

# Nepal-India Relations (2006-2020): A Study on Micro-Management Perspectives

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**Abstract:-** There are number of factors that have contributed to the shaping of Nepal-India relations. Geo-location, open border, socio-cultural attachment, lingual intimacy, people to people contact and more than the role of India in each and every political movement have shaped Nepal-India relations.

The Peace and Friendship Treaty 1950 made between Nepal-India dragged Nepal under the Indian security umbrella and India started managing Nepalese politics as well as administration as a gratitude of its help against anti Rana movement. India actually, does not want democracy in Nepal but its favoured government and bureaucracy. For obtaining this opportunity it compels Nepal to accept unilaterally benefited treaties such as Tanakpur (Mahakali), Koshi, Gandaki, and so on.

For successful operation of this research, researcher has used descriptive and analytical methods of study and further authentication of informations, facts and figures, key informants interviews were taken to the respective academicians Politicians and intellectuals as well as civil society members making Key Informants Interview,(KII) guidelines.

Incourse of study, the researcher found that India is in Nepal with micro- management perspective. Since 12 point agreement held between revolting Maoist and SPA to before issuance of present constitution Indian micro-management had paralyzed Nepal's politics and administration but soon after the PM Oli's stand on nationality during Indian unofficial economic blockade and due to present CPN powerful government under the KP Oli, Nepal is trying to operate its politics and administration independently with the spirit of Nepali People.

**Keywords:-** Nepal-India Relations, Micro-management, Influence, Interference, Vested Interest.

## I. INTRODUCTION

This study on Nepal-India relation Concerning 2006-2019 focused on Indian micro-management perspective in Nepal. Because with the facilitative role of India to conduct twelve point agreement between seven parites Alliance (SPA) and Insurgent Maoist Indian influences have been unexpectedly increased in Nepal's political and administratative sector.

Geographical location of Nepal has played an important role in determining the foreign relation of Nepal with India and China both. Open border, socio-cultural attachment, lingual intimacy, people to people relation and more the role of India in each and every political movements in Nepal has been clearly appreciated and criticized. Addressing the geo-political sensitivity, the founder of Modern Nepal, Prithivi Narayan Shah had stated that this kingdom is a yam between two boulders. Great friendship should be maintained with the Emperor of the North (China). Great friendship should be nourished with the Emperor of the South (India) whose abode is in the overseas but he is clear shrewed and has kept Hindustan under subjugation (Dhamadasani (2001).

Before and After the Sugauli Treaty 1816, British India policy towards Nepal was to make Nepal as a transit point for its own trade with Tibet and China. For that purpose they gave support to Jung Bahadur Rana who adopted appeasement policy to British-India company Government and Isolation of Nepal from rest of the world (Singh, 1996).

The Treaty of Peace and Amity 1950 held between Nepal and India became the tools to influence Nepali politics and administration for forever. Though this treaty recognized Nepal as a sovereign and independent country, it became the legitimate way to influence in Nepal. As a result, Nepali politics always became dependent on Indian grace. This treaty has been a hot topic of discourse and debate since 1990 when Late Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikari, during his primer raised the voice of amendment of this versailles Treaty, here 1950's Nepal-India Peace and Amity Treaty is refered as versailles treaty held to settle World War I. Infact, the treaty triggered a great hullabaloo right after the emergence of CPN Maoist as the largest party in constituent Assembly I, Maoist leader Prachanda had viewed that the 1950's treaty should be abrogated as per changed context (The Kathmandu Post, 2006, 15 May). Nevertheless, Later on it seemed only vote politics and

sentiment politics, that is proved by the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA) done by Prime Minister Babu Ram Bhattarai on April 4, 2012.

Nepal-India relation during 1960 was on high flux due to Royya Coup in one side sino-Indian war and Nepali's neutrality in another side but in 1970, Indo-Pak war, Nepal viewed to settle issue through peaceful means. In 1978, India agreed on doing separate trade and transit treaty but in 1989, India imposed economic blockade against Nepal that helped to restore democracy in Nepal ([www.isrj.net/publish/artical/1872.pdf](http://www.isrj.net/publish/artical/1872.pdf)). Indian role in 1990's political change was taken as Indian co-operation by the large section of political system but some small fractions of and extreme forces opposed and fueled anti-Indian sentiments among Nepali youths.

As a gratitude of Indian co-operation to 1990's political change India made unequal Tanakpur and Mahakali Treaty in 1991 and 1995 respectively. The royal takeover of Feb, 2005 annoyed New Delhi to a large extent. But India adopted 'wait and see' policy. Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh suggested king Gyanendra to restore democracy and not to seek China card for retaining in power. Likewise, CPN (Maoist) used Babu Ram Bhattarai for pro-Indian project in Maoist (Upreti, 2009).

The twelve point agreement hold between seven parties Alliance (SPA) and conflicting Maoist with the Indian facilitation gave space to India for micro-management in Nepal because it was Indian reading that India is essential for every political and administrative changes in Nepal and it is causing interference in Nepal. Failure of Constituent Assembly I (2008), frequent changes of Governments, reservation of India in Nepalese present constitution, unofficial blockade 2015 etc. are the phenomenon in which India has influenced.

