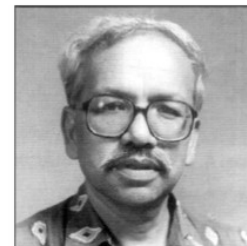


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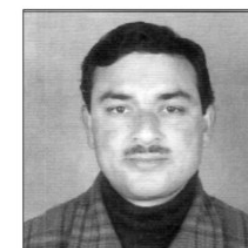
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# Nepal Council of World Affairs

## नेपाल विश्व सम्बन्ध परिषद्



## Diamond Jubilee 2007

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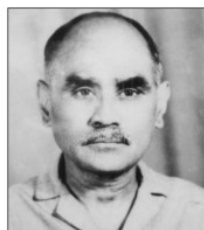
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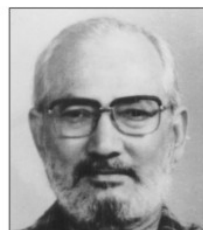
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## Foreword

We are pleased to mark the happy occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Nepal Council of World Affairs (NCWA). During the past 60 years, Nepal has undergone various political transformations coming down to the present political dispensation of eight political parties making their continued efforts to arrive at an all-agreed political system through the election to the Constitution Assembly in few months to come. Similarly the world has also witnessed political changes and socio-economic transformations soon after the uncertain afteryears of the Second World. Today, the world is indeed ridden with complex interdependence visibly brought in by the globalization process and interstate political interactions and other concomitant developments taking place around the world. Undoubtedly the world is now passing through intricacies. The situations around the world not only demand but also deserve more attention of the people to have greater understanding of global development with care and caution.

In the context of the recently evolving national and international scenarios, the Council has focused its attention towards both domestic and external issues and events appropriately that affect our national life. This council has, over the years, concentrated its efforts on creating awareness among the interested people and organizing appropriate programmes that could be helpful in seeking solutions to various internal and external problems facing Nepal.

More significantly, NCWA is conscious of its primary objective to contribute to the establishment of peace by enhancing better understanding and promoting mutual cooperation among nations of the world. Our other purpose is also concerned with human development and welfare without fulfillment of which no durable peace and security could be expected. To meet these noble purposes NCWA has been organizing various talk programmes, seminars, inhouse deliberations addressed by knowledgeable persons, foreign dignitaries, diplomats, academicians etc. from Nepal and various parts of the world. We believe all those who attended them appreciate our programmes. In fact, there will be no debate that NCWA has, since its initial years, rendered useful services to the Nepali society. We hope it will be in service as a public forum for deliberations and discussions in the years to come.

We are indebted to all the past presidents and executive members of the Council who have selflessly contributed to make this public forum well known. In the meantime, we can't remain silent without expressing our thanks to all the members of the Council whose supports and sympathy have encouraged us to continue good works.

We express our hearty thanks to the Editorial Board for the timely publication of the journal.

- Executive Committee

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Editorial Board

## ADDRESS TO THE NEPAL COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS ON THE OCCASION OF ITS 59<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY

- Mr. K.P. Sharma Oli\*

I feel it a great pleasure to have been invited by the Nepal Council of World Affairs to be among this distinguished gathering. I congratulate the Council on its 59<sup>th</sup> birthday and wish it all the best in the years to come. Nepal Council of World Affairs deserves our commendation for being a forum for academic discussion on Nepal's foreign policies vis-a-vis contemporary world affairs for almost six decades.

I think it is duly pertinent to say few words on some domestic political issues in such a gathering where luminaries from various walks of life are present. The historic People's Movement has proved the invincibility of people's power and restored sovereignty upon Nepali people. The House of Representatives is reinstated as a result of glorious victory of People's Movement.

As you all are aware, Government is engaged in serious talks with the Maoists to bring an end to the decade old problem. The first round of peace talk has been held, 25 point code of conduct has been signed, and there are informal contacts with the Maoists. We are moving towards positive direction with a deep sense of commitment and determination to bring the lasting peace, stability and progress in the country. There are rays of hope among Nepali people, though threats to hard won democracy are in no way disappeared from the scene. We have taken several initiatives to institutionalize democratic process, restore peace and stability, restart the development process derailed and ensure that our efforts bear fruits to the common people living in the nook and corner of country.

We are living in time of great importance. Politics, governance structure and system, culture and society are on the way of paradigm shift in their content and context. Feudal values and rustic traditional paradigms are being forced to give way to democratic and modern values, thinking patterns in Nepali

\* Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mr. Oli made this statement at the Nepal Council of World Affairs on June 12, 2006.

society. We need to broaden our vision and sharpen our minds to sail our nation towards peace, progress and prosperity.

This government represents the very interest of Nepali people reflected in the People's Movement. The restoration of peace is our immediate responsibility. For this, we are flexible to accommodate Maoist's demands as long as it would not hamper the general interest of Nepali people. We have no other priority and guiding principle than the general interest of Nepali people.

We know that our course ahead is full of bends and potholes. Peacemaking and peace building process often follow arduous and serpentine routes. We have had enough of fratricide and destruction. We have had enough of economic setbacks. Now, time has come to set our step towards harmony and inclusion of dissatisfied voice so that we would be able to establish lasting peace and prosperity.

It is vividly clear that, in the past, foreign policy remained a business of a few. The presence of people in policy making was never a considered factor in the past. The changed context urges us to set new trend not only in foreign policy formulation but also in understanding, attitude and behavior of political leaders, while implementing foreign policies. We will use our foreign policy regime to promote democracy.

Nepal has remained a responsible citizen of international community for many decades. We have no animosity towards any one. Secrecy has become a thing of the past in the conduct of foreign relations of the democratic Nepal, transparency is the present. The foreign policy of country is a matter of interest of far and wide. People have every right to play role in formulation of foreign policy. No person or institution is free from scrutiny of sovereign people in democratic set up. For this, attitudes and behaviors of policy makers need timely changes in tune with the changing needs of time.

The geopolitics of nation is one of the permanent variables. We continue to uphold the value of world peace and mutual interest and we change our locus and focus of foreign policy implementations putting the interest of people at the helm.

The world has seen many unprecedented transformations after the great setback fell on the social political system. After the disintegration of the former USSR, the bipolar world has become almost unipolar, though, there are other power centers which are also emerging with great potentialities that help maintain power equations in the regional and global politics. However, we do not want to be floated into any power stream rather we put our own judgment and conviction in every matter on its own merit.

Our friendly relations with our neighbors will further be consolidated in days ahead on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual interest. We are always eager to deepen our relations with other countries of the region and the world and at the same time we are ready to enhance our diplomatic relations with every nation in the globe. Prime minister has just concluded a successful visit to India. I consider the goodwill and gesture shown by the Government and people of India as unprecedented in this time of need. India has clearly and categorically recognized the needs and aspirations of the Nepali people. The democratic government of Nepal is committed to pursue relations with our neighbors and all friendly countries of the world on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual respect.

We need to refurbish our blemished image in international arena. We need to ensure that there would not be a single case of human rights violation from state agencies in our country. This government will leave no stone unturned to reestablish Nepal's image as a human right champion country. We want to keep our head high in international community as a civilized and responsible citizen.

Nepal puts her unflinching support to the Charter of the United Nations. We respect Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (*Panchsheel*) in our international dealings. Nepal strongly pleads for transit rights of the land – locked countries. As an invariant player in international politics, Nepal served in the Security Council of the United Nations two times (1969-70, 1988-89) in the capacity of Non – Permanent Member. Nepal has again put her candidature for the post of Non – Permanent Member of the Security Council for the period 2007-08. Nepal believes in value of world peace, and international laws. In today's interdependent world, seclusion is almost impossible. Nepal has joined the World Trade Organization with a view to integrate her economy into the world economy so that she could accrue benefits from the globalization process. Economic issues have become the prominent field of diplomacy. We believe that our association with

regional groupings SAARC and BIMSTEC will be instrumental to usher member countries into progress and prosperity.

Nepal is in favor of complete and total disarmament to make our world more secure and stable. No one can ignore the complex technicalities of dismantling of the sophisticated weapons, but, it is not impossible deed if one adheres to commitment and determination. Neither the hegemonism and interference, nor the jingoism and hatred are helpful for creating peaceful world. No outsider has right to decide the fate of sovereign country.

Continuous division between North and South needs serious consideration from both sides. The exclusion of South from the mainstream of global development process may harm the entire globe. Thus, we feel the need of enhanced level cooperation between North and South to fill the yawning chasm. Further, we also stress on South-South cooperation.

The problem of Bhutanese refugees in Nepal has remained unresolved for a decade and half. We are simply against human right violations and ethnic cleansing. Nepal provided her shelter to Bhutanese refugees on the humanitarian ground. Basically, this problem is between Bhutanese Government and her people. However, we also have some stake since refugees are residing in our land. We believe that Bhutan will show matching flexibility to make a bold decision to take her people back in a dignified and honorable way.

Finally, I would like to thank, once again, the Nepal Council of World Affairs for organizing this timely interaction. I thank you all for giving your attention.

## RECONSTRUCTION OF POST CONFLICT NEPAL : HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN HELP

- Mr. Kul C. Gautam\*

It is so wonderful to be back in Nepal at this time of momentous changes when the people of this country have surprised the whole world and taken their destiny in their own hands.

After a decade of violent conflict and centuries of isolation and feudalism, which kept Nepal towards the bottom of most indicators of development and democracy, it was such a relief and inspiration to witness the extraordinary burst of people power in the peaceful jana-andolan of 2006.

The events of the last two months—the historic proclamations during decisions of the SPA government of the parliament, the courageous commitment of CPN-Maoists to join the political mainstream, and the vigilance of civil society to safeguard the gains of the popular movement – continue to amaze and inspire us all.

While we celebrate these exhilarating political developments, we are all mindful that none of these have yet changed the material reality and deprivation of the Nepali people.

A characteristic of Nepal and of South Asia in general – in contrast to Southeast Asia – is that we are so obsessed with politics that the economic agenda is often left as an afterthought.

All our political parties, including the Maoists, and civil society are full of ideas on politics but they rarely present well-thought out and coherent proposals on economic and development issues.

Thus, neither the 12 point understanding, nor the 25 point code of conduct, nor the 8 point agreement, offer any specifics on improving the people's livelihoods.

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\* Assistant Secretary General of UN and Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF Mr. Gautam presented his views to the Council on June 23, 2006



The focus on security, political and constitutional issues so far is completely understandable, but it will soon need to be matched by an even greater focus on issues of reconstruction and development.

Pretty soon the exhilaration of political revolution will wear off and people will be looking for the fruits of peace and democracy in terms of improved livelihoods and basic services.

And if those fruits of peace and democracy do not materialize soon enough, people will be disenchanted and disillusioned.

In the coming years, managing the revolution of people's rising expectations might become an even bigger challenge for Nepal than perhaps managing the arms or the constitutional and political processes.

In fact, these are all inter-related.

Worldwide experience of countries in post-conflict transition suggests that consolidation of peace, political empowerment and reconstruction and development need to be planned and executed simultaneously or in close sequence.

In my remarks this evening I will not comment much on the political process, as that seems to be at the top everybody's agenda and a constant hot topic of our national discourse. Instead I will focus on peace-building, reconstruction and development.

As in other post-conflict societies, two types of insecurity are likely to be the greatest challenge for peace and development in Nepal.

First, the insecurity caused by remnants of armed groups, proliferation of small arms, and poorly managed disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process.

Many countries revert back to conflict and a wave of criminality just a few years after a successful peace settlement, when the DDR process is poorly handled.

And Second insecurity caused by human deprivation and lack of basic services, which needs to be tackled through carefully planned relief, reconstruction and development programmes to meet people's basic needs.

The international community can play a helpful role in both of these areas by bringing to bear lessons from experience of other countries, by providing technical support, mobilizing financial resources and in the case of the United Nations, assisting Nepal to better manage and coordinate international support.

However, a word of caution and humility is warranted here. Unlike most conflicts in other parts of the world, Nepal's conflict is completely home - grown, and its resolution is also likely to be home - grown.

Efforts by the international community to help resolve the conflict in recent years were largely ineffective and unsuccessful.

Indeed at the height of the people's movement the international community, including the Kathmandu - based diplomatic missions, seriously misjudged the popular mood and people's aspirations.

Following the people's movement, Nepalis have surprised the whole world by taking many dramatic and decisive steps to reconcile their differences to resolve the conflict, well beyond what conflict resolution experts could have imagined or recommended.

Learning from this, it would be prudent for the international community to show much humility and offer to help a Nepali - designed reconstruction and development programme, and not to import imitate programme packages that have been applied elsewhere.

Unlike other countries where peace is brokered by outsiders - and DDR and RRR came as part of a donor - supported package deal - Nepal's conflict was made in Nepal, and its post - conflict reconstruction and development programme too should best be development by Nepalis.

Fortunately, there are enough Nepalis with the necessary talent, skills and competence to formulate and execute such plans. If necessary, Nepalis can also reach out to and access the expertise of a growing number of highly skilled expatriate, non - resident Nepalis who would be only too willing to offer their helping hand at this hour of special need and opportunity in their homeland.

Also unlike most other donor - driven and expert - led reconstruction and

development plans, Nepal needs to reflect the democratic and participatory aspirations of its people by involving them in designing reconstruction and development plans.

Democracy means consulting ordinary people, letting them voice their views and vision, empowering them to articulate their priorities and shape their future.

Experts – national as well as international – can propose ideas, offer options, stimulate debate, but we should create democratic forums for people's input, especially for local and community development activities.

In this context, the proposed Naya Nepal development forum and visioning exercise planned by some of our civil society leaders for later this year, is an excellent initiative.

Because to the ordinary people, the issues of livelihoods and basic services are of paramount importance, political parties, including the CPN-Maoist, should assign their most talented leaders to the task of formulating ambitious post-conflict reconstruction and development plans.

It is not too early to begin to develop such plans, with options, so that these can be presented to the people soon after the country comes to a consensus of the political and constitutional issues.

If we wait till the political processes are over to begin developing reconstruction and development plans, much precious time will be lost, people's patience will run thin, popular disenchantment will set in, thus creating an inauspicious start for our new loktantrik democracy.

So preparatory home – work needs to be started forthwith, but it would be best not to rush to implement new and untested programmes that have not been a subject of some national and even local debate.

On the other hand, we should already begin scaling up certain development and relief activities that are non – controversial, that are proven to work, and that can be conducive to meeting people's most urgent needs and consolidating peace.

These would include, for example, certain basic health services, education, and child – specific demobilization, disarmament and reintegration activities.

Without being overly prescriptive, it is possible to already outline what might be some of the key components of a post – conflict reconstruction and development plan for Nepal.

I see key components of such a plan:

1. Massive expansion of basic social services.
2. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.
3. Local development activities through bloc grants.
4. Targeted programmes for disparity reduction.
5. Upgrading of physical infrastructure, and
6. Creating a conducive environment for investment by the private sector, NRNs, and FDI.

Let me discuss each of these briefly.

On the expansion of basic services, in spite of the conflict, Nepal is not on track to achieve several of the Millennium Development Goals. Some child survival programmes, such as vitamin A and measles immunization have impressive nation – wide coverage.

Programmes against other big child killers such as family and community – based pneumonia, diarrhea and neonatal care too are promising. These simple and practical health interventions are effective, low – cost and enjoy the support of all parties, including the Maoists, and are contributing significantly to achieving MDG 4.

Similarly there are effective safe motherhood interventions including emergency obstetric care and skilled birth attendants that could make pregnancy and motherhood safer and help achieve MDG 5.

Nepal has made impressive progress in drinking water supply and there are some good models of sanitation services run by community level water user groups. These need to be re – energized and expanded, helping Nepal to achieve MDG7.

All these programmes – and several others – should be scaled up, paying particular attention to ensure that disadvantaged communities are not neglected, but given special priority.

According to the latest analysis of the MDGs by the UN country team, Nepal is likely to reach most of the MDGs, but I feel sad to note that the goal of universal access to primary education is unlikely to be reached even by 2015. That is a shame.

Education is the most enabling and empowering of all goals, and we must do everything possible to ensure that we do not fail to achieve this goal. There are several good examples of education programmes in Nepal that are ready to be taken to scale.

Unfortunately, education programmes and educational institutions have been unduly politicized in Nepal. Governments in the past allowed education programmes to be used to glorify the king and the royal regime. And the Maoist school curriculum in their base areas glorifies violence and emphasizes political indoctrination and military training from the youngest ages.

Frequent disruption of schools by student unions of all parties, but especially the Maoists, has deprived children of their right to education.

We need to create a national consensus on depoliticizing education, especially at the primary level. As UNICEF and many NGOs have argued, the sanctity of schools as zones of peace should be honoured. We should make schools child – friendly, non – discriminatory and violence free. And expand such schools in massive scale.

Turning now to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, DDR programmes are part of all post – conflict peace – building and reconstruction plans.

To move away from a culture of violence to a culture of peace, Nepal will need a strong DDR programme.

Some elements of DDR, such as security sector reform, decommissioning of adult troops, and power sharing agreements among the conflicting parties may have to wait till the conclusion of the peace process.

But a full-scale *child* DDR must be pursued as matter of urgency even in the middle of a war.

Child recruitment into armed forces and groups is illegal in international law. Therefore child demobilization and reintegration is a human rights issue and is not contingent on any other political negotiations.

Under the child rights convention and statute of international criminal court, use of children in armed conflict does not only mean child soldiers carrying guns, but it encompasses such activities as abduction of children from

schools, homes, markets and streets; using children as cooks, messengers, porters, informers and performers in cultural activities aimed at harnessing support for armed conflict.

Under such definition, Nepal is rife with the abuse of children in armed conflict. Working closely with organizations with expertise in child DDR, programmes should be initiated to prevent such abuse and to rehabilitate child victims of conflict.

So many children die or are injured because of landmines, socket bombs and other explosive devices. Mine awareness education and a vigorous programme to stop the proliferation of small arms and light weapons must be made part of DDR programme. Failure to do so will lead to increased criminality and gang violence as we are already witnessing in Nepal.

A key issue of DDR in Nepal would be what to do with the Maoist combatants and the need to reform and possibly downsize the Nepal Army for peacetime needs of the country.

Given Nepal's geopolitical situation, resolution of any conflict with our mighty neighbours in only conceivable through peaceful diplomacy. The main role of the military in today's Nepal is therefore to help keep internal law and order, to deal with internal rebellions, to help with international peace keeping operations and to assist in natural disasters.

In light of this, there maybe some room for reducing military expenditure and downsizing the Nepalese army, basically for two key functions – one to offer support for international peacekeeping and the other to deal with rescue efforts in natural disasters.

Internal law and order should normally be handled by a well-trained and equipped police force, like in Costa Rica, a peaceful country without a military.

But we must recognize that military service, both in Nepal and in the Gurkha troops abroad, is an important source of employment and income for many impoverished families in Nepal. Great care should be taken to ensure that any downsizing of the army does not lead to increased unemployment, impoverishment and discontent which can be very destabilizing.



A major part of post conflict DDR in Nepal should therefore be to create new employment opportunities through skill training, loans and financing for starting small enterprises and businesses by former soldiers, including the Maoist ex-combatants, as part of long-term demilitarization of Nepali society.

A well – organized placement in foreign employment which is very popular among unemployed Nepali youth, could be part of the DDR package. This might be a unique programme that some international donors might be willing to support.

In the short term, when peace returns, consideration should be given to transforming parts of both the Nepal Army and Maoist PLA into civilian development corps to help with Nepal's post – conflict reconstruction and development.

Managing the Maoist PLA poses a particular challenge. The Maoist proposal to merge the PLA and NA would seem to be problematic on two counts. First, it would seem objectionable to have an ideologically indoctrinated contingent loyal to one political party becoming part of a national army. Second, at a time when we are trying to downsize the army, expanding it by adding additional contingents seems illogical.

Nevertheless, since we have the reality of the existence of the Maoist PLA and there is a need to accommodate them as part of the peace process, creative solutions should be found, especially if the Maoists renounce armed conflict as a legitimate method for bringing political change in a democracy.

For example, a part of the solution that might be a win – win proposition relates to the large number of women in the Maoist – PLA and militia.

Special provision could be made to enlist some of the women in the PLA into the Nepal Army, provide them high quality professional training, and give them special assignments, for example as part of the Nepalese contingents in UN peace keeping operations where there is big demand for women troops and officers.

Such an arrangement could also help bring about greater gender diversity in the Nepalese Army which is heavily male dominated.

As Nepal is going to need several thousand additional primary school

teachers in the coming years, and women teachers are in short supply, some of the Maoist women in the PLA or the militia could be recruited as teachers, provided special training and sent off to areas where there is teacher shortage.

The above would only be feasible as part of a peace settlement accompanied by a solemn commitment by all parties not to use violence as an instrument for political change.

The third component of a post – conflict reconstruction plan I suggest is local development activities through bloc grants.

Poverty eradication and empowerment of people and communities are the declared aims of the government as well as the key demands of the Maoists. A focus on these objectives can provide the essential common ground for peace and reconciliation.

The locus of our poverty eradication activities should be at the community level in Nepal's far – flung villages. But all too often most development programmes are concentrated in the capital city and a few other major towns, either by design or by default.

Among the on – going development activities whose investment funds go directly to local communities are those from the Poverty Alleviation Fund and the provision of direct grants to village development committees (VDCs) that was started in the mid – 1990s as the "Let Us Build Our Own Village" programme.

Because of the ongoing conflict and dissolution of VDCs and DDCs, the "Build Our Own Village" programme has been disrupted. But its principles remain sound. Thanks to these bloc grants, VDCs implemented a variety of local development activities ranging from construction of schools, health posts, local roads and trails, drinking water supply schemes, to occasional payment of teachers' salaries.

The total budget allocation for this programme for all of Nepal's 4000 VDCs was a very modest NRs. 2 billion. it is doubtful that any other development expenditure reached so many villages and benefited so many people in Nepal.

