

A RETROSPECT STUDY OF NEPAL'S FOREIGN POLICY (1990-2005)

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Abstract: The policy, which is related to the international arena, is called foreign policy. The foreign policy is a vital subject for a country because the increasing demands of the country can't be fulfilled by itself. Every state has its duty to loss and gain more for these states adopt different policies for their benefit. Foreign policy is somewhat wider than domestic policy, however they have close intimacy. Foreign policy as a part of national policy encompasses the behavior of policy taken by a country with regard to other countries as well as multilateral organizations. By observing the foreign policy one can get picture of relationship of a country with others. Foreign policy of every country has the objectives and goals based on the national interest. Foreign policy is the wheel of a sovereign nation-state for conducting its relations with other state or states. Foreign policy of individual state is the basis for its international relations as well as the over-all international system. In this ground reality of Nepalese position in the world community, it is interesting matter that how does Nepal adopt the foreign policy. Nepal's foreign policy begins from the time of unification of the nation by Great King Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1768. Since then, foreign policy of the country has passed through different phases. After the end of the Cold War and with the collapse of the USSR in 1990, Nepal has also grasped the spirit of the democracy by the people's movement in 1990. This work expounds the tale of Nepalese foreign policy from 1990 to 2005 adopted by different government by using historical, analytical and descriptive nodes in qualitative research method milieu.

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Key Words: Foreign Policy, Nepal Foreign Relations, Interim Governments.

Introduction

The success of mass movement to abolish “Panchayat system” established the multiparty democracy in Nepal. The restoration of multiparty democracy has opened up new opportunities for Nepal in world politics. King Birendra appointed Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, president of Nepali Congress Party, as PM of interim government. The interim government formed by tri-lateral representation- Nepali Congress Party, Unified Left Front and independent. The primary mandate of interim government was to promulgate new constitution firstly and secondly to accomplish general election. After taking office on April 19, 1990, PM Bhattarai announced that his immediate task would be restoring transit facilities through negotiation with India. In this period, the relationship between Nepal and India was deteriorating. India imposed trade embargo in Nepal from April 1987, so Nepalese people were passing their daily life difficulty. It was necessary to pay an official visit to India to remove the crisis of confidence created as a result of the wrong policy pursued under the previous undemocratic system. The visit will pave the way for new era of friendship based on confidence, understanding and cordiality between the two friendly neighbors [10][**April 20, 1990**]. Nepalese political change had brought the change of Indian mood with the appointment of Krishna Prasad Bhattarai as a PM of Nepal. Biswa Nath Prasad Singh, PM of India had sent the message of congratulation to Krishna Prasad Bhattarai. Minister of finance Debendra Raj Pandey visited India on April 30, 1990 with the letter to improve the confronting situation between Nepal and India by renewing the treaty of trade and transit. Finance minister Pandey also took part of Delhi meeting of Asian Development Bank. Mr. Pandey also visited and talked with the PM of India P.V. Singh, foreign minister I.K. Gujaral and finance minister Madhudandbate [10][**May 5, 1990**].

I. Interim Government (April 16, 1990-May 26, 1991)

K. P. Bhattarai, the PM of Nepal, visited India from June 8-10, 1990 at the invitation of the PM of India, Mr. V. P. Singh. Two leaders held talks on bilateral, regional and international issues of mutual cooperation. The talks were held in the most cordial and friendly environment and shared values of two countries in the economic, social, cultural and religious spheres. They came together to respect the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, national independence, non-use offeree, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, and peaceful settlement of all disputes. PM of both countries release the joint communique on June 10 to improve the relation between them by restoring the previous situation of March 23, 1989. The normal situation was restored by July 1, 1990 agreement of two governments. It was further agreed that either sides without mutual consultations would not alter the above agreement [10][**July 3, 1990**]. At the regime of interim government, Indian external affairs minister I. K. Singh paid an official three-day visit to Nepal on 6 August, 1990 on the invitation of his Nepalese counterpart. During the visit, he got an audience King Birendra, and he also talked with PM Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, supreme leader Ganeshman Singh and other political leaders. India agreed to open three additional entry points for non-Indians tourists, to prepare project report on rail-road link between Kathmandu and Raxual, and to establish Ayurvedic Campus in Kathmandu [10][**August 6**

and 8, 1990]. Likewise, the Indian PM Chandrashekhar also visited Nepal on February 13-15, 1991, [15][April,12,1991]. on the occasion of meeting with Indian counterpart PM Bhattarai suggest that “Indo – Nepal cooperation should be expanded not only in the fields of trade, industry, health, education, transport but also of the water resources and the environment”. He called for stronger economic ties between Nepal and India as well as closer link in view of the emerging necessities of regional cooperation with the framework of mutual interdependence and mutual advantage should be the prime consideration. In reply, Indian PM Chandrashekhar said, “economic relation between Nepal and India is based on interdependence. India is Nepal’s natural market and the natural resource for essential commodities and even investment. India depends on Nepal for protecting its ecology too. He suggested that the project like Koshi high dam, which could provide flood protection, beside substantial power generation and integration benefits for both countries. He added that there are other projects such as the Pancheshwar and Karnali, which have been studied and debated for years, but nothing has moved yet. We have to think broadly as fast as possible” [13][February 18, 1991]. The visit of Indian PM to Nepal was significant in the sense that he offered assistance to number of projects in Nepal. In the field of health services, lying of a rail link between Jayanagar and Janakpur, and rural telephone exchange in communication development etc. During the interim government relationship between Nepal and China was no smooth. Difficulties were emerging due to statement of PM Bhattarai that, “Nepal is brotherly and close to India and friendly to China”. On the one hand objection of importing the Chinese weapons and on the other hand proposed weeklong visit of Dalai Lama to Kathmandu were issues that created unusual environment in relations between China and India. Though, there was no any misbalance of Nepal-Bhutan relation, Bhutanese refugee had been entering into Nepal at the same period. Nepal signed different covenants on civil and political rights, human rights, etc. Finance minister Dr Devendra Raj Pandey led the Nepali delegation to the second United Nations Conferences on least developed countries on Paris. He also visited Europe and European delegations on September 29-30 [13][September and Oct. 1990]. Prime minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai took part on 5th SAARC summit meeting at Male, capital of Maldives. The interim government emphasized on the policy of balance with China. Nepal should continue to promote the age-long friendship with the immediate neighbors China and India, which is guided by their bilateral relationship. During the interim government, Nepal received large international cooperation on the field of economic development. Normalization of Indo-Nepal relation was fruitful for Nepal whatever the reaction for and against on his visit [1].