## II. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objectives of the study is to analyze Nepal-India relation since 2006 to onwards. Where as the specific objectives of this research are as follows:-

- a) To find out the cases of micro-management of India in Nepal.
- b) To analyze the causes and its solutions regarding micro-management of India in Nepali politics and administration.

## III. LITERATURE REVIEW

They Royal steps of king Gyanendra was looked by India through wait and see principle with the hope of using Gyanendra in Indian interest in Nepal but when it found just opposite role of king Gyanendra, India arranged background for twelve point agreement between Seven parties alliance and revolting Maoist making vested interest of taking revenge with King Gyanendra as he was tilted towards China and used Chinese card against India (Indian blame). Since 12 point agreement, that was held in India; was the

output of Nepali democratic process assisted by India (Singh, 2009).

He (2009) further has viewed that "the constituent Assembly election hold on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 2008 shows the failure of New Delhi strategy of micro-management in Nepal when CPN (Maoist) became the largest party with handsome seats. Surprisingly M.K Narayan, National Security Advisory in the Man Mohan Singh's Government had issued a certificate of approval that Indian was extending a helping hand to the campaigns of the Nepali Congress as well as the CPN (UML) and that proved later on not only improper but unwise too". (p- 233)

Prime Minister Prachanda's state visit in China was earlier than India became a big hallabaloo in India because the tradition of state visit by newly elected/selected P.M. was first India and in other countries in terms of state visits right after the changes in Government in Nepal. As a result, in the case of Army chief Rukmangat Katuwal P.M. Prachanda resigned. That event was also connected with the role of old regime and India's role. Prachanda viewed that our narrow minded friends had created the situation (Kathmandu post 1<sup>st</sup> Nov, 2010). The relationship of Maoist also became cold with India (The Hindustan Times April 27, 2013).

After the fall of Prachanda's Government CPN (UML) leader Madav Kumar Nepal became the Prime Minister which was blamed as the Pro-Indian (Kathaputali/Puppet) Government but after his fall, Jhal Nath Khanal's Government was formed independently as the revenge of Prachanda with India. The Khanal's Government was not welcomed by India neither called for state visit. Making fall of this Government, pro-Indian Government of UCPN (Maoist) leader Dr. Babu Ram Bhattarai was formed who made Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Arrangement (BIPPA) and tried to handover the security of Tribhuvan International Airport (TIA) to India which as widely criticized as the threat to national security and sovereignty of Nepal. If India interfered in Nepalese internal affairs that is very common to powerful nation to make influence in its periphery as Nepal lies in Indian sub-continent. Such so called whim of influence is not fact but the visions of our leaders are more responsible for inviting India for micro-management in Nepali politics and administration.

In one article published in Gorkhapatra Daily, on 10<sup>th</sup> May 2010 written by Nepali Hydropower specialist Mr.Ratnasansar Shrestha has viewed that India want to Invest in Nepal in Hydro-sector but due to security interest, it is being back. But where is DPR and implimentation of Mahakali treaty yet? We should try to reduce dependency toward India in any matter. National interest and National ideology should be addressed when we are having discourse about Nepal-India relation (Gorkhapatra Daily, on 10<sup>th</sup> May 2010).

Pradhan (2015) has opined that the election Government formed by four major party's consensus under the chairmanship of chief justice Mr.Khil Raj Regmi also

blamed as pro-Indian grand design and later on the CIAA chief Lokman Singh Karki's controversial appointment was also taken as India interest. The series of state visit of Nepalese top leaders in India after the Mass Uprising II 2006 also reflects that either Nepalese political actors are highly influenced by India or they have misconception that without having blessing of India it is difficult to retain in power.

More than half of the total Nepali population hates and huge portion of that group hates India and Indians with a passion. The reasons include border encroachment by the Indian Government in Nepal. India's unhealthy interest in Nepali politics and politicians India's unethical occupation on Nepalese lands, unfair water and electricity sharing treaties between the two countries, India's claim on the birthplace of Buddha. India's domination depicted on films, TV, books, magazines, internet and in real life and above all the bitter racism of Indian against the Nepalese .

The fact of the matter is that no living nation likes or loves the interference or invasion of any other country or nation. Nepal is a land of brave and courageous people; they have their own individual identity and a long history of struggle and achievements; they are not a slave nation; how could they bear such an insulting attitude of India. The problem with India is that it cannot live without doing interference into its neighbouring countries. From Sri Lanka to Nepal and from Pakistan to Bangladesh, from Maldives to China (Doklam tussel 2017), every neighbouring country is facing lots of problems because of Indian interference. (India-Pakistan border Skirmishes, Kashmir invasion, 2019).

Pakistan is the ever-worst victim to this interference as India is criminally supporting the miscreants and terrorists in Balochistan, Sind Kashmir and in other parts of the country (ibid). Neither the BJP nor the Indian Congress are friends of Nepal. Yes these two Indian parties were never the friends of Nepal. Both were India-blockade machines for this India locked country.

