

**Address on the occasion of the 62<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary Celebration of the Nepal Council of World Affairs (NCWA)**

**- Madhav Kumar Nepal\***

It gives me a great pleasure to join you in celebrating the 62<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary of the Nepal Council of World Affairs, one of the oldest non-governmental institutions engaged in the field of foreign affairs, this afternoon. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the President and office bearers of the Council on this happy occasion.

The fact that the Council has been in existence for the last six decades is in itself a remarkable achievement. It is more so when we notice that the Council has been active in organizing talk programs, seminars and conferences on topical foreign affairs-related issues from time to time. The suggestions and expert opinions expressed in such programmes have been helpful in crystallizing diplomatic initiatives by the relevant government agencies in our bilateral and multilateral interactions and relationships. I hope the Council will continue to remain active as a think tank in the days ahead.

A State's foreign policy is often said to be an extension of its domestic policy. In a world which is rapidly globalizing, interdependence growing, and where a number of new transnational issues of global concern are emerging day by day, sharp divisions in the domain of domestic and foreign policies, as would have been possible in the past era, are no more practical and realistic today. The world has changed much, and so should we to keep pace with this global change and benefit from it.

Having said this, let me briefly touch upon the basic tenets of the foreign policy of Nepal.

---

\* Mr. Nepal is Prime Minister of Nepal. He addressed the Council on July 27, 2009

The foreign policy of Nepal is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Panchsheel, non-alignment, international law, the values of international peace, as well as the imperatives of international cooperation and friendship with all. The main objective of our foreign policy is to preserve the national sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Nepal as a sovereign independent nation. At the same time we also have to uplift our economic status through economic growth and development. We have been gearing our diplomacy and diplomatic initiatives to that end.

Having come out of a long period of isolationism in the early 1950s, we as a nation embarked on a path of friendship and cooperation with the external world. At the beginning it was an uncharted path for us, and we encountered a number of challenges as well. But as we moved on, we became more and more confident.

At the bilateral level, our relations with our immediate neighbours – India and China – carry great significance for us. Our relations with India are based on mutual respect, goodwill, understanding and cooperation. We have very extensive, close and cordial relations with India at the people's level as well. Likewise, our relations with our Northern neighbor – China – has been equally cooperative, close and cordial. Friendship with all and enmity towards none is the fundamental premise of our bilateral relationship. We have been consistent in nurturing our relations with our immediate neighbours and all other friendly countries on that basis.

As a least developed country, Nepal has been a recipient of development assistance bilaterally as well as through multi-lateral aid agencies. We are grateful to our development partners who have been extending valuable support and assistance to us in our development efforts. As a landlocked and least developed country, we have to encounter several challenges of development, both internally and externally. Our constraints are many, but with renewed national resolve, commitment and dedication, and with the support and cooperation of our neighbours and friends in the international arena, we hope to navigate them successfully.

At the regional level, Nepal has been one of the propounders of the idea of South Asian regional cooperation which has taken an institutional shape as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) since 1985. Although a late starter as a regional grouping, SAARC has been making a steady progress in building the basis of more meaningful regional cooperation in the years ahead. Nepal is proud to host the Secretariat of SAARC in Kathmandu and committed to promote regional ideals.

Multilateralism remains one of the most important components of Nepal's foreign policy. In an increasingly globalizing world, it cannot be otherwise. It is in this context that we continue to give importance to the ideals of the Non-aligned Movement. I recently attended the XV Summit meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt. With 118 member countries and more than two dozen observer countries and international agencies attending, the XV NAM Summit was a huge event which took stock of all the important developments in international relations, regional issues, UN reforms, the ramifications and impacts of the current economic and financial crisis on the developing countries, the special needs and vulnerabilities of the developing and least developed countries as well as global concerns such as international terrorism, climate change, disarmament, drug trafficking, HIV/AIDS and other diseases etc. It provided us with an important opportunity to apprise the members countries of NAM about our ongoing peace process and other political developments taking place in Nepal. I also have had the opportunity to hold bilateral meetings and exchange of views with a number of the Heads of State and Government attending the Summit. I am glad that they have all been very positive about Nepal and supportive of our endeavors to peace and constitution making.

Soon after becoming a member of the United Nations in 1955, Nepal was invited to take part in one of the most important activities of the United Nations – the peacekeeping mission. It was almost exactly 51 years ago that Nepal first took part in the UN peacekeeping mission as the United Nations Observers Group in Lebanon under the aegis of the United Nations. Nepal's participation in the UN Peacekeeping

missions has continued since that time. Today, more than 3,000 of our peacekeepers – the military, the police and the civilian personnel – have been serving the cause of world peace in about a dozen of the UN peace missions around the world. We are currently the fifth largest troop contributing country. We are proud of being able to make a modest contribution to the task of peacekeeping, peacemaking and peace building under the leadership of the United Nations in countries where conflicts have badly damaged social harmony, peace and development.

Diplomacy is the instrument to attain our foreign policy objectives. In addition to the traditional diplomatic activities undertaken by our missions abroad, we are currently focusing on economic diplomacy which includes trade, investment, tourism and foreign employment promotion. We have been gradually expanding our reach through the establishment of new embassies in countries and continents which have greater prospects for us to benefit from economic diplomacy. It is in his context that the Government of Nepal has recently decided to open embassies in Brazil, Canada, Kuwait and South Africa.

Consular protection to the Nepalese workers in foreign countries has been one of the most important activities of our missions abroad. We have been making our missions more resourceful so as to make them more able to deal with the problems associated with Nepalese workers abroad.

At home, we have been working hard to take the peace process to a positive conclusion, and to draft a new democratic constitution within the stipulated time frame. It has all along been our effort to build national consensus of all the major political parties on major national issues. The long-term understanding among the major political parties and trust will help in achieving political stability and economic development. This will not only help in establishing lasting peace, drafting a new constitution, institutionalizing democracy and strengthen Nepal's independence and sovereignty, but also contribute in achieving our long cherished goals of economic development and social harmony. As we all know that we do not have any alternative other than building understanding among the political parties to fulfill

those common responsibilities. I have been trying my best to this end, and I hope to have the full cooperation and support of all the major political parties in this regard.

There has been a gradual improvement in the law and order situation in the country since the new Government came to power. With the willing support and cooperation of all segments of the people in our society, the Government is committed to bring further improvement in the overall security situation in the country. I would like to reiterate here again that my government has given its top most priority in improving the law and order environment of the country and will make every effort towards this.

I am in deep pain in hearing the news of people dying due to the outbreak of cholera and diarrhea diseases in some of the remote hilly districts of Mid-Western and Far Western regions. The Government is seriously engaged in providing emergency medical services and relief assistance to the people suffering. All the relevant Government agencies in those districts are being mobilized to help and support the affected people. I have already given strong instructions to the concerned officials to take all necessary measures to contain the disease and to make essential health and sanitation services available to them on a priority basis. With the understanding, support and cooperation of all including governmental and non-governmental agencies and individuals from both inside and outside the country, I am confident that we will be able to get over this problem soon.

I would like to recognize here the roles that the Non Resident Nepali community has been playing in the nation building processes. The contribution through remittance, economic investment and other forms of cooperation that the NRN community has been providing has contributed greatly to our economy. The Government of Nepal is ready to provide conducive environment to further utilize the resources, knowledge and assistance of Non Resident Nepali towards social and economic development of the country.

I am happy to note that our commitment to peace, democracy and development has been fully recognized, respected and supported by our development partners and the international community including the United Nations.

With these views, I once again would like to convey my best wishes for a bright and prosperous days ahead.



Speech on the occasion of the 62<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary Function of the Nepal Council of World Affairs

- Sujata Koirala\*

I am very pleased to attend the sixty-second anniversary of the Nepal Council of World Affairs today. I thank the President and office bearers of the Council for kindly inviting me to attend the programme. As the Rt. Hon'ble Prime Minister is also going to speak on the same subject, I shall be brief in my presentation.

First of all, I wish to heartily congratulate the Council on to completion of its sixty-two years of existence since its founding. It has been led by those who have made notable contributions in our public lives. The Council has played an important role by arranging talk programmes, seminars and workshops on topical aspects of Nepal's international relations, and brought out different publications in this regard.

Pursuing a policy of developing friendship and co-operation with all countries, and particularly our immediate neighbours, on the basis of five principles of peaceful co-existence, non-alignment, promotion of peace and stability, respect for human rights and abiding faith in the Charter and ideals of the United Nations are some of the fundamental tenets of our foreign policy. On this basis. Consolidation of relationship with neighbours, deepening and widening of relationship with all our development partners, and promotion of international principles reflected in the UN Charter and regional cooperation constitute the core activity of the Foreign Ministry. Our effort has always been directed towards making foreign policy responsible and responsive to the needs and aspirations of the Nepalese people.

Nepal is proud that it has always maintained independence and sovereignty throughout history. While continuing that glorious legacy, our commitment would be to enhance foreign relations and use them to bring a positive change in the lives of the people. Therefore, there is a close inter-linkage between the conduct of foreign

\* Ms. Koirala is Foreign Minister of Nepal. She delivered the speech on July 27, 2009 .

policy and the success of the overall national policy.

Moreover, the Government is keen to further develop mutually beneficial relations by promoting economic diplomacy through further expansion and strengthening of our diplomatic missions. In doing that, there will be closer coordination with relevant agencies and partnership with the private sector. In this day and age of globalization, we must align our interests with the contemporary trends to the extent possible and try to maximize benefits through collaboration and cooperation in all fields, development cooperation, trade, investment, tourism and foreign employment.

In that overall context, maintaining excellent relations with the international community and ensuring full support and cooperation to Nepal at the moment is my immediate priority. This is more important as we move ahead towards institutionalizing peace and writing a democratic constitution on time. There is a reservoir of goodwill in the international community to promote peace, and writing a democratic constitution in community to promote peace, stability and development in the country. I believe that ensuring sustainable peace in the country requires rapid economic progress and social transformation. They cannot be pursued independently. This is where the international community should come forward with a higher level of assistance, support and understanding. If we look at the overall progress in the peace process, we have made substantial achievements in the last 3 years since the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement. But we still have a long way to go. This Government is committed to taking forward the peace process towards its logical conclusion with broad cooperation and participation of all major parties through consensus, unity and dialogue.

The Government will further strengthen its institutions including foreign policy establishment to make them even more effective and result-oriented in tune with the changing times. We are open to all constructive suggestions and feedback from our academics, intellectuals and experts in this direction.

Finally, I wish the Nepal Council of World Affairs all success in its endeavours to enhance the understanding of Nepal's Foreign policy and international relations.