Even if there was some leakage and inefficient use of some of these funds, a much higher percentage of these funds reached and benefited ordinary people than almost any other comparable investment.

When elected local governments are reestablished, Nepal should consider progressively increasing the VDC grant to double, triple or even quadruple the amount originally allocated per VDC. Let this be seen as one of our key peace dividends for the people.

In proposing the quadrupling of such allocation, I would suggest some significant modification in the purposes and manner of utilizing these funds, including the introduction of a system of incentives for villages to upgrade their infrastructure and basic social services with measurable indicators.

For example, we could institute a system of classification of all VDCs of Nepal into 3 or 4 categories based on some measurable indicators such as the percentage of girls enrolled in primary school or female literacy, access to clean drinking water, contraceptive prevalence, infant mortality rate, etc.

Some of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), duly adapted to Nepal's realities, would be ideal candidates for village development indicators for such a programme.

The programme could be developed in ways that would promote a healthy competition among neighbouring villages, ilakas and districts to upgrade themselves from one category to the next using the agreed indicators of MDGs.

A system of rewards and recognition could be built into the monitoring and evaluation scheme to encourage VDCs to accelerate their graduation from one level to the higher category.

Funding allocations under this scheme would be fairly standardized and comparable across all VDCs. However, additional programmes could be developed to give particular priority to those regions and communities that are disproportionately disadvantaged, such as the mid and far western development regions, which are characterized by high levels of poverty, low human development, and deep gender disparities.

Using direct development grants to all VDCs to encourage them to promote goal - oriented, indicator - based development planning and implementation could be a very special way for Nepal to pursue the Millennium Development Goals.

This would also be a meaningful way in which relevant UN agencies and other donors could support Nepal's efforts to promote community - based,

results - oriented development outcomes.

If properly designed and executed, such programme could attract considerable international support, as the donor community is fully supportive of the MDGs.

I would suggest that such a programme of poverty alleviation, reaching out directly to local communities and empowering them, be made the cutting edge of a major post - conflict national reconstruction programme that becomes part of a new era of peace, reconciliation and dynamic development in the country.

The 4<sup>th</sup> component of post - conflict reconstruction plan involves targeted programmes for disparity reduction.

It is widely felt that most development programmes have failed to adequately reach and uplift the most deprived communities of Nepal - the dalits, janajatis, madhesis, etc. And girls and women have not benefited from development efforts in equal measure with boys and men.

Affirmative action is needed to reach and uplift these population groups. A series of programmes need to be developed that are specifically targeted to reduce disparities and promote inclusion, but avoid segregation, ethnocentrism, and dependency.

Turning now to upgrading of physical infrastructure, if Nepal is to become a prosperous nation and develop to its full potential, heavy investment will need to be made in its basic physical infrastructure development.

Four areas of priority would be - development of hydropower and local electrification; a transport grid that penetrates into all parts of Nepal; information and communication network that connects all people and communities; and development of tourism as major income earner.

While the state has the responsibility to invest in major infrastructure projects, the private sector and foreign direct investment can contribute much if the state helps create a conducive environment.

Among potential investors we need to look to the growing number of non - resident Nepalis abroad whose remittances have become a key pillar of our national economy and whose potential for increased investment is bound to grow.

It would be in Nepal's interest to provide most - favoured facilities to attract

investment by expatriate Nepalis, as is the case in many other countries.

Nepal can count on generous support from the international community for its post – conflict reconstruction and development.

But donors as well as private investors will look to Nepal to create an environment of good governance and investor – friendly policies.

In this context, actions, not just words, of the CPN-Maoist will be carefully watched and monitored. A state where para-military groups can demand "donations" and impose parallel taxes from individuals, businesses and companies, is not going to generate investor confidence.

A state where locally improvised "people's court" mete out summary justice does not meet the standards of rule of law and respect for human rights.

The old ideological rhetoric denouncing imperialists, expansionists, reactionaries, bourgeois capitalists, feudal class enemies and the like maybe good for arousing revolutionary passion among one's supporters, but it does not create an atmosphere of trust, tolerance and respect that are essential elements of a pluralistic democracy and investor – friendly economy.

To the credit of CPN-Maoist, they seem to have undergone a deep soul – searching, recognized the mistakes and follies of previous Marxist – Leninist – Maoist communist governments and movements, and come to the conclusion that they need to adapt to the norms of competitive, multi – party democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

A logical next step of this realization would be for the CPN – Maoist to completely renounce bullets in favour of ballots as the only legitimate method for effecting political change. That would greatly speed up the peace process in Nepal which looks very promising but still fragile at present.

Nepal's other political parties too proclaim that they have learned from their mistakes of the past, and will adhere to norms of good governance in the future.

As action speaks louder than words, Nepalis as well as friends of Nepal will be looking for signs of genuine transformation in the behaviour of our political parties, including the Maoists.

The jana – andolan of 2006 showed that the people of Nepal cannot be fooled by empty promises, and will not tolerate corrupt and oppressive behaviour

from any quarters – whether it is the monarch, the Maoist or other political parties.

I believe we can best honour the spirit of the historic jana – andolan and the sacrifice of our martyrs, by focusing on what unites us all, and having the courage to discard what divides us – even if these are our deeply – held ideological beliefs.

We have had enough fighting, hatred, violence and destruction in this country. Let us now unite behind a common cause of peace and prosperity.

And when our own personal or party's beliefs become a source of conflict rather than unity, let us be guided by universally agreed principles of democracy, human rights and good governance.

We all say, we love our country. We are proud to invoke *janani janmabhumischa swargadapi gariyesi*. If that is really the case, let the true test of our patriotism be not to try to prove that my idea or my ideology is superior to yours, but to try to find common ground among the rich diversity of our idea that can unite us all in the pursuit of a Nepal that we all want to see as *sundara, santa, bishal*.

On the Happy Occasion of Diamond Jubilee  
of

The Nepal Council of World Affairs

**We extend our best wishes and all success**

Agriculture Development Bank

Central office

Ramshah Path, Kathmandu

Ph. No. 977-1-4262613, 4262797

**On the happy Occasion of  
Diamond Jubilee  
of  
The Nepal Council of World Affairs**

**Our Hearty Felicitations**



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## NEPAL – JAPAN RELATIONS

*- H. E. Mr. Tsutomu Hiraoka\**

It is my honour and great privilege to have been given the opportunity to speak a few words on "Nepal – Japan Relations" in this talk programme organized by Nepal Council of World Affairs on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Nepal – Japan Diplomatic Relations.

I wish to extend my special thanks to Prof. Dr. Pradeep K. Khadka and Nepal Council of World Affairs for organizing this programme to mark the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and Nepal.

I sincerely hope that today's programme will be a basis to create a conducive atmosphere to further enhance cordial and friendly relations between our two countries in the coming 50 years.

The programme is also opportune, as Mr. Shinyo Abe has been chosen yesterday as the President of the ruling party Liberal Democratic Party. He will duly be elected as the Prime Minister at the Diet and form the new cabinet.

On September 1, 1956 Notes agreeing to establish diplomatic relations between Japan and Nepal at Ambassadorial level were exchanged in New Delhi between H. E. Mr. Seiji Yoshizawa, Ambassador of Japan to India and Mr. Bharat Raj Rajbhandari, Charge d' Affaires a.i. of Nepal to India.

According to a research made by Mr. Hojun Kikuchi, a diplomat who has served at the Embassy of Japan in Nepal 3 times since 1971, the background on how the diplomatic relations between Japan and Nepal started was as follows:

After the Second World War Japan regained its sovereignty on September 8, 1951 by signing San Francisco Treaty with most of the United Nations.

One year later on May 7, 1952 Nepalese Ambassador to India called on Mr. Kawasaki, Charge d' Affaires of Japan and made a proposal to open

\* Japanese Ambassador to Nepal, Mr. Hiraoka, expressed his views at the Council to mark the Golden Jubilee of diplomatic relations between Nepal and Japan on September 21, 2006.

diplomatic relations between Japan and Nepal and revive their prewar trade relations.

However, in early February 1953, Nepali side informed Japanese side that she would like to reserve its previous proposal to open diplomatic relations with Japan for the time being. It was anticipated that international political environment surrounding Nepal at that time was the reason for this reservation.

Three years later in 1956, Seifiro Yoshizawa, Japanese Ambassador to India visited Kathmandu to attend King Mahendra's coronation of 2<sup>nd</sup> May. During the visit, the Ambassador met Foreign Minister, Prime Minister and the King himself. At that time Ambassador Yoshizawa informed them that Japanese people cherish a special feeling towards Nepal as a country of the birthplace of Lord Buddha. Also there was a considerable amount of trade, mainly import from Japan, between Japan and Nepal before their war. Further, Ambassador Yoshizawa expressed his high appreciation to Nepalese cooperation, kindness and special consideration given to Japanese expedition to Mt. Manaslu and sounded the view of Nepal to open diplomatic relations with Japan.

In response, on July 24, 1956, Nepalese Ambassador to India called on Japanese Ambassador Yoshizawa in New Delhi and informed him that Nepalese Government decided to establish the diplomatic relations with Japan and the announcement of the decision of the two governments to establish diplomatic relation were made on July 28<sup>th</sup> simultaneously in Tokyo and Kathmandu.

After the necessary legal procedures were finalized, the exchange of Notes with regard to the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and Nepal were signed at Japanese Ambassador's official residence in New Delhi, on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1956.

Japan was the seventh country with which Nepal established its diplomatic relations following UK, India, USA, France, China and Soviet Union successively. Prior to this Nepal became member of the United Nations in December 1955.

Respective Ambassadors in New Delhi were accredited to each other's country as Ambassadors, pending the appointment of residential Ambassador.

In 1965, Nepalese Embassy was established in Tokyo and H. E. Mr. Bharat Raj Rajbhandari, who signed the Notes establishing Diplomatic Relations 9 years ago was appointed as Ambassador of Nepal to Japan. Similarly, Japanese Embassy was established in Kathmandu in February 1968 and H. E. Mr. Hidemichi Kira assumed his office as the first residential Ambassador of Japan to Nepal.

On this occasion I wish to express my sincere tribute to H. E. Mr. Bharat Raj Rajbhandari who to our sadness passed away this July. H. E. Mr. Bharat Raj Rajbhandari, together with Ambassador Kira, has contributed greatly to consolidate relations between Japan and Nepal at its initial stage. During tenure of office of Ambassador Rajbhandari, the late King Birendra as then Crown Prince paid three-month study visit to Tokyo University, Japan.

Since the establishment of Diplomatic Relations, relations between Japan and Nepal have always remained very cordial and friendly.

Japan's economic assistance to Nepal began with acceptance of several Nepali trainees under the Colombo Plan in 1954. Loan aid and Grant aid started in 1969 and 1970 respectively soon after the opening of the Embassies. Technical cooperation started from 1970.

Then onward, Japan, as a reliable development partner, has been continuously extending economic and technical cooperation for the upliftment of socio – economic development of Nepal and it has expanded to cover about all fields of development, the field of health, education, agriculture, energy, transport, drinking water, environment conservation and so on. Until Japan's Fiscal Year 2005, the Government of Japan has provided a total assistance of 287 billion yen to Nepal which consists of grants 170 billion yen, technical cooperation 53 billion yen and loans 64 billion yen.

However, the history of our friendly and cordial relations started long before the establishment of diplomatic relations, in 1899 when Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi, the first recorded Japanese visitor to Nepal, entered this Himalayan nation on his way to Tibet in search of holy Buddhist scriptures.

Three years later, in 1902, the Government of Nepal sent eight promising young students to Japan to study various courses in Engineering and Technology. They returned to Nepal in 1905 and rendered useful and

important service in the development of Nepal. Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi upon request from Prime Minister Chandra Shumsher Rana observed their stay in Japan. Incidentally, Big size chestnuts, Chrysanthemum, Persimmons and Wisteria which are common in Nepal today, especially in Kathmandu, were brought back to Nepal by these students.

Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi, impressed by culture of Nepal and who was accorded great hospitality by Nepal, in 1905 on the occasion of his third visit Nepal, wrote a long letter to Prime Minister Chandra Shumsher Rana which is still well preserved in the Madan Pustakalaya.

In the letter, he propounded the unity of Asia and Pan – Asianism and described Nepal as the birthplace of Lord Gautam Buddha, who spread the precious teaching of "Enlightenment and Moderation." Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi, believed that Nepal deserved the opportunity to benefit from Japanese science and technology, and offered several suggestions for the development of the country. They include suggestions covering wide areas such as establishment of vocational schools on main sectors, development of industries and mining, electricity generations, establishment of banks, construction of trunk roads, promotion of trade, modernization of administration, detailed education system and many other programmes. Emphasis was on promotion of education. He also added that Japanese cooperation could be obtained for the implementation of these suggestions. Rev. Kawaguchi was thus the first Japanese to consider the possibility of extending Japanese cooperation in the development of Nepal.

When we compare these two episodes of encounter between Japan and Nepal, first on the occasion of Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi's first ever-Japanese visit to Nepal and second on the occasion of the establishment of diplomatic relations fifty years later in 1956, there lies certain similarity.

There exists goodwill on both sides. It was not a hostile encounter nor it was for economic advantages. Nepali side and Japanese side are responding to each other through goodwill. It was so when Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi visited Nepal. 50 years later at the time of establishment of diplomatic relations in 1956 it was same. And even today after another 50 years since establishment of diplomatic relations the pattern is still quite similar.

In actual terms, Japanese export to Nepal is around 2500 million Japanese yen per year. Import is around 760 million Japanese yen. This is not very large compared to total trade Japan performs around the world. Japan's total

export worldwide is 66 trillion Japanese yen per year and import is 57 trillion Japanese yen. Likewise Japanese direct investment in Nepal is approximately 1500 million Japanese yen, which is also small compared to total Japanese foreign investment. Japan's total direct investment worldwide is 38.6 trillion yen. A total gross foreign asset is 434 trillion yen. Net asset is 186 trillion yen. From national security aspect Nepal is geographically too far apart from Japan for Japan's Homeland security. Also, Nepal is an inland country and does not have access to a vital sea-lane on which trading country like Japan relies very much.

Yet our relations have been very cordial and friendly, and over the years this cordial relationship between the two countries has grown manifold to cover diverse fields.

Especially, we enjoy multiple – layered exchange among people. The exchange of visit by high – level dignitaries in years has contributed to deepening mutual understanding. As for the people to people exchange, Japanese tourists have become the second largest group visiting Nepal reaching forty – one thousand in the year 2000, even though it has temporarily decreased these days due to the conflict situation in the country.

There are many Japanese from private sector who frequently visit Nepal to cooperate with improvement of welfare of people of Nepal, such as AIUEO Circle Association which has built so far 14 schools in Nepal and now starting to build the 15<sup>th</sup> school which is just one example among many.

Japanese business association, Nippon – Keidanren International Cooperation Center (NICC) have been providing management training for Nepali business in collaboration with FNCCI. So far, nearly six hundred Nepali business people have received training through the program, more than eighty managers in Japan and five hundred managers in Nepal.

To explain this goodwill that exists between the people of two countries I have to point out historical and spiritual ties we enjoy as Asian nation.

A spiritual bond has existed between the two countries since the introduction of Buddhism to Japan in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Also there are commonality of culture between the two countries. The common view expressed by Japanese repeated visitors to Nepal is that scenes and lives in villages of Nepal resembles that of Japan and calls nostalgia. They talk of the rice planting at paddy fields or views of villages backed by the mountains. Also they talk about the culture of Nepal how people interact with each other, how they extend hospitality to visitors and so on.



Together with the fact that Japan and Nepal belong to same Asia, both of our countries share the value of democracy, fundamental Human Rights, peace and prosperity.

Interestingly, both countries, which are located at the opposite ends of Asia, also share the similarities in their modern history. Japan and Nepal had long closed the countries to outside world and had maintained secluded policy. Japan continued isolation policy for more than two centuries from 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century under feudal ruler called shogun. In the dynamism of the international politics, Japan finally opened up the country and restored the Imperial rule in mid – 19<sup>th</sup> century. Japan went through a series of reforms to modernize the country in the midst of Imperialistic power – politics of that time. It is said that this attempt of modernization impressed the then Nepali Prime Minister Dev Shumsher Rana and made him decide to send aforementioned eight students to study in Japan. They were the first student sent by Nepal abroad. After the Second World War, Japan has the new Constitution with democratic system. The Constitution of Nepal 1990 also envisions a democratic system. This point that Japan and Nepal followed same course of history should be taken into consideration when the two countries look at and try to understand each other.

In conclusion, relations between Japan and Nepal could be said as relations based on goodwill and mutual respect and that of "good – neighbour – diplomacy."

This relations stems from the fact that we belong to Asian countries and consequently share culture with each other. There also exists similarity in our modern history. On top of that the fact we share values of democracy, fundamental human rights, peace and prosperity plays a vital role as well.

I hope that based on this friendly relation both our countries could work together in this changing world as reliable partners making contribution towards peace and stability as well as towards development and prosperity which will consequently contribute to that of the Region and of Asia as a whole.

Today Nepal is going through very difficult time in her endeavour to consolidate democracy and realize permanent peace.

Japan strongly hopes this aspiration of the people of Nepal will bear fruits and Nepal will eventually achieve its goal.

Japan will be very happy to extend help in whatever way it can guided by the goodwill that exists between our two countries.

## RUSSIAN – NEPAL RELATIONS

- H.E. Andrey L. Trofimov\*

The Foreign policy aims being pursued by Russia and countries in Asia coincide in principle – we all want more security and predictability in the world. Asia is justly regarded among the main driving forces of world development, whose importance and role will grow in the foreseeable future. The significance of the Asian thrust for Russian interest will grow accordingly. Here as nowhere else our internal and foreign policy interests conjugate because without an economic basis there can be no strong foundation for our policy in this region. And it is directly connected with the state of affairs in the field of the socioeconomic, infrastructure and other development of Siberia and the Russian Far East.

A distinctive feature of Asia today is the rapid development of the integration processes. The growth of the number of the multilateral associations operating in the region is a vivid reflection of the tendency for collective decision – making (APEC, SAARC, SCO). All in all, there are more than ten such associations in Asia.

The above features of the Asian integration processes create an objective basis for the effective Russian presence in them, since we possess a strong potential for assisting the solution of the practical problems of the region and consistently uphold the fundamental rules of international law and principles of mutual benefit, the recognition and respect of the legal interests, national peculiarities and traditions of all members of the international community, cultures and religions.

Our Asian partners understand that not only Russia needs an economically mobile and politically stable Asia, but that Asia itself would gain with a stronger and more prosperous Russia. There now becomes increasingly obvious the considerations of a purely pragmatic nature: without the energy, scientific, technological and intellectual potential of Russia, it will be difficult for Asia as a minimum to achieve the aims of general economic prosperity, which is the fundamental idea of Asian integration.

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\* Russian Ambassador to Nepal, Mr. Trofimov, expressed his view on the occasion marking the 50<sup>th</sup> year of diplomatic relations between Nepal and Russian Federation on January 17, 2007

Russia has good relations with all Asia countries and South Asian countries in particular:

The friendship between Russia and Nepal has gone through different historical periods. It has been tested by time and deepened over the years. Ever since the establishment of the diplomatic relations between Nepal and Russia in 1956 our bilateral ties have been close, friendly and strong. We have enjoyed cordial ties irrespective of political systems and never had any difficulties, problems or conflicts. On the contrary, our countries have very close views on many international issues of today, share the basic principles of goodwill and non-interference into internal affairs of sovereign states.

The exchange of delegations at various levels has played an important role in bringing our nations closer together. During state visits and visits of high-level delegations, a number of important intergovernmental agreements were signed between our two countries which opened the way for technical and economic cooperation.

Many projects were completed in Nepal with the Soviet Union's assistance including Kanti Children's Hospital, Panauti Hydro project, Janakpur Cigarette Factory, Sugar factory, Agricultural tools factory, Portion of East-West Highway and some other projects. By 1980s our two countries reached the peak of economic cooperation. Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, we manage to retain our economic ties, though the potential of the Nepal-Russia cooperation is far from being exhausted.

For example, Russia can be a new big market for a wide range of Nepal's products such as carpets, handicrafts, ready – made garments, pashmina, medicinal herbs, and so forth. Organically grown Nepalese tea may also have a good market in Russia as the Russians are among biggest consumers of tea in the world. There are good prospects for Russia to export here helicopters, fertilizers, machine tools and technical know- how. There is further scope to expand trade, tourism and joint ventures between two countries.

Information seems to be one of the key factors in promoting trade between Nepal and Russia. In order to increase the awareness of existing business opportunities, different kinds of industrial and trade exhibitions could be most helpful. For example, the carpet fair which was held in Nepalese Embassy in Moscow 2 years ago proved to be successful. The Nepalese

carpet producers who took part in that fair sell now their products to Russia. There are also some plans to organize an exhibition of traditional Nepalese export goods in Moscow this year.

Besides, our countries should also continue to exchange visits of the delegations of the industrial and trading communities in order to reassess each other's economic potential in the context of the present-day reality. The Chambers of Commerce and Industry can also contribute to it by taking a leading role in providing the Nepalese business community with the latest information on Russia's economic potential. In this regard, I would like to mention the visit of the delegation of Makawanpur Chamber of Commerce and Industry to Russia last year.

During the 50 years of the diplomatic relations, a lot has also been achieved in the areas of culture and education. To this end the Russian Center of Science and Culture in Kathmandu proved to be very helpful. Since its foundation, the Center has been instrumental in promoting cultural relations between our two nations. In close cooperation with Mitra Kunj (Soviet/Russian universities alumni association), Nepal – Russia Friendship Association, Nepal – Russia Literary Association and Nepal – Russia Culture Association, the Center organizes seminars and workshops, talk programs and round tables on different topical issues relating to our two countries. Various literary and cultural programs, art exhibitions, drawing and dance competitions – all that serves for strengthening our bonds of friendship and mutual understanding.

