasad Koirala (1924)	2055-1-2 (April 15, 1998)	Prime Minister and Minister for Royal Palace, Defense, Foreign Affairs, Industry and Labour, Land

			Reforms & Management, Commerce, Forest & Soil Conservation, Supplies, Home, Agriculture, Housing & Physical Planning, General Administration, Local Development, Information & Communication, Health, Law & Justice, Parliamentary Affairs, Science & Technology, Tourism & Civil Aviation, Youth Sports & Culture, Population & Environment and Woman & Social Welfare.
58	Girija Prasad Koirala (1924)	2055-1-8 *April 21, 1998)	Prime Minister and Minister for Royal Palace, Foreign Affairs and Defense.
59	Krishna Prasad Bhattarai	2056-2-17	
60	Ram Sharan Mahat	2056-3-16	
61	Chakra Prasad Bastola	2056-12-8	
62	Sher Bahadur Deuba	2058-7-2	
63	Narendra Bikram Shah	2059-6-25	
64	Surya Bhadur Thapa	2060-2-28	
65	Mr. Dr. Bhesh Bahadur Thapa	2060	
66	Mr. Dr. Prakash charan Mahat	2061	
67	Ramesh Nath Pandey	2062	
68	K.P Sharma Woli	2063	
69	Shahana Pradhan	2064	

\* **Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2062 B.S.

**Appendix-7(B)****List of Foreign Secretaries since 2007 B.S. to date 2065 Kartik**

<b>S.N</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>To</b>
1.	Mr. Nagendra Man Singh		
2.	Mr. Kumar Mani Acharya Dixit	2009.04.03	
3.	Mr. Shovraj Jung Thapa	2010.03.02	
4.	Mr. Ram Prasad Manandhar		
5.	Mr. Nar Pratap Singh Thapa	2012.06.28	
6.	Mr. Yadunath Khanal		
7.	Mr. Padam Dahadur Khatri		
8.	Mr. Jarendra Narayan Singh		
9.	Mr. Yadunath Khanal		
10.	Mr. Bharat Raj Rajbhandari		
11.	Mr. Padam Bahadur Khatri		
12.	Mr. Uddhav Dio Bhatta		
13.	Mr. Jagdish Sumsher JBR		
14.	Mr. Bishwa Pradhan		
15.	Mr. Narendra Bikram Shah		
16.	Mr. Yadav Kanta Silwal	2049.08.18	
17.	Mr. Kedar Bhakta Shrestha	2050.09.05	
18.	Mr. Kumar Prasad Gyanwali		
19.	Mr. Murariraj Sharma		
20.	Mr. Narayan Shumsher Thapa		
21.	Mr. Madhu Raman Acharya	2063	
22.	Mr. Gyan Chandra Acharya	2064	
23.	Mr. Gyan Chandra Acharya	2065	



24.	Mr. Madan Bhattarai		
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**Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2062 B.S.

## **Appendix-7(C)**

### **Former and Newly appointed Royal Nepalese Ambassadors and Head of the Missions**

- 1. Bangladesh**
  - Mr. Harka Bahadur Thapa
  - Mr. Gehendra Bahadur Rajdhandari
  - Mr. Mohan P.Lohani
  - Mr. Lok Bahadur Shrestha
  - Mr. Madhurman Acharya
  - Mr. Bhagirath Basnet
  - Mr. Pradip Khatiwada
- 2. Belgium**
  - Mr. Durgesh Man Singha
  - Mr. Kedar Bhakta Shrestha
  - Mr. Narayan Shumsher Thapa
  - Mr. Pramesh Hamal
- 3. China**
  - Late Maj-Gen (Retd.) Chhetra Bikram Rana
  - Prof. Sardar Yadunath Khanal
  - Gen. Guna Shumsher
  - Mr. Narayan Bahadur Khatri
  - Late Prof. Bashudev Chandra Malla
  - Let Tulsi Lal Amatya
  - Prof. Yubaraj Singh Pradhan
  - Mr. Rajeshwor Acharya
  - Mr. Narendra Raj Pander
  - Mr. Tanka Karki
- 4. Egypt**
  - Mr. Jarandra Narayan Shing
  - Mr. Bishwa Pradhan
  - Gen. Singha Bahadur Basnet
  - Mr. Krishna Bahadur Manandhar
  - Mir. Subba Bhogendra Nath Rimal
  - Mr. Jitendra Raj Sharma
  - Mr. Gopinath Dawadi
  - Dr. Ram Bhakta Thakur
  - Dr. Ram Bhakta Thakur
- 5. France**