**Premier Insurance Co. (Nepal) Ltd.**

Tripureswor, Kathmandu

Phone: 4-259567, 4-252872, 4-249956

Email: premier@picl.com.np

Web: www.premier-insurance.com.np

**Premier Vehicle Insurance**

*"Sure about your driving skill?  
How about others?"*



For your  
peace of  
mind

On the occasion  
of  
the 63<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary of  
the Nepal Council of World Affairs  
We offer our heartiest felicitations  
and best wishes for all success



**HYATT**

Hyatt Regency Kathmandu

PO Box 9609, Taragaon, Boudha,

Kathmandu, Nepal

Tel: +977 1 449 1234; Fax: +977 1 449 0033

Email: kathmandu.regency@hyatt.com

Celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Nepal's Contribution to United Nations Peacekeeping Operation

- **Sujata Koirala**<sup>1</sup>

I am pleased to attend the concluding event of the Golden Jubilee celebration commemorating the involvement of Nepal in the UN peacekeeping operations. I thank the organisers for kindly inviting me to this programme as the chief guest and giving me an opportunity to interact with all of you on the contributions made by the Nepal Army, the Nepal Police and the Armed Police Force in different parts of the world. Despite various constraints and obstacles, our security forces and observers have won international acclaim for their exceptional services in this field. I congratulate our security forces on this achievement and hope that they will continue to play their exemplary role in the future.

At the outset, I am reminded of the pertinent address made by the then Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala to the Nepal Council of World Affairs last year for revitalizing institutions that have a direct bearing on the formulation of foreign policy. It will be our endeavours to help develop institutions like the Nepal Council of World Affairs and the Institute of Foreign Affairs as effective think-tanks in matters of fulfilling broader objectives of our foreign policy.

The fundamental aims and objectives of the foreign policy of a country are the protection of its national interests, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The foreign policy of Nepal embraces basic tenets of the UN and non-alignment, and seeks to promote peace and stability in our region and other parts of the world. The new Government is committed to further promote foreign policy to advance our larger national interests. We seek to consolidate our mutually beneficial ties of friendship and co-operation with both our immediate neighbours, India and China, and all other friendly countries on the basis of mutual understanding, co-operation and respect. We thank our friends and international organisations for their invaluable

<sup>1</sup> Ms. Koirala is Foreign Minister of Nepal. She delivered the speech on June 10, 2009, Kathmandu

assistance and support in our endeavours to institutionalise democracy and peace in Nepal, and for the reconstruction and rebuilding of the nation. Promoting a broader level of economic engagement with friendly countries would reinforce our efforts for stability and progress in the country on a sustainable basis.

Nepal is committed to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The world body today represents the hopes and aspirations of the people around the world. While we are appreciative of the progress we have collectively made in reducing wars between states in the post -Cold War era, it is also true that today conflicts within nations have become a common feature. The causes of the conflicts may be different, but their negative impact has been detrimental to the lives of the people and peace and security around the world. It is in this context that the role of the UN peacekeeping has been more prominent now than ever before. Besides, the nature of conflicts is now so varied that the mandates for the UN peacekeeping operations are also in a state of flux. To suit the changing realities of the conflicts around the world, UN peacekeeping operations have evolved accordingly.

Nepal has been consistently participating in UN peacekeeping operations for a long time. It is a matter of satisfaction to note that Nepal's contribution to international peace and security through the UN peacekeeping has been well appreciated by all. Today we are the fifth largest contributor. It is also a reflection of our determination to lend full support for the role of the United Nations in protecting the lives of the people around the world. We hope that the gap between the strategic and operational levels of the UN operations is bridged by providing proper mandate and sufficient human and financial resources to deal with various problems around the world.

The new Government is effortful to take all possible measures to take the peace process to its logical end and to draft the new Constitution within the stipulated timeframe. The new Constitution should not only meet the aspirations of the people following the successful completion of the historic Constituent Assembly elections and establishment of a truly pluralistic federal republican order in the country, it



should also realistically reflect various aspects like state restructuring, inclusiveness, human rights and rule of law. At the same time, there is an urgent need to promote socio-economic development so as to raise the quality of life of our people and sustain the political gains particularly made after the second People's Movement. We are confident and conscious that we can achieve these goals through a spirit of broad national consensus, unity and joint efforts on the part of all political parties represented in the Constituent Assembly and the wider support from the international community would be crucial to promote this homegrown process. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I seek spontaneous support and cooperation from professionals, intellectuals, experts and all our friends in the common task of making our foreign policy more productive and result-oriented.

Coming back to the central theme of international peacekeeping, I can assure you that the new Government will continue to give priority to our participation in these operations with a view to promoting peace and stability in various trouble spots in the world. With these words, I once again thank the organisers for arranging such a befitting programme to commemorate fifty years of our participation in the UN peacekeeping.

**On the occasion  
of  
the 65<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of  
the Nepal Council of World Affairs  
We offer our heartiest felicitations  
and best wishes for all success**

**Rice & Bowl**  
**SAKET COMPLEX**  
Kathmandu, Nepal  
Tel: 977 1 4251678/4260677

On the occasion  
of  
the **63<sup>rd</sup>** Anniversary of  
the Nepal Council of World Affairs  
We offer our heartiest felicitations  
and best wishes for all success



**The Shanker Hotel**  
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal  
Phone: 977 - 1 - 4410151 / 4410152  
Fax: 977 - 1 - 4412691  
E-mail: info@shanker.com.np, shanker@mos.com.np

**Buddhist Light: Buddhism and Sino-Nepal Cultural Linkage****- Prof. Dr. Khadga Man Shrestha<sup>1</sup>****Abstract**

Mount Everest remains as the symbol of Nepal-China cultural relationship. The Himalayan mountain being the home of early man the relationship of the two countries continued from prehistoric, proto historic and historic period, Nepal's relation with her southern neighbor is deep rooted because many ethnic communities of Nepal are of Mongolian origin and the Nepal-China relationship has become cordial with the exchange of presents like **Gunakaranda Vyuha Sutra** (third century A.D) which deals with **Buddhisattva Charya**. The tie of friendship between the two countries started from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Buddhist scriptures were translated into the Chinese language. The tangible and intangible cultural heritage facilitated the exchange of scholars of both countries facilitated the development of relations. The skilled craftsmen enriched the art, architecture and sculpture of the two countries and promoted common culture known as **Budhisattvayana** which developed **Mahayana** and **propmoted** common culture known as meaning of **Panchaseel** promoted diplomatic relation in keeping with the principle of equality, non-interference in the interval affairs of each others country and respect of sovereignty. The mission of diplomatic relationship fostered pure land Buddhism. The Buddha light or Buddha way of life or pure land Buddhism of China is entertained by both the countries.

**Key Words:** *Buddhisattva Charya, Budhisattvayana Mahayana, Vajrayana, Panchaseel, Gunakaranda Vyuha Sutra.*

**Introduction**

Nepal and China have been nourishing the age old cultural tradition since time immemorial. Mount Everest (Chomlongma) remains as the testimony of friendship between the two countries. The Himalayan Mountain is regarded as the house of early men (homonids), ape men by anthropologists. Civilization dawned in this part of the globe since prehistoric and historic periods. Both the countries fostered

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Dr. Shrestha is Registrar, Lumbini Buddha University. He addressed the Council on November 19, 2009.

Common Culture. The ethnic groups residing in the Himalayan region are taken as ancestors of ethnic communities of both the countries. Nepal has inhabited by the aboriginal ethnic communities of Mongolian origin such as the Kirats. The Newars derive their origin from one of the ethnic tribes known as Nerbung. The Tamang trace their origin from the horse riders of Mongolian tribe. In the same way the Lepchas, the Gurungs and the Magars are of the Mongolian origin.

Tradition mentions that in the Pleistocene age, northern India constituted of a big lake which consisted of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh of present India. As it drained gradually, it was confined to Nagadaha in the primordial period<sup>2</sup>.

**Manjushree Mythology**

Early Nepal-China relations are shrouded in legends. Mahamanjushree of Manjudevacharya came from Maha-Chian (Greater China) Wutaishan (Five peaked mountain) of China to pay homage to primordial light known as *Svayambhu*. He is credited for draining the water of *Nagadaha* and made Kathmandu Valley inhabitable. He is referred to have performed *Jalaslambhavayoga* and cut *Kutpala Paracata* (gorge of southern hill known as *Kutapala Parvata*). Then water began to flow out of the Valley. Tradition mentions that *Manjudevacharya, Mahamanjushreee* established *Manjupatan* city. It appeared like *Herukamandala*. *Mandala* is conceived as the basis of my auspicious work. *Svayambhu Purana* refers that it appeared as *Mahasamvara Mandala, Chakrasamvara mandala, and Hevajra Nairatma Mandala*. According to the Buddhist tradition of Nepal, *Vajracharayas* and *Shakyas* Practice *Samdhiyoga* in 24 important religious shrines known as *Purvasewa or Pithaseva*. They are in three circles namely *Chakracitta* (Consciousness), *Chakravaka* (Speech), and *Chakrakaya* (body). All the three circles are called *Cittamandala, Vakamandala* and *Kayamandala*. The three circles and *twenty four Pithas* (religious shrines) of *Nepal Mandala* and *Chakrasamvara Mandala* are identical. Thus *Nepal Mandala* is conceived on the basis of *Chkrasamvara*

<sup>2</sup> *Yanjnamanapati Vajracharya "Preface" Svayambhu Mahapurana* by Badri Ratna Vajracharya Kathmandu: 2005 A.D. p.12



The Gyanesara inscription of Jayadeva II of Lichhavi period later mentioned as *Nepal Mandala*<sup>4</sup> in historical period. Nepal was famous as *Nepal Mandala* from ancient time. *Mandala* is the base of worship. The center of *Mandala* is surrounded by circles based on religious and cultural traditions. The capital is the central point of a country known as *Mandala*, surrounded by territories or provinces. *Nepal Mandala* was the capital surrounded by different territories of Provinces.<sup>5</sup> The Mythology indicates that the first immigration in the Kathmandu Valley was from the north.<sup>6</sup> Relations between Nepal and China have a long history besides mythological illusion.

Scholars write that Sino-Nepal relation existed from ancient times on the basis of religion and trade. Mostly the trade with Tibet was carried out through the Kathmandu Valley. Nepalis have significant by contributed in the spread of Buddhism in the Himalayan region. In the same way the Tibetan monks have prominent roles in the revival of Buddhism in Nepal.<sup>7</sup> It is mentioned that around the first century A.D., Buddhism was introduced in China in the Han Empire.

<sup>3</sup> Manish Shakya, "The Concept of Nepal Mandala," Lalitpur; Buddha Jayanti golden Jubilee Souvenir, 2006 A.D. p.p.126-128. cf. Naresh Man Bajracharya "Buddhism in Nepal Mandala. A Conference on the Buddhist Heritage of Nepal Mandala" 1998, Lalitpur; Lotus Research Center 1998) pp. 113-128

<sup>4</sup> Dhana Vajra Vajracharya, *Lichhavi Kalka Abhilekh* ( Inscription of Lichhavi Period) Kathmandu; Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1996 AD. pp. 57-76

<sup>5</sup> T.R. Vaidya, "Nepal Mandala" Unpublished article.

