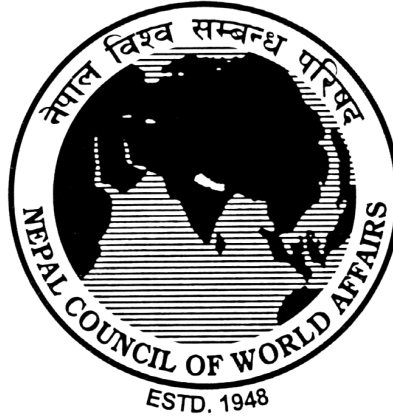


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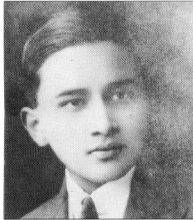


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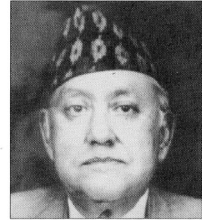
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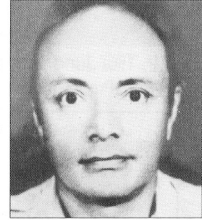
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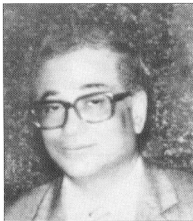
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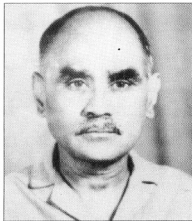
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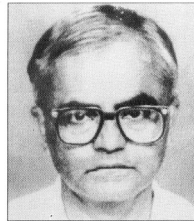
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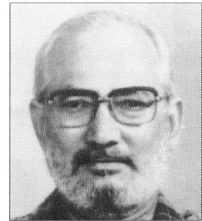
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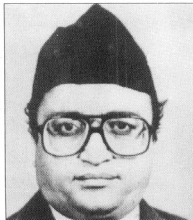
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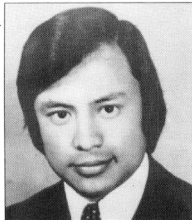
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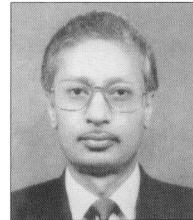
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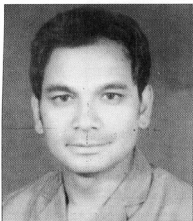
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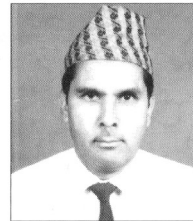
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-Editorial Board

Foreign Policy of Nepal and NCWA

*Jhala Nath Khanal**

I am privileged and honored to be invited to address this august gathering assembled here to celebrate the 64th Anniversary of the Council today. I would like to extend my appreciation to the President of the Nepal Council of World Affairs (NCWA). I would also like to congratulate the Executive Committee Members and all others associated with this organization.

Foreign affairs and international relations in the days of the Council's establishment were beyond the immediate interests and concerns of the common people of Nepal.

With the advent of democracy following the revolution in the country in 1950, Nepal entered into a new era of international relations by opening itself to the world under a democratic dispensation. A century of isolationism was thus supplanted by a democratic openness and an emerging new global consciousness. It was in that context and perspective that the Council started its works in Nepal, and thus was able to contribute significantly in flaring up the new ideas of national, regional and international interest.

Everybody knows that the Council has continuously worked to keep people abreast of the new phenomena of international politics and relations. This is so because the Council has a privilege of being led by most distinguished personalities and intellectuals in different periods of time in the past adding to its stature and importance as a public forum dedicated to the field of world affairs.

Nepal is privileged to be surrounded by the second and rapidly emerging economy of the world- China and India. Unfortunately, we are losing time by being engaged in unproductive debate and controversies even after the 2006

* Mr. Khanal is Former Prime Minister of Nepal. He addressed the Council on June 9, 2011

revolution. The decade long conflict has pushed us back from the course of economic development. And even today, we are consistently failing to forge a 'consensus in policies, programs and strategies for economic and social development. The partisan political interests are creating stumbling blocks for a meaningful domestic and foreign policy. Nepal with its position between China and India can benefit by serving as a transit for trade between these two big economies.'

The integration of 'diversities' along with their individual identity, is a cherished 'benchmark of our nationalism' and the bedrock of our development. The foreign policy of Nepal is thus guided by constructive neutrality in international politics, sovereign existence and mutual trust towards neighbors, along with advancement in socio-economic development.

Foreign policy is the basic guideline that helps us navigate the complex structure of international relations through the means of diplomacy. Nepal's geostrategic location and geopolitical realities are important factors that influence our foreign policy decisions and their execution. It is very important to constantly review the progress made by our existing policies and programs with regard to foreign policy and diplomacy.

Adopting a pragmatic foreign policy appropriate to the changing domestic as well as international environment is very important for a state that wishes to remain in the mainstream of international politics and cooperation and at the same time maintain its identity and sovereignty.

The new constitution must be able to clearly outline a conducive foreign policy to take advantage of the largest economic markets of world in the north and south. Hence, we need to prepare ourselves to be 'creative, innovative and industrious in trade, investment and production systems'. The service sector needs to be strengthened equally. Our education system needs to be revamped in order to address the essentials of the new development in those sectors. The new Constitution while chalking out the directives to the foreign policy must be guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter, the five principles of peaceful coexistence, non-alignment, abidance to the international law and the values and norms of world peace. In other words, we must uphold the principles of sovereign equality of all states, peaceful settlement of international disputes, non-use of threat or force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other state, and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states.

For the sake of simplicity and ease of reference, our foreign relations can broadly be analyzed at three levels: bilateral, regional and multilateral.

At the bilateral level, friendship with all and enmity towards none has been the motto of our foreign policy. It is on the basis of this that Nepal has established bilateral relations with more than a hundred and thirty countries around the world so far. However, relations with our immediate neighbours – India and China – are the most important ones in terms of geographical proximity, social and cultural links, historical factors, the level and frequency of interactions at the government and the people's levels, the extent and scope of trade and economic cooperation, and other aspects of bilateral relations. I am glad to recall that we enjoy very close and cordial relations with both of our immediate neighbours in the South and the North. Our relations are based on friendship, mutual respect, sovereign equality, and cooperation for mutual benefits. Likewise, we have excellent relations with our development partners who have been extending their valuable support to us in our development endeavors.

At the regional level, Nepal is actively engaged in promoting and consolidating regional cooperation through established institutional mechanisms. Nepal is one of the founder members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and hosts the SAARC secretariat in Kathmandu. The SAARC is an outcome of understanding that 'South Asia' represents a 'common heritage of culture, language, and many other facets of life' in South Asian region. Hence, the SAARC must endeavor to promote, among others, the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and improve their quality of life by accelerating economic growth, social progress and cultural development through active collaboration, interactions and mutual assistance. The research on foreign policy and diplomacy along with other areas of knowledge such as science and technology, trade and commerce, culture and sociology, economics and political history can be substantial to promote the importance of the SAARC as an effective forum. Indeed, Nepal must take leading role in initiating and establishing the educational institutions to cater for 'educational demands at regional level' in this line. Obviously, the SAARC has to function in order to properly understand the institutional value of this regional body and its future roles in this very dynamic region of South Asia. Nepal has also headquartered the UN Regional Center for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific (UNRCPD) since 2008. We have also joined the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) as a regional mechanism meant to accelerate multi-sectoral cooperative initiatives in the region.