II. First Elected Government (May 29, 1991- November 29, 1994)

After the restoration of democracy, Girija Prasad Koirala became the first elected Prime minister according to the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal, 1990. After taking office, Girija Prasad Koirala in his first statement, while speaking on the foreign policy of his government, emphasized the maintenance of friendly relation with both countries India and China. He expressed his desire to change certain article of the treaty of peace and friendship, 1950. Outlining the fundamental of his foreign policy in his major statement, Koirala firmly stated for the promotion of the UN charter, non-alignment, promotion of human rights, non-interference of internal affairs, scrupulous observance of international law and the efforts for the creation of a just, secure, equitable and peaceful international order [2]. Basically, Koirala government’s foreign policy is based on his party manifesto rather than his personal charisma. The Nepali Congress manifesto envisaged the following basic principles of Nepalese foreign policy:

- Commitment of the promotion of democracy, human rights, equality and world peace.

- Respect for independence, territorial integrity and freedom of the nation. And end of apartheid and racial discrimination wherever it exists through the peaceful struggle and achievement of democracy.
- Seek to settle and all bilateral issues of disputes enshrined in the UN charter of within its frame.
- Oppose proliferation of nuclear weapons, stockpiling and transfer of these weapons from countries to countries.
- Attach great importance of the policy of non-alignment and the greater role of UN peacekeeping activities.
- Promote regional understanding, prosperity and peace through the SAARC activities.
- And, promotion of the establishment of strong and durable relationship between Nepal and China, and Nepal and India [1].

The Nepali Congress government thus laid the foundation of a human process of economic development on the strong pillars of sovereignty and democracy. It also conducted its foreign relations on the same foundation. The Nepali congress government consolidated and expanded such relations with due respect to the independent and territorial integrity of each nation, as well as the world peace and the role of the great neighbors, India and China, and also expanded regional cooperation and good will with nations of the south Asian region. His Majesty King Birendra addressed the joint session on Monday, July 1, 1991 of the country's first democratic parliament in over three decades. It is the important document outlining its policies and program aimed at taking the country towards a new direction in accordance with change political context. His Majesty king said that "it is our common responsibility to preserve and develop the democracy brought about by the will and aspirations of the people". "The objective of Nepal's foreign policy will be the preservation of the nation's independence and sovereignty and promotion of national self-respect and interest, keeping in mind my government to democracy and human rights [3]. My government will pursue the policy of peace and friendship with all countries of the world as well as support for the UN and adherence to the ideals inherent in its character. My government will consolidate the strong bounds of friendship and mutual trust with our neighbors India and China. Nepal wills continue the policy of deepening regional cooperation and understanding between the countries of South Asia. My government will pay an effective role at the UN in such questions as controlling conventional arms race, saving man kinds from the courage of nuclear weapons, seeking peaceful settlement of all international disputes and preserving fundamental human rights" [10][July 2, 1991].

PM Koirala stressed that his government's first priority will be to develop and maintain the best possible relations with India and China. He wanted to make good relation with India. His statement in the lower house of parliament on July 21, 1991 Koirala said that a comprehensive review of the 1950 treaty and the 1965 agreement with India would be undertaken in a view of the changed situation [11][July 22, 1991]. Following the tradition of India visit, PM Koirala also paid six-days official visit to India on December 5-11, 1991. He signed a lot of treaties as trade and transit, water resources, agriculture and joint investment in the industrial development of Nepal including security concern. In his returning, at Tribhuvan International Airport, PM Koirala told the press that "his visit enhanced Nepal's prestige and dignity". Replying to the question of press, the PM expressed confidence that there is further improvement in the deep and extensive ties between Nepal and India in the future [4]. On the question of Bhutan, PM said that Nepal doesn't interfere in the internal affairs of any country. However, we extend our sympathy and moral support whenever human rights are violated. He also

denied that he had signed any secret pact with India, and said, “As a democratic PM, I don’t do anything in secrecy. Everything will come out before the public in due time”. PM Koirala expressed his desire to change certain articles of the treaty of peace and friendship 1950 in his first press statement; he didn’t dare to ask about it in his India visit. Koirala’s visit to India became fruitful for Nepal that Indian government accepted it to set up BP Memorial Hospital [4]. In Dharan, Biratnagar-Jha road, Birpur road, renovation of Jayanagar-Janakpur-Bijalapur railway line and setting a telephone exchange in Rangeli, to establish the BP Koirala Nepal-India Foundation to promote education and cultural exchange between two countries. And it was also decided to increase cooperation in tourism and allowing RNAC to start regular flights Kathmandu-Bombay since April 1992. During the Koirala’s regime, Indian PM P.V. Narsimha Rao paid an official visit to Nepal on October 19-21, 1992. Indian PM Rao visited to Nepalese counterpart along with other party leader. He had an audience with His Majesty king Birendra. At that time both party discussed various field of Indo-Nepal relation. Nepal and India signed an agreement on the question of controlling the growing menace of terrorism. Both party agreed in various field – trade, joint venture, water resources, Tanakpur project and other fields of Indian cooperation [11][Oct 20-22, 1992]. Koirala government was able to make various project on water resources, Kalapani multipurpose project, Pancheswar multipurpose project, Koshi project, Saptakoshi high dam multipurpose project, Budhi-gandaki project, Karnali and Bagmati schemes flood protection and warning system, flood projection embankments, power exchange, tanakpur barrage project. Some confronting situations were emerging at that regime on the subject of agreement of Tanakpur barrage. It is clear evidence of undemocratic and unequal treaty between Nepal and India. Similarly, on March 16-22, 1992, Nepalese PM Koirala paid a weeklong official visit to China to continue the relationship, brotherhood and other bilateral relation with China, in the invitation of Chinese Premiers Li Peng. Koirala also visited the Chinese president Yang Jian Zemin, general secretary of Chinese Communist Party. Nepal and China signed an agreement in Beijing on economic and technical cooperation [5]. Under the agreement, China provide a grant assistant of 50 million Yuan and other assistant in development including Cancer Hospital in Chitwan. Speaking to the press before leaving China, PM Koirala said with full satisfaction that “I have taken this opportunity to exchange view on a wide range in bilateral and international issue, including recent political change in Nepal. He added, I have explained about Tibet that Nepal has always recognized it as an autonomous region of China, and would allow no anti-Chinese activities in Nepalese soil [5]. Giving emphasis on bilateral relation, he said “Nepal’s relation with China and India are not based on give and take, rather it is based on a spirit of friendship, goodwill and understanding [11][March 19,1992]. So far relation between Bhutan and Nepal was hot and irritating. Bhutanese government blamed Nepal providing the place for movement against Bhutanese political system. Nepalese government morally supported Bhutanese movement for the democracy and human rights of Bhutanese people. Another factor was increasing number of Bhutanese refugee that created various problems in Nepal. The Bhutanese foreign minister Lyano Dawa Tsering completed his visit to Nepal on Nov. 23. He was received an audience by His Majesty, official talks between Nepal and Bhutan. On the issue of the return of the Bhutanese refugees from Nepal were initiated in Kathmandu on Nov. 24 with 25 minutes long meeting between PM Koirala and Bhutanese foreign minister Tsering. The two sides agreed to hold high-level talks between PM of Nepal and King of Bhutan at the forthcoming SAARC summit in Dhaka [10][November 24, 1992]. On December 8, 1992 the home minister Sher Bahadur Deuba inspected the Bhutanese refugee camps at Beldangi and other places in Jhapa district, accompanied with the ambassador of Germany, Japan, Thailand, United States and representative of UNHCR and other donor nations and agencies. Then, home minister Deuba with a delegation visited Thimpu on July 15, 1993 to