<sup>6</sup> Vijaya Kumar Manandhar. *A Comprehensive History of Nepal China Relations Upto 1955 AD*, "New Delhi" Adroit Publishers, 2004 AD p.18

<sup>7</sup> Punya Prasad Prajuli "Nepal Ra Tibet Bichki Dharmik Antersambandha" (Religious interrelation between Nepal and Tibet) Kathmandu; 1991 p.91 cf. Dudjom Rinpoche, "The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism, First Fundamentals and History" History of Ancient Sect published in Tibetan Language.

Gradually it spread to all parts of China.<sup>8</sup> Theravada (Buddhism of the Theras or elder *Bhikkhus*) was preached in the Pali language. Mahayana which is better known as Bodhisattvayana is preserved in Sanskrit language. Theravada Buddhism has its base in Sri Lanka. The Buddhist scriptures are said to have been written in Pali in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.. In the introduction of Bodhicharyavatara Watulawasava, Vajra Rinpdee (Sridhar Rana) writes that Buddha preached his teachings in Magadhi, Pali while in Magadha and also preached his doctrine in other parts of northern India in Sanskrit. Therefore, Pali Buddhism is known as Southern Buddhism and Sanskrit Buddhism as Northern Buddhism. Mahayana is also known as Agrayara, Paramitayava.<sup>9</sup>

According to Sridhar Rana, Mahayana is the continuation of Bodhisattvayana and Vaitulyavada, which are apparent in Pali *Tripitaka*. Vaitulyavada was certainly in existence before the third Buddhist Council was held in the time of Emperor Ashoka (243 B.C.) in the third century.<sup>10</sup>

#### **Faith on Mahayana / Bodhisattvayana**

Mahayana in the form of Bodhisattvayana was very popular in Nepal. It is attested by the icon of *Budhisattva* found in Lumbini excavation and Hadigaon. The nine texts of Mahayana are very popular in Nepal. These texts were taken to Tibet and from there to China and translated into Chinese. Most of these texts were taken to China via Gilgit (Central Asia). The nine *Sutras* included are listed below.

- a) *Lalitcistara Sutra*, 3rd Century B.C, translated into Chinese in 221 A.D.
- b) *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra*, translated into Chinese in 225 A.D.
- c) *Suvarna Prabhas Sutra*, translated into Chinese in 297-439 A.D.
- d) *Samdhiraj Sutra*, its original form was *Chandra Prabhadeep Sutra*. Its was

<sup>8</sup> Manandhar f.n. No 5 p.18.

<sup>9</sup> Acharya Dharma Vajra, Trans. Narayan Prasad Rijal "Upodghat" (Introduction) Bodhicharyavatara Kath; Siddhi Bdr & Rukmani Shrestha, 2000 AD pp. 44-45.

<sup>10</sup> Bodhicharyavatara Kath; Siddhi Bdr & Rukmani Shrestha, 2000 AD pp. 44-45 Ibid, p44.

translated into Chinese in 450 A.D.

- e) *Lankavatara Sutra* which explains the term *Tathagata Carbha, Alayavijnana Cittamatra*, was Translated into Chinese in 443 A.D.
- f) *Gandhavyaha Sutra*- A part of *Avastamsaka Sutra*, translated into Chinese in 265-316 A.D.
- g) *Dasa Bhumika Sutra*.
- h) *Asta Sahashrika Prajnaparanita Sutra*. -100 B.C. was translated into Chinese in 659 A.D.
- i) *Tathagataguhyaka Sutra*. Better known as *Guhyasamaj Tantra*.

It was translated into Chinese in 930-1000 A.D.<sup>11</sup> When the Mahayana *Sutras* were introduced into China by the missionaries of India and Central Asia, it was already regarded as the authentic words of Lord Buddha. But there are some controversies in it.

### Popularity of Avalokitesvara Cult

It is stated that *Guna Karanada Vyuha Sutra* was written around the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. to popularize *Dana Paramita* of *Panchadana*. Tibetan historian Butom Rinpodhe writes- "During the time of Lhatho Thori New yambula Nhamkhangko (233 A.D.), *Guna Karamda Vyuha Sutra* was sent to Tibet as a present from *Nepal Mandala*.<sup>12</sup> During that time *Panchadana* festival had started in *Nepal Mandala*. *Gunakaranda Vyuha Sutra* is one of several *Mahaayana Sutras* published in prose as well as Verse (1600 Verses) It was published in 187 A.D. in Calcutta. It was edited by Satyavarta Samasrami. *Ratna Karanda Vyuha Sutra* was translated into Chinese in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. including some parts of *Guna Karanda Vyuha Sutra*. The entire chapters of the text do not belong to the same period (3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.). Only *Ratna Karanda Vyuha Sutra* is the collection of all teachings of the philanthropic activities of Avalokitesvatra. The text

<sup>11</sup> Min Bahadur Shakya, "Introduction" *Nava Sutra Sangraha* by Dibya Vajra Vajracharya, *Nava Sutra Sangralia* Lalitpur; Bodhi Prakashan Kendon, 1990 A.D. pp. 22-36

<sup>12</sup> Harsa Muni Shakya, "*Buddha Dharma Ko Vikasha Ma Shakya Haru Ko Den*" (contribution of the shakyas in the development of Buddhism) Kathmandu; the Shakya Foundatio, Nepal, 2006 A.D. pp.36-37.

has incorporated the ideas of *Adi Buddha* or primordial Buddha. The first translation of *Guna Karanda Vyuha Sutra* was done by Thonmi Sambhota during the period of Srong-tsan-Gampo (617-650 A.D.).<sup>13</sup> The theme of both the *Sutras* is the compassion of Avalokitesvatra. The availability of the icons of *Bodhisattva Avalokitesvatra* in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. and currency of Mahayana Buddhism during that period shows the currency of Bodhisattvayana in both the countries. It set a bench mark on the relation between Nepal and China.<sup>14</sup>

### The Legend of Simha Sarthabaha

The legend of *Simha Sarthabaha* is very popular in Nepal. Its story is related with the compassion of Avalokitesvatra. The theme shows that Avalokitesvatra appeared in the form of light and prophesized that the fairies who accompanied him (Simha Sarthabaha) from Tamradeepa (Tibet) to simhakalpa (Kathmandu) belonged to Rakshasas. Chapter fifteen of *Gunakaranda Vyuha Sutra* mentions that the 4740 verses of the text are related with the narratives of Shakyamuni Buddha's previous existence as Simhala or Simha Sarthabaha.

### Chorten of Bhakar

It is said that a big *Chorten (Chaitya)* still exists of Bhakar in Lhasa dedicated to Simha Sarthabaha. It is stated that the *Chorten* was vandalized during the Cultural Revolution of 1966 A.D.<sup>15</sup> It is also said that Jhyampaling, *Chaitya* was constructed in the memory of Simha Sarthabaha (Chhod-Pung-Narbu-Ge) during the time of Tibets King D Wong-Glde (1059-1108 A.D.).<sup>16</sup> The Jhyampaling *Chaitya* existed as the symbol

<sup>13</sup> Min Bahadur Shakya, *Guna Karanda Vyuha Sutra* Lalitpur; Nagarjuna Institute of Buddhist Studies 1997 A.D. pp. 26-27.

<sup>14</sup> Mahisvara Raj Vajrachary, *Mahayana Buddha Dharmko Udbhava* (Origion of Mahayana Buddhism) Lalitpur; Nepal Buddha Mahasangh, 2005 A.d. p 57.

<sup>15</sup> Shakya f.n. No.9, pp 26-27.

<sup>16</sup> Harsha Muni Shakya, "Nepal Ra China Bichko Maitriko Pratik Jhyampaling Ko Vishal Chaitya" (The Great Chaitya of Jhyamaling, The symbol of Nepal China Friendship), Buddha Dhama Ko Vikasama Shakyaharuko Den (Contribution of Shakyas in the Development of Buddhism Kathmandu; The

of Nepal-China relationship. In the Jhyampaling *Gumha* (monastery), the image of *Bodhisattava* Maitreya is placed. The Tibetans call *Bodhisattava* as *Gylba Jhyampaling*. It is a sacred place. A great fair is held over there. On the Ground floor, there is an image of Samvar in the form of buffalo. On the second floor Karunamaya with six hands is embellished. It is a 20 feet long image. In this floor, the picture narratives of Shakyamuni Buddha's career is depicted. The pictures included the concepts of *Prajnaparamita* and *Mandalas*. The floor contains cupboards full of holy sculptures. The Buddhist holy scriptures are written with the ink of gold and silver. Under the cupboards different *Mandaps* are embellished. The temple's height is eight stories. It is not less than 20 feet height. Inside the *Gumha* is the statue of Simla Sarthabaha. All these artifacts are the creations of Nepali artists.<sup>17</sup>

### Jyampaling Chaitya (Digarcha) and its Trade Fair

In the Jyampaling *Chaitya* about 60 to 70 Buddhist monks live. Jyampaling is of four days walk from Lhasa. It is on the other side of Sangpo River (River Brahamaputra). In this way lies Chitiso. A great trade fair is conducted in Jyampaling. The Amdus of Siling, (the Capital of Chhicuhai) the Khasmpas of Khan, the Bhoeybas of Lhasa, the Chyangbas of Sikatse, the Kongs from the side of Assam, the Sakories of inner Mongolia come to take part in the fair. *Nabu*<sup>18</sup>, the popular commodity of trade, golden and copper inks are cultural goods. The Jyampaling fair is held once a year. In the fair it is stated that the chief trader Simha Sarthavana is commemorated. Up till now the rituals conducted by Nepali traders are observed over there.<sup>19</sup> There are 60 to 70 shamanist Buddhist monks in Jyampaling *Chaitya*.

### Chitiso Gumba

After the conclusion of Jyampaling fair, the traders of Lhasa live in Chitiso village,

---

Shakya Foundation, 2063 V.S. P.1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>18</sup> *Nabu* is a cloth woven out of thick and fine wool. The cloth is very durable. It is very popular cloth in different states of China and Inner Mongolia. The art of its weaving is of Nepali origin.

<sup>19</sup> Shakya, f.n. No. 13, pp2-3.

where Chitiso *Gumba* is located. It was made by the Nepali traders. There is an image of Mahankal in Chitiso village. The Nepali traders offer Samayebaji<sup>20</sup> to Mahankal. They invite their relatives to that feast. After the celebration, they return to their shops. According to the census of the office of Nepal Envoy conducted in 1974 there are 284 Nepali traders in 142 houses in Chitiso, Tanang and Gyaling villages in Tibet. Tibet is known as country of one month's walk from Kathmandu.