Dr. Trailokya Nath Uprety  
 Mr. Krishna Raj Aryal  
 Mr. Dilli Raj Uprety  
 Mr. Kalyan Bikram Adhikary  
 Mr. Keshab Raj Jha  
 Mr. Indra Bahadur Singh  
 Gen. Bajwalla S.J.B. Rawa  
 Gen. Prajwalla S.J.B.Rana

**6. Germany**

Mir Subba Pradyumna Lal Rajbhandari  
 Mir Subba Ishwari Man Shrestha  
 Mr. Ram Hari Shrama  
 Gen. Singha Pratap Sah  
 Mr. Gopal Prasad Sharma  
 Dr. Nobel Kishor Raj  
 Mr. Balaram Singh Malla  
 Dr. Madan Kumar Bhattarai  
 Dr. Madan Kumar Bhattari

**7. India**

Prof. Yaduknath Khanal  
 Mr. Jarendra Narayan Singh  
 Mr. Vedanand Jha  
 Mr. Jagdish Shumsher Rana  
 Mrs. Bindeshwari Shah  
 Mr. Cahkra Prasad Bastola  
 Prof. Harsana Narayan Dhaubhadel  
 Prof. Dr. Loka Raj Baral  
 Dr. Bhekh Bahadur Thapa  
 Mr. Karna Dhoj Adhakari  
 Mr. Durgesh Man Singh

**8. Japan**

Mr. Bahrat Raj Rajbhandari  
 Mr. Prakash Chandra Thakur  
 Mr. Yadav Prasad Panta  
 Mr. Badri Prasad Shrestha  
 Mr. Narayan Prasad Arjel  
 Mr. Bharat Prasad Dahital  
 Mr. Bishnu Hari Nepal  
 Mr. Kedar Bhakta Mathema  
 Mr. Ramesh Anand Baidhya  
 Mr. Ganesh Yonjan

**9. MyanMar**

Mr. Bharat Raj Rajbhandari

Mr. Khadgajit Baral  
 Mr. Dibya Deo Bhatta  
 Mr. Thakkan Mullick  
 Mr. Gopal Acharya  
 Gen (Rtd.) Sachit S.J.B. Rana  
 Let Gen. Bictory S.J.B. Rana  
 Lt. Gen. Victory S.J.B. Rana  
 Mr. Guna Laxmi Sharma B.K

**10. Pakistan**

Mr. Sardar Ishwari Raj Mishra  
 Mr. Khadga Man Singh Basnyat  
 Mr. Govinda Prasad Lohani  
 Mr. Niranjan Bhattarai  
 Gen. (Rtd) Arjun Narsingh Rana  
 Mr. Mukunda Prasad Dhungel  
 Mr. Kumar Prasad Gyawali  
 Mr. Pushkar Man Singha  
 Mr. Bal Bahadur Kumwar

**11. Russia**

Mr. Jarendra Narayan Singha  
 Mr. Damodar Shumsher Rana  
 Mr. Jagdish Shumshere Rana  
 Mr. Narendra Bikram Shah  
 Mr. Bisheshwor Prasad Rimal  
 Mr. Yadav Kanta Silwal  
 Mr. Kumar Prasad Gyawali  
 Mr. Lal Bahadur Khadayat  
 Mr. Hiranya Lal Shrestha  
 Mr. Surya Kiran Gurung

**12. Saudi Arab**

Mr. Kedar Prasad Koirala  
 Mr. Tirtyha Raj Tuladhar  
 Mr. Surendra Bahadur Shrestha  
 Mr. Narayan Shumsher Thapa  
 Mr. Badri Prasad Khanal  
 Mr. Abullish Thakuri  
 Mr. Hamid Ansari

**13. Thailand**

Mr. Khelendra Prasad Pandey  
 Mr. Ramchandra Bahadur Singh  
 Mr. Sundar Nath Bahttarai