The last blockade was imposed by BJP terror machine led by P.M. Modi in the year of 2015 September which is still haunting the minds of Nepali victims. The fact is that Nepali leaders now ruling the nation have had definitely invited the Indian forced mediation in the form of the much touted 12 point agreement calculatedly designed by the third class inferiority complex ridden diplomat Shyam Sharan and his trusted allies in Kathmandu's political circuit who under the guise of the said Delhi agreement export Nepal-Maoists to Kathmandu but also secured their overwhelming entrance into the power structures of Nepal to the extent that some of the oldest institutions were told to enter in the nearly Jungles. And this was perhaps the best and honorable shortcut to control Nepal through their funded and NOIDA sheltered agents. Pundit Nehru's wishes have come to true.

Sept 2015, General Bipin Rawat viewed that Nepal and Bhutan can't delink from India due to geographically cautious countries against China's aid. Army Chief General Bipin Rawat, while addressing the media he said that taking

aid from China is temporary. At the closing Ceremony of BIMSTIC-MILEX 18 (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral ways of co-operation, Field Training Military Exercise). But Nepal denied to join this Training thinking that Indian vested interest over the project.

India's strong dissatisfaction with the constitution proclamation in Nepal shows clear-cut Indian interference in Nepal. In the pretext of dissatisfied fraction, Terai based political parties, India launched unofficial blockade and till today India has not welcomed Nepalese constitution issued on 20<sup>th</sup> Sept, 2015. Instead it has sent 7 points constitution amendment proposal to Nepal through unofficial channels. Indian worry is that Nepali politics is marching towards independency and Indian micro-management interest in Nepal has been difficult due to Chinese strong presence in Nepal and Nepali development sectors. All these literatures mentioned above have indicated India is present in Nepal through micro-management perspectives but it is not clear that how and on what level the micro-management of India is in Nepali politics and administration that the researcher found out through this study.

#### IV. RESEARCH GAP

Nepal-India relations are unique but since last 70 years India is continuously being penetrating in Nepal's political and administrative sectors. Different literatures reviewed above are not clear on Indian micro- management in Nepal .That's why this researcher has studied throughly though there is dearth of literatures on this regard.

#### V. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study mainly used Indian micro-management in Nepali politics and administration perspective. Under this political and administration variables are tested on the bases of available theoretical and imperial literatures and for further justification KII are focused. Actually Nepal-India relations, Indian role in Nepalese political and administration with its root causes including their respective solutions as well as ways forwards have been focused.

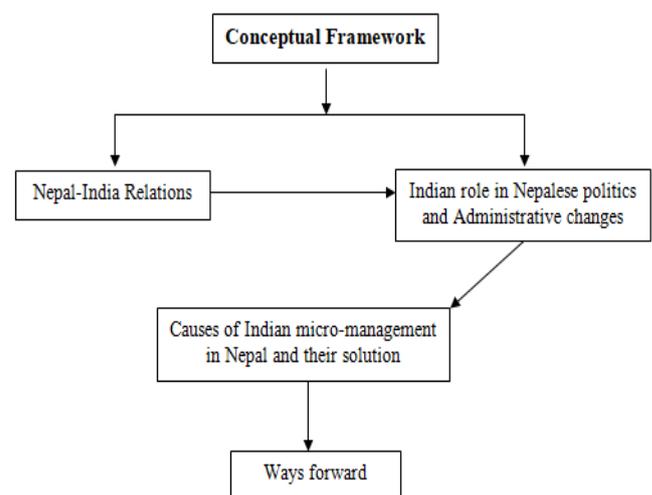


Fig2.1: Conceptual Framework

## VI. METHOD OF THE STUDY

Research in the field of political science as research in other fields involves the process gathering, processing and interpreting data. Since the study mainly focuses on the Nepal-India relations and Indian micro-management in Nepali politics and administration, insights for the development of methodology has gained descriptive and analytical research too. It includes selection of the information collected from different literature reviews such as books, articles, Journals, research paper, internet sources, magazine, newspaper etc. It also includes review of relevant study reports, research reports, joint communiqués and the reports of commissions submitted to Nepal Government. The reviews presented as per relevancy.

The primary source of data developed through interviews guideline for Key Informants Interview of diplomats, scholars, civil society members, political science experts, political leaders who are directly or indirectly involved in shaping Nepal-India relations in its various facts. The individuals interviewed after fixing an appointment.

## VII. NEPAL-INDIA RELATIONS: MICRO-MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE (2006-2019)

Since 12 point agreement India was keen on bringing revolting Maoist in National political mainstream. With the comprehensive peace agreement and historical peace agreement 2006 surprisingly the Nepalese Maoists, who had initially discarded parliamentary democracy, came to participate in parliamentary system and showed equal seats 83/83 with CPN (UML) as well as took part in constituent Assembly, CA election held in 2008. The United Communist party of Nepal (UCPN Maoist) stood as largest political party in CA I consequently the Maoist leader, Puspa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' became the prime minister of Nepal. He made his state visit to India on 14-18 September, 2008. Prachanda promised to introduce radical economic reforms with a view to make 'New Nepal' but to the dismay of India, the Maoist started developing their relation towards China at the cost of New Delhi. Soon the CA I abolished 239 years old historic Monarchical institution and declared country a Federal Republic in 2008.