Multilateralism as a new international order is gaining its importance particularly since the end of the Cold War. Increasing interdependence among states and globalization has given a strong stimulus to multilateralism in the twenty-first century. The UN Millennium Summit, the Non-aligned movement and almost all other international conferences have accorded an important place to multilateralism as the most appropriate and effective cooperation mechanism in the area of international relations in the twenty-first century. Nepal also holds the view that in addition to the traditional methods of bilateralism, regionalism and multilateralism are the other equally important mechanisms for furthering human welfare and well-being in a larger and evolving global setting of interdependence and globalization. At the multilateral level, Nepal's long association with the United Nations and its specialized agencies and international financial institutions has been of great significance for us in promoting our international personality as well as receiving the much needed support and assistance of the international community for our economic development and social progress. Nepal has been an active supporter and major troop contributor to the international peacekeeping operations undertaken by the United Nations in different parts of the world. We have been participating in the UN Peacekeeping operation for more than five decades since 1958 and we are now the sixth largest troop contributor to the UN for the noble cause of maintaining international peace and security. This contribution of Nepal has been widely appreciated by the UN and international community.

The Non-aligned movement has remained an important plank of our foreign policy since its very inception. As one of the founding members of NAM, Nepal has always participated in the NAM summits at the highest levels and remains fully committed to its ideals and principles.

As current chair of the Global Coordination Bureau of the LDCs, Nepal played an active role during the recently concluded Fourth UN Conference on LDCs held in Istanbul, Turkey. The Conference has come out with the Istanbul Program of Action for the LDCs for the next ten year period which aims, among others, to help at least half of the LDCs to graduate from their current status through accelerated socio-economic development and growth with the support of development partners and the international community. The forum also offered an excellent opportunity for Nepal to project itself as a country with vast potentials for development and growth.

We live in a competitive world of globalization and interdependence where efficiency and cost effectiveness are the fundamental norms of success in all fronts. In world view of diplomacy and politics, the globalization has significant achievement made in relation to the peace and prosperity of people. One can visibly see that the 'marching globalization has almost ended the threat of a new world war'. The dispersal of the population and economy across the world from all corners has tremendously addressed the 'prospect of militant nationalism' and 'chauvinistic sovereignty'. The globalization has severely reduced the 'prospect of a particular nation emerge as a imperialist power'. The interdependence of nations is thus a milieu of globalization today. Country like Nepal must be able to benefit from such a positive prospect of security and peace. However, the danger of multinational corporations exploiting the natural resources of underdeveloped countries has also increased. If we fail to enact appropriate laws and regulatory mechanisms to protect our resources and atmospheres, we may put ourselves at mercy of the multinational corporations. As a matter of fact, our foreign policy must be able to strike a balance between the positive benefits generated by the globalization and impediments posed by proliferation of the multinational corporations.

As a least developed and landlocked country, Nepal faces numerous development challenges and structural constraints although we have become a member of the WTO and have adopted open and liberal economic policy with incentive packages for foreign direct investment in all major sectors of our national economy. In my view, political stability and consistent policy are crucial to expect the level of FDI in the country in the coming days. Therefore, we have to focus our attention on economic diplomacy with emphasis on the promotion of trade, investment and tourism in the country. Climate change, steep rise in food and fuel prices, the delayed impacts of economic and financial crises have added new challenges to least developed countries like ours. We need to develop professionalism in our foreign service in order to build our national capacity *vis-a-vis* the new and emerging global economic and political challenges that we have to encounter almost every day. We also need to build our institutional capacities both at the headquarters and at our Embassies and missions abroad to cater to the increasing demands for service and meet the professional challenges of the day. We have formed a separate Foreign Service as a specialized field and the Foreign Service rules are in the final stage of issuance. We also have to allocate adequate amount of resources, both human and material, in order to better equip our Embassies and Missions abroad to handle these challenges in a more effective and efficient manner.

The problem of the Bhutanese refugees remains a continuing concern for us and we have kept trying to persuade the Bhutanese government to take back its citizens respecting their dignity and honor. Meanwhile as an interim solution to this long standing humanitarian problem and without prejudice to the fundamental right of the Bhutanese refugees to return to their homeland, a voluntary process of third country resettlement for the willing Bhutanese refugees has been going on for the last few years.

Of late, foreign employment has been a major source of income for the country in the form of remittances. We have to make sure that the interests and welfare of the Nepalese workers, especially women and the more vulnerable ones abroad are fully protected in all circumstances. Nepalese Embassies and Missions will have to play a more proactive role in this regard. Meanwhile, we should discourage and severely punish all fraudulent activities associated with foreign employment and exploitation of our workers within our own borders as well as abroad.

Recent political turmoil in parts of Africa and the Middle East has caused some concerns to us for the welfare and well-being of our nationals working in those parts of the world. I am glad that we were able to evacuate our nationals from Libya on time and I would like to reaffirm the commitment of the Government of Nepal to do all we can to take care of the safety and wellbeing of our nationals abroad.

In recent years, the Non-Resident Nepalese (NRNs) have emerged as a group with promising prospects for engaging in the development of Nepal. The Government of Nepal has recognized them as potential investors and partners in Nepal's development efforts and has taken some measures to facilitate the process. NRN ID cards have been issued and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been designated as the coordinating agency. We appreciate their deep love and respect for the motherland and invite them to contribute to the noble task of nation building by becoming genuine partners in our development.

We are now passing through a historic transition nation building. The recent decision of the Constituent Assembly to extend its term by 3 more months has been guided by the sole consideration of preparing an appropriate environment for accomplishing the task of peace process and constitution drafting within the stipulated time. All the major political parties have recommitted themselves to remain fully engaged in this historic task. I am confident that with the continuing

cooperation of all major parties, we will be able to complete the peace process and drafting the constitution on time.

Before concluding, I would like to express my thanks to all our neighbors and friends, donors and development partners in the international community who have been providing generous assistance and support to us in consolidating democracy and in undertaking our development activities. As we accomplish the peace process and reach the next stage of economic transition, we look forward to enhanced level of support and assistance from them in the coming days. The present Government has taken initiatives to complete the peace process and accelerate the process of constitution making so that it can be completed in time.

With these words, I once again like to congratulate the President and office bearers of the Nepal Council of World Affairs on the 64th Anniversary celebrations and wish the Council a very bright future.



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Highlights of the Seventeenth SAARC Summit

- Prof. Dr. Mohan Lohani*

Addressing a SAARC – related conference recently organized in Kathmandu by the Center for South Asian Studies (CSAS) in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Nihal Rodrigo, former SAARC Secretary-General, described the 17th SAARC Summit Declaration adopted on 12 November, 2011 at Addu City, Maldives as the ‘shortest’ creating a healthy precedent for SAARC documentation. The Declaration, as against past Declarations, consists of 20 paragraphs which cover all important areas affecting South Asian economy, environment, education, the role of the South Asian Forum in developing and issuing the ‘Vision Statement’ for South Asia and, above all, strengthening SAARC mechanisms, including the Secretariat and Regional Centers, that would not only develop but also implement regional and sub-regional projects, as appropriate, in agreed areas.

South Asian leaders at the Addu Summit have not only emphasized the importance of intra-regional trade for which South Asia as a Free Trade Area (SAFTA) was unanimously adopted and became operational in 2006 but have also directed the SAFTA Ministerial Council ‘to intensify efforts to fully and effectively implement SAFTA’ by reducing Sensitive Lists, removing non-tariff barriers and also expediting the process of harmonizing standards and customs procedures. These measures are crucial to promoting trade within the region and making the Association a viable and dynamic organization fully committed to peace and prosperity through regional cooperation and capable of delivering goods to the people of the region. There is no doubt that intra-regional trade as compared with external trade of SAARC member states has been negligible.