hold talks with Bhutanese authorities on the problem and the modalities of their return to Bhutan. PM Koirala put forward the emphasis on democracy, human rights, and others ecology of Nepalese foreign policy along with attaching much more importance of balanced relationship with India and China [6]. Koirala said “The foreign policy of Nepal is clear. We do not play the India card against China, nor the China card against India” [4] He was careful and conscious to gain cooperation and support of international organizations such as World Bank, Asian Development Bank, IMF etc. Koirala took part on two SAARC summits, 6th in Colombo on 21 Dec. 1991 and 7th in Dhaka on April 10-11, 1993. Koirala gave emphasis on regional cooperation in all development sectors with bilateral and multilateral investment and understanding [7]. He actively supported the role of SSARC for the alleviation of poverty and economic backwardness from South Asian Region. Koirala took part on 10th conference of nonalignment movement in Jakarta on September 1-6, 1992 and addressed the summit that Nepal strongly supports the non-alignment and five theories “Panchasheel”. With the Nepali delegation, PM Koirala also took part on the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna on June 14-25. Objectives of Koirala government regarding Nepal’s foreign policy were to increase Nepal’s international image, to get development in different field gaining large foreign aid, to protect national identity, and to put China and India in equi-distance etc. Koirala government had been able to achieve this in some context [6].

III. The Minority Government (CPN-UML, Nov. 30, 1994 – Sept. 11, 1995)

G.P. Koirala declared the mid-term election without completing its full five years’ people’s mandate due to the intraparty confrontation. The mid-term general election held in November 15, 1994, CPN (UML) had emerged as a leader party, scoring 88 seats out of the 205 seats of parliament. The CPN-UML was able to form minority communist government under the monarchy that was rarely seen in the world politics. CPN-UML along with other parties has own foreign policy. PM Adhikari had clearly stated that Nepalese foreign policy would be on the basis of well of people and national interest that would be free from party manifesto. Government maintained the relation with all countries on the basis of foreign policy. On foreign policy, the basic guidelines of the CPN-UML government as underlined under its election manifesto for the mid-term poll of 1994, were pronounced as follows:

- Maintenance of friendly relation with all countries on the basis of panchasheel.
- Maintenance of friendship with the two neighboring countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect and mutual benefits.
- No activities would be allowed to operate in the Nepalese territory directed against any friendly country.
- All unequal and derogatory treaties and agreements including the 1950 treaty with India and others signed by Nepali congress, Panchayat and earlier government will be reviewed and will be modified in compliance with the principles of equality, mutual respect and benefits [6].
- Opposition to all forms of imperialism, hegemonism, neo-colonialism, arms race and racism. First support to world peace, disarmament and the movements for national and social liberalizations.
- Ensuring legitimate and unhindered facilities to landlocked countries as bestowed by international convention.
- Enhance mutual cooperation with SAARC and its member countries.

- And, playing effective role in making the United Nations stronger and effective and the increasing participation of Nepal in the UN peace keeping force as contribution towards the promotion of world peace [6].

After assumption of office as PM Man Mohan Adhikari high lightened the basic principles of Nepalese foreign policy, addressing the diplomatic corps in Kathmandu on December 12, 1994, observed as the folio wing- “the foreign policy of Nepal will be guided by the principles of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, international peace, cooperation and understanding as well as the United Nations charter. We will conduct our foreign policy on the basis of national understanding and consensus. We would like to make it clear that we are in favor of the best relations with all the countries of the world and genuine concerns and part ideology will not come in the way of developing such relations. Either the geo-strategic setting of the country, we can’t afford to have tilt in our relationship. We harbor no prejudice against any country and nave we shall always strive to strengthen the friendship and understanding with all countries adhering to the ideals of UN [8]. We shall conduct and consolidate our relation on the basis of fundamental principles of equality, mutual respect and reciprocal benefits at bilateral or multilateral levels. Madhav Kumar Nepal, as the deputy prime minister and foreign minister addressed the head of the diplomatic mission emphasizing the same principles which was stated by PM Manamohan Adhikari. UML government was trying to recognize their regime from international community. They were eager to improve their relation particularly capitalistic country. So, PM Adhikari paid an official visit to India on April 10-15, 1995 he called on Indian president, Indian PM P. V. N. Rao and other leaders and businessman. PM Adhikari repeated the objectives of Nepalese foreign policy is to promote the enlightened national interest and enhanced national prestige in an atmosphere of international peace, understanding and cooperation. The relation should develop and promote between Nepal and India in the context of changing world situation. Adhikari raised the question of revision on 1950 treaty of peace and friendship, Tanakpur issue and other sectors. The policies of both country has implemented on the basis of equality and mutual benefits.