In the field of education, Russia has become a popular destination for many young people from Nepal. About 6000 Nepalese have graduated from Russia's universities, some are still studying. The members of Mitra Kunj have a reputation of competent experts and reliable workers and are widely engaged in the public health sector, road and building construction, hydropower projects, science and education. They are also playing a significant role in cementing the friendship between Nepal and Russia

Thus Russia and Nepal have created a strong basis for further development of bilateral relations. As our Minister for Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov underlined in his message to Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Oli on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and Nepal which happened to be on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July last year, "Mutual sympathies existing between peoples of our countries create a favourable climate for further deepening of political

dialogue, closer interaction on the international arena, development of our ties in all fields". I am confident that guided by the previous experience of bilateral cooperation accumulated for half a century we can further expand our bilateral relations, upgrade them to a new, qualitatively higher level.

Russia wants to see friendly Nepal a peaceful, stable, democratic and successfully developing state and hopes that the Interim Constitution will open the way to a free and fair election to the Constituent Assembly. We sincerely wish Nepali people every success in its struggle for peace and prosperity.

## NEPAL – UK RELATIONS IN THE CHANGING CONTEXT

- H.E. Dr. Andrew Hall\*

The United Kingdom is a historic friend of Nepal. Our relations go back almost two hundred years. We share many international interests. My Embassy is working closely with all parties in support of the peace process and economic development. Our Department for International Development and the British Council are very active in Nepal. So I am pleased to have this opportunity to tell you a bit about how we see the relationship and what we are doing.

### The UK's strategic priorities

Let me begin by giving you quick outline of the framework within which we set our international priorities. We call it Active Diplomacy for a Changing World.

We have identified ten strategic international priorities for the UK over the next five to ten years. They underline how closely domestic and international policies are now linked. These priorities are, I believe, a pretty good summary of the external challenges Britain now faces. The Foreign Office's task, working with others, is to focus its resources on these priorities at home and abroad, and deliver them for government as a whole.

- Marking the world safer from global *terrorism* and *weapons of mass destruction*.
- Reducing the harm to the UK from international crime, including *drug trafficking*, people smuggling and money laundering.
- *Preventing and resolving conflict* through a strong international system.
- Building an effective and globally competitive *EU* in a secure neighborhood.

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\* British Ambassador to Nepal, Dr. Hall presented this paper to the Council on February 29, 2007

- Supporting the UK economy and business through an open and expanding *global economy, science and innovation* and secure *energy* supplies.
- Achieving *climate security* by promoting a faster transition to a sustainable, low carbon global economy.
- Promoting *sustainable development* and poverty reduction underpinned by *human rights*, democracy, good governance and protection of the environment.
- Managing migration and combating illegal immigration.
- Delivering high – quality support for British nationals abroad, in normal times and in crises.
- Ensuring the security and good governance of the UK's Overseas Territories.

There is an important practical consequence of this framework for my work here which I want to underline. There may be a great range of things apart from those I have mentioned which it would be desirable to do in terms of furthering UK – Nepal relations. But I am unable to allocate any resources, whether of staff or of budget, to any activities which are not in direct support of one of those strategic priorities. My Embassy's objectives have to be directly derived from the priorities. And the resources I can get depend on the relative importance of working with Nepal on these priorities, compared with working with other countries. So, for example, there is certainly work we could do with Nepal on drug trafficking. But I am unlikely to get any significant resource because it is a higher priority for our interests to work with countries like Afghanistan, where 90 percent of the heroin consumed in the UK is manufactured.

I want to focus today on two of the strategic priorities where we do regard Nepal as an important partner and where, therefore, we put the maximum amount of our efforts:

- Supporting conflict resolution and peace – building initiatives.
- Tackling Global Poverty.

There are clearly links between them. Poverty helps breed the conditions in which conflict is more likely, so it makes sense to work in both together. But they are among the most difficult questions for any government to take

action on. People are increasingly aware that we can only seriously deal with the causes of widespread poverty and instability at an international level. These are crosscutting issues, often flowing across borders. We recognize the devastating impacts that poverty and conflict can have. What has also changed is the extent to which these issues mobilize our citizens. People care about what happens in remote places, about appalling events. Television brings images into people's homes and governments need to respond.

### Conflict resolution and security

The signature last November of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement by the CPN (Maoist) and the Seven Party Alliance represented a new beginning, offering Nepal a unique opportunity which must be seized by everyone. After ten years of armed conflict in which some 13,000 people have lost their lives, the Nepalese people deserve a better future.

The UK wishes to do everything it can to underpin the peace process – while recognizing that it must be a Nepali-owned and Nepali-led peace process. We believe we can play a helpful role by doing our utmost to facilitate agreement among other key international players, so that the international community's response is coherent and helpfully focused on what Nepal needs most. I would like to pick out three areas in which I believe the UK is making a difference: throwing our support behind the UN; working with Nepalese institutions on security sector reform; and encouraging all parties to observe human rights standards.

It was clear to us from the start that UN engagement to carry out the Nepalese request to monitor arms and armies, and thereafter monitor the Constituent Assembly elections, would be a critical element in making the CPA work.

But swinging international support behind Nepal's request and securing a UN Security Council Resolution required careful diplomacy. As one of the Permanent Five Members of the Security Council we were happy to assist the process in New York, first helping draft the Presidential Statement which enabled the advance group of monitors to start work. And then by offering to draft Resolution 1740, working with Nepal and consulting all those with an interest, to ensure it would be acceptable to all members of the Security Council. Securing SCR 1740 means that the funding and technical expertise which the UN Mission requires will flow to Nepal. In the interim period, while we wait for this to take effect, the UK has offered one million pounds

to the office of the Secretary General's Special Representative to ensure it can function without delay.

Let me turn to the second area I mentioned as vital to securing the peace: that of *Security Sector Reform*.

We are happy to work with the Nepal Army and the Nepal Police to assist them to plan for their future role. We welcome the intention to bring the Nepal Army under fully accountable and democratic civil control. It is in the Army's own interests to strengthen the currently weak civilian mechanisms of accountability. And we will support the Government to ensure that an inclusive, effective and accountable army is developed. This will involve promoting democratic accountability through the strengthening of the Ministry of Defence, supporting future Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (as and when they emerge) and supporting longer-term professionalisation and capacity building initiatives.

We are also considering working with Government to ensure that an inclusive, effective and accountable police force is developed. And working with others to ensure widespread access to both formal and informal justice systems.

The third area I mentioned is that of human rights. We encourage all parties to observe human rights standards and support transitional justice. We are backing the efforts of human rights organizations to do their work without interference. We strongly support the work of OHCHR both politically and financially to monitor and promote human rights. We will consider supporting the work of the National Human Right Commission where appropriate. Likewise we are supporting the protection of child rights through UNICEF, in particular through their work on demobilization and reintegration of child soldiers.

We will continue to assist the Army, Police and CPN (Maoist) to tackle impunity. It is important that the Nepal Army helps to build confidence in the peace process by demonstrating that it is absolutely committed to improving its human rights record and showing zero tolerance to human rights violations. It is also vital that the Nepal Army demonstrates a clear commitment to work with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to investigate and take action in the case of previous human right abuses which have been committed. There must be an end to army impunity which does its interests enormous damage. It is in everyone's interests to

build public confidence in the security forces.

Of course, we recognize that the Maoists too have committed numerous human rights violations. Indeed they account for the great majority of abuses since the ceasefire of May 2006. They continue to carry out widespread violent intimidation and abduction, and extortion has reached extreme levels.

This must stop. Maoists, like everyone else, need to accept the rule of law and comply with it. Their attacks on business are undermining confidence, they will certainly deter investors and tourists, and the economy is suffering as a result. It is the common people, who the Maoists profess to be working for, who will be the losers. Jobs will inevitably be lost. Investment will go elsewhere.

The climate of intimidation also threatens the success of the Constituent Assembly elections. If they are not seen as free and fair it will undermine confidence in the future Assembly and its ability to produce a genuinely inclusive and representative new Constitution. It is in the Maoist's own interests, as it is of all the parties, to ensure these elections are conducted to the highest standards. I would like to see serious discussion among all the parties in order that they can develop a common understanding as how they will make these elections a success.

## Tackling Poverty

The UK is committed to supporting development and poverty reduction in Nepal. Our aid budget in Nepal is increasing. And we are the second largest bilateral donor here, after Japan. DFID's assistance is intended to help establish peace in Nepal and to lay the foundations for inclusive development.

The political changes in 2006 reflect the beginning of a transformation in the relationship between the people of Nepal and the state. The government needs to recognize this, and meet an enormous rise in public expectations by addressing the root causes of the conflict: the stark inequality in Nepal over past years and decades; exclusionary state mechanisms and policies; lack of equitable access to resources and assets; and lack of voice of the poor and excluded. Large groups of people (in particular women, dalits, janajatis and madheshis) have been systematically disadvantaged in term of political decision – making and development. Unhappily, in areas where inequalities

are widest the conflict has been most intense – and inequality continues to rise. There is a risk of more militant members of some excluded groups, in particular the young, resorting to armed violence if they do not see the change, threatening Nepal's still fragile political process.

For the government this means, in part, implementing existing policies more successfully: the budget in July 2006 announced unprecedented increases in social spending and spending on rural infrastructure. But it will require more than this. The government itself must undergo a transformation, and become properly responsive to the needs of the population and socially excluded groups. It must change the way it makes decisions by adopting inclusive and participatory processes that transform how policy is made, and demonstrate that the state – citizen relationship has fundamentally altered for the better. The challenge then is to follow through with delivery on the ground, especially in areas of Nepal that have previously left behind. Key areas for delivery are the provision of peace and security, the delivery of service, and the creation of the conditions for inclusive economic growth.

This huge and pressing challenge will run beyond the Constituent Assembly elections. The path forward will often be difficult and there may be setbacks to overcome before forward momentum is regained.

What can you expect from the UK in addressing these challenges?

Firstly, we will *support the immediate implementation of the peace agreement*, for example by helping ensure the Constituent Assembly election process is a success. And by supporting an inclusive and participatory constitution development process.

Secondly, we can *help to build on effective and inclusive state*, for example by: helping the government deliver a peace dividend, in terms of expanding delivery of security and basic services, and ensuring more effective and accountable delivery; and by continuing to strengthen government process, such as public financial management.

Thirdly, we will *promote inclusive economic growth*, for example by addressing the issue of youth unemployment, which represents a significant threat to a sustainable peace, and by strengthening government service that help to build a healthy and educated work force.

## Other strategic priorities – trade, climate change

I do not have time today to go into detail on all the other strategic priorities I mentioned at the beginning. But let me just briefly note two where the connection with sustainable development is clear and the partnership with Nepal is important.

We spoke about the role of aid in reducing poverty. But **trade** can have an equal role, an equal impact on reducing poverty. That is why the UK government remains fully committed to achieving an ambitious, pro-development outcome at the **Doha Development Round** that delivers for the poorest countries in particular and ensures that developed countries deliver on their aid for trade commitments.

Another major issue is **climate change**. This is at the forefront of the debate on sustainable development. We need strong multilateral commitment if we are to address this effectively. Situated as you are between the two Asian economic superpowers of India and China, Nepal is highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. We are working hard to strengthen our dialogue with India and China on climate change issues. We also hope to see progress on agreeing a common EU position on a post-Kyoto framework from 2012 for international climate protection, which can form the basis for wider international agreement at the G8 summit in June.

## Future challenges

There are a number of areas which need to be given high priority, if the peace process is to continue moving forward:

- the Maoists' cantonments and the future of their occupants. They cannot stay there indefinitely without becoming breeding grounds for trouble. All concerned need to be giving thought now to an exit strategy which will allow some former combatants to return to civilian life and others to find a place in the security forces. This of course also implies work on what the right size will be for the future Nepal Army and indeed the future Nepal Police.
- establishing the rule of law which is so vital to restoring public confidence and to holding free and fair elections. This goes well beyond merely putting back the police posts which used to exist before the conflict. It is about a proper community role for the police and it is about re-establishing other effective ways to access justice: and effective



and accessible court system for example.

The challenge for us in helping Nepal at this critical time is to ensure that our work is mutually reinforcing, so that for example development policy is underpinned coherently by policy in other areas such as trade, energy and security. We must also continue to press for aid effectiveness and increased transparency to ensure that international donors remain effective and focussed.

At the international level the challenge we face is to better joined up. We live in an increasingly inter-connected world. So to make progress on major issue such as environment protection, international trade, or global poverty, the UK government must find the best way to work with our European partners, but also to co-operate with and influence other countries and multilateral institutions. We need to work with the relevant regional and international bodies. We need to collaborate with NGOs. And we must better engage civil society.

## SIXTY YEARS OF NCWA

- Komal Bagale\*

### Establishment

The Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) held an Asian conference on "Asian Relations Organization" in New Delhi, India in 1947. At the invitation of the council, a team of eight-member delegation headed by Maj. Gen. Vijaya SJB Rana took part in the conference as representative from Nepal.

With a view to promote regional and mutual cooperation and exchange of culture among the nations of Asia the conference unanimously passed the resolution to establish a regional organization named "Asian Relations Organization". All the participating countries of Asia including Nepal became the member of the organization. Maj. Gen. Vijaya SJB Rana was selected as executive member from Nepal.

The conference stressed the need to establish an organization in each member state to promote and expand relations among Asian nations.

When he came back to Nepal, after attending the conference, Maj. Gen. Vijaya SJB Rana presented the resolution as passed by the conference to the King Tribhuvan. The King took it positively and expressed his willingness to be its chief patron.

On February 18, 1948, the "Nepal Council of Asian Relations" the predecessor of the "Nepal Council of World Affairs" was formally established with grand ceremony at Nepal Bank Hall, Dharmapath. The meeting held during the ceremony unanimously elected Maj. Gen. Vijaya SJB Rana as its first president, Lt. Col. Khadga Narsingha Rana, Vice President, Sardar Narendra Mani Acharya Dixit, Honourary Treasurer/Secretary, Mr. Kumar Das Shrestha, Secretary, and other members of executive committee were Lt. Col. Sobhag Jung Thapa, Sardar Gunja Man Singh, Sardar Manik Lal, Sardar Nagendra Man Singh, Dr. Siddhi Mani Acharya Dixit, Pandit Lekh Nath Paudel and Mir Subbha Janak Raj Shrestha.

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\* Mr. Bagale is Administrative Officer of the Council. This paper is based on the information available in the NCWA.

On July 5, 1948 the council was affiliated with Asian Relations Organization upon acceptance of the constitution proposed by the Council.

The Council formally came into existence as the first organization of its kind in the history of Nepal for initiating and expanding Nepal's relations with the World, through the non-governmental channel.

When the first President Vijaya SJB Rana was appointed Nepalese Ambassador to the Republic of India in 2010 B.S, he handed over his presidency to Maj. Gen. Subarna SJB Rana.

### Major events of NCWA

- Late Maj.Gen. Vijaya SJB Rana resigned from the post of President when the government of Nepal nominated him Nepalese Ambassador to the Republic of India in 2010 B.S.
- Executive Member Mr. Parsu Ram Mathema was appointed Minister for Commerce and Industry on Shrawan 15, 2014
- NCWA received 2 ropanies of land in the frontside of Harihar Bhawan by the cabinet decision in 2032.
- NCWA shifted to its own building in Harihar Bhawan from its New Road office on Shrawan 26, 2036 B.S.
- NCWA celebrated its Silver Jubilee ceremony in Phalgun, 2029 B.S.
- NCWA granted Honorary Membership to the Congress Supremo, Ganesh Man Singh on Shrawan 8, 2047. He accepted the Membership with thanks.
- On February 17, 1997 NCWA celebrated its Goldeen Jubilee. The Rt. Hon'ble Sher Bahadur Deuba was the chief guest on the occasion.
- NCWA marked its Goldeen Jubilee concluding ceremony on April 13, 1998. The Rt. Hon'ble Speaker Ram Chandra Poudel was the Chief Guest.

### Address by the prominent personalities

The Council had made special arrangements for addresses by highly distinguished visiting personalities and dignitaries

**Presidents :** Rajendra Prasad (India), Dr. Radhakrishnan (India), Zakir Hussain (India), Zia-ul-Haq (Pakistan)

**Prime Ministers:** Jawahar Lal Nehru (India), Chou En Lai (China), Indira Gandhi (India), Tunku Abdul Rahman (Malaysia), Morarji Desai (India), Mr. P.V. Narsimha Rao (India), I.K. Gujral (India), Dr. Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Shaukat Aziz (Pakistan)

**Dignitaries:** - Chester Bowles, Swaran Singh, V.K.R.V. Rao, Dr. Henry Kissinger, Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, EEC President Mr. Gaston Egmont Thorn, UN Secretary Generals-U Thant, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Distinguished Personalities : Mr. Keneth Dadzie, Chief of UNCTAD, Abul Ahsan, First SAARC Secretary General, I.K. Gujral, Foreign Minister of India, Ross Daniels, Chairperson of Amnesty International, Adria Rus Mooy, Executive Secretary of ESCAP, M.S. Gill, Chief Election Commissioner of India, J.N. Dixit, Foreign Secretary of India, Mord Ghaleeb, Foreign Minister of Egypt, Nihal Rodrigo, Secretary General of SAARC; Ambassador Dev Mukharji of India, Ambassador Zeng Xuyong of China, Ambassador Vladimir V. Ivanov of Russia, Ambassador Avraham Nir of Israel, Ambassador Frank Wisner of USA, Scholar Dr. Vernon L.B. Mendis, Ambassador James F Moriarty of USA, Ambassador Keith George Bloomfield of UK, Ambassador Shyam Saran of India, Ambassador Sun Heping of China, Ambassador V.V. Nazarov of Russia, Ambassador Andrew Hall of UK, Resident Representative of UN Matthew G. Kahane, Ambassador Dan Stav of Israel, Ambassador Zamir Akram of Pakistan, Ambassador Tore Toreng of Norway, Ambassador Tsutomu Hiraoka, Ambassador Andrey L. Trofimov of Russia, Fedrik Aurther; Tore Hattrem, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Norway, Dr Astrik Suhrke, Research Fellow of Norway.

Executive Committee of NCWA since its establishment to date.

### 2004 B.S. Falguna 4<sup>th</sup>

1. Maj. Gen. Vijaya SJB Rana	President
2. Lt. Co. Khadga Narsingha Rana,	Vice-President
3. Sardar Narendra Mani Acharya Dixit	Honorary Treasurer/Secretary
4. Mr. Kumar Das Shrestha	Secretary
5. Lt. Col. Sobhag Jung Thapa	Executive Member
6. Sardar Gunja Man Singh	Executive Member
7. Sardar Manik Lal	Executive Member
8. Sardar Nagendra Man Singh	Executive Member
9. Dr. Siddhi Mani Acharya Dixit	Executive Member
10. Pandit Lekh Nath Paudel	Executive Member
11. Mir Subbha Janak Raj Shrestha.	Executive Member

**2010 Kartika 29**

1. Dr. Siddhi Mani Acharya Dixit	President
2. Prof. Rishikesh Shaha	Vice-President
3. Sardar Narendra Mani Acharya Dixit	Honorary Treasurer/Secretary
4. Mr. Subarna SJB Rana	Executive Member
5. Prof. Dr. Yadav Prasad Pant	Executive Member
6. Mr. Bal Krishna Sama	Executive Member
7. Lt. Con. Janak Raj Shrestha	Executive Member
8. Prof. Chuda Nath Bhattarai	Executive Member
9. Prof. Kul Ratna Tuladhar	Executive Member

**Ashadh 5<sup>th</sup> 2011**

1. Mr. Subarna SJB Rana	President
2. Prof. Rishikesh Shaha	Vice-President
3. Sardar Narendra Mani Acharya Dixit	Honorary Treasurer/Secretary
4. Mr. Kul Nath Lohani	Executive Member
5. Mr. Bishnu Prasad Dhital	Executive Member
6. Dr. Siddhi Mani Acharya Dixit	Executive Member
7. Prof. Dr. Yadav Prasad Panta	Executive Member
8. Mr. Parshu Ram Bhakta Mathema	Executive Member
9. Prof. Ishwar Baral	Executive Member

**Ashadh 30, 2012**

1. Mr. Subarna SJB Rana	President
2. Mr. Yadu Nath Khanal	Vice-President
3. Mr. Narendra Mani Acharya Dixit	Honorary Treasurer/Secretary
4. Dr. Siddhimani Acharya Dixit	Member
5. Mr. Parsu Ram Bhakta Mathema	Member
6. Prof. Rishikesh Shaha	Member
7. Mr. Yadav Prasad Pant	Member
8. Mr. Kul Nath Lohani	Member
9. Mr. Jagannath Rimal	Member

**Sarawan 15<sup>th</sup> 2014 B.S**

1. Mr. Subarna SJB Rana	President
2. Prof. Yadu Nath Khanal	Vice-President
3. Mr. Jagadish SJB Rana	Treasurer
4. Mr. Ramesh Prasad Upadhaya	Honorary Secretary
5. Mr. Prashu Ram Bhakta Mathema	Member
6. Mr. Kul Nath Lohani	Member

7. Mr. Kumar Das Shrestha	Member
8. Mr. Dev Bir Pandey	Member
9. Mr. Surendra Raj Sharma	Member
10. Mr. Arun Chandra Pradhan	Member
11. Mr. Thakur Keshar Sihgh	Member

**Aswin 19<sup>th</sup> 2021 B.S.\***

1. Prof. Rishikesh Shaha	President
2. Mr. Shankar Raj Pathak	Vice-President
3. Mr. Shamba Bhakta Pant	Secretary
4. Mr. Kedar Bhakta Shrestha	Joint Secretary
5. Mr. Durga Prakash Pandey	Treasurer
6. Mr. Mohammad Mohsin	Member
7. Mr. Narayan Prasad Shrestha	Member
8. Mr. Nanda Raj Bhagat	Member
9. Mr. Kumar Das Shrestha	Member
10. Mr. Shankar Nath Sharma	Member
11. Mr. Jitendra Raj Sharma	Member

**Kartika 4<sup>th</sup> 2022 B.S.**

1. Mr. Kumar Das Shrestha	President
2. Mr. Nirajan Bhattarai	Vice-President
3. Mr. Surendra Bahadur Shrestha	Secretary
4. Mr. Durga Prakash Pandey	Joint Secretary
5. Mr. Mani Raj Shrestha	Treasurer
6. Mr. Shanker Nath Sharma	Member
7. Mr. Shambha Bhakta Pant	Member
8. Mr. Narayan Prasad Shrestha	Member
9. Mr. Narendra Raj Bhagat	Member
10. Mr. Ram Chandra Malohtra	Member
11. Mr. Sasi Narayan Shah	

**Mangshir 18, 2023 B.S.**

1. Dr. Bhekh Bahadur Thapa	President
2. Mr. Sashi Narayan Shah	Vice-President
3. Mr. Surendra Bahadur Shrestha	Secretary
4. Mr. Keshav Raj Jha	Joint Secretary
5. Mr. Mani Raj Shrestha	Treasurer
6. Mr. Arjun Bahadur Singh	Member

\* The Committee in between 2014 and 2021 is not available in the record.