But India became more apprehensive when Prime minister Puspa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' attempted to seize power with the help of the Army. It was apprehended that he would sign a treaty with China that would counter Nepal's 1950 Treaty of Peace and friendship with India which in fact, was a security pact between India and Nepal. India had no option but to support the opposition parties and the Nepalese Army in its bid to safeguard the democratic system of the country (ibid).

This move ultimately led Dahal to resign in May 2009. But when PM Prachanda visited India in September 2008, he spoke about a new dawn, in the bilateral relations between the two countries. He said, "I am going back to Nepal as a satisfied person. I will tell Nepali citizen back home that a new government, I assure you that we are

committed to make a fresh start." During his visit he met Indian prime minister Man Mohan Singh and foreign minister Pranab Mukherjee. He asked India to help Nepal to frame a new constitution. Actually, it was his blunder because once again he formally called India in Nepali constitution making process that made our constitution making task as beaten rice made of Iron as.

After Prachanda's resignation CPN (UML) leader Madav Kumar Nepal became Prime Minister and on 25th May 2009, Prime Minister Madav Kumar Nepal said he will strengthen relations with India deeply strained during the nine month Maoist rule. Prachanda and his team of India baiters overlapped hand, balancing China with India. Encouraged by the Maoists, Beijing has gained ground in Nepal. Madav Kumar Nepal had kicked start the peace process focusing on integration of Maoists and constitution drafting. But the government of Madav Kumar Nepal was strongly blamed as *Kathaputali Sarkar* by UCPN Maoist. Mr. Nepal made his state visit to India in 18-22 August, 2009.

There is Indian intervention in Nepalese politics that is vowed by leaders time and again. UCPN Maoist party chairman Puspa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' had said that the main obstruction to the implementation of a three point led was not the Nepali congress and the communist parties CPN (UML) but "foreign forces". By foreign forces, Prachanda was clearly indicating to India with which Nepal's Maoist have lately become very impatient accusing it of meddling the country's internal affairs and trying to declare the peace process. He also accused Nepal's ruling parties for being puppets of the Indian ruling class. But Lalit Man Singh, a former Indian diplomat and foreign secretary rejected the accusations. "India's role had been very constructive but behind the scenes," he said. And this continues to be the policy of the government not to be too intrusive because we know the sensitivities that are involved and all that.

In keeping with the tradition of regular high level exchange of visits between India and Nepal president, Ram Baran Yadav, first president of Nepal, paid an official visit to India from 27 January to 5th February 2011. Other visits from Nepal to India in the same year were made by Prime Minister Dr. Baburam Bhattarai on 20-23rd October 2011.

Prime Minister Dr. Baburam Bhattarai failed to give right track to CA I and it failed in May 2012. With the swearing of Baburam Bhattarai on Nepal's new prime minister, the political pendulum has swung squarely back to where it ought to have been in the first place, with the Madhesi parties comprising the other components. The unified Maoist-Leninists and the Nepali congress are not part of the new arrangement but Dr. Bhattarai has indicated that the formation of a national government with the participation of all major parties was on a priority. The emergence of Mr. Bhattarai's government offered Nepal a new opportunity to complete its tryst with destiny (<http://www.revolvvy.com>). It means India had good hope with Baburam Bhattarai to use in favor of Indian vested interest i.e. Indian flavored constitution and political system to penetrate in Nepal through CA I.

PM Bhattarai viewed Nepal is passing through a major political transition. We fought against feudal autocracy and monarchy and for overall socio-economic transformation, for almost 60 years. At times, our movement was peaceful and at times violent. But the consistent goal was to abolish feudal autocracy and monarch and democratize to state and society.

Ultimately, the major political parties which included the UCPN Maoist and traditional parliamentary parties reached an agreement in 2006 to over throw the monarchy and institutionalize democracy through the CA. We succeeded in abolishing the monarchy and transferred in a new democratic era in Nepal. We are now in the process of institutionalizing achievements through the CA, accompanied by socio-economic transformation and federal restructuring of the state. According to comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) signed in November, 2006, we have completed the specific task of army integration and other aspects of the peace process.

### VIII. NEPAL-INDIA TRADE SCENARIO

The role of India in this process is crucial. Nepal and India share a very unique relationship. Nepal is sandwiched between two huge states of India and China. But we are virtually India locked as we have an open border on three sides. Most of our socio-economic interactions take place with India. Two third of our annual trade is with India, while only ten percentage share with China. It was hoped that Nepal's trade deficit being continue since 2 decades would be tackled through this trade and transit treaties done separately after the political changed held in 1990. Table shows the trade deficit of Nepal since 1975/76 till 1991/1992.