Both governments agreed to continue discussion on this and all relevant issues on bilateral interest and the appropriate level [10][April 11,1995]. PM Adhikari also paid five-days an official visit to China on April 17-21, 1995 in the invitation of premiers Le Peng. During his visit, both PM agreed to further increase the mutually beneficial cooperation in economic, trade, cultural, educational, technical and other fields. China and Nepal signed on five-points agreement on economic and technical cooperation. China agreed to provide ten Trolley buses, a grant of 8 million for the development of Nepal’s national economy, Pokhara-Baglung road maintenance expenditure, radio therapy service provided on BP Koirala cancer hospital, etc. Likewise, minister of information and communication Pradip Nepal’s visit to China was significant episode, which has created the environment to invest mutual cooperation in the field of information and communication [9]. PM Adhikari and Deputy PM Mahav Kumar Nepal took part on 8th SAARC summit in New Delhi on May 2-4, 1995. PM Adhikari put forward the Nepal’s strong faith on SAARC. He stressed on the reformation of SAARC charter provision where to raise bilateral and political issues are strictly prohibited. The UML government gave emphasis in strengthening the role of the United Nation, its democratization with new realities, its effective role in peacekeeping operations and enhanced on socio-economic activities in bringing about social progress and economic property. PM Adhikari also took part in world summit for social development organized by United Nations Copenhagen of Denmark on March 6-12, 1995. Similarly, deputy PM Madhav Kumar Nepal had participated in Geneva Convention about Human Rights on Feb.17, 1995. Nepal strongly faiths on Human Rights condition in Nepal are satisfactory than previous system. Minority

government was always trying to establish good relation with Bhutan and to solve the refugee problem. To make easy environment for the returning of Bhutanese refugee respectively, Nepal agreed 6th ministerial meeting in Thimpu. KP Oli presenting Nepal took part in meeting and clearly put his government's vision on it. He said, "We are prepared to hold talks with an open heart. The problem is not have our making, has been thrust on us. In fact, this is the problem of Bhutanese themselves. We want that the refugees should go back home to Bhutan and live there peacefully. The task of classifying the refugees into four categories is not a big one. The UML government sees no need to put forward any new condition for the next round of talks between Nepal and Bhutan. It has no objection to India's participation in the talks as a friend and well-wisher. But we expect the problem to be solved at the next round of talks in Bhutan. The Nepali side does not regard India's participation as necessary" [11][January 16, 1995]. So the government was success to get supported by countries, particularly non-communist state and able to maintain the balanced relation in international politics [9].

IV. Coalition Government's Foreign Policy

After mid-term general election of 1994, the unfortunate political event took place in the history of democratic practice. No political party got majority in parliament in the total of 205 seats. CPN-UML got the largest party position obtaining 88 seats in this election. So CPN-UTVEL formed the minority government according to the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal, 1990. It was very vulnerable and sure that the minority government of UML could be toppled down at any time. After the resignation of Adhikari, Sher Bahadur Deuba came to power and formed the coalition government structure in multiparty democracy. Generally, it was thought that coalition government and multiparty democracy are synonymous [9]. All political parties have their own foreign policy, according to their party's manifestos. So, it was quite difficult to make foreign policy and its implementation on the basis of national interest. The period of last 1995 to 1999 is the period of coalition government because at least five such governments were found in this period. In some extent some governments have performed better role than other in various sectors even in the instable political situation. Here is given the Nepalese foreign policy of different coalition governments. It was the beginning or coalition government structure in multiparty democracy. Generally, it was thought that coalition government and multiparty democracy are synonymous. All political parties have their own foreign policy, according to their parties manifestos. So, it was quite difficult to make foreign policy and its implementation on the basis of national interest. The period of last 1995 to 1999 is the period of coalition government because at least five such governments were formed in this period. In some extent some governments have performed better role than the other in various sectors even in the instable political situation. Here is given the Nepalese foreign policy of different coalition governments [9].

V. Deuba's Coalition Government (September 11, 1995-March 1996)

His majesty appointed Sher Bahadur Deuba, leader of Nepali Congress parliamentary party, as the Prime Minister. Under the Deuba premiership, tri-party-Nepali Congress, Rastriya Parjatantra Party and Nepal Sadbhavana Party coalition government was formed on September 12, 1995. Triparty issued a joint policy statement outlining the policies and programs of their coalition government. "The coalition government aims at making Nepal independent, strong and prosperous nation through the promotion of nationalism, consolidation of democracy, and fulfillment of the interest of the people" [3]. The three parties affirmed their faith in 1990 people's movement and its achievements. Similarly, the joint policy statement spoke out on the foreign policy that "the coalition government will maintain

relations with all friendly nations on the basis of mutual goodwill and it will protect the Nepal's image as nation which believes in peace, human rights, democracy and active policy of non-alignment. It will also develop the spirit of regional cooperation through the medium of SAARC in a particular and positive manner. Friendly relation with India and China will be strengthened on the basis of mutual respect, benefits and equality [10][Sept. 13, 1995]. The coalition government determined in the field of development on water resources to promote bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation with due consideration to the rights and interests of the nation. The coalition government of Deuba assured the problem that has been arisen about the Tanakpur agreement with India will be solved and the issue presented in the parliament. Indian government was also careful on the bilateral agreement with Nepal because ex-PM highly criticized that he agreed with India without taking national consensus and national debate. It was the prestige of Indian government going down. Therefore, Indian government want rational consensus among political power within the country. So, on January 29, 1996 three party leaders agreed on development of Mahakali project. And they assured that appropriate steps would be taken about the Arun project. On September 12, 1995, PM Deuba gave a message to the nation repeating the joint policy statement. He gave emphasis on the mutual goodwill and cooperation to maintain relations with all friendly nations. He added that, the image of Nepal as a member of UN and a peace loving, democratic and non-aligned nation committed to develop human rights [4]. The same policy (domestic and foreign) outline was introduced in the royal address on September 5 joint session of the parliament, adding the problem of the Bhutanese refugees, mutual trust and understanding. Deuba government tried to establish the good relationship with neighboring country namely India and China. On February 11, PM Deuba paid a weeklong formal visit to India on the invitation of Indian PM Rao. Deuba told at the office that the Nepal-India treaty was an important achievement and a symbol of success of our bilateral relations. He assured the treaty would make Nepal-India warn and ensure the use of water resources for the benefits of both side. The government was able to approve the Mahakali treaty from parliament. It is saying that, it was successive role in his tenure. PM Deuba also paid a six days official visit to China on the invitation of PM of China Li Pang. During his visit, China and Nepal agreed on financial and technical assistant, and to promote tourism in Tibet and Nepal. On October 15, PM Deuba left Kathmandu for Cartagena, Columbia, to participate in the 11th summit conference of non-aligned nations [5]. He addressed the conference that "a people oriented government approach, together with greater democratization of political process and respect for human rights, will go a long way in establishing political stability, which is essential for economic development. Favorable bilateral, multilateral assistance, a long term debt crisis, and free and fair trade practices are needed to avoid the gap between the rich and poor" [10][Oct 20, 1995]. Addressing the press conference on Feb. 27, foreign minister Prakash Chandra Lohani said that the government had decided to make economic diplomacy a part of foreign policy on an international basis. He added that steps are being taken to make economic diplomacy effective [5]. A separate division will be created in the foreign ministry for international trade. Separate units will be created in every ministry with the objectives of making the economic diplomacy effective [11][Feb 28, 1996]. Nepal took part in various international conferences and summits. PM Deuba with foreign minister Prakash Chandra Lohani, addressed the UN special commemorative meeting held at New York to mark the 50th anniversary of the UN on October 23, 1995. Deuba affirmed Nepal's deep and abiding commitment to the principles of the UN charter. He pointed out that Nepal had actively participated in the peacekeeping efforts of the UN. He added, "Nepal will continue such participation in the future". On the issue of the UN Security Council, Nepal believes that the imbalance in the composition of security councils should be corrected by the inclusive and proper representation of developing countries as well as of economic and regional

power. It was great opportunity for Deuba to talk with US president Clinton at a public library in New York. The two leaders talks in a cordial atmosphere on matter of mutual interest [10][Oct 21, 1995].