7.	Mr. Nir Bahadur Joshi	Member
8.	Prof. Bishwa Pradhan	Member
9.	Mr. Uttam Narayan Shrestha	Member
10.	Mr. Kumar Das Shrestha	Member
11.	Mr. Shanker Raj Pathak	Member

**Magh 5<sup>th</sup> 2024**

1.	Dr. Bhekh Bahadur Thapa	President
2.	Mr. Sashi Narayan Shah	Vice President
3.	Mr. Shanker Raj Pathak	Secretary
4.	Mr. Nir Bahadur Joshi	Joint Secretary
5.	Mr. Hiranya Lal Bajracharya	Treasurer
6.	Mr. Kumar Das Shrestha	Member
7.	Mr. Bishwo Keshar Maskey	Member
8.	Mr. Uttam Narayan Shrestha	Member
9.	Mr. Jagadish Bhakta Mathema	Member
10.	Mr. Narayan Prasad Shrestha	Member
11.	Mr. Janardan Pradhan	Member

**Baishakh 1<sup>st</sup> 2026 B.S.**

1.	Mr. Kumar Das Shrestha	President
2.	Mr. Mani Raj Shrestha	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Daya Nanda Vaidya	Secretary
4.	Mr. Tanka Lal Shrestha	Joint Secretary
5.	Mr. Narayan Prasad Shrestha	Treasurer
6.	Mr. Nir Bahadur Joshi	Member
7.	Mr. Keshav Raj Jha	Member
8.	Mr. Vijaya Prasanna Pradhan	Member
9.	Mr. Shanker Raj Pathak	Member
10.	Dr. Bhekh Bahadur Thapa	Member
11.	Prof. Surendra Bahadur Shrestha	Member

**Chaitra 27<sup>th</sup> 2027 B.S.**

1.	Prof. Surendra Bahadur Shrestha	President
2.	Mrs. Basanti	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Shankar Raj Pathak	Secretary
4.	Mr. Surendra Bahadur Vaidhya	Treasurer
5.	Mr. Keshav Prasad Sharma	Member
6.	Mr. Nutan Thapalya	Member
7.	Mr. Punya Ratna Tamrakar	Member
8.	Dr. Mohan Prasad Lohani	Member
9.	Mr. Raj Babu Dawadi	Member

10.	Dr. Soorya Lal Amatya	Member
11.	Mr. Sashi Narayan Shah	Member

**Baishakh 24<sup>th</sup> 2030 B.S.**

1.	Prof. Rishikesh Shaha	President
2.	Prof. Mohan Prasad Lohani	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Nutan Thapaliya	Secretary
4.	Dr. Panna Kaji Amatya	Joint Secretary
5.	Mr. Keshav Prasad Sharma	Treasurer
6.	Mr. Sworga Man Singh Shrestha	Member
7.	Mr. Surendra Bahadur Vaidya	Member
8.	Mr. Govinda Malla	Member
9.	Mr. Dharmendra Purush	Member
10.	Mr. Bishnu Bajracharya	Member

**Baishakh 2<sup>nd</sup> 2032 B.S.**

1.	Prof. Dr. Soorya Lal Amatya	President
2.	Mr. Uttam Kunwar	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Tirtha Raj Onta	Treasurer
4.	Mr. Sworga Man Singh Shrestha	Secretary
5.	Mr. Bahadur Dhoj Rana	Joint Secretary
6.	Mr. Ramesh Man Singh Maskey	Member
7.	Mr. Daya Nanda Vaidhya	Member
8.	Mr. Birendra Bahadur Shrestha	Member
9.	Mr. Hari Krishna Pant	Member
10.	Mr. Damodar Prasad Sharma	Member
11.	Mr. Tanka Lal Shrestha	Member

**Baishakh 8<sup>th</sup> 2034 B.S.**

1.	Prof. Dr. Lok Raj Baral	President
2.	Mr. Uttam Kunwar	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Tirtha Raj Onta	Secretary
4.	Mr. Ramesh Man Singh Maskey	Joint Secretary
5.	Mr. Komal Bahadur Chitrakar	Treasurer
6.	Mr. Tanka Lal Shrestha	Member
7.	Mrs. Sabi Pahadi	Member
8.	Mr. Surendra Bahadur Vaidya	Member
9.	Mr. Birendra Bahadur Shrestha	Member
10.	Mr. Hari Krishna Pant	Member
11.	Mr. Daya Nanda Vaidya	Member

**Chaitra 29<sup>th</sup> 2035 B.S.**

1.	Prof. B C Malla	President
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2.	Mrs. Sabi Pahadi	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Nil Mani Sharma	Joint Secretary
4.	Mr. Badri Das Shrestha	Treasurer
5.	Mr. Dwrika Nath Dhungel	Member
6.	Mr. Devi Prasad Chapagain	Member
7.	Dr. Bhishma Prasain	Member
8.	Mr. Jagadish Bhakta Mathema	Member
9.	Prof. Dr. Soorya Lal Amatya	Member
10.	Mrs. Juni Devi Amatya	Member
11.	Mr. Sworga Man Singh Shrestha	Member

**Baishakh 7<sup>th</sup> 2037 B.S.**

1.	Prof. Dr. Soorya Lal Amatya	President
2.	Mrs. Juni Devi Amatya	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Birendra Bahadur Shrestha	Secretary
4.	Mr. Badri Das Shrestha	Treasurer
5.	Mr. Jag Mohan Shrestha	Joint Secretary
6.	Mr. Jagadish Bhakta Mathema	Member
7.	Mr. Indra Bikram Shah	Member
8.	Mr. Sworga Man Singh Shrestha	Member
9.	Mr. Ramesh Singh	Member
10.	Miss Narayani Devi Shrestha	Member
11.	Mr. Bal Krishna Pathak	Member

**Jeastha 8<sup>th</sup> 2040 B.S.**

1.	Dr. Mohan Prasad Lohani	President
2.	Mr. Devi Prasad Chapagain	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Birendra Bahadur Shrestha	General Secretary
4.	Mr. Prem Prakash Shrestha	Treasurer
5.	Mr. Shankar Raj	Member
6.	Mr. Daya Nanda Vaidhya	Member
7.	Mr. Nir Bahadur Joshi	Member
8.	Mr. Indra Bikram Shah	Member
9.	Dr. Ram Dayal Rakesh	Member
10.	Mr. Dwarika Prasad Shrestha	Member
11.	Mr. Keshari Raj Pandey	Member

**Ashadh 23<sup>rd</sup> 2042 B.S.**

1.	Dr. Mohan Prasad Lohani	President
2.	Mr. Devi Prasad Chapagain	Vice-President
3.	Dr. Panna Kaji Amatya	Secretary General

4.	Dr. Shankar Raj Pant	Treasurer
5.	Mr. Ramesh Singh	Joint Secretary
6.	Mr. Narayan Prasad Shrestha	Member
7.	Mr. Keshari Raj Pandey	Member
8.	Mr. Dwarika Prasad Shrestha	Member
9.	Mrs. Ambika Shrestha	Member
10.	Mr. Padma Lal Shrestha	Member
11.	Mr. Bhagat Das Shrestha	Member

**Ashadh 14<sup>th</sup> 2044 B.S.**

1.	Mr. Birendra Bahadur Shrestha	President
2.	Mrs. Ambika Shrestha	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Tirtha Raj Onta	General Secretary
4.	Mr. Rana Bahadur Thapa	Treasurer
5.	Mrs. Gauri Rana Joshi	Joint Secretary
6.	Mr. Indra Bikram Shah	Member
7.	Mr. Narayan Prasad Shrestha	Member
8.	Mr. Uttam Narayan Shrestha	Member
9.	Mr. Bhagat Das Shrestha	Member
10.	Mr. Mohan Man Gurung	Member
11.	Mr. Badri Das Shrestha	Member

**Srawan 27<sup>th</sup> 2046 B.S.**

1.	Mr. Birendra Bahadur Shrestha	President
2.	Mr. Sworga Man Singh Shrestha	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Tirtha Raj Onta	General Secretary
4.	Mr. Uttam Narayan Shrestha	Treasurer
5.	Mr. Ramesh Man Singh Maskey	Secretary
6.	Mrs. Gauri Rana Joshi	Member
7.	Mr. Jagadish Bhakta Mathema	Member
8.	Mr. Giridhar Lal Manandhar	Member
9.	Mr. Umesh Bahadur Malla	Member
10.	Mr. Bhagawati Das Shrestha	Member
11.	Mr. Toya Gurung	Member

**Sarawan 31<sup>st</sup> 2048 B.S.**

1.	Mr. Sworga Man Singh Shrestha	President
2.	Dr. Ananta Raj Poudel	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Ramesh Man Singh Maskey	General Secretary
4.	Mr. Sitaram Prasad Gorkhali	Treasurer
5.	Mr. Ramesh Singh	Programme Secretary
6.	Mr. Kanak Man Shakya	Member

7.	Mr. Dhyan Govinda Ranjitkar	Member
8.	Mrs. Madhuri Shrestha	Member
9.	Mr. Atma Ram Pandey	Member
10.	Dr. Pradeep Kumar Khadka	Member
11.	Mr. Shambhu SJB Rana	Member

**Mangshir 6<sup>th</sup> 2050 B.S.**

1.	Prof. Dr. Soorya Lal Amatya	President
2.	Mr. Uttam Narayan Shrestha	Vice-President
3.	Dr. Pradeep Kumar Khadka	General Secretary
4.	Mr. Ramesh Singh	Programme Secretary
5.	Mr. Komal Bahadur Chitrakar	Secretary for Finance
6.	Mr. Dhyan Govinda Ranjitkar	Member
7.	Mr. Arun Man Singh Pradhan	Member
8.	Mr. Mohan Man Shrestha	Member
9.	Mrs. Shanti Mishra	Member
10.	Mr. Bhagat Das Shrestha	Member
11.	Mr. Bal Krishna Pathak	Member

**Bhadra 17<sup>th</sup> 2052 B.S.**

1.	Prof. Dr. Soorya Lal Amatya	President
2.	Mr. Uttam Naran Shrestha	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Khagendra Prasad Bhattarai	General Secretary
4.	Mr. Sitaram Prasad Gorkhali	Programme Secretary
5.	Mrs. Mridula Singh	Finance/ Administrative Secretary
6.	Mr. Arun Man Singh Pradhan	Member
7.	Mr. Sagar Prasad Mishra	Member
8.	Mr. Bal Krishna Pathak	Member
9.	Mrs. Gauri Rana Joshi	Member
10.	Mrs. Madhuri Shrestha	Member
11.	Mr. Laxman Bahadur KC	Member

**Ashwin 6<sup>th</sup> 2054**

1.	Dr. Panna Kaji Amatya	President
2.	Dr. Pradeep Kumar Khadka	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Khagendra Prasad Bhattarai	General Secretary
4.	Mrs. Madhuri Shrestha	Finance/ Administrative Secretary
5.	Mr. Atma Ram Pandey	Programme Secretary
6.	Mr. Tirtha Raj Onta	Member
7.	Mrs. Shanti Mishra	Member
8.	Mrs. Gauri Rana Joshi	Member

9.	Mrs. Mridula Singh	Member
10.	Miss Mangala Karanjit	Member
11.	Mrs. Shreejana Pradhan	Member

**Bhadra 26<sup>th</sup> 2056**

1.	Dr. Panna Kaji Amatya	President
2.	Dr. Pradeep Kumar Khadka	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Laxman Bahadur KC	General Secretary
4.	Mr. Sitaram Prasad Gorkhali	Finance/ Administrative Secretary
5.	Mr. Atma Ram Pandey	Programme Secretary
6.	Mrs. Shreejana Pradhan	Member
7.	Miss Mangal Karanjit	Member
8.	Miss Azeliya Ranjitkar	Member
9.	Mr. Himalaya Kumar Singh	Member
10.	Mr. Niranjana Rajbhandari	Member
11.	Mr. Rishi Ram Bhattarai	Member

**Bhadra 24<sup>th</sup> 2058 B.S.**

1.	Mr. Keshav Raj Jha	President
2.	Dr. Gopal Prasad Pokharel	Vice-President
3.	Mr. Himalaya Kumar Singh	General Secretary
4.	Mr. Sagar Prasad Mishra	Finance/ Administrative Secretary
5.	Miss Azeliya Ranjitkar	Programme Secretary
6.	Mr. Chandra Kanta Pandey	Member
7.	Mr. C K Lal	Member
8.	Mr. Ramesh Singh	Member
9.	Mr. Niranjana Kumar Tibrewala	Member
10.	Mr. Prakash A Raj	Member
11.	Mr. Niranjana Rajbhandari	Member

**Bhadra 21<sup>st</sup> 2060 B.S.**

1.	Mr. Keshav Raj Jha	President
2.	Dr. Gopal Prasad Pokharel	Vice-president
3.	Mr. Ramesh Singh	General Secretary
4.	Miss Shanti Laxmi Shakya	Treasurer
5.	Mr. Shambhu SJB Rana	Secretary
6.	Prof. Dr. Pradeep K. Khadka	Member
7.	Mr. Prakash A Raj	Member
8.	Dr. Kamal K. Shrestha	Member
9.	Mr. Chandra Kanta Gyawali	Member
10.	Miss Mangal Karanjit	Member
11.	Miss Jaya Sharma	Member

**Current Executive Committee (Bhadra 7, 2062 to Bhadra 6, 2064)**




- |                                |                   |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Prof. Dr. Pradeep K. Khadka | President         |
| 2. Mr. Tirtha Raj Onta         | Vice-President    |
| 3. Mr. Badri D. Shrestha       | General Secretary |
| 4. Miss Mangala Karanjit       | Treasurer         |
| 5. Mr. Shambhu SJB Rana        | Secretary         |
| 6. Mr. Chandra Kanta Gyawali   | Member            |
| 7. Miss Jaya Sharma            | Member            |
| 8. Dr. Suman Dhakal            | Member            |
| 9. Dr. Shreedhar Gautam        | Member            |
| 10. Mr. R. R. Shrestha         | Member            |

11. Mr. Ram Lal Shrestha

Member

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**A comprehensive Household Insurance...**

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It covers damage to house and contents due to:

- Fire & Lighting
- Aircraft or other Aerial devices
- Explosion
- Burglary or House Breaking
- Earthquake, Flood, Storm
- Bursting or overflow of overhead tank
- Impact by vehicles
- Riot, strike & Malicious act
- Terrorism & Sabotage

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Claim Dept: 01-2030326

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**Your security. Our concern.**

## FOREIGN POLICY : QUEST FOR NEW FRONTIERS

- Madhavji Shrestha\*

Historically examined, Nepal's foreign policy has been successful in ensuring the independent political identity of the country as a free player in the international arena. Undoubtedly, its primary objective is to maintain the independence of the country and to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity with its national security and socio-economic development as uppermost priorities in its actions and dealings with neighbours and the world at large.

The policy of non-alignment the country adopted since more than five decades ago **has** unmistakably remained satisfying in its journey towards greater involvement in the world affairs. However recently, the importance of non-alignment as an instrument of the external policy has declined perceptibly, which was not even thought of as a figment of fancy during its heydays. With the end of the Cold War about a decade and half ago, the momentum of the non-aligned movement has declined both in its intensity and extent. Although the non-aligned movement has lost much of its shining glow, non-alignment as a policy of maintaining relations with neighbours and countries of various regions and continents of the world is still showing its utility, albeit antiquated it looks. The XIV non-alignment summit held in Cuba in September 2006 could be cited as an example of its existing worth. True, critics are very prone to pinpoint its visibly diminishing role in making any significant contribution to the world peace and security at the present juncture. Its validity and relevance are often being questioned with bitter criticisms hurled at it as a movement of non-substance for now. Some even quote the comment made about the policy of non-alignment as merely "a moral basis in just staying aloof". The remark clearly demonstrates the non-aligned behavior and attitude as an act of passivity and recluse with no creative idea and contributory move for a better world to live in. However, that has not been proven by the historical development of the non-aligned movement.

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## Non-alignment and the World

Critics write that non-alignment on the global stage has gone down much in term of its significance; certainly, it will lose its worthiness, unless and until it could add newer elements to tone up its mechanisms for its effectiveness as demanded by the changing environment in the global scenario, wherein economics of self-motivated interest visibly and invisibly play an intrusive role in the national behavior and attitude of every member of the international community with more powerful and bigger countries having larger say and influence in the emerging international order. This growing tendency has, in fact, pushed the political ideology to the sidelines and security concern to the backburner. In such a circumstance, the non-aligned group with its greatest number of members from three bigger continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America could veritably become a mammoth political force and a towering beacon to make impressive impact the world over to the advantages of its member states. However, this group is currently moving randomly with a conspicuously felt absence of charismatic leaders to guide the movement towards the proper direction of socio-economic advancement of the developing and underdeveloped countries of these three continents. Ideas are not lacking; however sadly, actions and accomplishments are lagging far behind the time and situation. Useful and reliable literature and information abound in the research centres of various important cities of the world. Only the question is who will prod the political leaders of bigger and influential non-aligned countries to bring them to the political tables for better utilization and dissemination of those ideas and information on the global scale.

Geographically disadvantaged country like Nepal had been suffering tremendously from the political instability and security nightmare for the past decade. Consequently, its foreign policy at most has remained reactive in nature and activities. Now Nepal has become a politically transformed country with a much greater need to pay attention and to allocate resources towards socio-economic uplift of its masses. If a serious thought is given to our foreign policy in particular and our connectivity with the countries of non-aligned group in general, we can float and disseminate great ideas and useful information among non-aligned countries for the benefit of the majority of its member states. True, the majority of the non-aligned countries are still developing and some, until now, underdeveloped like ours. Currently, if we give a good deal of thought about the non-aligned countries, they are now not very weak and powerless as had been during the initial years of the non-aligned movement.

At present, non-aligned countries have now become influential suppliers of goods and services in a much larger scale. Its current international trade share has jumped above 43 percent of the world trading volume. Capabilities are always on the rise in this vital sector of the economic life. Energy as the lifeblood of every nation is supplied by the developing non-aligned countries to the developed ones. Technical know-how and productivity are fast improving in non-aligned countries. Education and health are getting far better now than four decades earlier. Still vital is the fact that non-aligned countries themselves have amassed more than US \$ 2 trillion as foreign exchange reserve. All these facts and figures point to the growing strength and importance of non-aligned countries in the global arena. These are real, not fictitious. With all these things in mind, Nepal and like-minded countries can utilize their wisdom and ideas to reinvigorate the movement to make it more purpose serving. Unless new turn is given to the movement, it will fast become just a series of obsolete international events not having left any legacy to the future generation. The serious concern before the non-aligned group is how to address the contemporary socio-economic issues of its member states together and to look ahead in making united efforts to meet political challenges to keep up its relevance in the 21st century.

### **Non- alignment and Neighbours**

Viewed from Nepal's geo-strategic position, the culture and policy of non-alignment is pragmatically still relevant. It should not be an attitude to be taken so summarily. The questions of national security and concern of socio-economic development of Nepal are inseparably linked with the interests and desires of our two close big neighbours. It is true that the last few years have witnessed the developing of closer links between our two big neighbours with mutual suspicion steadily receding and reciprocal confidence increasing each passing year with the growth of trade and economic cooperation between them going mutually satisfactorily. Even the military engagements in an understandably cooperative way have made a good impact over their bilateral ties. Such an increasing trend of cooperation has indeed reduced Nepal's burden of tension in managing our relations with them.

The initial proposal of India agreed by Nepal to make it a transit route between India and China could work as a catalyst, if implemented. It would be highly useful to develop the underdeveloped regions of North India and West China alongside contributing to Nepal's physical development and economic progress. It would also certainly enhance the understanding and reciprocity among three countries. Nepal's impartial and fair deals with strict adherence to the policy of non-alignment have a lot more to do in bringing those two big neighbours closer to each other. This has indeed come as a clear outcome of our non-aligned behavior vis-à-vis India and China. Had we been aligned with either of them, the regional scenario would have been different from what it is today. Hence, the value of non-alignment remains useful, which has created a relaxed atmosphere and reduced tension. In reality, it is a substantial contribution of Nepal's non-aligned policy and posture long adopted with foresight and experience gained from the dealings with both of them in particular and lesson learnt from examples gleaned from other countries having similar geographic position like ours. We can say safely; Nepal would stand more as a land linked territory for greater connectivity in the economic and social spheres between the two fast growing economies of India and China. More importantly, it would steadily wipe out our deprived sense of the land locked status. We could achieve a position better appreciated everywhere as an example shown to other similar countries of Asia and Africa to follow the way Nepal has been treading.

### **Nepal and UN**

As it is a usual tendency of every weak nation, Nepal has also reposed its complete faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The current involvement of the UN in the ongoing peace process in Nepal itself has come as an inherent example to prove the tendency. Despite its unbounded belief in the policies and actions of the UN and also in view of its long association with the UN and its various organs and agencies, Nepal could not yet play its role effectively in financial contributions and diplomatic activities because of its highly limited financial resources on the one hand and on the other, the dearth of opportunities for its well talented and suitably qualified diplomats. However, Nepal has set an example of contributing armed troops for peacekeeping operations in various troubled parts and countries of the world. On this score Nepal ranks one of the top five out of 89 contributing member-states of the UN. This contribution reflects a good connectivity Nepal could maintain with the UN and its security operational system.