* Prof. Dr. Lohani, Former President of NCWA

Progress in the effective implementation of SAFTA would pave the way to the realization of the target of establishing a South Asian Economic Union not later than 2020.

Trade and investment are inter-related. One of the objectives of SAARC since its inception has been to optimize regional complementarities. Member states with 'capital and technology' have been called upon to utilize these resources and invest them in viable intra-regional projects in the true SAARC spirit. The Addu Declaration has urged the SAARC Finance Ministers to draw up a strategic paper that would facilitate 'greater flow of financial capital and intra-regional long-term investment'. There is no denying the fact that most of the countries in the region have hitherto remained dependent on external aid and funds for accelerating the pace of development and augmenting their growth rates. It is high time for South Asia to get rid of donor-driven mentality or dependency syndrome and move towards 'collective self-reliance' as envisaged in the SAARC Charter and spelt out in earlier Summit Declarations.

Climate change, although it has become an issue of global concern in recent years, calls for urgent and realistic measures to maintain ecological balance and protect the eco-system in the South Asian region. For instance, Nepal well known in the world as a country of Mount Everest, the tallest mountain, is faced with the disturbing impact of climate change such as the fast drying up of glacial lakes, the source of water and rivers for several countries in the region. Bangladesh and the Maldives, too, need assistance to prevent the danger of their getting submerged as a result of rise in the sea-level. Environmentally sound and sustainable projects can be implemented in the region through collective efforts and by seeking global cooperation in terms of financial resources and technology in order to overcome the disastrous consequences of climate change.

Finally, in order to ensure effective implementation of decisions and measures approved and adopted by the preceding SAARC Summits SAARC member states should, without further delay, strengthen and revitalize existing mechanisms and institutions. The role of the SAARC Secretariat is crucial in this respect.

The 18th SAARC Summit is being hosted by Nepal. This country had made preparations thoroughly and satisfactorily when it hosted the Third Summit in 1987 (this writer was also a member of the Nepali delegation to the Summit) and the Eleventh Summit in 2002. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) which has also a SAARC Division had set up a Preparatory Committee consisting of experts, high government officials from the concerned line ministries and

members of the business community and other civil society members. Although the Kathmandu Declaration like the Addu Declaration may not be long winded, Nepal as host country is expected to put forward some 'doable or implementable' proposals which may find entry into the Declaration. The SAARC Summit does not seem to have received the priority as it deserves since the government is preoccupied with the peace making and constitution making processes. But the government would do well to form a preparatory committee which could go ahead with the task of reviewing the past declarations and come up with concrete recommendations, particularly relating to economic agenda and issues relating to strengthening the SAARC Secretariat and other mechanisms for effective implementation of the agreed decisions and recommendations. In the changed political context of Nepal, it is the responsibility of all sections of the population, including all political parties to contribute their best to making the 18th Summit a success.

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A Glimpse of Third South Asia Conference

*Tika Jung Thapa**
*Prof. Dr. Shreedhar Gautam***

Indian Council of World Affairs and Association of Asia Scholars jointly organized a two-day conference on “Transforming South Asia: Imperatives for Action” on March 9-10 in the council’s building, Sapru House, New Delhi, India. It was the third Asia conference held in series from the year 2009. ICWA had first held its epoch-making Asian Relations Conference in March 1947. The revived Asian Relations Conference was held in 2009 on the theme of “Emerging China: Prospects of Partnership in Asia”. The second revived conference was held in 2010 on the theme of “India and GCC countries, Iran and Iraq: Emerging Security Perspectives”.

The theme of the third conference was appropriate considering the context of recently held Seventeenth SAARC Summit, in the Maldives, which has reaffirmed the commitment of the SAARC leaders to peace, confidence building, liberty, human dignity, democracy, good governance, effective linkage and connectivity for greater movement of people in the region. It is hoped that deliberation in the conference would further strengthen the commitment of the SAARC leaders to alleviate poverty and reduce income inequalities within the societies. The conference was highly meaningful also from the perspective of millennium development goals, which include freeing the humanities from extreme poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and diseases by 2015. The goals form a blueprint for the development of this region too. And such a goal would be realized only through regional integration and beneficial cooperation among the concerned nations.

So, the just concluded third conference was a process in continuation. It focused on deliberating on development and demographic trends, issues of resource

* Mr. Thapa is President of NCWA.

** Prof. Dr. Gautam is Secretary General of NCWA.

sharing, border disputes, migration, economic cooperation, progress of SAARC, to mention a few. It was inaugurated jointly by Shiva Shankar Menon, the national security advisor to the Indian prime minister, and Ambassador Dr. Sudhir T. Devare, the Director General of ICWA. In the inaugural speech, Shiva Shankar Menon underlined the need of holding such conferences regularly to build mutual trust and cooperation among the South Asian countries. He opined that South Asian nations “need to get rid of the pessimistic narrative” that portrays South Asia’s perpetual underdevelopment, rampant corruption and chaos. Before the keynote address of the national security advisor, Ambassador Sudhir T. Devare had shed light on the historical background of ICWA and its basic objectives. The inaugural session was concluded with the vote of thanks by Prof. Swran Singh, the president of Association of Asia Scholars.

The second session on the Day-First was titled “South Asia: Commonalities and Convergences”. It focused on historical evolution and bonding of South Asian Societies as well as the nature of all future challenges that bind South Asian communities together. The first session was chaired by Mr. I.P. Khosla, former ambassador of India to Afghanistan. H.E. Khalid Pashtoon, Deputy Speaker of Lower House, Afghanistan, presented his paper focusing on the situation in his country. He was of the view that “the success of Afghanistan’s political and economic transformation after years of war, turmoil and neglect depends very much on strengthening regional economic cooperation and integration”. Mr. Asaduzzaman Noor, Member of Parliament, Bangladesh, Mr. Lyonpo Dago Tshering, former minister of home and cultural affairs, Bhutan, U Nyunt Maung Shein, former ambassador of Myanmar, Dr. Shambhu Ram Simkhada, former ambassador of Nepal, and Mr. Sartaz Aziz, former minister of Pakistan, were other paper presenters in the first session. They echoed the theme of holding South Asia together as one region. They dealt also with fast changing demographic profile of this densely populated region.

The third session on the Day-First was titled “Issues and Perspective”. Mr. Khalid Pashtoon, the deputy speaker, Wolesi Jirgah, Lower House, Afghanistan, chaired the session. Dr. Haroun Mir, Director of Afghanistan Center for Research and Policy Studies, Mr. Rajan Bhattarai, Chairperson of Nepal Institute for Policy Studies, and Mr. B Raman, security and strategic affairs analyst, India, presented their papers focusing on regional issues like greater coordination in sectors like energy, environment, education, health, poverty alleviation, gender, trade, and investments. They raised these issues in the context of regional and global perspectives like millennium development goals and need for inclusive and sustainable growth.

The fourth session on the Day-First was titled “Socio-Economic Issues and Perspectives”. It was chaired by Dr. Muinul Islam, Professor of Economic, University of Chittagong, Bangladesh. Dr. A. Ghafoor Lewal, Director, Regional Study Center, Afghanistan, Mr. Thinley Palden Dorji, Vice President, Bhutan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bhutan, Mr. Jahangir Bin Alam, Secretary General, India-Bangladesh Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bangladesh, and Prof. Girijesh Pant, School of International Studies, JNU, India, presented their papers dealing with the common hurdles to progress and focusing on specific themes like international crime, terrorism and piracy, resource conversation, specially water sharing problem as well as South Asia’s overall profile in terms of threats and mechanism and its management of natural and man-made disasters.