VI. Chanda's coalition Government (March 12, 1997-October 6, 1997)

Lokendra Bahadur Chanda, parliamentary leader of RPP, became the prime minister with other two party UML and NSP. A new RPP, UML and NSP coalition government was formed with Bamdev Gautam (UML) as deputy prime minister. PM Chanda presented the policy and program of new government at the house. Addressing a press conference on March 13, PM Chanda presented the policy and program of new government at the house. Addressing a press conference on March 13, PM Chanda said that the new coalition government would give the top-most priority to law and order, peace and security, relief to the people through rapid economic development, and political stability. On March 19, PM Chanda presented the policies and programs of new government at the House. The coalition government will consolidate and promote the people's sovereignty, constitutional monarchy, multiparty democracy, the parliamentary system, and an independent and powerful judiciary as guaranteed by the 1990 constitution. In the field of foreign policy, the statement declared that new coalition government would pay special attention to the development of relation in equality. It will also develop friendly relation with all nation of the world in accordance with the principles of non-alignment, the UN charter and the panchasheel [6]. He added "appropriate arrangement will be made to send back the Bhutanese refugees to their country with honor. The government will maintain an atmosphere of mutual agreement and understanding in all affairs of the states [11][March 20, 1997]. I.K. Gujral, PM of India paid an official visit to Nepal from June 5-7, 1998. Official talks between the Nepali and Indian delegation were covered a number of subject, including the 1950 treaty, boarder regulations and security, cooperation on water resources projects, trade and transit and investment. They also discussed the situation in South Asia, SAARC and sub-regional cooperation. The two sides exchanged documents formally endorsing the Mahakali Treaty and power trade agreement. The agreement covers the entire Mahakali river system, including the Sharada Barrage, the Tanakpur Barrage and the proposed Pancheshwor project. The power trade agreement provides for the sale of power generated in the public, semi-governmental and private sectors in either country to the other. The agreement was valid for a period of 50 years subject to the review every 10 years in case either side desires to do so. The agreement entitled the concerned side to determine the price of such power through mutual consolidations. It did not prejudice the rights of either side to make separate agreement with any third country for trade in power [13][June 9, 1997]. Nepal and India both have discussed about the terrorism. Nepal has determined not to allow any activities in its territory and agreed to take appropriate steps to check terrorism. PM of India I.K. Gujral agreed to provide the Phulbari transit route to Nepal on a trial basis for six months. Indian government agreed to provide a grant assistance of Rs. 10 million for Paropakar Hospital and others sectors. Similarly, a three member's delegation of North Korea, led by deputy minister of foreign affairs Cho U Jin paid three-days official visit to Nepal. Nepal and Korean delegation agreed to work together in international level, particularly in the non-aligned movement, to promote the national interest of developing countries. Nepal was repressed at 12th ministerial conferences of non-aligned movement held in New Delhi on April 7-8, 1997. Addressing the meeting foreign minister Prakash Chandra Lohani stressed the need to strengthen the UN and increase the representation of developing and non-alignment nation in the UN security council. PM Lokendra Bahadur Chanda took part on the SAARC summit to alleviate poverty and regional cooperation. PM Chanda raised the question of Bhutanese refugees with Bhutanese king there [7].

Kamal Thapa appointed as foreign minister also paid an official visit to India in the invitation of I.K. Gujral. Foreign Minister Thapa discussed on the question “matter of India’s cooperation to solve the Bhutanese refugee’s problem and the review of 1950 treaty of peace and friendship. He added, “The relevance of the treaty should be judged in the changing context if regional security and new international order”. On the Bhutanese refugees, foreign minister Kamal Thapa said “Bhutan is a sovereign, independent and monarchic nation with its own identity and culture. Nepal does not want to interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan. They should, therefore, be allowed to get back to their country through the same route. We expect a positive and cooperative role of India in this regard [10][August 12, 1997]. Kamal Thapa also visited India on September 10-14; disclose the joint technical team, which had been formed to study on Kalapani issue, would meet soon in October in New Delhi. Two sides expressed the confidence that the opening of the Phulbari transit route would promote sub-regional cooperation. Thapa presented a proposal to replace the 1950 treaty of peace and friendship by a new treaty in accordance with the changing time. He claimed that the volume of foreign cooperation has also been increased significantly.

VII. Thapa’s coalition Government (October 6, 1997- April 10, 1998)

After the fall of Lokendra Bahadur Chanda government Surya Bahadur Thapa, president of RPP, became PM of new coalition government. The coalition was between the three parties Rastriya Prajatantra Party, Nepali Congress, Nepal Sadhabana Party. After assumption, PM Thapa addressed at a press conference in Kathmandu on October 20, 1997. Thapa expressed the hope to work together understanding of opposition parties and willing to stop the anti-terrorism bill. Prime Minister Thapa repeated same points he had made at the October 20, with the foreign media in Kathmandu at next day press conference. In his press statement, he raised the Kalapani issue and the detailed project report of Pancheshwor project. Prime Minister Thapa expressed the confidence that the problem of Bhutanese refugee would be solved through bilateral talks. He also said that the 1950 Nepal and India treaty of peace and friendship, and the Kalapani issue are both bilateral issues. Talks are now being held on these issues at the official level. They will hence be taken up at political level [11][October 22, 1997]. On November 24, foreign minister Kamal Thapa addressed a meeting of Royal Nepali ambassador designated to Pakistan, France, Saudi Arabia and the Royal Nepali ambassador to Bangladesh, Russia, Japan, and India held under the auspices of the Institution of Foreign Affairs. The foreign minister made the following point in his speech “It is necessary to review the 1950 treaty of peace and friendship between Nepal and India, and sign a new treaty which can meet the challenges of the present. The Kalapani area of Darchula district belongs to Nepal. So Indian troops must withdraw from that area. Since the issue concerns the Mahakali treaty also, talks are being hold with India. The government of India agreed to vacate that area if it is proved that it’s located in Nepali territory [9]. His Majesty the Government of Nepal wants to maintain relations with Bhutan on the basis of goodwill, trust and mutual and understanding, and solve the problem of Bhutanese refugees accordingly. Nepal will not take the issue in international forum. However, Royal Nepali ambassadors should acquaint other nationals with the problem. According to the policy of economic diplomacy, priority must be given to trade, investment and tourism. Every diplomatic mission should formulate programs accordingly. His Majesty the Government of Nepal will give top priority to relations with neighboring nations. It will pay an active role in SAARC, the UN and the NAM. In addition, it is the policy of government to strengthen relations with international donor nations and institutions and expand relations with all nations of the world. There are some exchanges to each other to ties good will relations with all friendly nations. President of Swiss Can Federation Arnolled killer paid a four days