**Table No.5.1 Showing condition of trade from 2075/76-91/92.**

Fiscal year	Amount in (Million) exports	Imports	Trade deficit
1975/76	1185.8	1981.7	795.9
1976/77	1164.7	2008.0	843.3
1977/78	1046.2	2469.6	1423.4
1978/79	1296.8	2884.7	1887.9
1979/80	1150.5	3480.1	2329.6
1980/81	1608.6	4428.2	2819.6
1981/82	1491.5	4930.3	3438.8
1982/83	1132.0	6314.0	3182.0
1983/84	1703.9	6514.3	4810.4
1984/85	2740.6	7742.1	5001.5
1985/86	3078.0	9341.2	6263.2
1986/87	2991.4	10905.2	7913.8
1987/88	4114.6	13869.6	9755.0
1988/89	4195.3	16263.7	12068.4
1989/90	5235.5	18401.5	13166.0
1990/91	7387.5	23226.7	15839.0
1991/92	13939.4	32951.3	19011.9

Source: <https://www.nrborg.np>>vol.pdf

The above table makes upset because Nepal's trade deficit with India is rapidly increasing. To eliminate such detoreating condition Nepal has been pursuing open and market based economic and trade policy since 1990s with the abolition of licensing system in export and import, allowing full convertibility of Nepal's currency in current account, reduction of tarriffsp, removal of paratariffs and development of transport and border infrastructures for facilitating of international trade.

Nepal became the member (party to South Asian preferential trade agreement (SAPTA) and free trade area (SAFTA) in 1995 and 2004 respectively. Similarly Nepal became member of WTO and BIMSTEC in 2004. However, the external trade of Nepal presents a bleak picture particulaly during and after the last decade as the trade deficit is on the rise at in unprecedented rate. After the political change of 2006 too even Nepal-India trade deficite has not driven towards improvement. The following given table reflects the deardful condition of trade of Nepal with India.

**Table No.5.2 Table to show Nepal' trade**

#### Nepal's Trade Deficit with India of last 10 years

Fy2006/07	Rs74.14 billion
Fy2007/08	Rs100.82 billion
Fy2008/09	Rs121.54 billion
Fy2009/10	Rs174.35 billion
Fy2010/11	Rs216.29 billion
FY2011/12	RS270.41 billion
Fy2012/13	Rs346.16 billion
FY2013/14	Rs422.89 billion
Fy2014/15	Rs444.19 billion
Fy2015/16	Rs447.7 billion
Fy2016/17	Rs491 billion *first 10 month's record

Source: <https://www.google.com/search?>

Nepal's foreign trade is heavily skewed in favour of India, and this dependency on the Southern neighbour expanded between the years 2007 to 2017. According to a study report released by NRB, India's share of Nepal's exports ballooned fourfold while its share of imports swelled three times from the figure for the 1990s.

The central bank's report shows that India bought 28.00 percent of Nepal's exports in the 1980s. Shipments fell sharply to 16.15 percent in the 1990s and then jumped to 59.04 percent in the first decade of 2000s. Similarly, Indian accounted for 22.39 percent of Nepal' imports in the 1990s, down from 24.01 percent in the 1980s. The country's dependence on India for imports soared to 58.06 percent in the 2000s.

India has played a vital role in boasting its share in Nepal's trade. "After India started providing preferential treatment based on the certificate of origin since 1996, Nepal's exports to that country began taking off", India is being politically benifited due to Nepal's trade deficit. Convertly or overtly Indian influences in Nepali politics has

increased due to Nepal's India dependent trade and wide trade defecits too (Feb. 9, 2014 Nepal's trade dependency on India swells in 2000s, retrieved from kathmandupost.com).

The revised treaty of Nepal-India trade relation 2002 made Nepal once again upset due to quantitative restrictions for all articles manufactured in Nepal. Quota system in vegetables ghee, acrylic yarn, copper products, zine oxide and so on. This treaty further introduced VAT on Nepali exports. But it made flexible transit facilities to Nepal for third country trade. The trade and transit treaty renewed in 2009 and 2016 with more or less similar provisions and the 2016's treaty will be renewed in 2023. By and large India is using Nepal's trade and transit dependency for imposing its political lobbying. Given the historic period to till towards our bilateral relation is unique. When you have more interaction you have more problems and more frictions. At a time, there are misgiving and misunderstanding on various issues. Some are genuine while other is born out of skepticism.

India played a positive role in the peace process in Nepal, and during our transition towards democracy (<http://www.thenational.4e>aisa>). Bhattarai viewed that his visit at this junction when we were at the last stage of completing the peace process, assumes special significance. While the peace process is basically conceptualized and led by Nepali political forces, the good will of international forces, particularly our neighbor, is very important for its success. United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) came here for peace process and after 4 years of its work it went back because India wanted to take solo benefit of Nepalese peace process.

**IX. THEME**

The below given table has exposed the views of Key-Informants under taken in this research on Indian micro-management in Nepal.