However to the great chagrin of all, the humiliating defeat of Nepal in the election to a non-permanent Asian seat in the Security Council in October 2006 has come as a bitter pill to swallow. Nepal has learnt an unforgettable lesson from the defeat, which will certainly make our foreign policy formulators and diplomats mature and correctly thinking in any future initiatives and actions to be taken as far as our relations with the UN are concerned. Nepal as a small and disadvantaged country needs to utilize its wisdom and energy to make our long association with the UN more beneficial and rewarding in view of its current needs and aspirations. If common approach could be formulated and fostered with like-minded countries, success will not elude us. Pragmatic efforts will pay in the long run in some much needed areas of reform in the UN working system.

The working modality evolved through the past six decades in the UN system clearly lacks democratic process with many disadvantages to smaller member-states, especially in the management of security affairs and concerns worldwide. Nepal needs to pay continued attention to eliminate as far as possible with the support and advice of smaller member-states such inherent defects festering in the functioning process of the UN. If determined, success may accrue steadily as weaker member states enjoy a majority in the General Assembly. Socially and economically remaining far behind richer and more developed countries, Nepal should consider to gear up to gain influence over the development policies and programs of the UN. Nepal will not have to remain isolated in such efforts but can work ahead to contribute substantially, if concerted efforts in closer collaboration with disadvantaged member-states like ours are initiated towards obtaining greater share of socio-economic advancement of the underdeveloped world. Also not least in importance is the much talked about democracy fund of the UN. The contributing role of democracy fund would be crucially important to provide a greater boost to those member-states, which are struggling hard to put democratization process on track. Nepal belongs to such a category of countries too, and hence, need not lag behind in making greater voice heard in creating such fund on a larger scale.

A new Nepal fighting for a place of dignity and honor in the comity of nations must mull over in concentrating its efforts to make gains in the democratization process in the UN working system and aspire to play a visible role in the development related organs and its agencies and finally endeavour for greater utilization of democracy fund for the needy countries.

## Nepal and Globalization

Unfortunately, unpleasant is the fact that Nepal can be hardly spotted on the economic map of the world. Its contribution to the world economic production is less than 0.02 percent of the total global production. Only last year, it has come to be known that the competitive capability of Nepal stands at the 110<sup>th</sup> position among 125 countries surveyed by the World Economic Forum (WEF) of Switzerland. On the world economic front Nepal's status is hardly better than those of a host of the Sub-Saharan countries of Africa. This serious challenge is emerging as a threatening condition to be dealt with effectively by the government of the transformed Nepal. In the daunting task of solving this formidable problem Nepal's lone efforts and capabilities are hardly enough to get a success of any consideration. Nepal needs to brace up to get it involved in the most recent trend of globalization process through regional integration approach. Until today, Nepal's participation in the SAARC integration process in the peripheral economic activities and more recently through SAFTA modality can hardly provide any promising future for the economic growth. However, emphasis put on the physical, economic and human connectivity by the 14<sup>th</sup> Summit alongside the people's immediate concerns for food security, energy, environment etc. has generated hopes for the socio-economic development through the integration process.

Our expected participation in the BIMSTEC free trade process cannot bring any substantial growth either. South Asian Growth Quadrangle of four Southeast Asian countries including Nepal and India has remained almost non-existent and non-functioning. Given the current regional economic integration process developing in the South Asian region and in Asian continent as well, Nepal must set itself ready to explore new possibilities and seek association with other regional organizations like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization that includes China, Russia, and four central Asian States in which our southern big neighbor India and Pakistan have already become observers. Within a short span of time, this organization, much younger than SAARC, has been achieving substantial progress on the matters of trade, investment, and energy and infrastructure development. On the questions of terrorism, extremism and separatism too, this regional organization has come up as a reliable body to deal with the current challenge. Possibly these may be main reasons that India and Pakistan are eagerly awaiting to have greater connections with SCO along with its other observers like Iran and Mongolia. While formulating foreign policy, the

Nepali authorities and decision makers should give a serious thought to be included into this fast rising regional organization. Opportunity at hand must not go slipped away.

Nepal has been, it is felt, sidelined from the mainstream of globalization process partly due to the domestic political instability and security uncertainty, and mainly because of poor governance, and raw and insufficient physical infrastructures existing in the country. If Nepal wishes to show any real presence on the economic map of the globe, the interim coalition government including the Maoists must gear up to glaringly improve domestic situations, both physical and political, along with the declaration of our foreign policy getting along with the most recent trend of the globalization through regional integration process. There is no other option on the foreign policy front except putting our external economic policy on proper trajectory. Even the common people believe that Nepal will never achieve sizeable economic growth just because of donations and remittances received from abroad. Appropriate actions, if well thought out and pragmatically implemented, would be the only solution to our awfully deprived status of economic owes. Forget we must not that globalization is a 'desirable thing'. Joseph Stiglitz suggests a 'global greenbacks' arrangement- a global reserve fund of national currencies contributed by each country to meet the national need when it arises. This proposition may be helpful to the needy countries like Nepal in the wake of globalization. Exploratory measure is advisable in this respect.

### **Increased Concern over Terror and Violence**

Today, no country of any size and strength is free from the threats of terrorism, extremism, separatism, sabotage, religious fundamentalism, and ethnic violence that have visibly influenced both domestic and foreign policies of all civilized states. Our region is not exempt from these real and psychological threats to the life and property of the common people that have entailed perceptible bearings on the conduct of the governments. These are the focal points where our policy formulators and executors need to focus their rapt attention in our dealings with our big neighbours and innumerable countries of the world at large. As security concerns are largely dependent on the perceived dangers, Nepal should get up to develop in actuality very close understanding and cooperation with our two big neighbours for reasons of not only their fear and suspicion perception but for

our own security. Taking their sensitivities to our hearts means protecting ourselves from their displeasure of any nature. As part of foreign policy operations, Nepal should develop and institute state mechanisms to deal with and ensure the security from the presumed and actual fear from the threats of the hidden enemies within territory who are well linked with the highly secret nexus maintained with similar disguised elements spread over neighboring countries and territories of their convenience for their sinister operation. This has come out as one of grave challenges to every formulator and executor of foreign policy. Our sensibility towards this highly sensitive concern must be omnipresent, while dealing with all concerned countries.

### **Current Trend of Foreign Policy in General**

After the end of the ideological confrontation and the Cold War some sixteen years ago, newer thinking and views on policies and actions have appeared in the global sphere replacing obsolete and rigid political divide and military bloc. If observed and analyzed in detail, external policies based on the consensual understanding and agreement done for mutual benefits and cooperation have assumed greater and broader importance on the matter of regional and universal organizations the world over. There is no wonder that this development is gaining grounds as accepted norms of foreign policies as adopted and practiced by modern states. This recent trend seems irreversible, as it has made perceptible impact on the execution of the foreign policy. Nepali authorities should not remain unaware of this developing trend worldwide. They have to focus a very good deal of their attention on this emerging development. cursory glance is no use.

### **Making Foreign Policy People- Oriented**

The surging predominance of democracy and people's voice over the governmental affairs and policies has produced a favorable people-friendly situation on the conduct of diplomacy- a concern previously thought as remaining within the exclusive domain of the government. Evidently, the outcome is that the much talked about public diplomacy and citizen diplomacy have come in vogue in most democracies. If public diplomacy tries to build a good image of the country abroad and communicate to the general public at home about what the government has done and intends to do in due course of time about its external relations for the benefits of the country and peoples, citizen diplomacy carried through the transnational contracts by conscious and enlightened people can contribute to develop broader relationship at the people's level for harmonious ties and peace to be

maintained and problems to be solved and generates useful cooperation from each other. As an emerging democracy, Nepali society should be better equipped for accrual of better results in the relationship among the people of different countries. Those practices indeed have come to stay in mature democracies. Nepal can learn valuable lessons from them to make the democratic behavior and action in the country a visible success. Those must form a useful part of our foreign policy to make our diplomacy an entrenched public habit in view of democracy and related practices hopefully getting rooted in the Nepali society in the years ahead.

### **Nepali Society's Points of Attraction**

Nepal is still reeling under the negative impact of the underdeveloped status. It does not yet have adequate physical and cultural facilities of modern standard, nor does it have any known and easily exploitable natural resources. This economic handicap has hampered Nepal's external journey on its own to play appropriate roles in the international arena. However, it does not lack other points of attraction. The amicable and gentle behavior of its people towards foreign countries and foreign people, its varied culture, its panoramic beauty, its geographic diversity and above all the strong will, firm determination and indomitable courage of its people for freedom and democracy all have emerged as points of attraction not only to its neighbouring countries but also to many important countries of the world. All these impressive features and qualitative virtues of its people remain as assets to portray Nepal's good image abroad, which can, to a large extent, help regain its lost prestige. The political ideals and democratization process must be translated into reality to set an excellent example of incomparable achievements for Nepal's greater involvement in the international activities, which, in turn, would largely contribute to win not only the hearts and minds of foreign politicians and prominent persons but also of the foreign people at large.

In the long run, the much awaited various historic agreements reached between the seven-party alliance and the Maoists, if implemented properly, and the recent formation of the interim government including the Maoists, if it could work smoothly, would certainly bring profound impact over the political landscape of nation. This will, in turn, pave the way to arriving at a national consensus on the concern of national interests with democratic process and culture guiding the actions, which will unquestionably re-energize the Nepali government to conduct foreign policy in a promising

manner to rebuild Nepal's image and enhance its dignity abroad. Our foreign policy could safely be put on track to move ahead with the national priorities of choice in various areas of Nepal's involvement and partnership in the international arena with our national security and socio-economic development remaining on the top. Such a positive development of larger significance would help Nepal make a desired journey in the international community in this enlightened age of freedom.

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## A NEW IDENTITY FOR NEPAL

- Prakash A. Raj\*

Nepal's identity as the only Hindu country situated next to the secular country having the largest Hindu population in the world is likely to change after Proclamation made in May 2006 by House of Representatives dissolved in May 2002 but restored by *Jana Andolan-2* four years later. Its identity as the home of Gurkha soldiers and domestic help in the Indian households in big cities as "Bahadur" is also changing primarily as a result of forces unleashed by globalization, the large number of tourists visiting Nepal and the large Nepalese Diaspora in Malaysia, Gulf countries and the United States. It's no longer considered a peaceful country after the Royal Massacre of 2001 and the Maoist insurgency that claimed more than 15,000 lives in a decade starting from 1996. If it were not for the support and the participation of the Maoist insurgents, the *Jana-Andolan-2* of 2006 would not have succeeded to the extent that it did. The insurgents are also responsible for empowerment of women and Dalits to some degree. If their claims that 40% of their combatants are women, it's very significant although a large proportion are girls aged between 12 and 16 and many were recruited forcibly. Dalits have also taken arms to dismantle a system which they thought oppressed them and was unable or wasn't flexible enough to change their lot. One Dalit leader said that this was the first time they had guns with them. Both these instances have relevance to India which has its own Naxalite insurgency similar to the one in Nepal and where Dalits still remain oppressed in spite of reservations and affirmative action dating back to independence more than half a century earlier. The open to border between the two countries and close ethnic and linguistic ties between people on both sides of the border are additional factors that are relevant.

Nepal's identity as a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual country recognized by 1990 constitution is likely to be asserted further in any new constitution to be promulgated as a result of constituent assembly (CA). It's likely to be declared as a multi-religious country as well. One of the Declarations of the

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Parliament restored as a result of *Jana Andolan-2* was to declare that the first-born would be the heir to the throne. In other words, a female would be eligible to become monarch in Nepal for the first time in history. This was presumably done in imitating some monarchies in Europe including Britain and also in the name of gender equality. The restored Parliament whose term had expired did not have mandate to make such far-reaching changes in the convention and customs of a Hindu kingdom proclaimed "secular" by the same body. This issue could have waited till the elections for constituent assembly. (*The Kathmandu Post*, 1/8/06). What is important to remember in this context is that a typical Nepali may be mistaken as coming from many countries of the world. We were three Nepalese who went to the US in 1960 for the first time. There was a Chhetri from Chainpur in the hills of east Nepal, a Newar from Kathmandu and myself, a Brahmin whose family has lived in Kathmandu for almost two centuries. When we were in Washington DC for our orientation, the Chhetri from Chainpur was mistaken as someone from South America and was friendly with a girl from Quito in Ecuador who must have remembered her own country by his looks. The Newar from Kathmandu was mistaken as someone from Southeast Asia. I looked like an Indian. During my five-year stay in the US there were times when I was mistaken as having come from many countries. There were times when I was mistaken as a Sicilian and a Spaniard. Few people in America had heard of Nepal at that time and Nepal sounded like Naples in Italy to some. Forty-five years later I was traveling in Madrid in Spain with my wife. She looked so Spanish that there were people in the streets who asked directions from her in Spanish language. There is a province of Andalusia in the south of Spain where many people are dark complexioned due to Arab influence and many Nepalese Brahmins look like them. During my visit to Ecuador in South America I was mistaken as a native till I opened my mouth. The population of Ecuador is mixed between Spaniards who colonized the country three centuries earlier and Red Indians who were indigenous people living there. Many Nepalese would be considered similar to Ecuadorians of mixed race (white and Red Indian). A Nepalese journalist has written about his experiences traveling in many countries of the world when he was mistaken as Libyan, Pakistani, and Iranian among others. (*Roka, Hari, Crisis of Identity, Himal*, 2/10/00)

Nepal in pre-1950 years was recognized primarily as a country of Gurkhas famous for their bravery and the works of art created by Newars in the Kathmandu valley. On the other hand, Nepal's new identity is also likely to



include it as a country of Sherpas famous for mountaineering skills and trekking guides. There are many records held by Nepalese Sherpas in mountaineering. Pasang Lhamu Sherpa became the first Nepalese woman to climb Everest in 1993 but died during descent. Ang Rita Sherpa climbed Everest ten times and is also called "Snow Leopard". He never used auxiliary oxygen during any of his assaults to the mountain. Kaji Sherpa made a record for fastest Everest climb by reaching the summit in 20 hours 20 minutes. Babu Chhiri Sherpa made the world record for longest time spent on Everest Summit, twenty-one hours.

One Nepalese scholar has written quoting the famous historian Baburam Acharya that Nepal became known to the outside world for its "military culture". He felt Nepal Army (formerly Royal Nepalese Army) as a major institution has seen integration of major tribal groups in the country (Malla, Kamal Prakash, *The Road to Nowhere*, Sajha Prakashan, Kathmandu, 1979). A recent report gave a first ever account of ethnicity in the Nepali Army. Chhetris account for 43 percent of total combat units. On the other hand, hill tribals are also well represented. However, percentage of Madhshis and Dalits is much smaller than their proportion in population. On the other hand, Magars, Gurungs, Rais and Limbus are the major constituent units of British and Indian Gurkhas. Unlike in the past when the Gurkha soldiers were working in the British and the Indian armies, soldiers from Nepal now also work in United Nations Peacekeeping Forces. This trend is likely to continue in the future. Kul Chandra Gautam, a high ranking UN official suggested (Address to Nepal Council of World Affairs on 23 June 2006) that Maoist women of People's Liberation Army in Nepal who had taken part in combat could be made part of UN Peacekeeping forces. A new identity for Nepal could also be as a country supplying troops to the UN Peacekeeping forces. It could also be as headquarters of a regional organization for South Asia, SAARC. Nepal also be known as a transit state for trade between two of the largest countries in the world in terms of population as the only all-weather highway between Tibet and the subcontinent passes through Nepal.

Nepal is likely to retain its identity as one of the interesting tourist destinations in the world. Although Nepal was known for its work of art, its identity in this respect is further re-inforced by inclusion of several sites in Kathmandu valley such as two Hindu temples (Pashupatinath and Changu Narayan), two Buddhist stupas (Swayambhunath and Bodhnath), three

Durbar Squares in Kathmandu valley as well as Lumbini in the list of UNESCO's World Heritage sites. On the other hand, a former Professor of English and a devoted student of Nepali culture says: "Is Kathmandu going to meet the same fate as the vanished cities of Thebes, Gizeh, Nineveh, Angkor and Timbuktu". According to him Kathmandu ranks with Jerusalem, Cairo, Rome, Athens, Xian, Delhi and Benares in having a continuous tradition of nearly two thousand years of civilization. He feels its future "looks threatened as a result of many changes brought about by the combined forces of industrialization, modernization and westernization" (Shrestha, Narayan Prasad, *Kathmandu The Eternal Kumari*, Saroj and Kauz, Lalitpur, Nepal, 1997). If this process is not controlled or reversed, Nepal's identity might also be adversely affected. The Pagoda style of architecture could be considered one of unique heritage of Nepal that influenced architecture in Tibet, China and Japan. Chinese travelers in Nepal in the Seventh century have written about this architectural style when they visited Nepal. As temples having this style are found only after this period, it is believed that this style of architecture went from Nepal to Tibet and China. (Bhatta, Govinda Nepal Chin Samstritik sambhanda, hamro rashtriya samsriti ra kehi prashna haru, *Rashmi*, Bangmaya Bisheshanka, BS 2049)

There are also two natural heritage sites included in UNESCO's Heritage of Mankind list such as Everest National Park and Chitwan National Park well known for the famous one horned rhinos. While the Everest National Park is facing problem of pollution of garbage left by tourists visiting the area, Chitwan National Park is threatened by deforestation and poaching of one-horned rhinos whose numbers have dwindled in recent years. It could be said that problems facing both these natural heritage sites are part of a crisis of identity.

Nepal is still likely to be known as a country having eight out of ten highest peaks including a beautiful peak of Machhapuchre, or the Fishtail Peak and Ama Dablam, another beautiful peak. It will also remain known as one of the best countries in the world for trekking. On the other hand, Nepal's image as a hippie haven where not only such drugs as hashish but also heroin is readily available is likely to continue. As the Indian Airlines aircraft hijacked by militants on Christmas Eve in 1999 landed in Taliban ruled Afghanistan, Kathmandu has also been known as a place where espionage and terrorist activities take place.

American political scientist Samuel P. Huntington believes cultural identification is becoming increasingly important compared to other

dimensions of identity in contemporary world in his classic book on clash of civilizations (Huntington, Samuel P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1996). Nepal has a long history as a country where people practicing different religions have co-existed peacefully. There is a unique Nepalese tradition of tolerance. It's interesting to notice that extremism and fundamentalism in any form are absent in Nepal to this day (Dixit, Madan Mani Nepal ko Rashtriya Pahichan: Kehi Chintan ra Prashna, *Abhiyakti*, 1993 May) Muslims have lived peacefully in Kathmandu valley since the days of Malla kings and also in small numbers in the hills and in larger numbers in the Terai. There have been few instances of religious riots. A huge mosque was constructed close to the Royal Palace at Kathmandu replacing a smaller one in post-1990 years, which demonstrated a laudable example of religious tolerance in a country, which was officially Hindu at that time. Saudi Arabia even to this day, does not allow construction of any non-Muslim place of worship such as church or temple anywhere in the country. Although Nepal did have some provisions in its legal code, *Mulki Ain* enacted in 1853 in which discrimination, in application of laws, was made not only against Muslims but also Dalits it was repealed in 1964. Such discrimination in the application of law exists in Saudi Arabia, which now has many Nepalese workers, to this day. It will be difficult to find examples of huge non-Muslim place of worship allowed to be constructed in any country that is officially Muslim in the heart of the capital city. Perhaps the reason for such unique heritage of tolerance is due to Nepal's thousand- year history of remaining independent when neighbouring India was subjugated by alien rule.

Hindus and Buddhists have followed their religions and have developed such institutions as Kumari, the living goddess established during the Malla period in mid eighteenth century and continued during the Shah period. The Nepali speaking ShahKings of Nepal received blessings of the royal Kumari who is born in a Buddhist family speaking Newari for 238 years from 1768 to 2006. It is not known if this custom will continue as it is not certain Nepal would continue to be a kingdom. Although Nepal has become officially secular, this ritual is likely to be continued by the ceremonial King if monarchy is retained or in some other form even if it becomes a republic. Rituals and festivals that are manifestations of cultural identity of people are likely to continue even if the Maoists take over Nepal. There are certain rituals and festivals that are unique to Nepal. The institution of Kumari is one of such unique features. Another unique custom linking monarchy with

Newar Buddhists is the requirement for the monarch to be present during *Samyak* festival taking place once in twelve years. The King is worshipped as a manifestation of Bodhisattwa on that occasion and water used in washing his feet is sprinkled as being holy. During Jatra of Pachali Bhairab in Kathmandu, the monarch "exchanges" his sword with that of Bhairab whose temple is situated nearby. This is supposed to be "blessing" given by Bhairab in order to strengthen his rule. However, there are increasing questions that Newars should give up linking their customs with that of monarchy. This is a manifestation of change in popular outlook due to Jana Andolan-2 (Bajracharya, Chandraman Samskritik Parivartanko Khaancho, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, 23/8/06).