### Sakari Chorten (Ratna Chaitya)

*Sakari Chorten* or *Ratna Chaitya* inscription in mutilated form shows that the *Chorten* was made by the Newar traders inhabiting in Sigachhen or Jhikhachhen (ten house in Nepal Bhasa) or Digarcha. Initially there were only ten houses of Newars. *Ratna Chaitya* is located in a place called "Tacho" near Sambasyar River. The *Chaitya* was constructed by *Koliyan Shakyas* of south Kaliyagram (ancient name of southern part of Kathmandu) in the seventh century.<sup>21</sup> The sigachhen *Chorten* located to the east of Sigachhe Bazar in the middle part of Chhangpongdi (Brahma Putra River) is similar with the *Stupa* of Patan. The Tibetans call it "*Sakari Chhuten*". Newars call it *Ratna Chaitya*. *Chorten* is constructed with the relics of a great man or religious saint. It commemorates the heroic deeds of mortal beings, The *Ratna Chaitya* remains as a symbol of veneration for the people of both China and Nepal. It is another milestone of (Anthropomorphize) the Buddhist saints. Generally the people of both the countries venerate *Saptamunis*, seven buddhas Vipasvi, Shikhi, Vishwabhu, Kashyap, Krakuchhanda, Kanakmuni and Shakyamuni. The *Stupa* of Bauddhanath is said to have been constructed keeping the relics of Kashyap Buddha is *Garbhagriha*, Svayambhu *Mahachaitya* consists of the relics of Vipasvi Buddha and Namobuddha with the relics of prince Mahasattva (earlier existence of Shakyamuni Buddha in his previous birth as Bodhisattva) aimed at compassion to all. The Buddha made his teachings to do away with *Avidya* (Spiritual ignorance), with the light of wisdom,

---

<sup>20</sup> Samayabaji is a Nepali dish offered to non-vegetable deity. It includes flat rice or bitten rice, fried flat rice, meat, soybean, fish, ginger and wo or bara, bread made of black pulse or bean: Shakya f.n. No. p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p.17.

knowledge of Four Noble Truth, Eightfold Noble Path, and the Dependent Origination (Pratitya Samutpad). These are truly the light of the Buddha.

### Antiques-

Several antique reminds us the deep relationship that existed between the people of the two countries. The tympanum of the main door of *Ratna Chaitya* dated 960 NS (1840 A.D.) was renovated by Shakya *Bhikshu* Rajmuni of Kiritpunya Mahavihara Lagan, Kathmandu. The traders of Sigachhen pay homage and consecrate the *Chaitya* once a year.<sup>22</sup>

### Phawa Gumba of Kerung of Phagpa Buddhist Vihara

Buddhist tradition believes that princes Bhrikuti of Nepal while going to Lhasa had passed Via Kidhog (Kerung) in Monguel province. She had taken shelter in Pangsing village made by *Yarung Bhapo* (Newars of Patan). The Bhikshus of Phagpa Buddhist *Vihara* and many elder citizens of Monguel province believe that Avalokitesvara Karunamaya's image taken by Bhrikuti was installed there. The *Vihara* is known as *Cherisi Chungla Khang* or *Phagpa Gumba*. Later Buddhist scholar Khhemendra wrote that an image of *Avadanakalpalata* was in the *Gumba*. The image was made of *Astadhatu* (eight kinds of metals). To the east of the *Gumha* an inscription existed (no longer exists now). It mentions the account of Bhrikuti's journey and names of Nepali craftsmen who built the *Gumba*.<sup>23</sup> The *Phagpa* of Kerung also ordained the Buddhist monks of Nepal, the Buddhists of Tibet and their Nepali counterparts venerate the four Avalokitesvaras of Nepal and Kerung. There are Avalokitesvaras of Janabahal, Bungmati, Nala and Kerong.

### Introduction of Buddhism in Tibet.

Tradition mentions that Aa-thi-Chyampo was the first king of Tibet. His sixth successor was Logu-la-chyanda. During the time of King Lha-tho-Tho-ri Chyang.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid p. 27.

<sup>23</sup> Harsa Muni Shakya "Bhot Ra Nepal Bichko Dharmik Sambandha" (Relation between Nepal and Tibet) Lalitpur; Buddha Jayanti Golden Jubilee Souvenir- 2606 A.D. pp.35.

Buddhism was introduced in his country with the introduction of *Guna Karanada Vyuha Sutra* and a golden *Chaitya* as holy cultural present from Nepal.

### Thirty two shops of Sigachhen:

As mentioned above *Jhikhachhen* in Nepal Bhasa means ten houses, Sigachhen in Tibetan language, popular name in Nepali Digrcha. In the seventeenth century, during the time of Pratap Malla there were thirty two shops and ten Palas (Community organizations organized for common interest). Among them, five *Palas* are there at present according to the Nepali Envoy's statistics. The names of the shops of traders of Sigachhen are as follows.

1. Thaya Chhong Khang Merchants of Sankhu
2. Shiling Chhong Khang Merchants of Om Bahal ,Kathmandu
3. Tyakastu Chhong Khang Merchants of Naghal Tole, Kathmandu
4. Chhamshhang Chhong Khang Merchants of Naghal Tole, Ktm.
5. Yola Chhong Chhong Khang Merchants of Lagan Tole, Ktm.
6. Mukhangsar Chhong Khang Merchants of Itumbahal, Ktm.
7. Syu Shhad Chhong Khang Merchants of Onta Bahal (Lagan)
8. Sya Chang Kang Merchants of Koliti Tole
9. Atusomagy Chong Khang Merchants of Nabahil, Katm.

(*Pala the Supporting Committee of the community*)

10. Nebu Chhod Khang Merchants of Nabahil
11. Chwang Khang Chhong Khang Merchants Sarunani, Patan.
12. Jandu Chhong Khang Mmerchants Sarunani
13. Nesi Chhong Khang Merchants of Tahabil
14. Dhinchyo Chhong Khang Merchants of Nag Bahal
15. Gyachho Chhong Khang Merchants of Nag Bahal<sup>24</sup>

### Nechoo Gumba

Under the bottom of the hill to the eastern side of the compound of Dhepung *Gumba*,

<sup>24</sup> Harsha Muni Shakya, "*Buddha Dharmako Vikar ma Shakyaharuko den* (Contribution of Shakyas in the promotion of Buddhism) Kathmandu; The Shakya foundation Nepal, 2006 A.D. p.35.

a big Nechoo *Gumba* is located. Near the *Gumba* there is a pipal tree. It is stated that on the branch of the Pipal tree, there is an image of a pigeon. It is a popular belief that the pigeon flew from Nepal. This *Gumba* with golden roof includes the image of Bhimsen. The *Bhikshus* worship this *Gumba*. About 500 Buddhist *Bhikshu* live in this *Gumba*. In the famous *Gumbas* of Lhasa the great Dhamis (Shamanists) live. There are many such *Gumbas* in Lhasa. The Nechoo *Gumba* is the most embellished one. Newars living in Tibet pay homage to Bhimsen every day at Muratimba *Gumba* of Bhakar for successful transition of their trade. They established the image of Bhimsen at their shops too. The Bhimsen of Tibet is said to be Dharmapal, conceived by Padmasambhava. Every year the Jyapus of Subahal Bhimsenstan go to Tibet as per tradition maintained by their ancestors. The elders of 10 *Palas* (business community) and merchants of 32 shops welcome them. The domicile Nepalis of Lhasa go to welcome them. They offer golden *Kikimpa* (Silver Leaf) to Bhimsen raising funds. A great feast is organized on the arrival of Bhimsen. It shows that the Jyapus worked as porters in the trade with Lhasa. It shows the interactions between the two countries and it thus constitutes people to people relations.<sup>25</sup>

### **Pilgrimage to Lumbini: The Birthplace of Lord Buddha**

The Buddhist holy Sutras mention that the Buddha got merit in making pilgrimage to Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha. Lumbini was regarded as the most holy pilgrimage shrine. To refer *Mahaparinirvana Sutra*, Lord Buddha had described Lumbini as a place with contemplative virtue. He has advised all his faithful followers and devotees to visit Lumbini from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. Lumbini remained the holiest of all holy sites among *Chaturamahasthanani* (four pilgrimage sites)<sup>26</sup>. It is attested by the archaeological remains of Lumbini Nativity Site. Lumbini was inscribed in the World Heritage sites of UNESCO in 1997 A.D. The Chinese Yuch Chih monk of the Tri Dynasty (256-420 A.D.), Seng-Tsai (265-420 A.D.),

<sup>25</sup> Harsha Muni Shakya, "*Bhoat Ra Nepal Bichko Dharmik Sambandha*," (Religions relations between Tiber and Nepal) Lalitpur; Buddha Jayanti Golden Jubilee Souvenir, 2006 A.D. p.33.

<sup>26</sup> Babu Krishna Rijal, "Archaeological Activities in Lumbini 1975-77" Kathmandu, Department of Archaeology, Ancient Nepal No. 30-39, 1975 A.D. p.38.

Fahie 406 A.D., Chi-Meng (Chinese monk) 424 A.D., and Hiuen Tsang (629 A.D) visited Lumbini and Kapilvastu.<sup>27</sup>

Buddha Bhadra and Advaya Vajra's contribution to China in the translation of Buddhist scriptures and texts indicates the close relationship of the scholars in the past.

The seventh century A.D constituted a watershed in Nepal-Tibet relations.<sup>28</sup> The matrimonial relationship between Nepal and Tibet cemented the bilateral relationship. Princess Bhrikuti had taken Acharya Sheel Manju and images of Akshobya, Tara and Buddhist tests to Jokhang Bahi of Lhasa. Sheel Manju, the great scholar of Nepal contributed a lot in the awakening of Tibet with Buddha teaching.

### **Frequent Visits of Chinese Monks to Nepal**

The frequent visits of the Chinese monks and some Korean monks shed Buddhist light in the Nepal-China relationship. Hsuan Chao entered Nepal in 654 A.D.. Chinese princess Wen-Ching financially helped him for his journey. The Chinese envoy Wang Hsuen-tse met him in India. On their way back they arrived in Nepal where the Nepali ruler helped Hsuan Chao to proceed towards Tibet.<sup>29</sup> Tao-fang came to Nepal settled in a *Vihara* in the Kathmandu Valley around 650-655 A.D. Mathsimha of Shih-hui went to India with the monk Pieu to study Sanskrit. Hsuan-hui came to Nepal on his way back from China. Wu-kung, a Chinese monk visited Lumbini in 764 A.D. in the Tang period.

### **Nepali Monks Visit to China**

Vimoksasena and Subhakarashimha went to China in the sixth and eighth centuries respectively. They translated Buddhist texts into Chinese. Vimoksasena was a

<sup>27</sup> Manandhar f.n. No. 5 pp. 19-21.

<sup>28</sup> Prem Raman Upreti, Nepal-Tibet Relations, 1850-1930. Kathmandu; Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1998 A.D. p.3.

<sup>29</sup> Manandhar, f.n. No. 5, p. 44.