official visit to Nepal and provide grant assistance to Nepal. Likewise, Chinese delegation paid a friendly and goodwill visit to Nepal on November 10-14. PM Thapa expressed the gratitude for China's continued cooperation in the economic and technical development of Nepal. Similarly, 15 member's delegation of European Parliament arrived in Nepal on November 13 for three days visit, and meet with Human Rights Committee, foreign affair committee of Nepal. There are some of the exchanges to each other to ties good will relations with all friendly nations. President of Swiss Confederation Arnolled Killer paid a four days official visit to Nepal and provide grant assistance to Nepal. Likewise, Chinese delegation paid a friendly and goodwill visit to Nepal on November 10-14, 1997. PM Thapa expressed the gratitude for China's continued cooperation in the economic and technical development of Nepal. Similarly, 15 member's delegation of European parliament arrived in Nepal on November 13 for three days visit and meet with the Human Rights Committee, foreign affairs committee of Nepal. PM Thapa, addressing the golden jubilee function of Nepal Council of World Affairs in Kathmandu on March 10, said "Nepal's foreign policy is guided by NAM, the UN charter. Nepal has excellent relations with all friendly nations, particularly India and China". Nepal was represented at 54th meeting of United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva on March by delegation led by foreign minister Kamal Thapa. Thapa has raised the Bhutanese refugee's problem at international community. Foreign Minister Thapa claimed that the High Commissioner of the UN Commission for the Human Rights and Refugee had both assured him that they would do what are they would [9].

VIII. Koirala's Government (April 12, 1998-May 26, 2008)

Girija Prasad Koirala was appointed as a PM on April 12, and formed own party government. Giving stress on national consensus in domestic and international politics, PM Koirala appealed for support and cooperation to the efforts of his government in the national politics. After four-month, CPN-ML joined in government on August 26. On December 21, PM Koirala forced to give resignation due to the collective resignation by CPN-ML ministers at PM residence at Baluwatar on understanding on December 10. Because of Grijja Prasad Koirala had ignored the 25 points understanding with CPN-ML to form the coalition government. Then again Girija Prasad Koirala appeared as the PM with other two parties, CPN-UML and NSP for the election campaign. The three-party coalition government conducts the foreign policy as usual. On April 15, addressing the House of Representatives, Koirala put forward the government foreign policy. "The new government will develop mutual aspect, trust and understanding with India and China on the interest of the nation. The nation of South Asia are tied together by common geography and environment and cultural affinities. We have no attractive but to engage jointly in the fields of regional cooperation, trust and investment and transfer of technology. Since we have the common problem of poverty and unemployment, the government will also follow the path of national consensus in preparing the detailed project report of the Pancheshwor project inviting foreign investors for the Karnali and Arun projects resolving the Kalapani problem and boundary disputes and reviewing the 1950 Nepal-India treaty. A national consensus and understanding is indispensable in every aspect of our non-aligned foreign policy and international relations" [11][April 16, 1998]. His majesty addressed a joint session of parliament highlighted the foreign policy said, "My government will continue to follow the foreign policy of establishing and consolidation friendly relations with all countries on the basis of the UN charter, national interest, Panchasheel, human rights and non-alignment". PM Koirala joined the 10th SAARC summit meeting in Colombo; held on June 19-31, 1998. Koirala raised the various concerned matters of Nepal in regional level to enhance. He also talked with Indian PM Vajpayee, on the Kalapani issue, and Jigme Y Thinley on

Bhutan on the matter of Bhutanese refugees [9]. And he talked with other representatives from SAARC member countries on the bilateral relations [5]. PM Koirala raised the question of the negative effect on the small nations of the region by the nuclear test conducted by India and Pakistan and cooperative environment will end. Koirala attained the 12th summit mentions of non-aligned nation on Durban, South Africa on September 2-3, 1998 [7]. Addressing the conference, Koirala declared “In Nepal’s view, NAM will remain relevant so long as the independence, security, development of nations, and the well-being of the people, are not free from threats in all shapes and forms” [8]. Koirala’s government was a success in some level of conduct of foreign policy in international politics. A new transit treaty was signed between India and Nepal in Kathmandu on January 5. The present agreements and operational modalities are for the transit route of Radhikapur and Phulbari for the movement of Nepal’s transit trade to continue. “Visit Nepal 1998” is a good opportunity to promote the national image throughout the world [4]. There are some states level visit exchanging with immediate neighbors and other friendly nation of the world. There are some states level visit exchanging with immediate neighbors and other friendly nation of the world. There are some states level visit exchanging with immediate neighbors and other friendly nation of the world. On May 28-30, 1998, the president of India K.R. Narayan and his wife paid a three days state visit to Nepal. Similarly, his Majesty and queen left in Kathmandu for a six days state visit to India on the invitation of president K.R. Narayanan. His Majesty chaired as the chief guest at the 50th Republic Day celebration in New Delhi on January 26. On the issue of Kalapani, Indian ambassador K.V. Rajan, told a press conference in Birganja on June 10; “Nepal-India relation will never be harmed by the Kalapani problem. The problem is bilateral one and officials of both sides are studying it”. China has also good relations during the Koirala’s government. The eight meeting of the Nepal-China Inter-governmental economic and trade committee was held in Kathmandu on April 15-17, 1998 [4].