The first session on the Day-Two titled “Towards Regional Integration” was chaired by Mr. A.W. Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, the Executive Director of LKIIRS, Sri Lanka. Dr. Muinul Islam, Professor of Economic, Bangladesh, Dr. Sheelkant Sharma, Former Secretary General, SAARC, Ms. Fathimath Amira, Director General of Higher Education Department, Maldives, Professor Dr. Shreedhar Gautam, Secretary General of NCWA, Nepal, and Dr. SinhaRaja Tamita-Dellgoda, senior lecturer, BCIS, Sri Lanka, presented their papers. As the conference was held barely weeks after the 17th SAARC Summit held on November 10-11, in Male, 2011, most of the papers tried to examine twenty five years of SAARC to extrapolate the likely scenarios for next twenty five years of SAARC and how South Asia could ensure staying on course and maximizing its advantages. The papers focused also on a serious examination of what have been the limitations of the SAARC and how India should play its role in South Asia. Other themes touched upon in the presentation included connectivity, infrastructure, social and human resource development, EU like intra-regional integration leading to vertical and horizontal adjustments.

The sixth session on the Day-Two was on “Evolving a Blueprint for Action”. Former Minister of Bhutan, Mr. Lyonpo Dago Tshering, Chaired the session. Dr. Bhekh Bahadur Thapa, Former Minister of Foreign and Finance Affairs, Nepal, Dr. Omar Sharifi, Director, American Institute of Afghanistan’s studies, Mr. Matiur Rahman, Editor, Prothom Alo, Bangladesh, Prof. Partha Ghos, expert on South Asia, India, and Dr. Huma Baqai, Karachi Council of Foreign Relation, Pakistan, presented their papers. The papers gave on outline to evolve an actionable blueprint for the next twenty five years of regional integration of South Asia. The papers also highlighted how India’s growth story depended on simultaneous growth of its neighboring countries and how could India’s

growth story facilitate development of its neighboring countries. The papers outlined some of the institutional arrangement like Free Trade Agreements that could facilitate common progress of entire region.

The concluding session on the Day-Two was titled “The Way Forward”. Dr. Bhekh Bahadur Thapa, Former Minister of Nepal, Chaired the Session. Mr. Khalid Pashtoon, Afghanistan, Mr. Lyonpo Dago Tshering, Bhutan, Mr. A.N. Ram, India, Mr. Tika Jung Thapa, President of Nepal Council of World Affairs, Nepal, Mr. Liaquat Merchant, Chairperson of Karachi Council of Foreign Affairs, Pakistan, and Mr. A.W. Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, Sri Lanka, presented their papers focusing on cross-cutting trends of South Asian nations pooling sovereignty in sectors like environment, and climate change issues while at the same time guarding sovereignty on other sessions like border demarcations. The papers also underlined how forces of convergence were expanding their influence through medium like cricket, television, films, information, and migration.

Valedictory session was chaired by Shri Sudhir T. Devare, the Director General of the ICWA. Mr. E. Ahmad, Minister of State for External Affairs, India, addressed the session focusing on the importance of the solidarity of the South Asian countries. Dr. Reena Marwah, Secretary General, Association of Asia Scholars, gave a vote of thanks expressing her satisfaction at the successful conclusion of the two-day conference.

One of the highlights of the conference was the short documentary film on ICWA. The 17 minute long documentary covered the history of ICWA starting from its founding year 1947. It showed the first Asian Relations Conferences attended among others by the first Prime Minister of independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru. The film portrayed the significant contribution made by the ICWA to the formulation of the India’s foreign policy. The documentary film gave an opportunity to know about how the ICWA has functioned as a think tank organization for India’s foreign policy. The research facilities and the rich collection of journal and books belonging to the foreign policy exemplified the council’s success in accomplishing the image of a pioneering foreign policy study research center. The film highlighted the special contribution made by the current Director General of the institute to revive the past spirit of the South Asia solidarity to free the nations from the clutches of unemployment, poverty and illiteracy.

Agenda for Economic Development and International Cooperation for the New Democratic Republic of Nepal

*Dr. Rajendra B. Shrestha, Ph.D.**

1. The Nepali people, through the Constituent Assembly Election (CA), have expressed their desire for a smooth transition to sustainable peace and economic prosperity through inclusive development. The clear mandate coming from the CA results indicate people want change in the political leadership with CPN Maoist leading the government in coalition (consensus) with other political parties to: 1). Improve delivery of basic goods and services through good governance and corruption control; 2). Achieve higher economic growth (i.e. at least respectable by the regional standards) that is socially equitable and sustainable; 3). Meet global economic challenges faced by a developing/transition economy; 4). Effectively coordinate and utilize international cooperation; and 5). Support the framing of a new constitution that ensures fair representation of all its citizens while securing local/regional autonomy, and maintaining national sovereignty, integrity and prosperity.

In line with the above, a more realistic development strategy encompasses the following:

A. Economic Development:

1. **Priority Sectors:** Nepal enjoys competitive and comparative advantages in niche based agriculture and forestry, water resources, eco-/adventure

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2. Based on the Presentation made at the Nepal Council of World Affairs, March 1, 2010

tourism, cottage and small agro-/handicraft industry and rural infrastructure. Agriculture contributes about 40 percent to GDP and more than 80 percent to local employment. Crop diversification, intensification, and commercialization of agricultural and processing of forestry and non-timber products including herbs and spices will improve income and employment. Multi-purpose Hydropower development with at least 100 MW capacity added annually to national grid (in combination of micro-, small and medium) and large projects for export purposes.

2. **Economic Growth:** During the transition (next 2-3 years), a realistic growth target for the economy is around 4-6 % provided all the partners (government, international community & private sector) work effectively to improve service delivery and productivity. In the short run (5 years), a growth target of 6-8 percent, medium term (5-10 years) a target of 8-10 percent and in the long run (10 years or more) a growth target over 10 percent is achievable and sustainable.
3. **Improved Service Delivery:** The new coalition government should immediately work on improving the delivery of basic goods and services, and introduce instruments to curb inflation (presently at double digit) through effective price and non-price mechanisms including targeted subsidy, quota, cost reduction and improved administration.
4. **Promoting Public-Private Partnership:** The government needs to put in place a clear policy and implementation strategy to institutionalize Public-Private Partnership by identifying priority sector programs.
5. **Targeted Poverty Program:** Nepal has ample experience with successful targeted poverty programs such as Poverty Alleviation Fund (PAF), food for work for rural infrastructure, Rural Water Supply and Sanitation (RWSS), community forestry, irrigation, rural energy and other community driven development (CDD) models and alternative livelihood programs. They need to be replicated, scaled up and improved for effectively targeting the ultra/marginal poor, disadvantaged and most vulnerable.
6. **Governance Reform:** Decentralized and participatory decision making, re-orientation and on the job training of central and regional/local staff, institutional support for planning, monitoring and evaluation, enforcing corruption control measures and right sizing of central and regional/local staff. Although private sector undertakings in education, health and other

social sectors have been encouraging in recent years, they need to be regulated more effectively to stay competitive, affordable and maintain the quality of services. Effective measures to make public undertaking in education and health as efficient as the private undertaking need to be explored.