Shakyan prince of Kapilvastu, Nepal. He went to China with Gautam Prajnaruchi, a Buddhist scholar of Banaras in 516 A.D. He translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese. Subhakar Simha, a son of the royalty of the Shakya family of Nepal claimed descent from King Amrotodana, the uncle of the Buddha. He studied in the Buddhist University of Nalanda. He went to China with a large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts and presented to Chinese Emperor Huuan-tsuang. He translated Mahavairochana Sutra. He was a teacher of Itsing (683-727 A.D.).<sup>30</sup>

### **Agrahara (land tax) Allocated for Sending the Porters to Tibet**

To quote the inscription of Shiva Deva II of Lagan Tole, five porters were sent to Tibet with the expense of government revenue every year. It is known as Bhotga Visit: (tax on land as levy by government). The inscription dated 119 N.S. (999 A.D) makes provision of allocating land tax for facilitating trade with Tibet every year.<sup>31</sup> Towards the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Nepal's trade with Tibet flourished. The commodities constituted of cultural goods. It has already been discussed earlier that the trades of Kirti Punya Mahavihara of Lagan Tole and other Vihars of Dakshin Koliyagram were involved in trade with Tibet. The traders and craftsman of Nepal were skilled in metal crafts. It is also clear from the accounts of Christian missions. The income of the trade with Tibet was spent to make Vihars and temples. Besides this, the venerable Lamas of Tibet had made different temples and Vihars in the religious sites. It had strengthened friendly relations with Tibet. Moreover, the religious rites and rituals were performed by Lamas and Vajracharyas in each other's country. Svayambhu (Sangun-holy place) Mahabaudha, Namobudha are equally sacred and powerful shrines to all Buddhist of this region. These shrines are taken as the centres of pilgrimage. To give a cursory glance at the inter-cultural relationship between Nepal and the autonomous region of Tibet, and China it is obvious that the cultural relationships between them was promoted for centuries.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid f.n. No, 5 p.p. 44-48.

<sup>31</sup> Dhana Vajra Vajracharya: Licchavi Kalka Abilekh (Inscription of Licchivi Period) Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1990 A.D. pp.514-518.

### **The Siddhas, Preachers and Vajracharya Gurus Maintained Cultural and Intellectual Hot Line.**

The Siddha, the Preacher and Vajracharya Gurus maintained cultural and intellectual hot line between the two countries. The Siddhas and preachers from (8<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries) maintained a cultural hot line between Nepal and China, via the present Tibetan autonomous region. In the early medieval period many Viharas were constructed in Nepal. Nepali traders greatly benefited by the trade with her southern neighbor. As a result, many Viharas were constructed in ancient and early medieval periods. During the time of Narendradeva 21 Viharas were constructed in the South Koliyagram (lowerpart of downtown Kathmandu). Many Viharas emerged in the Kathmandu Vally. Nepal served as a training ground for interaction between the scholars of India and Tibet. The Tibetan scholars learnt Sanskrit in Nepal before going to India. The Indian scholars also got accustomed in the Himalayan region of Nepal before going to Tibet. Before going to Tibet, Padma Sambhava lived in Pharping grotto for six years and practiced Vajrakila Sadhana (austere practices). Dipankara Shree Jnana Atisha lived in Bikram Sheel Mahavihara at Thamel. During the Licchavi period (1<sup>st</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> Century) Leela Vajra (741 A.D.), one of the eight four Siddhas, initiated Namasagiti (text relating to Pancha Buddha and Vajra Sattava). He was one of the teachers of Virkramasheela Mahavihara at Nalanda University. He made Sikhomu Vihara of Kathmandu. Marpadopa was the disciple of Vagisvara and Kanakshree, brother of Phamthinpa. Tibetan scholar Marpa was initiated in Ratnakara Mahavihara of Gabahal, Patan. Rwa Vajrakiriti, rival of Marpa had education from Guru Bhro (Vajra Bhairu Acharya).<sup>32</sup> Many Tibetan scholars came to learn Sanskrit with Nepali Vajracharyas. Dharma swami's (1197-1264 A.D.) accounts of Nepal are taken as accounts of Chinese traveler Hiuen Tsang, Fahien, and Itsing. His account of the festival of Matsyendra Nath is an eye witness account of the 13<sup>th</sup> country.

<sup>32</sup> K.M. Shrestha, History of Buddhism in Nepal with Special reference of Vajrayana Buddhism, Kathmandu: Kamala Devi Shrestha, 2008 A.D. p.p. 217-220.



### Arniko's Contribution for the Promotion of Buddhism in China

During the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Phagpa, the monk of Sakya monastery of Tibet was the Guru (Teacher) of Mangol Emperor Kublai Khan of China. During that time, Nepal was the centre of interaction between the countries of South East Asia in Buddhism.<sup>33</sup> The craftsmen and the artists of Nepal commanded respect in Tibet by their art works. Emperor Kublai Khan had made Arniko, a prominent figure in his court. Arniko influenced the life and culture of monks in Wu-tai-shan of China. To quote P. London, there is still a structure remotely resembling Boudhnath and Svyambhunath at Wu-tai-shan. Manjushree is the guardian deity of China, and Arniko had influenced the Chinese Emperor by his masterpiece art works. Arniko first influenced the Phagspa by making a golden pagoda in the Sakya monastery. It was on the recommendation of Phagpa, the spiritual teacher of the Emperor, Arniko was invited to China. He established his credibility there by making a White Pagoda or Stupa, within two years, the Emperor was highly impressed by his skills in metal casting. He repaired many icons in Beijing and his paintings excelled. He left an imprint of Nepali Buddhist art over there.<sup>34</sup>

### Suspension of Sino-Nepal Relationship

Vijay Kumar Manandhar writes-“The collapse of the Tang dynasty at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century led to the suspension of Nepal-China relations for about two hundred years”.<sup>35</sup>

An extract of the annals of Ming gives an account of Nepal-China relationship in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The rulers of Rama Vardhana family of palanchowk took the title of *Wang* (King) from *Yanglo*, the Emperor of China. The Chinese Mission, in 1387,

<sup>33</sup> Shrestha, f.n. No 31 p.255.

<sup>34</sup> Harsha Muni Shakya, “*Bharat Ra Nepal Bichko Dharmik Sambandha*,” (Religions relations between Tiber and Nepal) Lalitpur; Buddha Jayanti Golden Jubilee Souvenir, 2006 A.D. p.33. Manandar f.n. No. 5, p.50.

<sup>35</sup> Manandhar, f.n. No, 5 p.50.

(N.S.507)<sup>36</sup> during the time of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), which succeeded the Mongols managed to establish diplomatic relations with Nepal. The Ming Emperor Hung Wu had deputed a Buddhist monk Tung-lo (1318-1391 A.D) with his embassy of 30 people.<sup>37</sup> In 1390 A.D. (510 N.S), the envoy attended an inauguration ceremony of Taitravar Mahavihara at Kavre Palanchowk where Vajrasana Bhattarak was installed by Jaitra Laxmi, spouse of madana Sima Ram Vardhana, brother of Jaya Simha Ram Vardhana. Jaya Simha Ram Vardhana welcomed the Chinese mission led by Bhikshu Tunglo or Zhiguan. Since then Nepal had diplomatic relations with China.<sup>38</sup> Tirtha Prasad Mishra writes-“ Nepal dispatched altogether eighteen quinquennial mission to China in between 1792 to 1906 A.D.<sup>39</sup> On 1<sup>st</sup> August 1955, Nepal and China established diplomatic relations. The basic principle of bilateral ties was based on Panchasheel. The Panchasheel included.

- a) Respect to each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- b) Non-aggression.
- c) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs economically, politically and ideologically.
- d) Equality and mutual benefit and
- e) Peaceful co-existence.<sup>40</sup>

In 1956 Tanka Prasad Acharya, the then Prime Minister of Nepal visited China. During that time diplomatic relations with China had been renewed. The Buddha light thus has strengthened the tie of friendship in cultural prospective.

<sup>36</sup> Shrestha, f.n. No 31 p.281.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid p.281

<sup>38</sup> Shakya f.n. No, 23. p. 24.

<sup>39</sup> Tirtha Prasad Mishra; “Nepal's Quinquennial Mission to China” Kathmandu; 1986 A.D. p.p76-78.

<sup>40</sup> Hiranya Lal Shrestha, “Political Aspect of *Nepal China Relations*” Nischal N. Pandey ed. *Nepal-China Relations*. Kathmandu; Institute of Foreign Affairs, 2005 A.D. pp.1-2.

**Conclusion**

The Nepal-China relationship is based in the principle of *Panchasheel* (five principles). The Buddha preached *Panchasheel* to his followers. The teachings of Buddha highlight moral and spiritual aims of sentient beings. The Panchasheel principle envisaged in the diplomatic relations between Nepal-China relations is based on spiritual and ethical and political principles. The monks, nuns and laities take vows of Panchasheel in the beginning of any religious ceremony.

The First World Buddhist Summit held in Lumbini in 1998 A.D. (2055V.S) has recommended that Lumbini be developed as a Foundation of World Peace and Lord Buddha be taken as an Apostle of Peace and Lumbini Buddha University be promoted as Centre of Intellectual Interaction among the Buddhist scholars of the world . The Chinese monastery constructed in the monastic Zone of Lumbini is fostering *Bodhicitta* (Buddha way of life or awakened mind). Pure land Buddhism has been the main motto of Chinese Buddhism which aims at welfare of all sentient beings of the world. China which remained as the Celestial Empire in the remote past has developed spiritualism, which illuminates the minds of all. Nepal appreciates that the Buddha light has strengthened the ties of relationship between Nepal and China.

मुदती निक्षेपमा आकर्षक व्याजदर

**9.8%** वार्षिक  
Citizens Fixed Deposit

सुपर सेविङ्ग **7%** वार्षिक  
दैनिक मौज्जादमी

Bank International Ltd.  
YOUR PARTNER FOR PROGRESS

www.citizensbank.com

On the occasion  
of  
the 63<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary of  
the Nepal Council of World Affairs  
We offer our heartiest felicitations  
and best wishes for all success

**SHANGRI-LA**  
KATHMANDU

**SHANGRI-LA**  
VILLAGE  
KATHMANDU

**SHANGRI-LA HOTEL**  
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal  
Tel: 977 1 4412999/4435742  
Email: info@hotelshangrila.com  
Website: http://www.hotelshangrila.com

**Nepal: A Bovine in between Elephant and Dragon**

- Rajeev Kunwar\*

Metaphorically contemporary India and China with their politico-economic structural strengths and weaknesses can be depicted as a rising elephant and a soaring dragon respectively. Nepal's national animal is a cow, and by nature this bovine is slow-moving, dull, docile, placid and gullible. Foreign powers take no chance in to press the udder to milch the cow, and once a hermit kingdom before 1950s has in the new millennium embraced a political nomenclature or identity in most cases similar to India.

Nepal is a classical case of small state in Asia which is sandwiched between two mega-states or major powers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century – India and China. As an idea of transit state had been floated in 2005 by the Royal régime, Nepal could reap benefits from economic prosperity of India and China, their growing rapprochement, and geo-economic regionalism which have now outmoded the old balance of power concept. However the cautious optimism will be in the air about the outlook of two Asian powers with their legacy of political history – the one being freed from the colonial rule, and the other being the resurgent one party communist state transformed from the republican system by ending the effete (Qing) dynastic rule. Their common objective is to ameliorate living standard of their inhabitants which comprise 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of humanity.