**Table : Indian micro-management in Nepal**

Indian micro-management in Nepal	Frequency	Percent
Interference	4	25.0
Not as said	3	18.8
Not good to independent nations	3	18.8
Our weakness	3	18.8
Undue	2	12.5
Others	1	6.3
Total	16	100.0

Source: Key Infromants Interview, 2018/19

According to the above given table based on KI Guideline Q.No.3 relating to Indian micro-management in Nepal 25% respondents were of the opinion that since 2006's onwards Indian Interference in Nepali politics has alarmingly increased. 18.8 % respondents have viewed that to interfere in internal affairs of an independent nation in any pretext is undue influence and 18.8% respondents have raised question on our incapacity to pacify people and lack of competency to govern that pulled India in Nepal for micro-management.

The below given table has exposed the views of Key-Informants under taken in this research on Indian micro-management in Nepal based on Key Informants Cross tabulation.

**Table: Indian micro-management in Nepal and key informants**

Indian micro-management in Nepal	Key Informants							
	Diplomats		University Professors		Political Leaders		Civil Society Members	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interference	1	25.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	1	25.0
Not as said	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	2	50.0
Not good to independent nations	1	25.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	0	0.0
Our weakness	2	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0
Undue	0	0.0	2	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Others	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0
Total	4	100.0	4	100.0	4	100.0	4	100.0

Source: Key Infromants Interview, 2018/19

The table made above relating to KII guideline question No.3 also has 16 respondents. Out of them 25% respondents have strongly opined that India is interfering in Nepal as gratitude of their help in Nepal's political changes. Other 25% respondents have argued that interfering in any independent nation' internal and foreign affairs in condemnable whereas rest 50% respondents have blamed that India is in Nepal as a micro- manager of Nepalese political and administrative affairs that is because of our own weaknesses. Indian support to revolting Maoist against Nationalist force i.e. Royal Palace was the primary step of

India to come in Nepal openly for micro- management of Nepali politics and administration. India is influencing in Nepalese politics, administration, and other areas too. Lok Man Karki's appointment as Chief of CIAA, Khil Raj Regmi's unexpected and unpredicted election government, PM Prachanda's resignation, Baburam Bhattarai opinion towards India during his prime minister ship, it justifies than India is in Nepal for micromanagement but the role of India is slowly decreasing Since the issuance of present constitution and present Oli government with comfort majority.

## X. INDIAN MICRO-MANAGEMENT IN NEPAL SOME GLIMPSES:

- India played active role in making 12 point agreement
- Fall of Prime Minister Prachanda's government formed right of after first CA poll.
- Formation of CPN (UML) leader Madav Kumar Nepal's government by defeating Prachanda;s government.
- Not to call Prime Minister Jhal Nath Khanal for state visit.
- Formation of government of Dr. Baburam Bhattarai and to be successful to make him agree on Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA).
- Making him ready to give the security responsibility Tribhuwan International Airport to India.
- Interference in constitution making process.
- Formation and boosting up to regional and ethnic political group especially Terai based political parties.
- Failure of first constituent Assembly in its task
- Formation of election government under the Chairmanship of Chief Justice Khil Raj Regmi (14th March 2013)
- Withdraw of United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN)
- Split of Maoist center and new agitating Maoist.
- India's foreign secretary Jay Shankar who visited Nepal before one week had urged the Nepali leadership to delay the proclamation of the new constitution for some days.
- India's political activism in favor of democracy is not without reason (<http://www.google.com>.accessed on 3rd Nov, 2018)
- Appointment of Lok Man Singh Karki as CIAA Chief Commission.
- Indian dissatisfaction on issuance of constitution 2015.
- Unofficial economic blockade of India against Nepal after independently issuance of constitution.
- Agitation of Madhesh based parties at No-man's' land between Nepal and India's border and Indian support to them by providing shelter, food and political backups.
- PM Sher Bd. Deuba's commitment to amend Nepalese constitution in Indian Parliament.
- India proposed draft of constitution amendment to Nepal.

## XI. THE LATEST SCENARIO/STEPS TO ESCAPE FROM INDIAN GRIP

Although India strongly supported different democratic movements in Nepal, this time it has undermined the independent discussion on constitutional provision being evicted by CA in 2015 which resulted Indian blockade even. Prime Minister K.P. Oli made transit treaty with China during his China visit held from 20-27 March 2016. But it became big headache to India. Frequently PM Oli made visit to India to delete Indian suspect. But on 12 June 2016, Maoist leader Prachanda withdrew his support to KP Oli government though it came no surprise.

KP Oli blamed that his government was nationalist and was disliked by India as a result it pushed Nepal-India relation toward increasing anti-Indian sentiment in Nepal.

Actually, due to Prime Minister KP Oli's India policy, the proposed India visit by Nepali president Mrs. Vidhya Devi Bhandari was cancelled at the last moment. One of the reported reasons for this cancellation was India alleged efforts to replace Oli with another leader i.e. Prachanda.

Nepali Congress and Maoist center made an understanding according to which Prachanda became Prime Minister for the first few months and Sher Bahadur Deuba of the Nepal Congress (NC) led the election government. After being Prime Minister he went India visit. To succeed in their endeavor to chart a mutually beneficial and sustainable partnership both countries continued their top level visits as well. After being defeated in general election held on Nov. 26, 7 Dec, 2017 made CPN Alliance the powerful political party having handsome majority of federal government KP Oli who is considered close to China became prime minister. He visited India and China and focused on massive economic development in Nepal through both countries support and he is trying his best for balanced Nepal and China-India relations with reciprocal bases.