7. **Financial Sector Reform:** To improve effectiveness of Central Bank's role towards regulating, monitoring and sanctioning commercial banks and other financial institutions. Appropriate and timely monetary policy interventions, efforts to reducing defaulters and non-performing assets of commercial banks, reducing spread margin and expanding access to formal credit to rural poor through micro finance institutes (MFIs)
8. **Employment and Remittance:** New Nepal faces a stronger challenge in dealing with the ever increasing employment situation, particularly the youth. About 0.3-0.4 million youths enter the labor force every year. At present, about half are absorbed in foreign employment and the remaining needs to be absorbed in domestic employment (rural and urban). Present remittance income (1-2 billion USD from formal/informal channels) can be enhanced and sustained by providing the labor force additional skills demanded by recipient countries. Rural employment opportunities in agro-forestry through diversification and commercialization in high value cash crop, rural infrastructure development, eco-/adventure tourism and promoting small and medium enterprises (SMEs). Remittance income can be channeled to these productive investments rather than for consumption purposes as at present.
9. **Revenue Administration:** Improve effectiveness of revenue mobilization and administration by making it broad based (by widening the tax bracket), progressive (based on equitable slabs), simplified, transparent and strictly enforced.
10. **Revenue Mobilization:** Revenue sharing and resource mobilization between Central and Regional/local governments must be equitable and encourage productive and sustainable utilization of local resources. This should support building the capacities of local government institutions.
11. **Monitoring and Evaluation.** Mechanisms for performance, process and impact monitoring of various development policies/programs/projects need to be strengthened at the central and local levels. Training, orientation and institutional support for the same including data base and MIS management need to be improved and effectively disseminated.

12.Private Sector Development: Private sector development and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) can only be improved by implementing consistent policy, simplified procedures, flexible, efficient and equitable labor laws, secured legal provisions and selection of sectors for investment based on comparative and competitive advantages.

13.Land Reform: Scientific land reform that encourages productivity, commercialization and crop diversification to meet food security as well as improve household income. Land as a productive resource must be accessible and affordable. Criteria for land ceiling must be based on efficiency, equitability and productivity and must be simplified.

14.Social Protection: Economic rehabilitation of Internally Displaced (IDPs), Vulnerable and the Differently abled. About 0.2 million are reported to be IDPs from the conflict in the country. Proper rehabilitation and re-integration of IDPs should be ensured and they must be provided with alternative livelihood opportunities along with differently able and vulnerable in the society. Affordable social protection (security) policies/programs must be provided by the government especially to the elderly, differently abled, women and the most vulnerable.

B. International Cooperation:

- 1. International Aid:** Nepal receives aid commitment from international communities in excess of 0.5 billion USD annually although the actual release is smaller owing to administrative delays, lack of government absorptive capacity etc...This should be increased to at least twice the amount with at least 10-15 percent annual increment in light of post conflict rehabilitation, reconstruction and reintegration (RRR) requirements to sustain peace. Most bi-lateral support has been in grants and is subject to unnecessary conditionality and is not very transparent and effective. Multilateral support and concessionary loans in the economic/productive sectors that have fully grown should be encouraged to avoid lengthy and costly transactions along with conducive policies (tax, support, administration, etc) to attract more FDI.
- 2. Aid Effectiveness:** It can be improved by increasing aid utilization capacity, donor harmonization, transparency and cost reduction measures. High cost of service delivery need to be reduced by mobilizing local resources, low

cost appropriate technologies, simplified administrative procedures and effective monitoring mechanism and avoiding unnecessary layers of service providers.

3. **Regional/Global Cooperation:** Nepal's membership in the regional and global organizations such as SAARC, WTO, BIMSTEC, etc needs to be utilized for maximum economic benefit by identifying goods and services that enjoy comparative advantage, effective marketing, lobbying for favorable terms of trade and networking with partners.
4. **International Treaties:** Nepal needs to be carefully selecting its participation in the international treaties and their compliances based on protecting national interest, appropriateness and with full understanding of implications from non-compliances.
6. **Bilateral/Multilateral Relations:** A clear and consistent policy based on priorities to protect national interest should form the basis in furthering bilateral and multilateral relations. The government should try to get rid of the traditional donor/recipient relations and promote the practice of partnership based on mutual benefits. Aid policies need to be guided by trade policies in the long run. International relations should be guided by the domestic national policies.
7. **Relations with Neighbors:** Foster relation with Southern and Northern neighbor based on principles of co-existence, non-interference, non-alliance, mutual respect and cooperation to protect national sovereignty, integrity and prosperity.
8. **International Protocol:** The government should enforce a conducive environment for compliance with international protocols. Proper diplomatic procedures to deal with interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation must be adopted and the government must take swift and decisive actions against these.
9. **Economic Diplomacy:** Nepali diplomatic missions abroad and the foreign ministry and other line ministries need to build their capacities to undertake the newly adopted responsibilities for economic diplomacy effectively through training, advocacy, marketing, and capacity building programs. Ministry of Foreign Affairs will effectively coordinate diplomatic relations with the government. Institutions like Nepal Council for World Affairs

(NCWA) and Institute for Foreign Affairs need to be supported and strengthened to facilitate such efforts.

C. Conclusion

Major steps to be undertaken to achieve the above agenda for improving economic development and international cooperation would require:

1. Ending political instability through politics of consensus as soon as possible and promulgating an all-inclusive new constitution.
2. Creating an environment of personal security and guaranteeing basic rights.
3. Pursuing economic and development agenda before the political agenda... In fact it can foster political stability.
4. Ensuring domestic (economic) policy guide the international policy.
5. Promoting political consensus and government's diplomatic efforts to discourage international interference from making Nepal an experimental ground for failed policies of foreign countries.
6. Creating an environment for promoting national pride, integrity and sovereignty.
7. Inculcating a sense of Nepal and Nepali First.
8. Listening more to ourselves and practice working together than listening to others. and finally
9. Rising above self and standing for the country.

High-quality Diplomacy for a New Nepal

*Chiran S. Thapa**

Questions were raised about Nepal's history of independence as we applied for membership of the United Nations in the late nineteen hundred forties 'No foreign flag has flown over Nepal'. This was the gist of the explanatory note buttressing Nepal's sovereign independence. It was pointed out too that Nepal had its own army, officered entirely by her own nationals, and we made war and concluded peace without reference to a third party.

There are few sovereign independent states which at one time or another did not come under foreign rule. Powerful colonial powers including France, Belgium, Netherland's among others, for example, were the victims of foreign invasion as late as a decade before Nepal's UN application.

Our legacy of independence is a precious heritage, which we have to preserve and promote in circumstances, which have changed in the last half of the twentieth century and even more during the first dozen years of the twenty-first century. For much of the twentieth century and earlier, countries which prized their independence had to use the arsenal of military and non-military resources for the overarching goal of retaining their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The global and regional trend today is one of co-operation and mutually beneficial interdependence. These times call on us a sovereign people to aim high and leave no stone unturned to do what we must in the best interests of our country and people and abandon what we cannot. The agenda ought to be one of goal-setting ones, but within the constraints of Nepal's size, level of development and Nepal's geographic location and handicaps.

Our geographic location and the country's terrain are such that we have to deepen strategic partnerships which give us the freedom to pursue the country's best

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interests. Our international borders have to be secure and our defense capability has to be second to none within the constraints of the country's resources.

We should optimizing benefits from nature's gifts: Our resources, mountains and river basins, provide the country the gifts to develop for multipurpose uses of irrigation, hydropower, water transport for the benefits of our own people and those of our neighboring countries. The country's diplomatic practice has to rise to garner maximum benefits for the people of the river basins' upstream locations and reasonable residual needs of the other riparian countries. Diplomacy requires bargaining for optimal development of entire river basins to promote the rights of the people of upstream flow areas. We should ensure benefits to downstream riparians too.