As almost all of religious public holidays in Nepal were either Hindu or Buddhist in pre-2006 days such festivals as Eid or Christmas as well are likely to be recognized as public holidays in the future, in recognition of the presence of these two religions in the country. In spite of declaration as a secular state, the unifying factor in Nepal's identity is likely to be its Hindu-Buddhist heritage, Nepali language and Sanskrit. The flag of Nepal is unique in the world containing double triangle with moon and sun in them. This flag is also found outside many temples in Kathmandu. According to a book written on the Nepalese flag, it also has a cultural dimension as it represents Vedic Aryan culture (Shrestha, Daya Ram, *Nepal ko Rashtriya Jhanda*, Trikon Prakashan, Kathmandu, 1997). These are the factors that bring people from the hills to the Terai together. There is a close affinity between Nepali and such languages as Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi and Tharu languages spoken in the Terai that are considered dialects of Hindi in India. Sanskrit is one of the factors bringing people of the hills and the Terai together. The Indo-European languages of the hills and the Terai were descended from Sanskrit and the written form is still highly sanskritized. It is difficult to see how it can be changed. Answering a question about identity among Madhesis, Matrika Yadav, the most prominent leader from Terai stated that the rulers in Nepal as well as Indians have been calling Madheshis as belonging to Indian origin. Madhesh according to him is a nation having its own language, and economic resources. The link language in Terai could either be Hindi or Nepali. (Interview with Matrika Yadav, *Sanghu*, 24/7/06)

Malla has suggested that Nepali is the most important contribution of Khasas, meaning Nepali speaking Brahmins and Chhetris, as the lingua franca of the Nepal Himalayas and the national language of the country.

According to him the emergence of this language has opened up new possibilities for closer social and cultural contacts between Nepali speaking peoples and those having different mother tongues. He also believes Nepali literature will play a crucial role in emotional integration in the country (Malla *ibid*). Many Janjatis or the tribal people have adopted Nepali as their mother tongue but their languages are also likely to be taught in the schools and used in local governments in the future. However, there is no substitute for Nepali as a link language in the country. Nepali literature is also being written by many writers who have different mother tongues. These include writers such as Siddhi Charan Shrestha, Paras Mani Pradhan, Riddhi Bahadur Malla, Bijaya Malla, Shiva Kumar Rai, Indra Bahadur Rai, Parijat, Lain Singh Bangdel and Bairagi Kainla. This trend is specially noticeable in Darjeeling and Sikkim in India where there is less differentiation based on caste than in Nepal and many more Janajatis have adopted Nepali as their first language.

Many of the tribal groups are now asserting their identity that should not conflict with new Nepali identity. There seems to be consensus that Nepal will be a federation of states as power will be decentralized away from Kathmandu and it will no longer be a unitary and centralized state when new constitution is formulated by constituent assembly in Nepal and power will be decentralized. It is still not clear if the constituent units will be based on ethnicity as advocated by the Maoists or not. It is definite that days of Nepal being a unitary state where its diversity is not recognized, as during the Panchayat period are now over. The founder of modern Nepal, King Prithvi Narayan Shah recognized this reality in the later half of the eighteenth century when he said that Nepal was garden of four *varnas* and thirty-six *jaats* in his Dibyopadesh which is still relevant today. Every country needs an icon and Prithvi Narayan Shah is an icon because of his role in unifying the country. His statue standing in front of the Secretariat Building at Singha Durbar in Kathmandu was damaged during Jana Andolan-2 by some miscreants. Damage to such an icon figure indicates questioning the process of unification of Nepal and harms the existence of Nepal's identity.

A new national anthem for Nepal is being composed that will replace the old one that glorified the King. The new national anthem will hopefully glorify Nepal and its people instead of the King. A committee was formed to select a new national anthem which advertised for entries. The terms of reference

included that it should represent Nepal's history, geographic and cultural diversity and commitment to democracy. Eight hundred entries had already been submitted four months after Jana Andolan-2. (Shah, Dinesh Jung, Ranko Rashtriya Gankom, *Nepal*, 8/10/06). The new Government headed by Girija Prasad Koirala formed after restoration of Parliament in 2006 is planning to dismiss all awards and medals named after the Shah Kings and which contained reference to Hindu religion. (*Nepal Samacharpatra*, 2/8/06).

Nepal's identity as one of the least developed countries as classified by the United Nations is likely to change if it develops its adequate reserves of hydropower and tourism. However, a market for its power will need to be assured if foreign investment by bilateral, multilateral and private donors were to be made available. It is estimated that half of 83,000 MW potential for development of hydropower is feasible and the natural market would be in India where its energy deficit is projected to reach 20,000 MW by 2010 (Rajan, K.V. Nepal, in Dixit, J.N. *External Affairs: Cross Border Relations*, Roli Books, New Delhi, 2003). On the other hand, most of the past agreements between Nepal and India for water resources development, have not been in the interests of Nepal. The most important projects were Kosi and Gandak signed in the 1950's and 1960's respectively. The main objective of Kosi Project was flood control in Bihar and that of Gandak Project was irrigation in eastern UP and northern Bihar and benefits to Nepal were only marginal. Any future Indo-Nepal agreement in developing water resources would need to take into account Nepal's interests adequately. A professor of international law at University of Leeds in Britain has suggested that Nepal could also unilaterally terminate Kosi and Gandak Agreements with India if equitable benefits for both India and Nepal were not made available. (Subedi, Surya *Dynamics of Foreign Policy and Law - A study of Indo-Nepal Relations*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005)

Power development using rivers originating or passing through Nepal (some major tributaries of Kosi River originate in Tibet before entering Nepalese territory) is thus a classic supply and demand situation as there is ready market for power in India, which could be easily developed just across the border in western Nepal. It's a win-win situation for both the countries. A considerable increase in the standard of living of its people and its "graduation" from the group of Least Developed Countries could be possible if this were to happen. Nepal is now involved in post-conflict reconstruction and such task is not easy in view of political instability before elections for constituent assembly are held. On the other hand, if Nepal were

to become a “failed state” it will get stuck in the category for a long time to come. It’s also a country that suffered an insurgency similar to *sendero luminoso* in Peru in South America in the 1980’s, which was suppressed during the time of Alberto Fujimori, the Japanese born despot. However, it could not be suppressed in Nepal as it had spread all over the country and contributed to the success of *Jana Andolan-2* in which more than half million people demonstrated in the streets in Kathmandu alone toppling the despotic regime of King Gyanendra and threatening the institution of monarchy itself. The King could not see the writing on the wall when a twelve point accord between the Maoists and the SPA (Seven Party Alliance) signed in November 2005 was as much the contributing factor to its success as the non-performance of the royal government in finding a solution to the conflict either militarily or by dialogue with the insurgents. The widespread popular support received for the *Jana Andolan-2* in April 2006, called the April Revolution or “Rhododendron Revolution” as the rhododendron flowers, recognized as Nepal’s national flower, were blooming all over high mountains of Nepal during this time of year, could also be a factor in new Nepali identity. As poet, writer and professor of English Abhi Subedi has written: “this unprecedented Andolan (movement) in Nepali history marks a new beginning in writing history”. (Subedi, Abhi Loktantra, Ujyalo ra Dundhubhi, *Nepal*, 8/5/06). Editor of a well-known weekly magazine has written “this is a first instance of such a widespread popular revolt against the state in favor of individual liberty and civil rights in the twenty first century”. He concluded that no one had imagined that unarmed Nepalese in such large numbers in such a powerful way would take part in a revolt. (Nepal, Kishor, Shashakiya Bhram ra shaktiko patan, *Nepal*, 8/5/06). Analyzing the *Jana Andolan-2* Professor Baral, a former Ambassador to India wrote “*Jana Andolan* of 2006 in Nepal was revolutionary in character in terms of principles and mass mobilization. Although the parties were the initiators, it changed its character with the overwhelming support it received from the people from all walks of life” (Baral, Lok Raj, *Jana Andolan 2006*, *The Himalayan Times*, 4/5/06). A Nepali journalist wrote that *Jana Andolan* demolished 237 years of Nepali history but its colonial and structural influence continues. (Devkota, Prabodh, Thulo Durghatanako sano sanket, *Samay*, 28/9/06). An Indian journalist of a prestigious English daily published in India called the *Jana Andolan-2* “greatest mass upsurge South Asia has witnessed for decades”. (Varadarajan, Siddhartha, *The Hindu*, 7/5/06).

The role of monarchy as playing a role of unifying factor in Nepal is also being questioned now especially in view of role of King Gyanendra’s role in *Jana Andolan-2*. A Nepali intellectual wrote “.... monarchy stands exposed as never before: an empty myth which is a divider rather than a unifier. It is now up to the people to find a better source of unity, which could well be the nation’s culture, lingua franca, its natural assets, ancient tradition, or even its glorious martial heritage, rather than the long outdated crown, which has divided and ruled, ruled and divided to further the vested interests of the dynasty” (Aditya, Ananda, *The Kathmandu Post*, 6/5/06). A Nepal born writer teaching creative writing at an American university who has written some best selling short stories and novels about Nepal wrote “King Gyanendra’s draconian rule has finally destroyed the carefully cultivated illusion that the King is necessary to hold the country together.” (*The New York Times*, 24/7/06). Professor Baral, former Nepalese Ambassador to New Delhi has written that new realities emerging after *Jana Andolan-2* have deconstructed such inherited myths as monarchy was the symbol of national unity. (Baral, Lok Raj, *Nepali Politics: Myths and Realities*, *The Kathmandu Post*, 7/9/06). On the other hand, there are still some voices that argue that the institution of monarchy gives continuity to Nepal’s historical identity and a sense of belonging that is important for aspiration to grow as an independent nation and must be preserved as a common heritage. This is in spite of failure of King Gyanendra since October 2002 coup. (Adhikari, Bipin On Constitutional Monarchy, *The Kathmandu Post*, 27/9/06). If genuine multiparty democracy is established as a result of *Jana Andolan-2* this will also impact Nepal’s identity. During the festival of *Indra Jatra* in September it is customary for the King of Nepal to receive “tika” from Kumari, the living goddess who is chosen from a Newar Buddhist family. This tradition dates back to the Malla period. However, Prithvi Narayan Shah, the King of Gorkha conquered Kathmandu on that day and he continued the practice of receiving “tika”. After *Jana Andolan-2* in 2006, the Maoist affiliated Newar National Liberation Front announced that they would hold demonstrations against the King during his visit to the old Royal Palace on the occasion. They charged that *Indra Jatra* should be commemorated as a “Black Day” in view of Gorkhali King’s conquest. (*The Himalayan Times*, 5/9/06). Sometimes a country’s identity is also shaped by what its leadership and people do. German identity in following Hitler’s totalitarian regime and British identity as a country having a long tradition of democratic rule and being “mother” of parliamentary democracy could be taken as examples. On the other hand, if a Khmer Rouge type of government

and a Pol Pot were to emerge as a result of the movement and failure of political parties, and foreign intervention, Nepal's image and identity will be tarnished. Nepal is thus at a crossroads in its quest for identity.

In a nutshell, Nepal's new identity is likely to be as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious and tolerant country unified in the eighteenth century under the leadership of Hindu King Prithvi Narayan Shah containing the world's highest peaks, birthplace of Buddha and marvelous works of art including seven sites in UNESCO's world heritage of mankind list. Its identity could also be as a country that was never under foreign domination and was never colonized when almost the entire Indian subcontinent was a colony of the British. Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen (Sen, Ibid) has written about legacy of colonialism in the former colonies producing obsession with extraneous relations with the colonial powers. In other words, former colonial powers continue to influence the post-colonial mind even after independence. As Nepal was free of Muslim rule and British colonial rule as in most of the Indian sub-continent, this could be considered one of the factors in its identity. The legacy of tolerance could also be explained partly by this historical factor. Sultan Shamshuddin from Bengal invaded Kathmandu valley in 1346 and destroyed many Hindu and Buddhist temples and stupas including Pashupatinath and Swayambhu. However, he left Kathmandu after a couple of weeks and did not convert any of the temples or stupas to a mosque, which would be reminders of the invasion. On the other hand, Nepali language absorbed many words of Persian and Arabic origin. The Crown Prince and the princes in Nepal were called "Wali Ahad" and "Shahzada" in late nineteenth century due to influence of Arabic and Persian. Nepali language as used in courts contains many words of Persian and Arabic origin such as "Firad" (after Fariad meaning complaint) and Nazeer (meaning precedent). On the other hand, English was never the language of administration in Nepal. There was considerable influence from India, which was under British rule till independence in 1947, however.

Nepal is also a country, which was supplying the brave Gurkha soldiers to Britain and India and now to the United Nations Peacekeeping Force, and the country of Sherpas the famous mountain climbers. Whether Nepal should be a ceremonial monarchy or a republic; a Hindu or a secular state should be decided by referendum or constituent assembly. The restored Parliament, whose term would have expired four years earlier, did not have

mandate or competence to judge or make sweeping changes in this matter. It did so anyway partly to confirm to the Maoist agenda, which was made necessary in view of Maoist control of much of the rural areas in the country. Besides, the anti-absolute monarchical Jana Andolan, which was to become pro-republican, owed its success mainly to mobilization of a large number of people by the Maoists. Most of the items of this agenda would have been unthinkable to this Parliament when it was first elected in 1999. In other words, the resurrected body happened to be a totally different one, with a different soul, than the one, which was originally born. Even the CPN (UML) that was one of the main parties in the dissolved Parliament had supported constitutional monarchy as one of the "unalterable features" of 1990 constitution under which the elections were held at that time.

The demands for making Nepal a federal, instead of a unitary state, an inclusive state instead of a state that was dominated by certain ethnic groups since the unification of Nepal and above all, need for re-structuring of state, are also related to crisis of identity in Nepal. The Maoists attempted to incorporate some of these issues in their own agenda of their People's War. As a foreign scholar has written, Nepal's diversity doesn't need to be antagonistic. He believes Nepal's history may be imperfectly written but it may allow for alternate readings of cultural origins and rights of one community over other. (O'Neill, Tom, Peoples and Polity: Ethnicity and Identity in Nepal, *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, January 1994). One British scholar David Gellner has suggested that many Nepalis have more than one religious and ethnic identity because of enormous amount of intermixing that has taken place. This is especially so in the case of Hindu and Buddhist identity, especially in the case of Newars of Kathmandu valley who might go to both temples. There are many Thakuris and Chhetris who might have intermixed with Magars. He even suggests that the royal family might have some Magar ancestors in the distant past. (Gellner, David, Social Order, Inclusion, Hybridity: Preconditions of Democracy in Nepal, Paper presented at "The Agenda of Transformation: Inclusion in Nepali Democracy" organized by Social Science Baha, 24-26 April 2003). Many people may also have more than one linguistic identity. Fisher (Ibid, Fisher) has talked about people from Myagdi district having a large population of Magars having multiple identity based on class, ethnicity, kinship, locality and religion. He found agreement about existence of a Nepali nation in spite of disputes about national culture.

Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen has written that a champion of Islamic fundamentalism would like to suppress all other identities of Muslims except one based on religion. A similar claim could also be made in the case of a Hindu fundamentalist. A Pakistani from Karachi may have an Islamic identity, a Muhajir identity having migrated from the Plains of the Ganges in India, a linguistic identity speaking Urdu as a mother tongue and several other identities based on gender, occupation, politics etc. Pakistan was created in 1947 to include those areas in the Indian subcontinent under British rule, where Muslims formed majority of the population. As the Muslim majority areas were in northwest and northeast, Pakistan was divided into two units: east and west separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. However, religious identity alone was not strong enough to hold the two parts together. Had East Pakistan granted autonomy in a confederation as proposed during the historic Lahore Resolution in 1940, it is possible that Pakistan could have remained undivided. Assertion of linguistic identity of East Pakistan, and several other factors led to creation of an independent country known as Bangladesh. While Islamic identity of East Bengal before Partition led to its inclusion in Pakistan, linguistic identity was the determining factor in its breakdown. If East Bengal in undivided British India had been more developed, and the majority population living there (who were Muslims) had a similar standard of living as the Bengali Hindus, it's possible that Bengal could have remained united. Similarly, had Pakistan granted the Bengali language a similar status to that of Urdu and had treated East Pakistan more equitably in fostering its development, it's possible that it might have remained united. However, the *raison d'être* of Bangladesh even at the present time is its Islamic identity, which makes it different from the Indian state of West Bengal in spite of common language. Similarly, a Janajati from Nepal may have multiple identities based on ethnicity, language, religion etc. According to Sen, the main hope in the troubled world lies in plurality of identities that we have. (Sen, Amartya *Identity and Violence*, Allen Lane, London, 2006). Actually a person having only one identity based on ethnicity or religion might lead to what he calls "violence of identity" similar to what was seen in Iraq or Pakistan. A Magar living in "Magarat Autonomous Region" in Nepal established by the Maoists may have multiple identities based on gender, class and religion. He might be a Magar speaking Nepali language as his mother tongue and following Hindu religion. He might be from the village of Bharse in Gulmi district, which has a long tradition of sending Gurkha soldiers to serve in British

army bringing relative affluence to the village. Advice was given by two Janjati scholars, Harka Gurung and Krishna Bhattachan, having doctorates from Edinburgh and University of California, Berkeley respectively, to Janjatis during enumeration of Census in 2001 to write their mother tongue as the traditional language whether they were speaking it or not and religion as Buddhism or Kirat even though they might be devout Hindus. In other words, a Magar speaking Nepali as mother tongue and following Hinduism, was advised to write his mother tongue as Magar language and his religion as Buddhism. Such falsification of identity might lead to violence according to Amartya Sen. Adoption of Nepali as mother tongue by many Janjatis is fairly widespread. Due to pervasive influence of media there are many more who are well versed in Nepali although they might speak a different language at home. This trend is seen also among Tharus of the Terai who have shown a tendency of adopting Nepali instead of Hindi as link language while communicating with hill migrants. Such trend can be seen especially, in Chitwan and Dang valley having a large number of migrants from the hills.




नेपाल विश्व सम्बन्ध परिषद्को  
हिरक जयन्तीको सुखद उपलक्ष्यमा  
उत्तरोत्तर प्रगतीको लागि हार्दिक  
मंगलमय शुभकामना ।

cgfjZos vr{ 36fp̃  
सुरक्षित वचत आकर्षक व्याजको लागि आजै  
डबलीमा नगद जम्मा गर्नुभई डबल रकम लिनुहोस् ।  
सरल कर्जाको लागि पनि सम्पर्क राख्नुहोस् ।

डबली बहुउद्देश्यीय सहकारी संस्था  
पुतलीसडक, न्यूप्लाजा, काठमाडौं  
फोन नं. ४४२९०४६

## SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AT PRESENT

- Dr Shreedhar Gautam

By civil right we understand powers or privileges guaranteed to the individual and protected from arbitrary removal at the hands of the government or other individuals. The history of civil rights in the U.S.A. is primarily the story of the search for social and economic equality. This search has gone on for more than a century and is still going on today. It began with the civil rights of black citizens, whose subjugation roused the passion of a nation and brought about its bloodiest conflict, the Civil War. So, civil war and civil rights are taken as coincidental factors in America. This paper concentrates on the history of struggle for civil rights by blacks in America and the significance of black civil rights movement for other people. It is divided roughly into three parts. The first part covers the history of slavery, the impact of civil war, and the struggle for civil rights till 1955. The second part deals with the civil disobedience movement against racial segregation led by Martin Luther King Jr. The third part focuses on the achievement of black civil rights movement, and the present situation in America.

The history of blacks in North America began from August 1619, but actual establishment of a system of slave labour started only between 1640-1680. Till then blacks were treated as an indentured servants. By 1700, slavery existed practically in all the North American colonies. During the 1770s and 80s, the American colonists fought for independence from Britain. American themselves were fighting for self-determination, democracy, equality and recognition of the natural rights of man. Yet many outspoken advocates of American freedom including, Thomas Jefferson, lived within a system of slavery. As the United States of America entered its first century of existence, free slave as well as blacks faced a double struggle. One struggle was for personal achievements, and the other part was to cast off the yoke of slavery that oppressed them.

Against several tremendous odds, many blacks raised themselves to the positions of influence in American society of that time. Paul Cuffe worked hard to end slavery by organizing the friendly society to help former slaves

go to Africa as free people. But other black leaders turned against the idea of 'back to Africa', and opted for all out drive to end slavery and then again full equality. Leaders like Frederick Douglass encouraged blacks to escape to freedom. Though during the early 1800s people were opposed to slavery provided money and food for fugitives, many of the men and women who tried to escape from slavery ended either in recapture or death.

The process of ending the slavery began in April 1861 with the outbreak of the American Civil War between free states of the North and slave states of the South. Civil War exposed many problems as well as the attitudes of Southern States to the Northern States. The Civil War in fact was the era of emancipation for Negroes. The whole idea of nationhood was evolving during the Civil War and wherever the union of the Northern Army gained control, slavery, for all practical purposes, was abolished. The next big step in the process took place in January 1863, when President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring that slaves in state, at war against the United States were free. Lincoln took the decision sensing the threat to the unity of America. Lincoln, known for his military genius and diplomatic acumen, saw the fate of black and unity of America at stake. His bold step has to be seen in this light. He raised the Negro issue as a pressure tactic on plantation lords of the South. Blacks were hardly aware of their right and liberty movement. For them freedom, meant immediate release from the hard labour of cotton field. White lords had property right on them. So, they started running away to the North hoping for emancipation.

Though the proclamation could not eliminate the slavery, it proved to be a turning point in the struggle against racism. In the meantime, Lincoln told the Southern States that there would be no peace without abolishing slavery. It was in accordance with the plan and strategy of Lincoln that in 1865. Congress passed the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the constitution which completely abolished slavery. Another amendment, the 14<sup>th</sup>, gave the blacks full citizenship rights. For a time, many hoped that blacks and whites could live together in a state of equality and tolerance. But local laws and customs were used to deprive blacks of voting rights. In most of the former slave states, a system of racial segregation arose and blacks had to use separate schools, church, hospital and parks. In fact slavery in the South was linked with the socio political set up existing in those days. For the southern landlords Negroes were the symbol of property. No slave, no property was the slogan raised by them. So, in 1963-64, hundred of landlords fled to interior parts along with their slaves.