KP Oli has viewed that I am surprised that our permanent friend India only took of it. If the biggest friend only notices, it will cause surprise. We did not expect this sort of confusion that India won't support for Nepal's prosperity. Some problems were visible in the ties. It should not be that the cracks in relationship that are visible (<http://www.firstpost.com>).

It means India is not happy with the proclamation of present constitution and the Indian vested interest i.e. keeping Nepal's political steering on its hand. India dislikes operations of Nepali political activities independently. KP Oli further said that it will be wrong to keep the immediate interest in mind and not to understand the entire long standing relationship. Nobody should harm the wider relationship by getting into small matters. In this flattering condition, a new constitution of federal Nepal was issued. India's Ministry of external affairs published a note "we note the promulgation of new constitution of federal Nepal. It added that India was concerned that the situation in several parts of the country bordering Indian states to be violent. India also extended its best wishes to people of Nepal. A subsequent statement by MFA had expressed deep concern over the incidents of violence resulting death and injury in regimes of Nepal bordering India. Oli highlighted Nepal's new constitution has support of 85% members of CA and it is not possible to get 100% support in a democracy.

Madhesh based political parties and members from the Tharu community walked out of the CA and rejected the constitution saying their demand were not incorporated in the new document. India is keen that the Nepalese Leadership accommodates the aspiration of the people living in plains including Madhesi and Janajati through affirmative action. Indian foreign secretary S Jay Shankar, who visited Nepal before one week had urged the Nepali leadership to delay the promulgation of the new constitution for some days to address the issues of various agitating groups. In the

query of Mr. Jaishankar, Oli said that CA has wide representation across section of society and the constitution had been drafted following a democratic procedure. He further said that small groups were being provoked and used for violence.

In this cold war between India and Nepal in the issue of issuance of constitution by sovereign Constituent Assembly India imposed unofficial economic blockade which highlighted anti-Indian sentiment in Nepal but PM Oli as well as Nepali citizen faced the troublesome to protect nationality and sovereignty as well as independency which was insured by 1950s Nepal-India peace and amity treaty. PM Oli did another remarkable work by forming Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to make necessary study on 1950 treaty either for repeal or amendment.

Truly, geography of Nepal favors India; transit is easier, cheaper and well established between these two countries. The reason why there is a richer history between these two neighbors, close cultural and social ties. That may also be why India is happily playing that cat and mouse game. They are waiting for Nepal to be humbled to surrender. Probably keeping fingers crossed too that the current unyielding KP Oli government will fall under its own contradictions and India will be able to dictate terms again (<http://www.firstpost.com>). But the dream of India failed due to strong support of Nepali citizen to Oli government.

Indian foreign policy has always been considered Nepal to be within its sphere of influence and as India as a sort of Bade Bhai (Elder Brother) of course it is sometimes makes as "caring elder brother" as was mentioned by India's External Affairs Ministers Sushma Swaraj in the Indian parliament. Regardless of the terminology used and India as it's only neighbors. Nepalese foreign policy has mostly been in consonance with Indian interest with the overwhelming cultural similarities and historical ties, India always had more influence in Nepal than China has in terms of micro-management. However, this influence has often been seen as accused of micro managing the politics of Nepal. Nepal Army Chief Rukmangat Katuwal scandal, Lok Man Singh Karki's appointment in CIAA Chief, rise of Khil Raj Regmi, the chief justice, election government chairman etc. are the visible cases of Indian micro-management and behind the curtain it is everywhere.

In fact, the Indian Ambassador to Nepal is often jokingly referred as the "Governor of Nepal" in political circles and regularly meets with Nepal's political leaders. Sometimes that would just not be considered in other sovereign countries. After the mass movement II our political system went on turmoil and India started playing in petty matters too. The failure of CAI further spaced India in Nepali politics. When Indian domination highly increased, China gave back up to Nepali communist forces as well as PM Sushil Koirala got green signal from Pakistan and other anti-Indian countries. Right after issuance of constitution, Nepali politics have got fresh mood and PM Oli is trying to

maintain independent and balanced relations with neighboring countries.

## XII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The political scenario took a dramatic turn following the Royal coup of king Gyanendra 2005. King's tilt towards China, his advocacy for Chinese observer status in SAARC, arms import from China etc. was taken as a threat to India's security. This anxiety dragged India towards supporting anti Monarch revolution in Nepal. Rivalry India supported Maoist and SPA. Here India felt in lost plot in Nepal and tried to resume in hegemonic and micro management role through Maoist and SPA who were against King's coup.