Nepal is working towards an inclusive peace process which will hopefully be enshrined in a constitution to be drawn up by the Constituent Assembly. This is unprecedented in the country's history. There is no better time than now to strengthen the country's diplomatic theories and practice rising toward solutions in problem areas and striking out in new directions to meet new challenges.

Other countries, smaller in size and population than Nepal, have extracted the optimal benefits for their people. Switzerland, for example, has worked out practical co-operation in transit transport with her neighbours for advanced trade relations and state-of-the-art tourism and banking networking with high-worth economies.

Scandinavian countries, Norway, Finland, Denmark, among others, have helped in closure of the peace processes as for example brokered by Finland in Indonesia/Aceh and the less successful Norwegian effort in resolution of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Public opinion in Scandinavia supports the role of their relatively smaller countries to work as 'superpowers' of resolution of conflicts, peace building and post-combat reconstruction.

The image of these relatively smaller countries has been enhanced as they have devoted time, energy and resources in mitigating conflict and bringing about interstate understanding. Sometime before Switzerland reached its present level of high per capita income, it had been acting to protect the diplomatic interests of conflict protagonists. It has continued during the early nineteen seventies as the diplomatic interlocutor for India/Pakistan and presently as the official go-between for U.S.-Iran in the absence of traditional diplomatic bilateral relations.

A country's image or that of a constituent unit's profile can be damaged for different number of reasons, but we have fortunate instances of dramatic improvement of a geographic area in the world's perception. Until very recently, everything that Myanmar/Burma did was unacceptable and called for new

sanctions. Now the image of the country has changed. In the past the Indian state of Bihar was known for wrong reason. Under the present Chief Minister, it is a role model not only for provincial units but even for countries!

Image has had a dramatic turnaround because of solid proof of achievement, reduction of crime and high-growth economic achievements in Bihar. We see beginning of what looks like a credible democratic process in Myanmar too.

Image is of interest in diplomatic practice because of the benefits which accrue to a country in inward investment, tourist inflow and general business and people-to-people interactions. Even before the conclusion of the peace process in Nepal, with just the absence of hostilities, tourist numbers have increased and the prospects of inward investment have brightened. We need to manage to go from the post-combat situation to a post-conflict situation which would be the crowning achievement of the conclusion of the peace process enshrined in a people's Constitution. Then new vistas would open in inward investment, trade, tourism, air-links, employment and education for Nepali nationals abroad!

High-quality diplomacy has to aim for adding value in the country's international interactions. Many Spaniards, Italians, Greeks, among others came to the economically advanced countries of Europe in the postwar period as laborers, gendarmes. As their children and the children's children had access to first-rate educational systems, the newer generations have risen to be CEOs of major firms, and managers in high-tech information and technology sectors. Once our workers manage to take families in advanced countries, their children's access to high-quality education may well be a greater benefit to the household than the wages earned. If laborers are not permitted to bring families, the government should play an enabling role for workers to learn foreign languages and acquire basic skills in IT and semi-skills, carpentry, electric wiring, basic secretarial work in Nepal itself, to support, encourage and help the private sector's initiatives. The country's decades-long experience in hospitality management, hotel work and banking give opportunities for Nepali personnel in relatively high-grade employment, with concomitant income earnings.

With tourism bringing major foreign exchange earnings, attention has to be given to increase not only tourist numbers but also the expenditure per capita and longer stays. The first foreigners came to Nepal to climb the Himalaya Mountains. They were joined by tourists who wanted to see our monuments, temples and cultural architecture. Others came to visit nature reserves and animal sanctuaries to see rhinos, tigers, alligators, still others want to sample adventure tourism, whitewater rafting. Diplomacy has to work to develop new areas of interest and make sure that the message is conveyed of what Nepal

has to offer and it has to be supported by on-the-ground facilities provided domestically, including adventure tourist facilities, paragliding, bungee jumping, etc.

In an international environment of co-operation, dialogue and interaction are favorable toward physically handicapped countries such as ours. We can work toward using international best practices. It is anybody's guess when the next big earthquake will hit our country, so we cannot do better than to have an earthquake preparedness center with the co-operation of Japan.

The country faces immediate and long-term challenges in energy security and climate change. The vast bulk of our export earning goes to buy POL imports, and this situation calls for reconfiguring the country's transport and other energy-consuming structures for most cost-effective allocation of energy use and optimal use of domestic production of energy resources. Diplomacy has to gear itself to finding the best suppliers of POL suppliers while it tackles the search for cutting-edge technology firms capable of doing feasibility studies and construction of hydropower plants whose water supply needs are also used for irrigation and other benefits.

The country needs to use our best minds and invest in their training and education to have climate change in the country's favour. The Himalayas and other mountain chains south, the Siwalik, Chure and Bhabar require preservation so that they continue to fulfill our growing water and forest product needs. Diplomacy has to actively engage with the individuals, institutions and instruments occupied with climate change studies and practices, learning from them and adjusting them to mitigate our climate-specific problems.

High-quality diplomacy for a new Nepal is desired. We have examples of countries smaller in size and population and with geographical handicaps which have managed to advance by using diplomatic skills in the best interests of their people and country. We should put our mind to it as one united people we cannot rise to the occasion.

Our needs require that we do so. Even though our peace process and constitution- drafting are beset with differences among political parties, ideologies and ethnic demands, there is agreement that we must do the best in our diplomacy. We have to pick and choose our best minds and elevate our foreign policy goals and make the necessary adjustments in our diplomatic practice and theory. A favourable international environment poses no hindrance and instead aids a long-term effective response in the best interests of Nepal and our people to the challenges that we face.

Are Foreign Donors Promoting Ethnic Federalism in Nepal?

*Prakash A. Raj**

The people of Nepal had a unique opportunity of being masters of their own destiny by drafting their own constitution to govern themselves by means of their elected representatives in the constituent assembly (CA). It was something that they were promised six decades earlier in 1951. However, it seems unlikely that the CA elected in 2008 will be able to draft a constitution by May 2012. It is highly improbable that the term of the CA would be extended further as it was already extended two years beyond its original term which expired in May 2010. The main reason behind this failure is the advocacy of ethnic federalism in Nepal by certain political parties as most of the ethnic states didn't have majority of the ethnic groups after which they were named. The problem was further complicated by announcing of the formation of the states from the street before these were decided by the CA which bypassed its powers and mandate. A large part of blame for supporting ethnic federalism lies with some foreign donors. It could thus be implied that some foreign donors are also responsible for Nepal's failure to draft a constitution as they might have supported directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly the agenda of ethnic federalism in Nepal.

When the Maoists presented their 40 Point agenda in 1992 declaring "People's War" against the Nepali state, federalism was not included. Nor was it mentioned in Twelve Point Accord signed between Seven Political Parties and the Maoist insurgents in 2005 which led to a successful Popular Movement in 2006 resulting in end of monarchy and the country being declared a republic in 2008. Before elections for constituent assembly (CA) federalism became an essential component of Nepalese political scene. It was a concept which no political party could afford to ignore. How did this come about and what role did foreign donors play?.