IX. Bhattarai’s Majority Government (May 26, 1999- March 16, 2000)

After completion of general election of 1999 in different phase, Nepali Congress Party won the 109 seats out of 205 seats in House of Representatives. So KP Bhattarai, leader of Nepali Congress parliamentary party, appointed as the PM on May 27, 1999. Talking to the media on his appointment as Prime Minister, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai said that the government would take initiate steps to resolve the Maoist problem. He confirmed that the new government also takes immediate steps to solve the refugee problem with Bhutanese government. Bhattarai government gave greater importance in relations with India and China, and further strengthens relations with other nations. In message to the nations on January 18, PM Bhattarai declared that the first priority of his government would be to government would be to guarantee peace and security and curb terrorist activities. He also said on the foreign policy, “The government will further consolidate friendly relations with China and India in keeping with its non-aligned foreign policy. It will pay serious attention to regional cooperation. Nepal will handle its international relations and play its part in keeping with growing responsibility and role of UN in the changed global context” [10][June 19, 1999]. Ram Saran Mahat, minister of foreign affairs speaking at face-to-face program, he said that he would give topmost priority to economic diplomacy aimed at attracting overseas development assistance to expedite the economic growth. Referring to the Bhutanese refugees problem, the minister said, “Nepal in favor of holding result oriented talks with Bhutan and resolve the problem as early as possible. We will review all the initiatives taken in the past and ratify the lapses so that we need not remain entangled on this issue for long”. Replying on a question he said “We have given thrust to economic diplomacy in our foreign policy. Our diplomatic crops in foreign countries will pay a role in promoting the prospects of foreign

employment, exports and investments”. On August 20, in a seminar on “Nepal’s Foreign policy: Issues and Options”, organized by the Institute of Foreign Affairs, PM Bhattarai reiterated Nepal’s commitment to NAM, Panchasheel, the UN charter, and equal relations with neighbors. He added Nepal’s cardinal goals in the next millennium are to further strengthen its distinct national identity and peruse, socio-economic progress in a democratic frame-work, we call for a comprehensive and just international order where the issues and concerns of all countries, developed and developing, should be equitably attained to”. PM Bhattarai addressed the 54th UN General Assembly session in New York on September 30, 1999. He said, “Nepal has a large agenda before it, one nation building consolidation of democracy and human rights and living up to its international commitment to face cooperation and development in the world. Although, there are several obvious difficulties such as economic, social, environmental and political, including the problem of 100,000 refugees from Bhutan. Nepal is dealing with its national agenda with a sense of purpose and commitment”. PM appealed to the international community for its continue support and understanding in the creation of conclusive environment for the resolution of the Bhutanese refugee’s problem through bilateral negotiations and also far for their sustain until representation. Sri Lankan president, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga paid four-days state visit to Nepal on the invitation of their majesties on July 5-9, 1999 [2]. Both government, Nepal and Sri Lanka signed two agreements, one on avoidance of double taxation and other cultural cooperation [11][July 7, 2000]. Foreign Minister Mahat paid a three days official visit to India on August 17, 1999. Likewise, minister of foreign affairs of India arrived in Kathmandu on September 8 for a four days visit to Nepal at the invitation of foreign minister. Nepal and China have also good relations and understanding. China always states that all issues and disputes must be resolved through peaceful bilateral negotiation. Speaking at face-to-face program, Chinese ambassador Zeng Xu Yong said “Boarder trade between China and India is not related with the border disputes of Kalapani between India and Nepal. The Kalapani issue is a bilateral issue that must be resolved through peaceful bilateral negotiations [3]. It is not an issue in which China is also involved. The point of tri-junction, the common boarder shared by the Nepal, India and China, is a different issue. The junction in Kalapani has not been determined yet. Though Nepal and China have signed a boarder agreement, neither China nor Nepal signed on agreement with India on the tri-junction” [10][September 3, 2000]. Speaking on the same occasion, the Indian ambassador K.V. Rajan said, “India has not done anything in relation to Kalapani with evil intentions”. Referring to the Bhutanese refugee problem, he has also said that if help from India is expected to solve the issue, it should be left to India to decide if it wants to be involved. Similarly, the Bhutanese foreign minister, Jigme Y Thinle, arrived in Kathmandu on September 13 to take part in the eighth meeting of Nepal-Bhutan joint ministerial committee.

X. Government since March 16, 2000-2005

After Bhattarai, Nepali Congress leader Girija Prasad Koirala become the PM of Nepal from March 22, 2000 to July 26, 2001. In his period Nepal was suffered from domestic politics so we did not find any strong activities; except some diplomatic visits. Again Sher Bahadur Deuba came in the politics of Nepal he became PM since July 26, 2001 to October 4, 2002. He took participation in the 11th SAARC summit (4-6 January 2002) held in Nepal. In this summit Nepal has played the vital role. Towards the end of 2002 all the member country decided to make active SAPTA. All representatives were aware of terrorism. So they proposed to make the “SAARC Terrorism Control Treaty” [4]. This summit was held in the gap of four-year duration, so the success of this summit was prestigious task for Nepal. In October, 4, 2002 king Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev dismissed the Deuba government and

Lokendra Bahadur Chanda became PM from October 11, 2002 to June 5, 2003. We didn't find any mentionable foreign activities in his time. Some foreign aids were continued. In June 5, 2003 Surya Bahadur Thapa was appointed as the head of the government in 12th SAARC summit (2-6 January 2004) in Islamabad. All the representatives stressed to control the terrorism in South Asia. Pakistan and India's diplomatic relation was becoming cool. In June 3, 2004 Sher Bahadur Deuba again became the PM of Nepal for February 1, 2005. Till this date country was highly suffered from Maoist "Janyudha". The aims of the government were only related to security. Some foreign diplomats reacted their feeling at the prevalent condition of Nepal [5].