North had rapidly expanded industries by 1866 and so it was in need of cheap labour. The North wanted to liberate the blacks with a view to stopping the aggressive stand of the Southern States. But, rumour spread all over the South that North had invested money on the liberation of black and they were going to avenge the injustice of the Southern people. In this backdrop lynching-the illegal killing of people for real or imagined crimes – greatly increased. The southern States used the blacks as the forces to fight the Northern army. In 1866, the lawmakers passed a Civil Rights Act that gave the national government some authority over the treatment of blacks by state courts, especially in the South. While Congress was passing laws to protect the civil rights of black citizens, the Supreme Court seemed intent on weakening those rights. In 1873, the Court ruled that the Civil War amendment had not changed the relationship between the state and national governments. In 1876, the justices crippled congressional attempts to enforce the rights of blacks. In 1883, the court struck down the public accommodation section of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 declaring that the national government could prohibit only government action discrimination against the blacks; private acts of discrimination or acts of omission by a state were beyond the reach of the national government.

Once the Supreme Court nullified the Civil Rights Act of 1875, laws of racial segregation proliferated. Thus, the civil war, one of whose goals was to abolish the slavery, could not achieve it perfectly. Many radical Republicans in the Congress wanted to protect black civil rights and bring blacks into the mainstream of American life. Their efforts were opposed, among others, by Andrew Johnson, who was elevated to the Presidency on the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Towards the end of the century, the system of segregation and oppression of blacks grew far more rigid. Most blacks and poor whites lost the right to vote because of their inability to pay the poll tax.

However, progress did occur during the difficult years from 1919 to 1950 years. Individual blacks made breakthroughs in education, science, sports, entertainment, business, engineering, art and in music. The awakening began in Harlem, a mostly black section of New York City, and it was known as the Harlem Renaissance. But neither the glory of Harlem Renaissance nor the achievements of individual artist did much to improve the daily lives of most blacks.

Civil Right Movement in America touched a new height with the arrest of a woman named Rosa Parks in Montgomery, Alabama, on December 1, 1955,

for refusing to give up her seat to white person on a city bus. Already denied the right to vote and be represented in government, blacks took this opportunity for action to end segregation on buses. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP founded in 1909 by both black and whites, with the goal of ending racial discrimination and segregation, took the lead in the campaign for black civil rights. They asked 'Montgomery' blacks to boycott the city buses. Moreover Black churches also joined in the planning and preparation of the struggle. This is how Martin Luther King Jr, the new pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist church, came into picture. Several people wondered about the choice, as Dr. King was only 27 years old and had no social experience at that time. Under the leadership of this young local Baptist minister, blacks organized a boycott of the Montgomery bus company for over a year showing that non-violent direct action could produce results. It brought blacks from all walks of life together and also produced a charismatic black leader – Martin Luther King, who could move millions to action and touch the conscience of the nation. Finally, on November 13, 1956, the Supreme Court was forced to decide that segregation on buses was unconstitutional.

Moving on from Montgomery King led direct non-violent actions for civil rights, in all parts of the country. In the South, old barriers of the segregation crumbled, and in the North subtle form of discrimination in housing and jobs were slowly chipped away.

A critical point in the civil rights moment occurred on August 28, 1963 when 25000 people of all races marched in Washington D.C. to demand that the nation keep its pledge 'justice for all' in a moving and dramatic speech, Martin Luther King said, "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveholders will be able to sit down together at the table to brotherhood". Since then the focus of civil rights activity has shifted to Washington, where the Congress then passed laws prohibiting discrimination in voting education, employment and public accommodations. The Civil Rights Acts of 1964, 1965 and 1968 are taken as the landmarks in the process of dismantling the legal basis for discrimination.

Martin Luther King continued to conduct the civil rights campaigns throughout the country. He advocated civil disobedience, the willful but non-violent violation of unjust laws. It was due to his charismatic leadership that President John F. Kennedy, who at first did not seem to be committed to civil rights, had to order federal troops to ensure the safety of blacks



attending the university. Later he enforced the desegregation of the University of Alabama. However the civil rights movement received a severe jolt with the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis, in 1968. King's murder led to riots in cities, and also lent strength to another wing of the civil rights movement.

Though Dr. King died before he could see himself his dream getting realized, the movement led by him has had several positive effects. Black nationalism has promoted and instilled pride in black history and culture. Today there are colleges and universities in America with black studies programme. More black citizens are voting than before and their voting power has increased. The black middle class continues to grow, and a large percent of them are holding white colour job. The percentage of black students enrolled in schools and colleges is increasing. Now the historians credit King, who made the white establishment see the injustices inflicted on black with doing the most to raise the status of black people.

In recent years, the civil rights debate has focused less on outright racial discrimination, than on whether the effects of past discrimination require further programme by the government. Such programme is often referred to by the term affirmative action. The necessity and effectiveness of such affirmative action programme remain a controversial issue in the United States today. Although such issues remain to be resolved in the United States of America, there can be no turning back from the goals of King's dream.

Above all, the greater change in the past few decades has been in the attitudes of American white community. A generation has some of age since Martin Luther King's. "I have a dream speech." Now there is a new tolerance between blacks and whites and an increasing acceptance by whites of blacks in all walks in all walks of life and social institutions. Now, as dreamt by Martin King, tired black women may ride a bus and sit down on the first seat behind the driver.

On the night before he was killed, Martin Luther King said God had permitted him to reach the mountain's summit and look around and see the promised land. He warned that he may not be able to get there himself but was confident that his people would. Today he is no more but forms part of social studies and American history throughout the United States. King's contribution to the national American democracy, will always form part of the political discourse. He will be remembered for his leadership given to the

down trodden people towards the promised land especially his struggle, without violence, in the rough and tumble of politics.

Over the years we have seen African American becoming Cabinet Secretary, National Security Advisor, Mayor, Governor and Congressman. And in the intervening years, many African American settled in the North have moved back South where they find roots and home. Having said all this, it has to be noted that there are still some vociferous opposition voices that denounce King's boycott campaign. There are strong racial prejudices against the black community. The blacks in American have to go miles away further before they are fully assimilated in American society.

Such incidents can recur as long as there is no fundamental change in the socio-economic set-up of America. In a report submitted to U.N. America has acknowledged that racism still exists in America. Black community in America is regarded as the "Third World" within the First World. According to a report published in the Washington Post dated February 3, 2000, racism is alive in America also in thinly populated localities. According to a survey conducted by U.S. Federal Reserve, in March 2000, till 1998, 72.2 percent white family owned their homes, whereas only 46.4 percent African American had their own houses. There has been huge difference between the income rates of white and black Americans. The government's dealing with the Indians in the past were often marked by violence and riddled with broken promises.

According one report, still over two million native Americans are living under the open sky in America. According to another report published in the Christian Science Monitor in 2000, one-fifth part of poor population comprises the migrant people. According to the data published in the American Medical Association Report, unlike the other minorities 90 percent white enjoy the medical insurance. Similarly, the report says that if more than 40 percent white youths can go for higher educations the percentage of blacks and other minority group is less than 20 percent. All these data and survey reports reveal that racism remains in this or that form in America. The situation will remain vulnerable to racial troubles as long as the vast gap between haves and have-nots is not bridged. America cannot abolish the racial segregation if the existing socio-economic structure is not changed progressively in favour of the deprived and unprivileged minorities.

The struggle of blacks has been a guiding force for other groups, including native American, women, and the disabled. Every group that has confronted discrimination, sometimes overt sometimes covert, has achieved a measure success by pressing its interests on governments. All the challenges and government's response to them have helped shape American democracy.

Civil rights movement in America has to be seen in a larger and broader perspective. The struggle of blacks for their civil rights since the time of revolutionary war has been an inspiring factor for people struggling with different reasons in various parts of the world. In America too other minority groups and exploited classes have been encouraged by the success of the civil rights movement initiated by the America society allows all kinds of movement for the sake of greater freedom and fulfillment of the inalienable rights of the people. It is significant that despite the protest and rebellion by various ethnic groups against the racial practices in America, the country has only been strengthened instead of getting weakened or economically vulnerable.

Civil rights movement has shown that civilization and violence are antithetical concepts. It has also aroused hope that sooner or later, all people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative song of brotherhood. It has taught us that we must evolve for all human conflict a method, which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. It has opened the door that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality. Now we believe that even amid today's mortar bursts and whining bullets, there is still hope for a brighter tomorrow. The achievement of civil rights movement has conveyed a message that non-violent struggle is to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. It is necessary to create such a tension in the mind to that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal. Now the struggling people all over the world have realized that oppressed people cannot remain silent forever.

### Melamchi Water Supply Project : At a Glance

The main objective of the Melamchi Water Supply Project is to solve the chronic water supply shortage in the Kathmandu Valley. The objective will be achieved by the diversion of 170 MLD water from the Melamchi River via 26.5 Km long tunnel system to a water treatment plant and distribution facilities to be constructed in the Kathmandu Valley. The project consists of the following 4 major components: e.g. Infrastructure Development, Social and Environment Support, Institutional Reforms and Implementation.



Intake Point of MWSP at

These major components are supplemented by management, social institutional activities including the Social Uplift Program (SUP) for the MDS works, Resettlement Action Plan (RAP), Environmental Management and Monitoring for all components, and related support activities.

The current activity of the Project are mainly concentrated on construction of the 24 km access roads, in the Melamchi Valley, and preparations for the procurement of the Management contractor (MC), in place of the previously proposed Private Operator of the distribution system. Land acquisition and resettlement programs and the social uplift activities are ongoing.

The development of the institutional and legislative frame for creation of the regulatory and executive bodies, and the procurement of Management Contract (for the operation and the supply and distribution system in Kathmandu Valley)) is in progress.

The project has proactive public relations and information system. Through this, the MWSP is disseminating information on a regular basis via, press, media, interpersonal and group communication and project information centers established at Kathmandu and site office in Melamchi Valley.

#### **For Further Information**

#### **Melamchi Water Supply Development Board**

Devkota Marg, Naya Baneshwor, Kathmandu

Tel.: 4475303, 4468963 - 5

Web site: [www.melamchiwater.org](http://www.melamchiwater.org)



## HIGHER EDUCATION IN NEPAL TRUTH AND CHALLENGES

- Khagendra P Bhattarai\*

### Historical Background

Modern higher education in Nepal does not have a long history. It started with the establishment of Trichandra College in 1918 during the Rana regime. The college followed the courses of Patna University of India and the teachers also came from India. The examinations were conducted and published by Patna University. After Trichandra College some other government colleges like Padma Kanya College, Patan College and Durbar College were established. Later community colleges also came into existence in the Kathmandu valley as well as outside the valley. Some prominent community colleges were Nepal National College (now Shankar Dev Campus), and Amrit Science College in Kathmandu, Thakur Ram College in Birgunj, RR College in Janakpur, Mahendra Morang College in Biratnagar and Tribhuvan College in Palpa. All these colleges followed the courses of Patna University. In 1948, to impart Sanskrit education the National Sanskrit College was established. It was affiliated to the Sanskrit University in Banaras, India and offered Uttar Madhyama (Intermediate Level), Shasrti (Bachelor's level) and Acharya (Master's Level) courses.

It was only in 1959 that Tribhuvan University was established in Kathmandu and Nepalese were proud of having a university of their own which designed the courses of study, conducted examinations and published their results. After the establishment of Tribhuvan University both the government colleges and the community managed colleges got affiliated to T.U. The government colleges were fully funded by the government but community colleges were managed by communities with small financial support from the government.

But there was a big change in education policy in 2028 (1971); the New Educational System plan was introduced and all the community colleges were nationalized and brought directly under T.U. The government adopted the policy that education was the responsibility of the state and this policy

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had a tremendous impact on the nation. Some educationists, teachers and students were against the New Education System Plan but the government was fully determined to introduce the new plan and it did. But the New Education System Plan could not improve the quality of education, it rather deteriorated it. The assessment and semester type examinations were a total failure; examinations could not be controlled and run fairly; the authorities could not control mass cheating. Some students did not hesitate even to threaten teachers to obtain better marks, even when they had not done well.

There was a student agitation in 2036 B.S. (1980), with educational and political issues; Nepali students wanted democracy in the country and reform in education and were in the streets for many months. The government and the university could not control the agitation, and to pacify this, the late King Birendra formed a commission on higher education in 1980, which brought about major changes in higher education. Until then there was only one University-Tribhuvan University, but the commission recommended

multi-university concept; private and community colleges were allowed to be run again, and there was the emergence of 10+2(3) + 3(4) + 2 educational structure. The certificate level education was suggested to go to higher secondary schools from universities. Assessment and semester system of examination was abolished and annual system was introduced. After this we found some gradual change in the field of education in our country. The Higher Secondary Education Board was established in 1990 with a view to phasing out certificate level education from universities.

### Objectives of Higher Education

Some principal objectives of higher education are as follows:

- To impart higher education to the people as per the need of the country
- To preserve and develop the historical and cultural heritage of the nation
- To promote social and economic justice
- To alleviate poverty
- To produce man power competent enough in the global context
- To accumulate, advance and disseminate knowledge
- To encourage and promote research in the fields of arts, science, commerce as well as vocational education
- To help the university students build their character through the medium of higher education

## Universities at Present

After Tribhuvan University, Nepal Sanskrit University was established in 1986; Kathmandu University was established in 1991; Purbanchal University was established in 1994; and Pokhara University came into existence in 1997; and Lumbini Buddha University was established in Lumbini in 2005. There are two academies which have been functioning like universities; they are B.P. Koirala Institute of Health Science at Dharan, and National Academy of Medical Science at Bir Hospital in Kathmandu. There are also many affiliated colleges to different universities. In this way at present in Nepal there are 6 universities, two Academies, and a number of affiliated colleges.

## Tribhuvan University

Though there are six universities more that 90% burden of higher education has been taken by Tribhuvan University. This is the biggest and oldest university, which has 60 constituent campuses and about 300 affiliated campuses. It has 182835 students, 5970 teachers, and 6997 administrative and support staff. The university has been geared towards the modernization of Nepalese society through higher education. The university has five technical institutes – 1) Institute of Agriculture 2) Institute of Medicine 3) Institute of Engineering 4) Institute of Forestry 5) Institute of Science and Technology; four faculties – 1) Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences 2) Faculty of Management 3) Faculty of Law 4) Faculty of Education; and four research centers – 1) Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA), 2) Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development (CERID) 3) Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), 4) Research Centre for Applied Science and Technology (RECAST).

**Table 1 : Students Enrolment in Tribhuvan University, 2004-2005**

Institutes	Students	Faculties	Students
Engineering Institute	4050	Humanities and Social Sciences	51084
Agriculture and Animal Science	643	Faculty of Law	832
Institute of Medicine	1543	Faculty of Management	36578
Institute of Forestry	437	Faculty of Education	25394
Institute of Science and Technology	12218		

Source : Annual Report, UGC, 2004/05

**Table 2 : Ph.D. Students Enrolment in Tribhuvan University, 2004-2005**

Institutes	Students	Faculties	Students
Engineering Institute	14	Humanities and Social Sciences	393
Agriculture and Animal Science	16	Faculty of Law	14
Institute of Medicine	0	Faculty of Management	90
Institute of Forestry	0	Faculty of Education	8
Institute of Science and Technology	82		

Source : Annual Report, UGC, 2004/05

**Table 3 : Status of Tribhuvan University, 2004-45**

Items	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05
Students	140412	123566	132777
Student/Teacher Ratio	23.5	20.5	22
Per student cost	12342	13513	14697
Teachers	5967	6038	5970
Staffs	7059	7059	6799

Source : Annual Report, UGC, 2004/05

## Nepal Sanskrit University

Nepal Sanskrit University was established in 1986 to modernize Sanskrit education in the country and preserve our age-old values. It is the second university in the country and its central office is in Dang, Mid-western region of the country. It has 12 constituent and 14 affiliated campuses; it has 2319 students, 372 teachers and 399 administrative staff.

## Kathmandu University

Kathmandu University, established in 1991, has 2 constituent and 11 affiliated campuses; it offers courses on Science, Engineering, Management, Fine Arts and Medicines. Ph.D. and M. Phil. programs have also been started by the university. There are about 5162 students, 206 teachers, 82 visiting faculty and 181 administrative and support staff.

## Purbanchal University

Purbanchal University was established in 1994. The university with its central office in Biratnagar has the faculties of Science and Technology, Management, Fine Arts, Law, and Education and there are 5 constituent and 80 affiliated campuses. There are altogether 7666 students, 43 teachers and 122 administrative and support staff.

## **Pokhara University**

Pokhara University, established in 1997, has the faculties of Humanities, Management, and Science and Technology and has 2 constituent and 25 affiliated campuses. There are altogether 4666 students, 44 teachers and 85 administrative and technical staff. It has started M.Phil. programs in some subjects.

## **Lumbini Boudha University**

This university, established in 2005, has just started running classes with a few students.

## **Commissions and Committees**

Various commissions have been formed at different times for the development and reform of education in Nepal. The National Education Planning Commission, which was the first of its kind, was formed in 1954 after the dawn of democracy in 1950 in the country. After this, six other commissions and committees have been made and they are: The National Education Committee in 1961, The National Education System Plan 1971, The Royal Commission on Higher Education 1983, The National Education Commission 1993, The High Level Education commission 1992; and The Higher Education Task Force, 1999.

## **Higher Education in the 10th Plan**

After the dawn of democracy in 1950 the country has embarked on the path of planned development and now we are in the stage of the 10<sup>th</sup> Plan. In the 10<sup>th</sup> Plan, the main objectives of Higher education are: (a) to contribute to poverty reduction by developing quality professional workforce, and knowledge and technological base capable of supporting economic growth; and (b) to promote equitable access to higher education. To achieve the above mentioned objectives the following strategies have been adopted :

- To increase cost sharing
- To provide scholarships and loans to meritorious and needy students
- To move away from grant-based staff positions to block grant funding
- To provide autonomy to T.U constituent campuses
- To establish an Assessment and Accreditation council

The 20 year vision plan made by T.U a few years back has been geared to

meet the objectives of higher education as mentioned in the 10<sup>th</sup> Plan.

## **Higher Education Project (HEPI) and Reform in T.U.**

Tribhuvan University, with the assistance of the World Bank, has already completed the first higher education project, which started in 1998 with its reform agenda. Decentralization policy has been adopted by the university and this policy has delegated the power of central authority to the campus administration. A campus development and management committee has been formed with the involvement of teachers, administrative staff, guardians, local leaders, educationists, donors in every decentralized campus. There are 18 decentralized campuses and some technical institutes and campuses have started receiving block grant. In a decentralized campus, a collective decision making culture has developed and the Campus Chief is accountable not only to the central office but also to the Campus Management and Development Committee (CMDCC). It has also nurtured a sense of ownership on the part of the stakeholders.

Though the decentralization policy has made some contributions to improve the academic and financial status of some campuses, there are some limitations to it. It is said the policy of decentralization has not really decentralized the authority of the Central Office.

## **Second Higher Education Project 2006 and Reform in Higher Education**

Now we have before us the Second Higher Education project, which is being implemented with the assistance of the World Bank. The first higher education project was confined only to the reform of Tribhuvan University (T.U.); but the second project aims at reforming higher education as a whole. It covers all the universities and even higher secondary school education board. The goals of the project are as follows:

- Improvement of financial sustainability of T.U. by providing incentives
- Improvement of academic quality and financial sustainability of T.U. decentralized and autonomous campuses
- Improvement of academic quality and financial sustainability of small universities
- Improvement of quality and financial sustainability of community campuses
- To facilitate the phase out of Proficiency Certificate Level (PCL) from

universities

- To strengthen the capacity of University Grants Commission (UGC) and Ministry of Education and Sports (MOES) to manage higher education

University Grants Commission has taken all the responsibility for the implementation of the second higher education project.

The project aims at giving autonomous status to some T.U. campuses. Stakeholders' participation in management, administrative autonomy, academic autonomy and financial autonomy are the basic principles of the policy of autonomy. The autonomous campuses will be given more power than the decentralized campuses. The management committee and the executive committee will be made at the recommendation of the campus itself. There will be more participation of stakeholders in the management committee. The campus can frame by-laws and code of conduct for teachers and administrative staff. It can appoint teachers and administrative staff on a fixed term basis and fix their salary and remuneration. It can fix the tuition fees and other fees of students and make provision of scholarship for teachers and students. It can make agreement with other similar national and international organizations or parties for the improvement of the campus. It is also allowed to frame curriculum as per the need of the market and administer examinations for the campus based programs after approval from the central office. It is expected that the policy of autonomy will increase a sense of competition and the gap between the constituent and affiliated campuses will be bridged; and that it will stimulate campuses to improve academic standard and financial sustainability.

## Challenges

- Despite the government's efforts from time to time, no concrete policy has been framed on higher education so far; now we need a clear-cut and concrete policy of the government to make a new Nepal in the aftermath of People's Movement II.
- Politicization of higher education has been one of the serious problems that our universities have been facing. Almost every political party in Nepal has a student wing as its sister organization and students' organizations are often used by the parties for political purposes, sometimes even for petty interests. In every political movement or activity schools and colleges are frequently and badly affected. When there is a change in the leadership of the government university authorities are also

changed, sometimes leading to the destabilization of the university. Sometimes even teachers' associations do not confine themselves to their limits.

- There should be understanding between political parties to depoliticize education.
- Our universities are not in a position to make timely revision and improvement of the courses of study because of the lack of resources. Timely revision and improvement of courses taking into consideration the fast changing world of knowledge are immensely required.
- The improvement of academic quality in higher education is a big challenge to us. We have already become a member of WTO and in the changed global context we must be competitive to survive and meet the national requirements.
- The examination system of Nepalese Universities should be improved and modernized; it should be made scientific. The central system of examinations especially in T.U. should be decentralized in the process of reform.
- There has been a growing demand for M. Phil. and Ph. D. degrees but universities have not been fully able to run programs to meet the growing demand.
- Universities should provide training, orientation and research opportunities to teachers to update their knowledge but university teachers in Nepal hardly get such opportunities and they follow the traditional method of teaching. In the changing context they should be trained, updated and encouraged to introduce new teaching methods in the classroom.
- Access of girl students to higher education is very poor; it has to be increased.
- Poor, brilliant and needy students from the marginalized, dalit and janjati groups should be encouraged to acquire higher education for social and economic justice. There should be a special provision for this.
- Despite several endeavors and decisions made by the government and universities, we have not been able to phase out certificate level education from universities.
- A strong and visionary academic leadership is the need of the day at every university.