* Mr. Raj is Past Vice President of NCWA

Columnist Yuvraj Ghimire commenting on the decision of State Restructuring Commission appointed by Bhattarai government wrote in his column about some members of certain ethnic group and donors are interested in spreading social animosity have prepared a report favouring a ridiculous and impractical federalism".(*Annapurna Post*, 18/2/12).He adds that certain donor countries such as Denmark, Norway, Switzerland and DFID (Britain) have provided assistance to ethnic organizations with extreme views in the name of ethnic empowerment. According to him such assistance has increased the danger of social and ethnic tension and social violence. (*Annapurna Post*, 2/3/12). Columnist Dirgha Raj Prasai believes that there is increasing concern among the foreigners in promoting ethnic federalism. Giving an example of threat to stop DFID assistance to an organization of Indegeneous People in Nepal if they didn't stop call for "Nepal Bandha" he cites this as an example of how foreign aid agencies try to influence Nepali organizations. (*Gorkhapatra*, 2/3/12). However, such an "interference" could also have positive effect in this particular case. Perhaps, DFID has realized its mistake. It may be remembered that there have been British ambassadors in the recent past who had worked as anthropologists studying some disadvantaged groups in Nepal. It's natural for them to be sympathetic to their plight which might have resulted in channeling a generous amount of British aid in empowering the backward groups. When the Fifth Amendment to the Interim Constitution in July 2008 three months after elections to the constituent assembly declared that Nepal would be a federal democratic republic in recognition of aspiration of Madheshis, indegenious, backward regions for autonomy many donors could have started supporting ethnic federalism. What they have failed to anticipate is the likelihood of its impact the national interest in Nepal.

Columnist Ram Bahadur Rawal of weekly *Nepal* (4/3/12) commenting on CCD (Centre for Constitutional Dialogue) writes how it promoted formation of caucuses for discussion of ethnic and communal issues, disbursing millions of rupees to ethnic organizations, convening of discussion and analysis in issues having little relation with ethnicity and that the government didn't investigate its activities on time. He inquires "Is this the practice of responsibility and transparency?" and adds "Who gave it mandate to discuss ethnic and communal issues in Nepal?". CCD was funded by UNDP and its offices were located in New Baneswar near Constitutional Assembly. It organized lecture and interaction programs on different aspects of writing constitution of Nepal. Several of invited guests were foreigners from such countries as Canada, Austria and Australia. However, CCD printed maps showing boundaries of proposed

fourteen states by Restructuring Committee of CA. Then it started inviting Nepalese, mostly ethnic activists to present their viewpoint on the proposed ethnic states. This scribe remembers attending many presentations which were highly educational. It appeared that those responsible for inviting Nepalese experts for presentation deliberately didn't invite those opposed to federalism in general and ethnic federalism in particular. Restructuring Committee of CA had approved proposal for fourteen states by a simple majority and not two thirds as an approval by two thirds would be required to be made a part of constitution. Besides, the appointment of State Restructuring Commission by the Government was delayed by almost four years. It's not known if any bilateral or multilateral donors tried to advise the government about constitutional requirement for forming Restructuring Commission as they were organizing programs regarding ethnic states. *Weekly Tarun* (6/2/12) leaning towards Nepali Congress published a news items immediately after publication of report of Restructuring Commission in February 2012. It blamed some members who wrote majority opinion of the Commission advocating ethnic federal states as being on the payroll of foreign donors, both secular and religious. It is not possible to judge the reliability of such accusations.

Regarding the sufferings of people from hill origin in Janakpur in the eastern Terai, columnist Ritu Raj Subedi (*The Rising Nepal*, 26/2/12) writes how communalism destroyed social harmony and demographic diversity. He adds "Most of the pahades (hill-origin) people fled the town after the Madhesh movement when they were harassed and their property looted. As the armed groups targeted them, they found it unbearable to continue to live there." Krishna Dharawasi, a Nepali speaking writer of hill origin living in Jhapa in the easternmost Terai claimed by both Madhesh and Limbuwan expresses his opinion "You cannot deny the rights of one group while safeguarding rights of other groups. Ethnic consciousness which entered Nepal after republican Nepal is being distorted. Its burning example is the atrocities committed and displacement caused to the people from hill origin in the name of Madhesh movement" (*Nagarik*, 5/2/12). Would ethnic states named after Magars, Gurungs, Tharus, Newars, Limbus and Kirats having "priority rights" (agradhikar) result in similar atrocities and displacement of people belonging to ethnic groups different than those after which the states are named, only time would tell.

China's Nepali National Minority

*Upendra Gautam**

Historical Perspective

Nepali Buddhist Master Buddhahadra (Xuexian or Chueh-hsien-359-429 CE) helped introduce, disseminate and institutionalize Buddhist culture in China. He was born in Kapilvastu of Nepal, and brought up in Jalalabad of Afghanistan. His father had migrated to that place, which was an important Buddhist center with many of his Sakya relatives, to better serve his livelihood requirements. Traveling for several months through Assam, Burma, Vietnam, and South China Sea, he had reached Shandong province of China. He died in China while institutionalizing Buddhism in the Chinese society.** For several years he was centered at Zhang-an, south-western capital of China (modern Xian), then a major flourishing center of Buddhist learning where famous monks of the realm including Tibet gathered for their pursuit of the ultimate knowledge.

According to historical sources, King Songtsen Gampo of Tibet established Thupo dynasty in seventh century when he together with the Nepali Princess Bhrikuti also got married to the Chinese Princess Wencheng of Tang dynasty in 641 A.D. This multilateral relation was the starting point to herald into the founding of a unified Tibet afterwards***. Arniko (1245-1306 AD), the Nepali architect, added Nepali architectural values to China and China's Tibet building in the 13th century.

The Nepali national minority (NNM) together with the Tibetan and Chinese kinships contributed in co-building Tibet, which formally became an

* Prof. Upendra Gautam, General Secretary of China Study Center, Nepal, is a member of Nepal Council of the World Affairs.

** Min Bahadur Shakya, *The Life of Nepalese Buddhist Master Buddhahadra (359-429 CE)*, China Study Center, Nepal, Kathmandu, 2009.

*** *Social History of Tibet, China* (a translated work in the Nepali language), China Study Center, Nepal, Kathmandu, 2004 (2061 B.S.).

autonomous region of the People's Republic of China in 1965. Though in the last century the number of Nepali people in Tibet has decreased (Table-1), according to Dor Bahadur Bista, a Nepali anthropologist, there was a time in the 17th century when after Nepal, Nepalese were in the largest number in Tibet.

Table-1: Nepali National Minority in Tibet

Year	Number	Source
1905	800	Waddell
1920	1000	Charles Bell
1936	600 to 700	Spencer Chapman
1948	3000	Guiseppe Tuchi
1974	511	Dor Bahadur Bista
2004	400 to 450	Estimate of Leela Mani Paudyal

Sources: Dor Bahadur Bista, *Report from Lhasa*, Sajha Prakashan, 1979 and Ganga Uprety, Footnote No. 3.

Table-1 indicates that NNM population drastically reduced in Tibet after Tibet became an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China. A major reason in the reduction of the NNM population in Tibet was granting of Chinese citizenship to the off-springs of the NNM, who were not previously covered by any legal bilateral provision that helped them for the Chinese citizenship entitlement. ****

But modern Tibet, though significant, is a part of China. According to an estimate made in the recent past, NNM population in China including its Hong Kong, Macau and Tibetan territories is estimated to be about one hundred thousand. ***** This figure does not include any number for Taiwan. This also does not precisely take care of the lineage that have been created by Master Buddhbhadra, Princess Bhrikuti, Architect Arniko and several other scholar, artisan, trader, martial and student groups who followed them to China. ***** Nevertheless, it testifies the close and unbreakable bond between the people of China and the people of Nepal. Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai referred to this bond as "blood ties between Nepal and China" during his visit to Nepal in February 25-28, 1957.

**** Ganga Prasad Uprety, *Ten Days in Tibet* (in Nepali Language), China Study Center, Nepal, September 2007.

***** Ibid.

***** Kamal Ratna Tuladhar, "Long Ago in Ladakh," *The Kathmandu Post*, 10 March 2012. Also Nirmal Shrestha, "Nepali Bodyguards of the Asian Billionaires" (in Nepali Language), 10 March 2012, <http://www.ekantipur.com/nep/2068/11/27/full-story/344033.html#.T1sp1xNooTw.email>.