Mr. Janak Bahadur Singh  
Mr. Navin Prakash Jury Shah

**14. United Kingdom**

Mr. Ram Prasad Manandhar  
Sardar Ishwari Raj Mishra  
Mr. Jarendra Narayan Singha  
Maj. Jharendra Narayan Simha  
Mr. Ishwari Raj Pandey  
Mr. Surya Prasad Shrestha  
Mr. Singha Bahadur Basnet  
Mr. Prabal Shumsher J.B. Rana  
Mr. Murari Raj Sharma

**15. USA Permanent Mission to UN, New York**

Rishikesh Shah  
Matrika Prasad Koirala  
Mir Subba Kul Shekhar Sharma  
Mr. Bishwa Pradhan  
Dr. Mohan Man Sainju  
Mr. Yog Prasad Upadhyay  
Mr. Basudev Prasad Dhungan  
Dr. Bhekh Bahadur Thapa  
Mr. Damodar Gautam  
Mr. Jai Pratap Rana  
Mr. Madhu Raman Acharya  
Mr. Kedar Bhakta Shrestha  
Mr. Suresh Chalise

**16. Permanent Mission to UN, Geneva**

Mr. Kumar Parsad Gyawali	Counselor, CDA	28/09/2038 24/05/2040
Mr. Prushotam Lal Shrestha	Counselor, CDA	28/07/2040 24/05/2044
Mr. Govardhan Bikram Shah	Minister Counselor, CDA	28/12/2044 24/05/2049
Mr. Banmali Prasad Lacoul	Minister Counselor, CDA	28/04/2049 24/03/2053
Dr. Sambhu Ram Simkhada	Minister CDA	2053-2055
Dr. Sambhu Ram Simkhada	Permanent	2055-2059

	Représentative	
Mr. Gyan Chandra Acharya	Permanent	2059
	Représentative	
Dinesh Bhattarai	Permanent	2065
	Représentative	
Naindra Pd. Upadhaya	Lahasa	
Durga Bd. Subedi Chetri	Japan	
Hari P Bashyal	Kolkata	
Nirmal Kafle	China	
Vaidya Nath Thapaliaya	Lsrael	
Yagendra Dhakal	Austrialia	
Ajun Thapa	U.A.E	
Kamal Koirala	South Korea	
Surya Kiran Gurung	Qatar	
Rishi Adhikanri	Malaysia	
Bijaya Kanta Lal Karna	Den Mark	

**Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2062 B.S.

**Appendix-7(D)****Board of members****Institute of Foreign Affairs**

1. Foreign Minister
2. Damodar P. Gautam
3. Dr. Posh Raj Pandey
4. Keshab Raj Jha-chairman of World Affairs
5. Biswo Pradhan
6. Mabhukar JB Rana
7. Nobel Kishore Rai
8. Prof. Biswo Keshar Maskey
9. Nabin Bahadur Shrestha- FNCCI
10. Binod Bahadur - FNCCI
11. Madhu Kamar - Secretary foreign Ministry of Affairs.

**Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2062 B.S.

**Appendix-7(E)****New appointed Ambassadors no any agrimo**

Dr. Suresh Chalise - USA  
Mr. Bhagirath Basnet - UK  
Ms. Shailaya Acharya - India  
Mr. Pramesh Hamal - Belgium  
Mr. Burya Kiram Gurmy - Russia  
Dr. Ganesh Yonjan - Japan  
Mr. Nabin Prakash Jug Shah - Thailand  
Mr. Tanka Karki - China  
Mr. Bal Bahadur Kunwar - Pakistan  
Mr. Pradip Khatuwala - Bangladesh  
Mr. Harid Ansari - Saudi Arabia  
Dr. Surya Kanta Mishra - Qatar  
Mr. Guna Laxmi Sharma B.K. - Myanmar  
Mr. Dinesh Bhattarai - UN mission in Geneva

**Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2062 B.S.

**Appendix-7(F)****Ex-Ambassadors organization of Nepal**

For the Purpose of Diplomatic suggestion and to formate of foreign relations ex ambassador have been format the diplomatic organization Association of carrier Ambassador of Nepal.