Amidst the 'rising India' and 'peaceful rise' of China how Nepal can carve out its niche in maintaining good neighbourly relations with both not even thinking of playing the games of using one against the other, maintaining harmony, solidarity and peace in Asia and reducing poverty to extirpate allied pernicious political and socio-economic ills.

---

\* Mr. Kunwar, a First Class First Rank holder in Politics and International Relations from India, is Adjunct Professor of Political Theory at the Kathmandu School of Law.

The daunting task in post-political transformation in the least developed country like Nepal is to buttress the ideas underpinning the solid foundations of liberal democracy. It requires an appropriate sequel to the political reform in the country which is an economic advancement of its inhabitants who are in pursuit of peace, happiness and prosperity. Nepal is fortunately surrounded by two Asian Gullivers who are persistently in the quest of socio-economic development and the status of major power in international relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to be reckoned with. Their mutual density of interactions in the post-Cold war era underlines civilisational interdependencies in finding the conceptions of contemporary state, society and international relations in Asian perspectives. Despite their differences in ideological moorings - Marxism with Chinese characteristics and social democracy with admixture of liberalism and idealism in the Indian context, both colossi are duly nurtured in the political thought of the Occident. It is difficult to extricate from universal values espoused by two different schools of thought in their internal dimension of the political systems.

In its external dimension, the political treatises of Kautilya (*Arthashastra*) and Sun Tzu (*The Art of War*) germinated realist perspectives before Machiavelli (*The Prince*), Alberico Gentili (*De Jure Belli* (1598)) and Clausewitz delved into statecraft, the laws of war and strategies of war and peace. The rich culture and diversity in their social set-up fields many formidable questions to reduce the emerging region purely into the balance of power prismatic form whereby extra regional powers like the US, Russia and Europe form alliances with them suiting their national interest. Nonetheless, the simplistic containment theory can be debunked, and as its repercussions in geopolitics in the history felt like ripples in neighbouring countries. However, the immanent nature of Asian countries and ironically their people to mutually recognize their esteem and to live with peaceful-coexistence defies any major outbreak of inter-state war among them. Except some theatres became conflict prone thrust by quasi-imperial and extra-regional interests such as Afghanistan, the Middle East, India-Pakistan, Indo-China region (Vietnam) and Korean peninsula in the post-war world of 20<sup>th</sup> century. It continues to dissuade forging ties based on mutual trust and friendship. The future of Asia lies in reducing mutual suspicion

among its countries and establishment of a just and egalitarian society based on popular sovereignty.

The trajectory of liberal democracy in Nepal would be incomplete without reference to India. India's predominance in Nepal and in the region can not be nullified even by courting other power centers as the pangs of proximity dictates the democratic norms and values in the country.

### Enchanting India and China

India presents diverse shades and contrasts. It is a canvas of people inhabited since ages in spite of its formidable hues to create a picture of a just and egalitarian society. The West is pleased to designate this independent country for 62 years as the world's largest democracy and some natives see it as the "burden of democracy" (Prof. Pratap Bhanu Mehta) or "crisis of governability" (Prof. Atul Kohli). Though its democracy has survived even in the Cold War rivalry at the expense of one party dominant system, it is a young nation with archaic red taped ex-British Raj institutions striving to achieve major power status in international arena.

The country boasts of 30 per cent middle class people out of 1.5 billion inhabitants. They are bulwark of democracy and according to some they form consumer-citizens of twelfth largest economy in the world. But the functioning democracy in developing societies much depends on who is at the foci of power and the future of politics lies in emancipation of backward groups and marginalized communities as they have themselves become agents of change. On the other hand, middle class people are absorbed by the free market and burgeoning civil society organizations, lest depoliticisation and new age identity politics.

India also entices and enchants foreigners as it is one of the two parliamentary democratic countries in Asia (other being Japan). Despite of shortcomings and dominance of one party Indian National Congress (INC) since 1950 to 1977 its democracy is vibrant, lively and full of paradoxes.

The avowed aim of championing the cause of teeming poor is no longer adhered as

suicidal rates among farmers are very high. After neo-liberal economic reform in 1990 put into action by the incumbent Indian Prime Minister, "to become rich is glorious" in rising India. India after six decades continues to grapple with poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, and female foeticide, lack of health and oppressive nature of society. Some also correlate the persistent underdevelopment besides heirarchisation of society in rural India due to *zamindari* system of land ownership. Unless the country resolves agrarian reform to disentangle stymied land reform and revamp redistributive mechanism, it falters the country to materialize the lofty principles of "socialist, secular and democratic republic."

On the other hand China which started economic reforms by implementing open door policy in 1979 has shown unparallel coexistence of one party leadership and economic growth and development. Its prosperity owes special thanks to overseas Chinese and entrepreneurs who think relentlessly about developing it. Moreover about wiping out poverty and spreading happiness. Deng Xiaoping's dictum holds true even today wherein the modern architect of the country said to all the countrymen "to keep cool head, do not take lead and keep low profile." It sounds humbleness, perseverance and action rather than rhetoric and cosmetic words. If China has overtaken Germany by occupying 3<sup>rd</sup> largest economy of the world and competing neck and neck with Japan it is not surprising at all. The country where thousands of flowers bloom, a creative and positive energy of the people do bring a great quantum leap change in the modern society.

Though analysts clinically compare India with China in terms of growth rate and forecast similar scale of economic development it is not smooth for India with its elephantine bureaucracy to shed interests of common people. The interests of powerful *Babudom* do not favour in minimising the role of it in ameliorating the living standard of common people. Infact China started economic reform measures decade before India and has sacrificed which nowadays result in dissent in rural China. Pandit Nehru said "at the stroke of midnight hour when the world sleeps India will awake to life and freedom." In the same tone India's journey into new millennium is fraught with difficulties as well as opportunities.

It is the primacy and dictum of trade rather than aid that should direct the political economy of the country. Sound economic policies and robust economic growth are leverage that allows wide maneuverings in Nepalese foreign policy and wider international relations. On the other hand immutable geo-politics of the milieu coupled with geo-economics and geo-culture shape the minds of policymakers responding to the futures of international society. A tightrope diplomacy as some scholars point out as outmoded practice must be overhauled. Nepal need to exploit potentials of two mega-states in its favour keeping in mind ameliorating living standards of common folk of the country. The country is sermonized and advised much but the political leadership is yet to find a common voice and choices put forth by intelligentsia, burgeoning middle class and *crème de la crème* of knowledgeable human resource. More it is preoccupied with non-development issues or moreover a primacy of politics takes precedence of socio-economic development endangers the country at the brink of collapse.

Economic Diplomacy has become a buzzword since 1995 in Nepal and has occupied as a vogue in discharging additional important function apart from traditional diplomacy. Though liberal internationalism has gained ascendancy and has been fashioned after the end of the Cold War, the free market doctrine it espouses has encouraged the idea of precedence of trade over aid in terms of reaping dividends of an open market economy. Economic diplomacy needs to be conducted to harness the economic prospects and potential bilaterally and multilaterally. However economic diplomacy has been overshadowed time and again due to an excessive preoccupation of political issues in bilateral relations mainly with India. Other reason attributed to it is an elusive internal political stability and an absence of national consensus in forging and prioritizing trade ties. This has serious repercussions in burgeoning national industries and home grown entrepreneurial activities which have recently been hostage to and captive of radicalized trade unionism. But the urge of private sector to boost economic and commercial ties to the expanding huge markets of the world which lies either next to our doorstep requires calculated strategic study to reap benefits for the common people of the country.

The double digit growth in the neighbourhood must allay fears that both mega-states are interlocked in territorial disputes since 1962 war. They have started rapprochements in all spheres of bilateral relations. Their interests are to be great powers of 21<sup>st</sup> century and they are. And not even the West can match their human resource and capacity to shift the balance of power at present trailing heavily in favour of the US (the West) to Asia. It must be also our interest to work with these partners in all-round development of Asia, protect our cultural values and maintain durable peace in the region.

### **Geo-political Contours of India-Nepal-China Triangle**

Pirthvinarayan Shah's foreign policy in the form of yam theory in the light of *Divya Upadesh* (Divine Counsels) is as relevant as ever for the maintenance of peace, stability and friendship vis-à-vis two giant neighbours. Nepal is a pigmy, puny and Lilliputian state vis-à-vis two giant neighbours. "The position of Nepal was, of course, rendered delicate, not by mere juxtaposition with such powerful neighbours. It was the complex problem of trade from the north and the south, joined to the problem of divergent spheres of influence and the expansionism of the East India Company."<sup>1</sup> A noted late historian further writes that the founder of Nepal understood the problem in all its ramifications and indicated in the corpus "the need for a healthy fear of the British." Some scholars have maintained that both India and Nepal are democracies in the making of mutual trust. Of late the internal sovereignty of a small country has been under constant threat from "too much concern" shown by democratic countries that frequently exchange words with and counsel directly to the head of state cum government. Whether is it their genuine concern for consolidation of infant democracy in Nepal or the allegation of leftists in India and Nepal of their strategic interests to "encircle" and counter-balance the northern neighbour remains to be objectively examined? However the economic interdependence of China and the West, the US in particular, further complicates if the option available to tame the soaring dragon is to form alliance of democratic

<sup>1</sup> L.F. Stiller, S.J., *Pirthvinarayan Shah in the Light of Divya Upadesh*, (Kathmandu: Himalayan Book Center, 1989), p. 47.

nations in Asia (Japan, India and Australia). Can we assume at face value that America's growing interest in South Asia by recognizing preeminence of India's role in the region is independent of America's relations with China or is it the correlation of considering China as a strategic competitor as compared to the world's largest democracy?

Another historically important reminder of Nepal's relations with India can be summarized as maternal home of Indians. The point is that Nepalese are maternal uncle and aunty whereas Indians are sons and daughters of Goddess Sita of Janakpur married to a noble king Ram of Ayodhya. Nepal therefore acts as an after maternal care to the southern neighbour. By the way our relations with China are by no means ahistorical. Tibetan King Tsong-Tsam Gampo had married Chinese Princess Wen-Cheng and Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti. Therefore Nepal is also a maternal home of Tibetans and Chinese, the offspring of these two Princesses.<sup>2</sup> This is an interesting note that Nepal's position vis-à-vis two Asian neighbours which is cardinal and crucial in spreading amity, friendship and peace based on trust, compassion and understanding.

However it is doubtful to ascertain the chequered relations amongst Asian nations will be unspoiled by power politics if the neo-conservative military strategists outweigh in decision-making of South Block by playing second fiddle to Foggy Bottom. The progress towards India-China "strategic cooperation" has not totally eliminated Chinese concern at the growing India-US "strategic partnership."