India arranged necessary background for 12 point agreement and succeeded to wipe out Monarchy from Nepal and came in Nepal as an agent of micro manager. Indian support to revolting Maoist against Nationalist force i.e. Royal Palace was the primary step of India to come in Nepal openly for micro- management of Nepali politics and administration. India is influencing in Nepalese politics, administration, and other areas too. Lok Man Karki's appointment as Chief of CIAA, Khil Raj Regmi's unexpected and unpredicted election government, PM Prachanda's resignation, Baburam Bhattarai opinion towards India during his prime minister ship, it justifies than India is in Nepal for micro management (KI's Baral, P. Dahal, R.K. Dahal, Bishwo Mohan Joshi, Narayan Man Bijuchee, Tilak Prasad Kayastha, Ram Narayan Prajapati, Rabindra Khanal, Krishna Khanal, Krishna Pokhrel are opinioned that Indian micro- management is in Nepal since 1950s onwards and it became common since 12 point agreement held with Indian facilitation but the role of India is slowly decreasing Since the issuance of present constitution and present Oli government with comfort majority.

### ➤ *Ways forward*

Our leaders should give up the legacy of requirement of Indian grace to obtain and retain in power. They should not give high priority to India in our national political and other changes. We should strongly maintain diplomatic protocol while meeting Indian officials and even political leaders. Nepal should follow equi-distance or equi-proximity policy for immediate neighbors. We should suggest Indian political and administrative authority to give up the classical mindset of micro-management in Nepal and finally we should abandon our habit to ask India for its help in any matter except the matter of bilateral security and special interest.

### ➤ *Further Area of Research*

This research focused on micro-management role of India in Nepal since 2006-2019. While doing so, it examined relationship through interference of India in Nepali politics and administration.

The role of India in Nepalese political changes have been taken positively but right after the political change in Nepal through Indian covert and overt support, it intends to run special relation/midwife relation (1950-55). It wants to

be penetrated in Nepal in every matter like to whom to make CIAA Chief, IGP of police force, Chief Secretary and even prime minister and so on.

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### KEY INFORMATS

	S.N.	Name	Position	Interview Date
Diplomats	1.	Rajan Bhattarai, PhD	IR - advisor of PM Oli (diplomats)	2018, December, 11
	2.	Pramesh Hamal	EX - ambassador to Belgium (2007-11)	2019, February 28
	3.	Tanka Karki	EX - ambassador to China (2007-2011)	2019, March 26
	4.	Lok Raj Baral, PhD (baralokraj@gmail.com)	EX - ambassador to India (1996-1997)	2019, April 4
Academia	5.	Rabindra Khanal, PhD	Retired Associate Professor Political Science TU	10 March, 2009
	6.	Krishna Pokherel, PhD (pokharelkrishna@gmail.com)	Retired Professor Political Science TU	10th April, 2019 4 PM
	7.	Ram Kumar Dahal, PhD	Retired Professor Political Science TU	10th April, 2019 8 PM
	8.	Krishna Khanal, PhD (krishnakhanal@gmail.com)	Retired Professor Political Science TU	12 April, 2019 11AM
Political leaders	9.	Madav Kumar Nepal	EX Prime Minister of Nepal and Head of International Relation Wing of Party.	24 March, 2019 6PM-8:30 PM
	10.	Narayan Man Bijuchhe	President of Nepal Workers and Present Party	2018, December 3rd
	11.	Parshuram Meghi Gurung (megipr@gmail.com)	President of Parlimentary Committee on Legislation of Federal Government	February 14, 2019
	12.	Puruswottom Dahal (pdahal@gmail.com)	Retired Professor, Central Committee Member NC	April 12, 2019
Civil society	13.	Bishow Mohan Joshi	Retired Associate Professor of History	12 December, 2018
	14.	Ram Narayan Prajapati	Retired Associate Professor of Political Science	18 December, 2018
	15.	Tilok Prakash Shrestha	EX District Secretary of NC Bhaktapur	12 March, 2019
	16.	Surendra K.C. PhD	Retired Professor of History	18 March, 2019

**INTERVIEW GUIDELINES FOR KII**

To obtain the specific objective of the research, interviews with prominent personalities were taken with the help of the following set of questionnaire. The interviewees were selected from the personages, Academia, Diplomats, political leaders and civil society members.

A. The following questions were asked to find out the historical evolution of Nepal-India relations till 1989.

1. Respected sir, would you mind to explain the historical perspective of Nepal-India relations making linkages with Sugauli Treaty, 1950s Nepal-India peace and friendly treaty, special/mid-wife relation era (1951-55), 1960s' Royal Coup, ZoP and India, blockade against Nepal 1989?

B. The following question was asked to find out the influences of India in Nepal's political changes (1990-2006).

1. Honorable sir, how have you been analyzed the role of India in 1990s' and 2006s' political changes including role of India in Nepalese peace process concerning to 12 point agreement and mass movement II 2006?

C. The following question was asked to get an idea/information on India's role in Nepal's political activities since 2007 to 2018.

1. Sir, how is India influencing in Nepali politics with the peace process, what about the Indian micro-management in Nepal, frequent changes in governments, constitution issuance and quiet of Madhesi based parties and unofficial blockade of India against Nepal as well as please, would you mind to present some glances on Nepalese march towards independent foreign relation since the formation of present government with majority?