Mr. Sudra Nath Bhattarai - President

Mr. Kedar Bhakta Shrestha - Vice president

Mr. Pushkar Man Singh Raj Bahadur - General Secretary

Mr. Gopi Nath Dabadi - Treasure

Mr. Badri Prasad Khanal - Member

Mr. Indra Bahadur Singh - Member

Mr. Janak Bahadur Singh - Member

Mr. Keshab Jha - Member

Mr. Lita Prasad Sharma - Member

Mr. Prabal Shamsheer Rana - Member

Mr. Shyama Nanda Suman - Member

Mr. Yadav Kant Silwal - Member

**Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2062 B.S.



## Appendix-7(G)

### The Founder of Geopolitics

Let us briefly consider the basic concepts of leading geopolitical thinkers, so that many more scholars have been dedicated the field of geopolitics even though these were the famous scholar for their written documents. Among them two were Germany one Swedish one British and one American.

#### Founder of the Geopolitics

Ratzel Germany (1844-1904) Germany	Kjellen Swedish (1864-1922) Sweden	Thyar Mahan American (1840-1914)	Mackinder (1861-1947) U.K.	Harl Houshifer GR (1969)-1947) Germany
The state is a organism rooted in the soil, blood and soil	Developer of the theory. State have the geopolitics	Mahan's ideology was to claim the sea being world power	Indicated to control the power of land and water. Hurt land is the greatest natural fortress on the earth	Indo-pacific indicated main geopolitical area was pacific ocean.

The above five founder of Geopolitical Knowledge Ratzel was the first political geographer who invented the "organism" related to the Blood and Soil. Kjellen was a developer of theory of the state geopolitics. Mahan analyzed who have claim the power of land and sea being a world power. Mackinder indicated that "to control the world island who control the heart land." The heart land was certain area from Volga river to east Serbia and Himal to Artic Ocean. In 1945 opposite of the theory J.B. Cressy propounded heartland theory which is lay in the southern Himisphere specifically North America. Haushofer's study was indo-pacific area. As his ideology's substance was

#### Search for a Discipline

(1) Heritage, (2) Structure, (3) Process, (4) Behaviours, (5) Environment

Saul B. Cohen divided the world into two broad geo-strategic regions with the shatter belts.

It is continually saying Innovator changes the world before the world changes them. "Schumacher high sounded in his book "Small is Beautiful. "The dedication of academicians is always evaluate and remember in the eyes of people. History is the evidence of decade to decade transfer of knowledge. The identities scholars the written documents are only record of records books which any body knows the characters of historic events.

**Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2062 B.S.

### Major Geopolitician and their innovative thoughts

Ratzel (1844-1904)	Kjellen (1864-1922)	Thayer Mahan (1840-1914)	Halford J. Mackinder (1861-1947)	Nicholas Dictum (1893-1943) Impact of Geography on Politics	Karl Haushofer (1869-1946)	Alexander P. Severky (1894-1947)	Cohen Saul B. (1925-American)	Geo-ffrey Parker (1933-1997)
Organic State theory law of state a government have five organs	Five state organs developer of the term (state as a life)	Fundamental factors of geo-strategy principles, the younger sister of geopolitics. The study of spatial distribution of land, sea and airpower relation to geographical phenomena	Heart land theory J.B. Crosby and Rennor wrote most notable example which is quite the opposite of the Heart land theory of Mackinder. They both indicated the real center of the heart land lay in the southern Hemisphere and specifically in Northern American rather than in Eurasia.	The main object of his theory was to promote world peace on the basis of a two fold polity: Maintenance of a balance of power in Eurasia and the co-operation on of the United States the Soviet Union and the Great Britain in an effective security system.	Developing a new school of geopolitics	A geopolitical view of the world based on air power imaginative thinker Mastery of the air will be divided. Absolute superiority of air as a means of movement.	Innovator of geography and politics find out a region of chronic instability. He divided the world two broad geo-strategic regions with two shatter belts, the gateway states. He laid out the several possible territorial solutions for the border disputes between Israel and its neighbours.	The role of geopolitics past, present and future

**Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2062 B.S.

### Comparative Study of Geopolitics

Original Geopolitics Germany	Cohen, Saul B. American Geopolitics Bowman Isaiah Henry Kisinger	Japanese geopolitics	Chinese geopolitics	Brazilian geopolitics	Franchise geopolitics Reculus=French geographer Humanista	Indian geopolitics	Russian geopolitics
Ratzelian Founder Kjellen Developer (Blood and Soil) (a) Theory of Organism  (b) State as a form of life  (c) Theory of Hert and shift	(a) America is chosen place, a distinct and exceptional "Homeland" within the world  (b) This place and those who live there have a sacred mission and unique destiny the world. Both these	Japanese made geopolitics an instrument of warfare and territorial expansion. The improvement of nationality is strong to develop science and technology	Language and cultural ethnic group display separatist tendencies. In China centre periphery conflict. Chinese nationality policy was shifted from cultural pluralism.	Everardo Backheuser carlos Delgado de Carvalho  (a) Focused centuries old border dispute with Spanish speaking neighbor and Brazilian	French geographers described a dynamic frontier in the prices of settlement advanced races so called European, American and Chinese colonial	The ethnic diversity separatist strongly established in India geopolitics began at the beginning of British colonial period. When the divide and	No any formal expression of Sovietgeopolitics during the existence of Soviet era from 1917-1991. Soviet view was changed dramatically after the

	<p>geopolitical claims are part of the ideology of American foreign policy.</p> <p>(c) America led to numerous boundary disputes in Latin America</p>			Amazonia	<p>geography became an important part of French geography. French school of geopolitic began to develop by post Versailles.</p>	<p>rule policy failed the nation, began to improve freedom and extension area.</p>	<p>Gorbachov was appointed admiral. In real sense the Russian geopolitician cannot safe their country &amp; fragemented fifteen republic states. The methodological basisfor genuinely scientificpolitical geography was laid by the writingsofMax and Lenin</p>
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**The Study of Major Geo-politician**

- (a) Ratzel → (organic study theory) law of state a government have five organs.
- (b) Kjellen → Five state organs
- (c) Thayer Mahan → Fundamental factors of geo-strategy principles
- (d) Haford J. Mackinder → Heart Land theory
- (e) Nicholas Dictum → Impact of geography on politics
- (f) Karl Haushofer → Developing a new school of geopolitics
- (g) Alexander P. Severky → A geopolitical view of the world based adv power, imaginative through
- (h) Saul B. Cohen → Innovator of geography and politics. Find out a region of chronic instability
- (i) Geo-ffrey parker → He had been view the role of geopolitics past, present and future.

**Classical geopoliticians**

Ratzel, Mackinder, Mahan, Kjellen, Sykman-contemporary

Henry Kissinger and Zbiginew Brzezinski- USA Aleksandr Dugin and Vladimir Zhirinovski- Soviet Russia

The article explores the connections between geopolitics and political conservatism. The Introductory argument is that geopolitics historically has been appealing and useful for two very different expressions of conservation one which aims to preserve the political geography of the existing international status quo and one which seeks to transcend it and established a new international order.

**Kinds of Geopolitics**

Territory Geopolitics	Military Geopolitic	Critical Geopolitics	New Geopolitics
(a) Major concern of territory Geopolitical- bringing the state as a form of life. The state is a geographic Organism or phenomena	(a) Psychological mobilization  (b) Military capability supported by the character of the landscape its climate and changes in the land scape produced by man.  (c) Study air, land sea power	Critical scholars have challenged  (a) Periodicals Herodate published  (b) Critically evaluate the American geopolitics  (c) Re-thinking of traditional geopolitics and contemporary geopolitics.  (d) The critical appreciation was	<b>New Geopolitics</b>  1970's on wards  (a) Anti-version of geopolitics  France in Herodote and America  (b) Yves Lacoste followed the version of New geopolitics regained academic Credentials in France  (c) Changing nature of the competitive in the international areana from the military-political nature to the economic one  (d) In many ways Kennedy's book : "Magna Carta" was the new geopolitics  (e) New geopolitics examines the

		<p>seen in the world to rethink- old concept</p>	<p>leading states in the new economic world order such as: Trade competition, aid disbursements high tech manufacturing, overall economic position</p> <p><b>Colonial geopolitics</b></p> <p>German geopolitician aims to over take the colonial areas of African continent.</p> <p><b>Alternative Geopolitics</b></p> <p>The theory derived from the competing world-views based on re-evaluation of the nature of geopolitical world. The theory use of shaping of the policy. It comes in all shapes and sizes. Timely it was very large and very small the insular landlocked, homogeneous to the diverse, the centrifugal to the centripetal. The states behavioural pattern shows over all two types the conflicted and associative. This the really great divide of the geopolitical world.</p>
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J.B. Cressy wrote: Opposite of the Mackinder's Heart Land base if there is any where a world citadel or Heartland, it may well lie in North America rather than in Eurasia. The American continent has adequate size, compact shape, internal accessibility, a central location, good boundaries, access to two oceans, favourable topography, rich minerals, excellent climate and dynamic spirit in its, people that any area's strength or weaknesses depends on the basis of the location and frontiers of the state. The learner of geopolitics is seen as the political area, made up of a nuclear core, constituent parts, problem areas, vulnerable zones, capital, strategic spots, and boundaries- each of which takes shape in relation to the specific conditions of natural environment. Geopolitics is a inventorial, Morphological and generic to a functional one. Geopolitics is the extension of political geography, both on the internal and external policy level of a state.