### Political Prescriptions of the Region

India has to be reborn as a champion of non-alignment in the South and of the voice of voiceless rather than imitate double standard evinced by the US in political developments in so-called "sphere of influence." It is soft power strategy and public diplomacy that is likely to woo more friends than mere show of hard power and sanctions. And China has cultivated friendship among disadvantaged nations,

<sup>2</sup> Read more Rishikesh Shaha, *Heroes and Builders of Nepal*, (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1965).

stressed on multilateralism and policy of non-interference in internal affairs of a sovereign country. This does not hold true for a country which considers itself as a beacon of freedom, human rights and democracy. Such a bastion likes to exert paramount influence against the interest of self-governed intra-state system in neutralizing opposing views which is implicitly and explicitly associated with redefining their relations on an even keel in the inter-state system.

With recognizing difference, and furthermore, routing any form of resistant to the power-centers on any part of the globe. The deliberative method has been overshadowed and illusions have been created in the minds of public that the only option available is employing the monopoly of violence against non-state actors without probing into the root causes of genuine dissenting voices. It is applicable equally to the facets of internal conflict surfacing in a sovereign country with external dimension and to the larger spectacle of a scourge of terrorism and its reaction thereof, the "war on terror."

The level of involvement of international community need to be curtailed in Nepal but genesis of it goes back to the rise of insurgency and ultra-left clamouring to be providing nationalist agenda are nonetheless ones who have invited or provoked for neo-colonization of uncolonised country. The "political seduction,"<sup>3</sup> as I designate to the appeal and penchant of everything western including values, mores and norms, is taking place in two ways or non-reciprocally with much harm to the recipient poor Asian country. The scenario emerging from "domestic political immaturity," more preferable than to use word "crises," is negativistic feelings and animosity towards southern neighbour which is pursuing its legitimate interests in Nepal and it will not wither away sooner or later. The other neighbour to the north is deeply worried about the ramifications to its Tibetan Autonomous Region. But Nepal is embroiled in pessimistic image of daily political activities and has not embarked on yeoman task to lift the country out of poverty and inflation. The

<sup>3</sup> Rajeev Kunwar, "On Political Seduction: An Inquiry into the Nature of Politics in the Least Developed Asian Country with an Analysis and Illustration from the Case of Nepal," *Working Paper*, 2009.



external strategy of the country is to push, mobilize and execute economic agendas in the statecraft to build a strong economic nation-state.

Thus the interactions of awakened giants for the development, peace and security of their people and neighbourhood will be of immense interest to any Asian scholar. Nepal has conducted its foreign policy and diplomacy with two large neighbours of Asia - a region whose political history and economic fate was for several centuries determined by things that happened somewhere outside of Asia. "We have now crossed over into a period in which things happening in Asia, opinions formed in Asia, and decisions made in Asia, will largely determine the course of events elsewhere in the world."<sup>4</sup> It is pertinent to quote a westerner's views about Asia which has become, instead, "a testing ground for all our theories and ways of doing things. Failure in Asia would doom our hopes for a cooperative world order. Success in Asia would prove the survival value of the post-war world order toward which we are working."<sup>5</sup>

The interdependency of the western world and the orient can not also be denied in the post-Cold War era on the backdrop of the end of grand ideology to counter so called universal values of democracy, rule of law and human rights. It has also spawned new relationships, new strategies and new national political identities. A small country Nepal has shed its old national identity which was maintained to evince difference with regard to its neighbours, and there from what implications does it hold for the future of the country.<sup>6</sup> It can be either an anachronistic fairy tale Himalayan paradise or a laboratory of new ideas.

'Small' has been and will remain the epithet attached to any description of Nepal. Demography, territory, GNP, military resources: all objective parameters point to the category of the small-sized. Some might tempt to think 'mini' or 'extra small' in

<sup>4</sup> Owen Lattimore, *Solution in Asia*, (London: The Cresset Press, 1945), p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 138.

<sup>6</sup> Prakash A. Raj, *Crisis of Identity in Nepal*, (Varanasi: Pilgrims Publishing, 2007).

juxtaposition to colossi neighbours. A small state like Nepal has succeeded in surviving for more than 240 years in its present configuration in an often very adverse political environment. Nepal's present independence, external sovereignty, stability and prosperity can only be secured by economic development in the neighbourhood and how it can capitalize benefits from both giants. The commemorations of the unified nation-state could not bridge the gap between the abstract ideal of the independence of the small nation and the reality of the unavoidable compromises imposed by a brook in country's sovereignty through various means. The country is essentially – though not – preoccupied by its dealings with India and there are limitations to its maneuverability and implementation of its external policies. According to an expert on foreign affairs Nepal's rise in the international arena has been historically a slow and arduous process. The country operated as a part of an international subsystem with its external relations confined to its immediate neighbours.<sup>7</sup> Other Nepalese intellectual and foreign policy thinkers dwell on Sinophilic manner and some scholar have portrayed third boulder in the yam theory that is the US, an extra-regional power in the emerging geo-strategic field.

The genius of India is evinced in the exercise of democracy in 2009 and how well the country manages diverse multicultural society and multiple issues cropping up in the political society as well. India and China have equal stakes in Nepal but it seems our ties with India which is intricate and entangled in many dimensions underline India's special relations to Nepal. It exacts tactfulness and diplomatic finesse to act as a bridge between them for Nepalese statesman and officials.

It is a cacophony if too many people harp on the same subject matter vaguely without providing some compelling and lucid accounts. One can not deny the role of the state despite mushrooming growth of civil society and non-state actors influencing international relations. The onslaught of globalization may have

<sup>7</sup> Sridhar K. Khatri, "Nepal in the International System: The Limits of Power of a Small State," Anand Aditya (ed.), *The Political Economy of Small States*, (Kathmandu: Nepal Foundation for Advanced Studies and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2<sup>nd</sup> Print, 2001), p. 12.

diminished the state sovereignty and lurched from one financial crisis to another. An essence of any nation's foreign policy is centered on national interests and pursue a nation-state a "strategy of survival" or "struggle for existence."

It is the exclusive preserve of the state in formulating, implementing and executing the foreign policy and international relations as it is the centre of negotiating body to diffuse and dissipate international norms and values in a domestic political society. *Pundits* of Nepalese bureaucracy have to manage pugilist, cunning and shrewd *brown sahibs* of Indian *babudom* on the one hand and taciturn thinking and lukewarm responses of *mandarins* of Chinese one party state on the other. According to Vidur, Minister of King Dhritarashtra - "Pundits are those who are adept at their self-character, laborious, abide by *dharma* in trying circumstances. They do not aim for rare objects, are not worried about lost items and unwavering in times of difficulty and calamity (p.15)."<sup>8</sup> A wiseman becomes a fool sometimes and if a shrewd person hoodwink a weak and fool, he/she is not to be considered a seer or erudite rather a mean cheater with trivial-mindedness.

To recapitulate, it is an economic prosperity that matters most along with an undisputable democratic political framework which holds future for maintaining democratic peace in the region and beyond. Analysts can figure out it is the age of Asians who were suppressed in modern history until the Second World War. They are the genuine movers and shakers of international relations and making pluralist society at work for the benefit of mankind.

<sup>8</sup> More about kingship, governance, advisors and forts, see Vanmali Subedi (ed.), *Vidurniti*, (Kathmandu: Pravesha Prakashan, 2059 B.S.), pp. 9-38.

On the occasion  
of  
the 63<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary of  
the Nepal Council of World Affairs  
We offer our heartiest felicitations  
and best wishes for all success



**The Malla Hotel**  
GPO Box 787, Lekhnath Marg, Kathmandu  
Tel : 977 1 4418385, 4410320, 4410966  
Fax: 4418382  
Email: [reservation@hotelmalla.com](mailto:reservation@hotelmalla.com)

### Seminar on “Constitution Making Process of Nepal and its Challenges”

A seminar on “Constitution Making Process of Nepal and its challenges” was organized by Nepal Council of World Affairs on November 17, 2009 in association with the Indian Embassy and B.P. Koirala India-Nepal Foundation.

The chief Guest was Hon’ble Dr. Minendra Prasad Rijal, Minister for Federal, Constituent Assembly, Parliamentary and Cultural Affairs. The keynote speaker was Dr. Mushirul Hassan, former Vice Chancellor, Jamia Millia University, Delhi.

Hon’ble Minendra Rijal said some qualitative change in the present political situation is needed if constitution were to be written in the current time frame. He also talked about honest disagreements between political parties on mandate of constituent assembly including property rights, rule of judiciary and form of government. He also expressed concern that some Maoist leaders have talked about banning certain political parties.

Excellency Rakesh Sood, Ambassador of India welcoming Prof. Mushirul Hassan talked about his work in identity politics. He mentioned how Indian constitution was written 59 years earlier with a vision to face challenges. He said about ties of history, geography, and business that bind the two countries.

Professor Mushirul Hassan, Former Vice Chancellor, Jamia Millia University said a Constitution represents collective aspiration of individuals in a society. While citing the case of South Africa he said the constitution writing process was done under the leadership of Nelson Mandela and the main task was peace and reconciliation. Conflict solution was done through individual and collective initiative. The Indian experiences of writing constitutions was done against the background of partition. He said democracy, secularism and pluralism survives in India as the constitution provides a package for all. He said the centre has granted more autonomy to the states in recent years. According to him consensus is not unanimity. The way to achieve greater degree of consensus is by debate and discussion. He said consensus in the context of India was popular will. Two important things is the Indian

constitution was incorporation of word “socialism” and “secularism” done by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

He said similar demands made by Sheikh Mujib Rahman in Pakistan were not recognized. The Indian constitution provides an independent judiciary and has central list, concurrent list and state list.

Gajanada Agrawal said the real problem is how much power should be given to Madhesh. Shambhu Rana said one major problem is Nepal is lack of coalition culture.

Ambassador Sood said Nepal is now in transition. The decision to negotiate 12 or 20 point accord should rest with Nepal. India had supported holding of election in Nepal for Constituent Assembly and hoped for a logical end to peace process. Nepal’s Constitution makers should be sensitive towards people’s will.

Narayan Prasad Mishra asked if federalism was essential in democracy and if it were practical in Nepal. Prof. Hassan said members of Constitution Assembly who know the reality of their country should decide on it. There should be a vision to reduce inequalities. Replying to a question by Badri Das Shrestha, Prof. Hassan said Nepal needs a new Constitution to re-order Nepal’s priorities. Hemanta Kharel commented the reason why India became a federal state was due to colonialism and “unmanageable geography”. He said Nepal had to give more autonomy to local bodies. Prof. Hassan said each country must make its own model taking into account topography and geopolitics and to ensure that it is accountable.

Rajeshwor Acharya asked about India’s experience in sharing water resources and revenue between states. Prof. Hassan talked about several commissions founded since 1950’s to look into center-state relations. There are tribunals in Karnataka and Tamilnadu.