## Conclusion

We need to reform our higher education because it is very important for the development of the nation. It has lately been realized that a nation can develop and prosper even without natural resources if it has competent and educated manpower. Japan and Switzerland are taken as examples to substantiate this.

In a very short history of higher education, we have made different experiments. In the beginning there were only government colleges, and later the government allowed community colleges to be run. In 1970 all the colleges were nationalized but after a few years it was realized that the state could not take all the responsibility of education and now we have three different kinds of educational institutions - government funded, community managed and institutionalised (private). We are not yet clear as to what the higher education policy is; there are confusions and uncertainties. Maoists are against the privatization of educational institutions and now they are in power. We do not know what will happen in the future, but what we know is that the country needs a clear-cut education policy to meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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## NEPAL'S ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY: ADDRESS THE BASIC ISSUES FIRST !

- Sharad Sharma\*

### 1. Changing Context of Economic Diplomacy

'Political Diplomacy' or simply the 'Diplomacy' in Nepal in the historical pretext could have been somewhat meaningful given the maintenance of the sovereignty of the country. And there was heavy cost paid by the nation to maintain this sovereignty. The truth is that there was virtually entire fulfillment of the British interests with the services of the Nepalese ruling dictators during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, particularly in terms of the open recruitment of the Nepalese soldiers into the British army to fight the world wars as well as unrestricted imports of the British goods into Nepal resulting into trunk ended industrial growth. However, the country survived as an independent state, despite various difficult phases of history. But the situation has changed. In recent years, new nations are either born or made independent and with the modern concepts of global brotherhood and respect for regional associations as well, there is no apparent threat to survival for any country. Therefore, the shift in emphasis in recent scenario has largely rested on the successful Economic Diplomacy (ED) in support of different paradigm of development. Hence, ED has become the slogan as well as the basic coin word for discussion in the development of poor countries through international cooperation.

The UN sponsored Conference on Financing for Development held in Monterrey, Mexico (March 2002) is considered as one significant landmark of multilateral ED. An unprecedented feature of this meeting process was the active participation of the World Bank, the IMF, and the WTO, as well as representatives of civil society and the business sector. Leaders from the developing world asked in the meeting, for a fair chance to trade their way out of poverty, without having to face tariffs and quotas or to compete against subsidized products from rich countries. Also, the representatives from around 60 nations took a commitment to offer financial assistance to

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the world's poorest countries. But, most complex issue of agricultural subsidies remained unresolved. Protectionist barriers continue in terms of subsidies in most developed nations to obstruct global trade in agricultural goods. Developing world does not need to get just good wishing and lip services backing from these nations, but rather to be justly granted the possibility of unrestricted access to their markets.

The Institute of Foreign Affairs of Nepal in July 2002 prepared a comprehensive report on Nepal's ED. The report recognizes shift in the world situation - from state control to market oriented economy with the emergence of independent states in Asia and Africa. It recognizes the fact that the concept of ED for Nepal has to be much more in terms of trade diversification than the services of an entrepot state for trans-Himalayan trade as it was during the pre-1951 period. The report is, in a way, a comprehensive plan for ED as it forwards the initiation of an Institutional Mechanism consisting of External Economic Relations and Coordination Committee, External Relations Consultative Committee, Multilateral and Economic Affairs Division, Restructuring of the Missions and establishment of the Economic Partnership Forum. These are timely and meaningful recommendations to carry on with. However, the problem with comprehensive planning in Nepal is such that it incorporates everything, it wants to achieve everything! And in effects it achieves significantly less than what it had wished to achieve. A great leap forward in ED with a detailed paper work needs, beforehand, addressing of certain crucial issues at the domestic front. In this context, it seems too early for Nepal to adhere to this coin word 'ED' because; the most vital issues to be dealt with domestically are left unattained at present. The issues include the following.

### 2. Basic Issues First

**The Clear Cut Direction of the Economy:** An economy should not be directionless. It has to be defined in clear terms, towards what direction it should move? Should it be inward oriented in terms of self-sufficiency or it has to be basically an outward, or an export-led growth. What are the leading sectors in the context of resource constraints? In these respects, Nepalese economy is notoriously difficult to understand in terms of its concrete direction. It has been the historical rule that everything is emphasized, mostly in ad hoc manner and in essence nothing in particular is significantly achieved.



**Basic Priority Areas of the Economy:** Consistent to the issue above is the need to specify the priority areas. It is said in economic theory that if the resources were not scarce, there would be no planning as such. Utilization of scarce resources needs a careful selection of the priority areas. Looking at the present situation, even in the context of the current plan objective of poverty reduction, it is not still clearly defined- by easily identifiable head count or any other specific measures -who are the poor by specific locations and established population characteristics. When the target is not clearly identified, it is almost impossible to fix the priority areas to achieve this quantified national objective of poverty reduction. Now, the task is to identify the specific targets in the economy and develop very concrete priority areas and policy options for moving ahead.

**Foreign aid as a Temporary Phenomenon:** Foreign Aid, by definition is a temporary phenomenon. It is basically an instrument to bridge the temporary gaps between the poor domestic saving level and the high rate of investment requirement in the economy on the one hand and, to bridge the gap between high import requirements in an economy during its early stage of development, and its scanty export earnings. When foreign aid remains as a long lasting feature of the economy or the economy cannot move forward to implement development projects without it, it is certainly the alarming and unfortunate situation and shameful to the governing units as well as the bureaucracy in the country. Ironically, the symptoms of failed development in Nepal with more than half a century of efforts through foreign aid have clearly demonstrated this trend. Now, the task is to develop urgently a policy to phase out foreign aid through national efforts albeit in the long-run involving few decades or be highly selective in receiving grants and loans and initiate more logically a concrete policy for international economic relations with mutual respect and dignity rather than an overwhelming and continued dependence on inefficient and little productive categories of foreign aid.

**Limited but Effective Planning/ Implementation Mechanism :** In view of the largely ineffective and complicated administrative mechanism which has made the planning office in Nepal only experienced in making plans and little implementing it, restructuring the office with less red-tape and more action oriented instruments seems extremely necessary. The task is to make the planning office a real objective- oriented functional unit rather than a 'window dressing' to receive foreign aid as it appears today.

**Specification of Objectives of Economic Diplomacy to be attained :** When the above-mentioned issues are properly addressed, then the components of ED need to be designed and implemented. Because, ED is to cater the country-needs and, without identifying and prioritizing the national economic objectives in a concrete manner, how is it possible to go ahead in matters of ED? How it is possible for a nation to move ahead in ED successfully, in a state of confusion and vagueness in the domestic policy areas? Clarity in policies is now a days the most talked about and emphasized issue and also a yardstick to judge a country's decision making ability in the international arena. Thus, the crucial task now is to streamline the main tenets of ED of the country with recognized international credibility as soon as the national priorities are fixed in a concrete manner.

It should be clear that without developing the basics of domestic policy framework, strategy and the tactics for international economic relations couldn't be designed. There is past experience in this context. For example, the 'Foreign Aid Policy' of Nepal is such that it includes everything. Have you ever heard or witnessed any debate on the consistence of any size/category and source of foreign aid with that of the 'Foreign Aid Policy' of Nepal? There is everything in the box and when it includes everything, it includes nothing with priority and, in reality; foreign aid is accepted rather than negotiated. Balanced growth is desirable as well as possible, but in a resource poor situation, developing countries need to be priority oriented and focus their resource on clear-cut priority areas. This basic truth has never been seriously considered in the more than half a century old Nepalese history of weak and poorly yielding development planning structure.

### 3. Some Immediate Priority Areas for Considerations

However, in view of the recent development taking place in international economic maneuvering, it may be meaningful to point out few priority areas where developing details on the components of ED seem relevant for Nepal. These areas may include the following.

- a) **Patent Rights.** In the Nepalese case, patent rights on indigenous vegetables, flowers and natural plants, medicinal plants/herbs must be immediately claimed.
- b) **Specialization.** Some areas already identified for advantages in specialization such as ornaments and other handicraft making, hydropower sharing, Tourism etc. should be seriously considered as

vital areas for ED. Easy trade- transit facilities may be another important component. Connectivity, though important, cannot generate much trade benefits to Nepal until the country has enough economic bases for specialization and significant rise in its share in regional and international trade.

- c) **Socially Excluded Groups.** Mainstreaming of the previously excluded social groups in the economic decision-making is very important political solution for its greater and long-lasting advantage in ED.

There may be more basic issues and sub issues; also a number of pertinent questions associated with the issues with their dynamic nature may be important to consider. But once the core issues are properly addressed, the other issues can also be responded by the forward moving economy in a simultaneous manner. However, domestic policy details are very essential even to develop guidelines to take actions in ED.

#### 4. Creation of Commercial Diplomats and their Roles

Nepal needs to review the challenges of world diplomacy. Several national level discussions have to be initiated to address the more pressing demands of the ED. The country should also learn from the approaches of other countries. For example, simply the observation and understanding of the manner in which Indian embassies and ministries reach out to foreign partners to market their products, projects and services, tourism, and the way they try to mobilize foreign direct investment can be the rewarding lesson. Also, the approaches developed by China, and other leading economies of Asia and the Pacific and Latin America in ED could be worth learning. In this respect, creation of competent commercial diplomats is most important to develop meaningful contacts with various chambers of commerce and business associations abroad. They must be able to provide up-to-date knowledge of markets, how they are structured and who operates them.

Country Experiences have shown that ED is enriched by the manner in which different countries around the world practice it. Economic dimension of diplomacy constitutes an increasingly important share of the operational responsibilities of diplomats. Their prime task involves defending the commercial interests of the state they represent. This often is implemented in the form of export promotion activities. This helps to explain why today's

ED can easily be compared in intensity and in scope with the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries' commercial diplomacy of industrial countries advocating free trade.

#### 5. Some Nepal and Developing Country Specific Concerns in the World Trade Organization (WTO)

- a) **No Advantage Voting Rights.** Although developing countries make up three-fourths of WTO membership and by their vote can in theory influence the agenda and outcome of trade negotiations, they have never used this to their advantage. Most developing country economies are in one way or another dependent on the United States, European Union or Japan in terms of imports, exports, aid, etc.
- b) **Small and Non-diversified Economies.** Trade negotiations are based on the principle of reciprocity or "trade-offs." That is, one country gives a concession in an area, such as the lowering of tariffs for a certain product, in return for another country acceding to a certain agreement. Thus, negotiations and trade-offs take place mostly among the developed countries and some of the richer or larger developing countries and largely exclude the small and non-diversified economies.
- c) **Marginalization of the Development Needs of the Poor.** Instead of promoting beneficial goals for all, the United States and the European countries are too often concerned with aggressively expanding their own markets. To gain new market access in developing countries, the developed countries acting in the interests of multinational companies have rapidly imposed new agreements in telecommunications, information technology, and financial services etc.
- d) **Developed Countries and the Subsidies.** If developed and developing country farmers are to compete in the same markets, then the subsidies that developed countries provide to their farmers should be reduced. Otherwise, developing countries should be allowed to increase both their subsidies and their tariffs to protect their markets from the highly subsidized exports of the developed countries.
- e) **Need to Promote Self- Sufficiency Economies for the Minimum Basics.** A change from a "trade creates wealth" perspective to one that stresses broad-based development is necessary if trade is to improve the living standards of the world's poor and ensures the long-term

sustainability of resources. In this context, the WTO should emphasize greater self-sufficiency of economies nationally and regionally at least in the basic goods and services.

- f) **Domestic Market as the Main Stimulus.** Domestic and the regional markets, rather than global markets, should be the main stimulus for the initial growth of the developing countries. Resources should be used in a sustainable manner to cater local, national and regional level population.

## ACTIVITIES OF NCWA (2006-2007)

1. **59<sup>th</sup> Anniversary** of the Council was celebrated on June 12, 2006, at Hotel Shanker, Kathmandu. Hon'ble K.P. Sharma Oli, Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressed his views on "Nepal's Foreign Policy". As the Chief Guest, he presented a Token of Honour to Prof. Lok Raj Baral, past President of the Council. Similarly, he gave letter of Appreciation to the NCWA election sub-committee members, Mr. Laxman Prasad Upadhaya, Mr. Kedar Charan Roy and Mr. Pawan Raj Supari for their contributions to the Council.
2. A talk programme on **"Reconstruction of Post-Conflict Nepal : How the International Community can Help"** was organized by the Council on June 23, 2006 at Hotel Shanker, Kathmandu. Mr. Kul Chandra Gautam, Assistant Secretary General of UN, the Chief Guest of the programme, spoke on the occasion.
3. On the eve of the Golden Jubilee of Nepal-Russia Diplomatic Relations, Nepal Council of World Affairs and Russian Cultural Centre, Kathmandu organized a talk programme titled **"Shanghai Cooperation Organization : Prospectives and Areas of Cooperation in Asia"** on July 20, 2006, at Russian Cultural Centre, Kathmandu. Charge d'Affaires Mr. Igor S. Gavrichev of Russian Embassy, the Chief Guest spoke on the occasion.
4. A talk and discussion programme was organized jointly by the Council and PEN-Nepal on July 21, 2006 at NCWA Seminar Hall. Mr. Samrat Upadhaya, a writer based in the US was the key speaker on the occasion.
5. The Council organized an interaction programme with visiting four members of Chinese Delegation headed by Mr. Ai Ping, Director of Asian Affairs, CAFIU, Beijing, on August 11, 2006 at NCWA Seminar Hall. The Delegation visited Nepal from August 9-15, 2006 at the friendly invitation of the Council. NCWA hosted a dinner on 14<sup>th</sup> August in honour of the delegation. During their stay in Kathmandu, the delegation held talks with different personalities including leaders of the major political parties in Nepal.

6. NCWA organized a talk programme on **"Crisis of Identity"** by Mr. Prakash A. Raj, a writer, on September 15, 2006 at NCWA Seminar Hall.
7. An **Annual General Meeting (AGM)** of the Council was held on August 18, 2006 at NCWA Seminar Hall. The meeting passed the budget and proposed programme for fiscal year 2006/2007 and at the same time approved Auditor Report, Financial Report 2005/2006 and appointed Auditor for the next fiscal year.
8. On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Nepal-Japan diplomatic relations, the Council organized a talk programme on **"Nepal-Japan Relations"**. The Chief Guest Tsutomu Hiraoka, Japanese Ambassador to Nepal spoke on the occasion. The former Nepalese Ambassador to Japan Mr. Badri Prasad Shrestha and Mr. Kedar Bhakta Mathema also presented their papers.
9. Nepal Council of World Affairs organized a talk and discussion programme on **"American Foreign Policy in Nepal"** on October 17, 2006 at NCWA Seminar Hall. Dr. Bishnu Prasad Poudel, Chairman, National Advisory Council South Asia in Washington D.C spoke on the occasion.
10. An interaction programme on **"Nepal's Foreign Policy in the Changing Context"** was organized by the Nepal Council of World Affairs on October 27, 2006 at Hotel Shanker, Kathmandu. The representatives of the major political parties who spoke about their parties foreign policy included Hon'ble Ram Saran Mahat, Finance Minister, Mr. Jhalanath Khanal of CPN-UML, Mr. Dev Gurung of CPN-Maoist, Dr. Prakash Saran Mahat of NC (D), Mr. Parsu Ram Khapung of RPP, Dr. Prakash Chandra Lohani of Janashakti Party and former SAARC Secretary General Mr. Y.K. Silwal.
11. Nepal Council of World Affairs and Russian Cultural Centre jointly organized a talk programme on **"Asia and Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit 2006 in Hanoi"** at Russian Cultural Centre, Kathmandu on December 13, 2006. The Chief Guest, Counselor of the Embassy of the Russian Federation, highlighted on the topic.
12. A talk programme on **"Multi-faceted Border Management of Nepal"** was organized by the NCWA on January 4, 2007 at NCWA Seminar Hall. Mr. Buddhi Narayan Shrestha, retired Director of Survey Department of Nepal presented paper and slides on the topic.

13. On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of establishment of diplomatic relations between Nepal and Russian Federation, Nepal Council of World Affairs organized a talk programme on **"Nepal-Russia Relations"** on January 17, 2007 at Russian Cultural Centre, Kathmandu. The Chief Guest H.E. Mr. Andrey L. Trofimov, shed light on various aspects of Nepal-Russia relations.
14. Nepal Council of World Affairs and Nepal Britain Chamber of Commerce and Industry organized a talk titled **"Nepal-UK Relations in the Changing Context"** on February 14, 2007 at Hotel Shanker, Kathmandu. H.E. Dr. Andrew Hall, Ambassador of United Kingdom, the Chief Guest spoke on the topic.
15. A talk and book release programme on **"Crisis of Identity in Nepal"** was organized by NCWA on March 29, 2007 at the NCWA Seminar Hall. Writer Mr. Prakash A Raj highlighted various aspects of his publication. Other commentators of the book were Hon'ble Pradeep Giri member of Interim Parliament and Dr. Ram Dayal Rakesh.
16. Nepal Council of World Affairs organized an interaction programme on **"Federal Government System and Terai in Nepal"** on April 11, 2007, at Hotel Shanker, Kathmandu. Mr. Ram Hari Joshy chaired the function and Hon'ble Prabhu Shah, Mr. Anil Kumar Jha, Dr. Om Gurung, Prof. Birendra Prasad Mishra, Dr. Ram Dayal Rakesh and Hon'ble Pradeep Giri spoke on the occasion.
17. An interaction programme on **"An Assessment of 14<sup>th</sup> SAARC Summit, New Delhi"** was organized by the NCWA at its own Seminar Hall on April 26, 2007. Mr. Y. K Silwal, former SAARC Secretary General spoke on the occasion.
18. A four member high level Chinese Delegation from Chinese Association for International Understanding (CAFIU) led by Mr. Ai Ping, paid a visit to Nepal 22<sup>nd</sup>- 26<sup>th</sup> May, 2007. A programme for exchange of ideas on the bilateral relations between Nepal and China was held on May 24. On the occasion, the Nepal Council of World Affairs organized a luncheon in honour of the visiting delegation in Kathmandu.
19. The library of NCWA is being developed as a research and study centre. It is located in Seminar Hall.



Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister K.P. Sharma Oli with NCWA Executive Committee Members and receipt of honour at a function to celebrate the 59<sup>th</sup> Anniversary on June 12, 2006.



Token of Honour Presented by the Chief Guest, Deputy Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli to the Past President Prof. Lok Raj Baral on the occasion of the 59<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of NCWA on June 12, 2006.



Diplomats including Chinese and Sri-Lankan Ambassadors to Nepal attending function on the occasion of the 59<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of NCWA on June 12, 2006.



A section of the audience including the past Presidents of NCWA, Prof. Mohan Prasad Lohani, Mr. Sworga Man Singh Shrestha, Prof. Dr. Soorya Lal Amatya, and Prof. Panna Kaji Amatya in the front row during the function to celebrate the 59<sup>th</sup> Anniversary on June 12, 2006.



NCWA Executive Members with the Chief Guest Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister at ceremony to mark the 59<sup>th</sup> Anniversary on June 12, 2006.



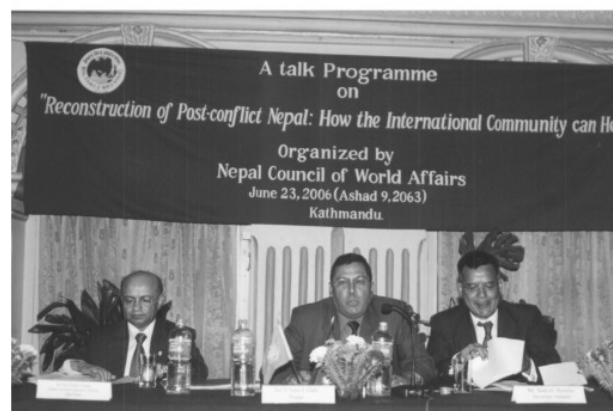
H.E. Tsutomu Hiraoka, Japanese Ambassador to Nepal delivering his speech during a function organized to mark the Golden Jubilee of the establishment of Nepal-Japan Diplomatic Relations on September 21, 2006.



From left to right Mr. Tirtha Raj Onta, Mr. Y K Silwal, Mr. Parsuram Khapung, Prof. Dr. Pradeep Kumar Khadka, Mr. Badri D. Shrestha, and Dr. Prakash Sharan Mahat at the interaction programme on "Nepal's Foreign Policy in the Changing Context" on October 27, 2006.



From left to right Prof. Dr. Pradeep Kumar Khadka, Mr. Dev Gurung and Mr. Badri D. Shrestha on the dias at an interaction programme on Nepal's Foreign Policy on the Changing Context.



Mr. Kul Chandra Gautam on the extreme left with Prof. Dr. Pradeep Kumar Khadka and Badri D. Shrestha on the dias at a talk programme on "Reconstruction of Post-Conflict Nepal : How the International Community can Help" on June 23, 2006.





Mr. Kul Chandra Gautam, Assistant Secretary-General of UN delivering his lecture during the talk programme on "Reconstruction of Post-Conflict Nepal: How the International Community can Help" on June 23, 2006.



From Left to right Mr. Badri D. Shrestha, H.E. Andrew Hall, Prof. Dr. Pradeep K. Khadka and Mr. Sunny Shrestha at the talk programme on "Nepal-UK Relations" on February 14, 2007.



H.E. Andrew Hall, speaking at the talk programme on "Nepal-UK Relations" on February 14, 2007.



A section of audience during the talk programme on "Nepal-UK Relations" on February 14, 2007.



From left to right Mr. Badri D. Shrestha, Mr. Pradip Giri, Mr. Prakash A. Raj, Prof. Dr. Pradeep K. Khadka, Dr. Ram Dayal Rakesh and Mr. Tirtha Raj Onta on the dias during the talk and book release programme on "Crisis of Identity" on March 29, 2007.



Speakers on the dias at the interaction programme on "Federal System of Government and Madhes in Nepal" on April 11, 2007.