XI. King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah (2001-2006)

King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shahdev has been the king of Nepal since 2001-06-04. He succeeded to the throne upon the death of his nephew Dipendra Bir Bikram Shah, who was only King for three days whilst in a coma, following a massacre of the preceding king Birendra and other members of the Royal family. King Gyanendra has sought to exercise full control over the government. In May 2002 he supported PM Sher Bahadur Deuba when he dismissed the parliament elected in 1999. In October 2002 he dismissed Deuba and briefly took direct power for the first time. During the years 2002 to 2005 he set in and then dismissed three prime ministers, finally dismissing Deuba for the second time and taking over as absolute ruler on 2005-02-01. When king Gyanendra took complete control for the second time on 2005-02-01, he accused Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba's government of failing to make arrangements for parliamentary elections and being unable to restore peace in the country, then in the midst of a civil war led by Maoist government. His Majesty King Gyanendra address to various forums guarantee a keen audience that takes close study of the texts. From the Asian-African summit in Jakarta through the Second Summit of the Group of 77 plus China in Doha and the recent Dhaka Summit of SAARC leaders, the Nepalese people and the international community alike are well versed in the consistency and the clarity that mark the royal addresses at such forums. All along, His Majesty King Gyanendra has aptly outlined the objectives and priorities concerning the kingdom's domestic and foreign policies without any ambiguity or doublespeak. The royal address to the November 12-13 Dhaka Summit of the seven-member South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) characteristically dispensed with high rhetoric and worn-out terminologies. Speeches delivered at international gatherings more often than not shy away from clarity and veer of specifics. The Jakarta Asian-African Conference in April signaled a significant shift in Nepal's foreign policy delivery. Likewise, the second south Summit of the Group of 77 plus China held in Doha in May underscored that the Jakarta address was no flash in the pan. And the latest edition of SAARC Summit has definitively set the pattern as well-established. The King also addressed the second phase of the World Summit of the Information Society (WSIS) held in Tunis from November 16 to 18 and visited a number of other African countries in what is seen as a clear signal that Nepal is keen to forge yet better ties for greater interaction and the cooperation with the African continent. Hosted by Tunisia, the WSIS is an extension of the United Nations initiative with Secretary General Kofi Annan serving as the patron of the organizing committee. South African is the continent's largest economy and the royal visit to Burundi was in connection with the UN peacekeeping force to which the Royal Nepalese Army has made remarkable contributions. The visit to Cairo re-established the importance Nepal once attached to its ties with Egypt and gave an inkling of the turn the bilateral relations might take in the coming days. It will be no surprise if there is a greater interaction between the two non-aligned countries in the ensuing days, in a departure from the lackluster manner with which Shital Niwas conducted ties with Egypt for the last 15 years. What the royal activities covering the two summits and

visits to several countries announce in the inauguration of a new era in re-energizing Nepal's foreign policy that was in hibernation for more than a decade and a half. They reflect and echo a desire for presenting Nepal's case to the international community in its proper perspective. The refreshing restart should be sustained and nurtured in the future by elected governments too. The country should make up for the lost ground in these times of intense competition and instant communication [6]. International condemnation of the draconian step was swift and strong, India, USA, and the U.K. have suspended military assistance, some Western democracies have put their development assistance on hold. Even the United Nation's reaction was robust. North Korea, Cuba, and Pakistan supported the royal foray and China struggled it off as an internal affair [3]. In April 2006 pressure caused king to return power to the parliament. He has now been reduced to the status of a ceremonial monarch.

Conclusion

Wedged between India and China, Nepal has historically followed a policy of nonalignment, both a regularly and globally. The country's dependence on India for trade and treatment and transit routes to the south, however, both nations reliance on common water resources, make Nepal's relation's with India especially sensitive. Since 1990, these relations have pivoted around a treaty of peace and friendship that gives India significant leverage over Nepal on economic and security matters. Historically, Nepali Congress has advocated closer ties with India, but the communist parties, particularly the ML faction, have resisted accommodating India's influence in Nepal. Tapping into popular presentment against perceived Indian hegemony "nationalists" have urged maintaining equal distance between India and China. There has been bitter debate over the provisions of the 1996 Mahakali River treaty between Nepal and India. This treaty, which provides for joint development and utilization of the river's irrigation and hydroelectric potential by the two countries has drawn fire as a sellout of Nepal's sovereignty and interests. The Pratinidhi Sabha has ratified this treaty, but agreement on its implementation remains elusive. Other ongoing issues include the border dispute over the strategic Kalapani territory in western Nepal and the fate of the over 100,000 ethnic Nepalese refugees from Bhutan. Nepal maoist rebels was listed as terrorist group by U.S. government, and former President Bush pledged US \$20 million in aid to Nepal for the fight against them. The Maoists, led by Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Known as "Prachanda") believe that the United States was pushing for a military solution instead of peace talks and reconciliation. Nepal plays an active role in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and hosts the organization's secretariat. SAARC promotes regional cooperation, including trade expansion and economic and social development among South Asian member nations. Nepal is also a member of several multilateral organizations, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Colombo Plan, and the Asian Development Bank. Nepal continues to participate in various specialized agencies within the United Nations, voting with the nonaligned movement. In May 2000, Nepal began the process of accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), a membership which remains controversial as many Nepalese believe the new trade regulations may do more harm than good. Nepal's foreign policy objective is to attain national interest or preservation and promotion of political freedom, sovereignty, regional integrity, institutionalization of peace, democracy, human rights and freedom. Along with it, Nepal's foreign policy is concerned to enhance the foreign economic assistance pursuing to the donor country and donor agencies for development. Therefore, any foreign aid without political string is acceptable to

Nepal. Though, there are some permanent and temporary factors of Nepalese foreign policy issues. Nepali stake holders must be clear on the issues which are directly related with foreign policy. There are many issues of Nepalese foreign policy, among them are: nationalism and national identity, non-alignment, Bhutanese refugee problem, open border, revision on territory of 1950, globalization and regionalism, terrorism and economic diplomacy etc. If we are able to address on these issues properly our foreign policy will get successes. Nepalese foreign policy and diplomacy is becoming much weaker in the context of globalization. There is no institutional efficiency in the foreign policy formulation and implementations. Governmental instability, political illusions, intra and extra party confrontations, lack of unanimous national vision and consensus of political parties are the factors of inefficient domestic and foreign policy of Nepal. Similarly, politicization of bureaucracy is another problematic factor of Nepalese foreign policy. Party leaders and governments manipulate all activities according to their party of personal benefits. Only taking part in bilateral or multilateral forums may not be the policy of a country. There must be some objectives and goal within it and its foreign policy. Nepalese government and ministry of foreign affairs by mistake take advices and homework with experts. Due to this reason, Nepal's immaturity always exhibits in diplomatic practice. Nepal's diplomatic efforts also failed in various issues related with neighboring countries and friendly nations either bilateral or multilateral level. Bhutanese diplomacy is strong though Bhutan seems small and weaker whether several around dialogues have been held. Nepalese people are fully confident that the world's largest democratic country India would not behave undemocratically in its relation with Nepal but it remains on only expectation. While we talk about India, India's interference in politics and territory are also acceptable to the Nepalese stakeholders. Nepal's role on SAARC is also weak. Regional cooperation is limited within the draft paper. Nepal should have to take benefits from the SAARC regional level prospective. Nepal cannot raise the issue of amendment on law of sea. Nepal should seek the rout of access to sea for the participation in international economic activities, open market economy, liberalism, privatization and globalization.

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