Sajan Ram Bhandari asked if Nepal could establish federalism as in India and the US. Did the political parties have right to declare Nepal as a secular state? In his opinion such issues should have been decided by referendum. Prof. Hassan disagreed that state restructuring and federalism are different issues.

Mahesh Agrawal asked about constraint of consensus and solving issue of inclusivity. Prof. Hassan Said the constitution could be amended if no consensus could be reached. If a Constitution were to be devised for providing social justice it will work. Large sections of people of India regard the Indian Constitution as custodian of their interests.

## The second session

### Chaired by Mr. Tirtha Man Shakya

#### Paper Judicial provision on Constitution by Radheshyam Adhikari

The first paper presented at the Second Session of Seminar was by Radheshyam Adhikari. The session was chaired by Tirtha Man Shakya. The paper dealt with Judicial Provision in the Constitution.

Mr. Adhikari said there was no separate judiciary during the Rana regime. The first Mulki Ain was introduced after Jung Bahadur returned from Britain in 1854. It was not actually rule of law as the ultimate power to decide a case was with the Rana Prime Minister. Separation of power was introduced in 1958 when Judicial Administration Act was introduced. It made a provision for four tiers of judiciary. During Panchayat era, four tiers of courts were introduced. Judicial review was introduced in the period 1961 to 1981. However, the residual power was the King and it was also abused in his name.

After promulgation of 1990 Constitution, jurisdiction of Court was increased and Public Interest Litigation (PIL) brought changes in the interest of women and weaker section of society. However, no judges were impeached during this period.

The first meeting of Constituent Assembly (CA) passed the provision of "Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal". However, it was not explained what was included in it. There have been arguments that there should be three tiers in judiciary, The Supreme Court, High Court and District Court. Agreement was reached on qualification of Judges. Unlike in the US where there is a parallel court system on Federal and State level, CA Committee has recommended a system similar to that in

India. On the other hand, what was approved is not in accordance with independent judiciary. According to the approved provision a committee in the Parliament should recommend the appointment and dismissal of judges. Parliament should recommend the appointment and dismissal of Judges. What could be done is to make judicial hearing more effective and reject the recommendation even if one member disagrees. Disputes between states should be decided by courts and not by Parliament. There is also an opinion which says that such disputes should be decided by Constitutional Courts.

When the Indian Constituent was being promulgated, these were such personalities as Ambedkar, Nehru, Patel, Kalam and Rajendra Prasad who played decisive roles. There were towering personalities which the US Constitution was being discussed. During promulgation of 1990 constitution in Nepal we could depend on support of Ganesh Man Singh and Krishna Prasad Bhattarai.

There were comments by Sushil Shrestha and Surendra Mahato.

Sushil Shrestha asked what would happen if constitution could not be written by May 14<sup>th</sup>. The mandate received in Jana Andolan II in 2006 does not exist anymore. He said judicial appointments could be made by political parties.

Surendra Mahato said we need federalism in which power has to be given to provinces. Judiciary has to solve disputes between different states, between states and persons and between persons. We need judges in the Court who adopt and adapt changes. Judiciary in Nepal should be made inclusive. The present Supreme Court is very conservative. Reappointment of Judges should be made within three months after parliamentary elections. He said he did not favour appointment of judges by public hearing. High Court Judges should be appointed by provinces.

There was a question and answer session after presentation of paper and comments. Prakash A. Raj asked if Constitution Assembly has the right to extend deadline of writing Constitution and also about decisions made by People's Court (Jana Adalat) of the Maoist and about judicial review. Radheshyam Adhikari said if too much power is concentrated on Parliament an autocratic system might emerge. Provision for judicial review should be made in the constitution. Parliament should not

interpret the constitution. If that were to be the case, judicial review would be worthless. A consensus document could be produced. An extension for time for writing Constitution could be demanded. Although such leaders as Gajendra Narayan Singh had raised the issue of federalism in Nepal before 1990, it became a major issue all of a sudden.

### The second session

**Chaired - Pradeep K Khadka**

**Paper - Federal System of Government by Prof. Lok Raj Baral.**

The second session was chaired by Pradeep K Khadka. A paper on Federal System of Government was presented by Prof. Lok Raj Baral.

Prof. Baral said leadership plays a very important role in institution building. Ambedkar at the time of Constitution building in India thought that a federal structure similar to the US would not work in India as it was too diverse. Self-determination along the Soviet model was not applicable in India. So, India became a centralized federation. Real federalism has been practiced in India and it has also been given a coalition culture.

The built-in character of state in Nepal was discriminatory since Prithvi Narayan Shah. The centrality of Kathmandu was also a major factor in the post-unification era. Although a large number of women were in the Maoist Army, there were few in power. It is difficult to change the character of state all of a sudden. However, it is now realigned that the era of Centralism of power from Kathmandu is now over.

Prof. Baral said he travelled in many districts of the Terai but found that the local people did not see "one Madhesh, one Province" as feasible.

Commenting on the paper, Arjun Thapa, MJF member of CA said it is important to develop nationalisms within federalism.

The built-in character of Nepal has been discriminatory since the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah. This was continued during the Panchayat Period. There is no way out of

federalism now. Although some people might say federalism was not viable financially, he said he did not agree.

There was a question and answer session after the presentation of paper and comments. Prakash A. Raj asked if federalism based on ethnicity is desirable for Nepal.

Answering comments and questions, Prof. Baral said the country will not be divided by recognizing Hindi. Our political leaders don't have a vision and everything is done on a contingent basis. He said he did not agree that Nepal could disintegrate because of federalism. There should not be only one basis of federalism.

Prof. Pradip Khadka said he agreed about the lack of vision of our leaders. He said about proposals creating states including mountains, hills and the Terai.

Tika Jung Thapa, President of Nepal Council of World Affairs, thanked Prof. Baral for his insight.

On the occasion  
of  
the 63<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary of  
the Nepal Council of World Affairs  
We offer our heartiest felicitations  
and best wishes for all success



#### Contact Us

Hama Merchant and Finance Limited

Tripureshwor, Kathmandu, Nepal

P.O.Box : 1425

Phone : 4249503, 4216482, 016213290 Fax : 4250245

Email : [info@hamafinance.com.np](mailto:info@hamafinance.com.np)

Website : [www.hamafinance.com.np](http://www.hamafinance.com.np)

**Activities of 2009-2010**

1. The Council organized a talk programme on June 24, 2009 at NCWA Seminar Hall on **“Some Reflection on US-Nepal Relations Since 2006”** by Mr. Williams S Martin, Political Economic Chief of US Embassy.
2. The 62<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary of Council was held on July 27, 2009 at the Hotel Malla, Kahmandu. Chief Guest of the programme Rt. Hon’ble Prime Minister Mr. Madhav Kumar Nepal and Guest of Honour Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Hon’ble Ms. Sujata Koirala delivered their respective speeches on **“Foreign Policy of Nepal”**. The Annual Journal 2008-2009 of NCWA was released by the Chief Guest on the occasion.
3. **An Annual General Meeting (AGM)** of the Council was held on August 16, 2009 (Srawan 32, 2066) at Orchid Hotel, Tripureshwor. The meeting passed the budget and proposed programme for the fiscal year 2009/2010 and at the same time approved Auditor’s Report and Financial Report for 2009/2010 and appointed auditor for the next fiscal year.
4. In association with Indian Embassy, Kathmandu, Nepal Council of World Affairs organized one-day seminar on **“Constitution Making Process of Nepal and its Challenges”** on November 17, 2009 at Hotel Malla Kathmandu. The Seminar was divided into two sessions. Chief Guest, Federal, Constituent Assembly, Parliamentary and Cultural Affairs Minister Hon’ble Minendra Rijal, His Excellency Mr. Rakesh Sood, Ambassador, Embassy of Republic of India and expert from India Prof. Mushural Hasan, former VC, Jamia Milia University, Delhi spoke on various aspects of Constitution during the inaugural session. Two papers were presented in the two sessions. The first paper was presented by Hon’ble Radheshyam Adhikari, Member of the Constituent Assembly on **“Judicial Provision on the Constitution”**. The paper was commented by Mr. Surendra Mahato and Mr. Sushil Shrestha. The session was chaired by Mr. Tirtha Man Sakya, former Chairman, Public Service

- Commission of Nepal. Similarly Prof. Dr. Lok Raj Baral, former Nepalese Ambassador to India presented a paper on **“Federal System of Government”** in the second session. The paper was commented by Mr. Arjun Bahadur Thapa, MJF (Nepal) and the session was chaired by Prof. Dr. Pradeep Kumar Khadka, Former President of the Council. The paper presenters of the sessions answered the question raised from the floor on the occasion.
5. The Council organized a talk programme on **“Buddhist Light; Buddhism and Sino-Nepal Cultural Linkage ”** at NCWA Hall, Harihar Bhawan Lalitpur, on November 19, 2009. Prof. Dr. Khadga Man Shrestha, Registrar, Lumbini Buddhist University, Lumbini, elaborated his views on the subject.
6. A talk programme was jointly held by the Nepal Council of World Affairs and Russian Cultural Centre. Dr. Vladimir V Novikov, Counsellor of the Russian Cultural Centre, spoke on **“Federal Structure of Russian Federation”** The event took place on December 10, 2009 at Russian Cultural Centre at Kamal Pokhari, Kathmandu.
7. The Council and the PEN Nepal organized a talk programme on **“Minority Rights of Indigenous People in the New Constitution of Nepal”** and a book written by Dr. Ramdayal Rakesh and Mr. Chandra Kanta Gyawali was released by Hon’ble Mr. Pradeep Gyawali, Member of Constituent Assembly. The paper presented by Mr. Chandra Kanta Gyawali and Dr. Ram Dayal Rakesh was commented by Mr. Prakash A. Raj, Vice President of NCWA at NCWA Hall, Harihar Bhawan Lalitpur, on February 14, 2010.
8. A talk programme was jointly organized by the Council and the Center for Constitution Dialogue (CCD) on **“Federalism in Nepal”** on February 18, 2010 at CCD Hall, Baneshwor. Mr. Larry Taman, International Project Manager of UNDP spoke on the various models of Federalism on the occasion.



9. The Council organized a talk programme on **“Economic Development and International Relations: Issues for Poverty Alleviation Efforts in Nepal”** on March 1, 2010 at NCWA Seminar Hall, Pulchowk. Dr Rajendra Bahadur Shrestha on expert on the economic affairs of Nepal, shed light on the said topic on the occasion.

**Activities of 2009-2010**

**On the occasion  
of  
the 63<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary of  
the Nepal Council of World Affairs  
We offer our heartiest felicitations  
and best wishes for all success**

Ram Lal Shrestha  
Founder President  
ICTC Group



**ICTC Pvt. Ltd. , House.No. 468, ICTC Bldg., Street Hattisar, GPO  
Box 660, Kathmandu, Nepal, Tel: +97714434895, Email:  
info@ictc.com.np, website: <http://www.ictc.com.np>**