Geopolitics is a field that is ever-changing according to the nature of New regional and global crisis. Yet the core beliefs of classical geopolitics remain essentially unchanged from a century ago. It is this blending of the theory and practice of geopolitics in specific situations that gives the subject its popular appeal and policy attention. It is hoped that this dissertation clarify the nature of the field and controversies that have periodically torn it apart. In this manner, a clearer understanding of the beliefs and thoughts.

## **Nepalese Era of Geopolitics**

### **Five Eras**

Rana Oligarchy	Shah Dynasty-1779	Democratic-2007-2017	Panchayat- 2017-2046	Democratic Republic-2063 on wards
a. Aristocratic b. Family competition c. No state craft d. Small coterie politics	a. Extension of state b. Policy of state craft c. Meet of international policy d. concept of foreign affaris Prithvi Narayan Shah united & formed policy of state craft Bahadur Shaha- Extension of state Rajendra Laxmi- Extension of state Tribhuvan Bikram- Democratic norms Mahendra Bikram- Enter the international org. Biorendra Bikram- Concept of peace zone	a. International Enter b. Democratic Norms	a. Limited polity b. Follow of internationalism c. No interference policy d. Geography the main focus in politics	a. Enter the international arena b. Globalization c. Geography versus proportional politics d. Beginning the republic with New Era of Geopolitics 2062 B.S.

### World Era of Geopolitics Four Eras

As for the evaluation the world geopolitics started four eras since 1870 on wards:

1870-1920

**(a) The half century from 1870 to 1920**

Period of classical geopolitics

In these years the basic out lines of the field and the general principles were set out by Friedrich Ratzelin Germany, Alfred T. Mahan in the United States, Halford J. Mackinder in the United Kingdom and Rudolf Kjellen in Sweden. As the development of the theory as the organic theory of the state, the power versus land power, interpretation of historym lebensramm, and the Heart land model from the age of imperialist rivalries indeed with First World War.

**(b) 1920-1945**

Era's of fascist and counter fascist geopolitics

The German school founded by Karl Hanshofer Smaller schools of fascist geopolitics appeared in Japan and Italy. Most of the earlier themes were continued by the fascist geopolitikers and same principles were used by writers in the western democracies (France, UK, and USA). To build a democratic geopolitics by Isaiah Bowman and Nicholas Spykman. The global domination by the Second World War alliances.

**(c) 1945/1980's**

The American geopolitical theories dominated on the world stage. No counter geopolitics emerged from the only anti-systemic power the Soviet Union. No alternative but the critical voices emerged in the 1980's. In the USSR geopolitics was valid as a Nazi legacy and was to be rejected at all costs. Thus the geopolitical ideas like containment and the Domnotheory and the Successive Truman, Eisenhower, Nixon, Carter and Reagon doctrines entered common parlance. The geographic overlap between the Heart Land and the Soviet Union was perfect for the association of ideology and strategy. Mackinder and Spykman could be involved to support the installation of US troops and basis in the Rim land. By the early 1970's the bad taste left by German geopolitics had been chased by the use of the term and the vision of global equilibrium promoted by Henry Kissinger and Zabigniew Brziroski.

**(d) 1980's on Wards**

The final phase of geopolitics has been characterized by the appearance of a critical geopolitical which views state geopolitics as promoting dominance of the west in world political and economic affairs and as a handmaiden of western military aggression. While most geographic have

abandoned "classical or traditional geopolitics with its globalist non-geographic analysis of foreign affairs the security community still retains this kind of geopolitics. Geographers working with the main streams of geopolitics, such as Saul Cohen, after a much more kind of regionalist analysis. And outside geopolitics, critical voices operating in part modernist and maxlist traditions.

**Source:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2062 B.S.



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