Just talking about Tibet, it was certainly gratifying to observe in Lhasa and Sigatze how the NNM group had contributed to the cultural and commercial upliftment of the TAR. While the province of Sichuan has been Tibet's backbone in terms of its instant software and hardware support for all practical reasons, it was also the local NNM group that had in the moment of need worked with the Tibetan people from the very beginning on a daily familial basis to promote and preserve their (Tibetans') Shakyamuni Gautam Buddha-inspired dharma (way of life), to maintain their scholastic brilliance in scriptures and architecture, to enhance their Trans-Himalayan trade and commercial links, and, to crown political recognition to their autonomy through the presence of Nepal's uncontested Consulate-General Office in Lhasa. In short, unlike the between-and-post-British Indian situations, which were more motivated by and centered on their political elitism, the NNM's contribution to the Tibetan society was operationally comprehensive-from the high seat of Jokhang temple to the people's household. For example, not only the location of the Jokhang temple, the highest seat of dharma in the TAR, was decided by a throw of the ring of the Nepali Princess Bhrikuti, it was also the only local NNM group which residentially contributed in enriching the way of life in the TAR by delivering the auspicious artifacts, temple worship paraphernalia, imported household necessities and, above all, the Buddhist values.

The NNM's spiritual, social and architectural contributions in creating and promoting magnificent cultural heritage in China including Tibet was a jewel on the Nepal-China shared Himalayan crown.

The Present

With more than 2.8 million people (2007 estimate) living in the expansive territory of 1.2 million square km, one could feel the spiritual serenity and ecological vastness of the rich and beautiful region of Tibet in an average altitude of 4,000-5000 meter above sea level. Possessing more than fifty peaks above 7,000m, it does not only share contiguous mountainous border with Nepal, the Republic of India, Sikkim, Bhutan, Myanmar,^{*****} but also is the tower of the fresh water for it is the mother of the major rivers like Sutelej, Sapta Koshi-Gandaki-Karnali, and Brahmaputra (each one of the rivers has a different Tibetan/Chinese name). The Himalayan river water has now started figuring in China's sustainable planning, conservation, development and management as

***** www.tibettravelplanner.com, "Tibet Travel Planner - All about Tibet Travel," accessed on 13 September 2011.

the topmost natural strategic resource. The prevailing shortage of water in China has made the Chinese government and TAR administration more cognizant of the critical importance of this source for water security. The second phase of West China Development Strategy (WCDS) (2011-2020) and China's 12th five year plan (2011-2015) have duly recognized this aspect.

The net impact of the first phase of WCDS was the higher growth rate (12.6%) of GDP in the TAR than the national GDP growth rate (less than 10%); more equitable transfer of national resources to strengthen integration between developed and less developed areas; establishment of a macro-economic association under the Regional Commission on Development and Reform (RCDR) to monitor and assess the forward linkage of accelerated development in the TAR vis-à-vis the neighboring counties; and follow-up plan to bring domestic transport and communication development closer to the neighboring counties.

Unprecedented progress in Tibet is consistent with the importance China gives to the region. Describing the importance of Tibet in a speech delivered on 19 July 2001 Hu Jintao, the then Vice-president and present President of the People's Republic of China had said: "Tibet is in the southwestern frontier of the motherland, with a vast stretch of land and a most important strategic position. The development, stability and security of Tibet have a direct bearing on the fundamental interests of people of all ethnic groups in Tibet as well as ethnic solidarity, national unity and state security. It is the common aspiration and mission of people of all ethnic groups in China, the Tibetan people included, to build on the prosperity and progress and maintain stability and solidarity in Tibet."

Demographic Expression

How China, as a large united multi-national state composed of 56 ethnic groups, is sensitive to equally take care of its multi-national groups-whether very large, medium, small or very small one? Sensitivity of China on ethnic matters is demonstrated by the factual record it keeps of these multi-national groups (Table-2 below). Among them, according to the Fifth National Population Census of 2000, Han Chinese account for 91.59% of the overall Chinese population and the other 55 make up the remaining 8.41%. The combined population of the other ethnic groups is far fewer than that of the Han. These ethnic groups form the 55 ethnic national minorities (ENM) of China.*****

Based on China's 2000 census, a population-wise breakdown of China's ENM generally living in China's south-western, south-eastern, north-western and

*****www.travelchinaguide.com, "Chinese Ethnic Groups," accessed on 12 September 2011.

north-eastern frontier provinces and autonomous regions not only explains the extreme variability in China's ethnic national minority population but also a perspective on how China even takes account of ENMs in small number (Table-2). Apart from these ENMs having small number, China has also given ENM status to those ethnic groups considered as "foreign" such as Mongol, Korean, Kazak, Kirgiz, Tajik, Russian, Tatar.*****

Recognition

The Nepali ENM that helped Tibet and other parts of China during the moments of their historical needs to move higher up on the roof of the world and secure spiritual, social and architectural successes, must, in turn, be recognized as one of China's ENM and included in the list of national minority groups. In the beginning, it should be provided with preferential transit, educational and trade facilities on a regular basis. Depending on the biased British-Indian writings, one may not recognize the NNM's comprehensive contribution to them. This non-recognition will be akin to one's snobbish refusal to acknowledge the unprecedented socio-economic advances in the contemporary Tibet.*****

History had provided a good opportunity to China and Nepal to move towards such recognition when Hong Kong was returned to China's sovereignty in 1997. The part of British Gurkhas deployed for the security of Hong Kong could have been negotiated, as it was noted that time around by a writer in a local Weekly Mirror article entitled "Hong Kong: the Gurkha Nexus," to continue them for the security of Hong Kong. In accordance with Deng Xiaoping's celebrated principle of "one country, two systems," Hong Kong has been allowed to enjoy a "high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region" of China. The missed Hong Kong opportunity was an additional set-back to the visibility and recognition of the Nepali ethnic group as a national minority group of China.

*****China has also a category of "undistinguished group" which, among others, includes "Sherpas." It is perhaps considered as "undistinguishable" for the reason that its number is not exclusively counted.

*****See also Upendra Gautam, "China's Tibet Autonomous Region on the Path of Rapid Progress," *The Rising Nepal*, 9 November 2004.

The Political Crisis and the Fall of Monarchy in Nepal

*Bhola Lohani**

It was a great relief to get liberated from the Rana family's autocratic rule in 1951. Since then Nepal has continued to practice democratic rule with political freedom. The 1990 constitution of Nepal, proclaimed by the then king Birendra Shah, after the successful political movement, gave a modest political framework for the multi-party democracy. The newly introduced political system had a good beginning. However, the subsequent governments formed under the multi-party polity could not deliver good governance. Political stability remained elusive. Party in-fighting, rampant corruption, and, above all, ideologically motivated Maoist rebellion continued to disturb peace and socio-economic progress, causing loss of human lives and property. Political leaders did not seem to have control over the situation then.

In 2002, the 'Pratinidhisabha' (Nepal's parliament) was dissolved unexpectedly. The dissolution was then, supposedly, recommended in order to get fresh mandate from people for dealing with Maoist insurgency. The date for the general election was announced. However, the Nepali Congress, which had majority members in the parliament, took disciplinary action against then its own party leader and Prime Minister Mr. Sher Bahadur Deuba for recommending dissolution without consulting the party. When the date of general election was close, Mr. Deuba expressed inability to hold the election and sought one year extension for his government. Contrary to Prime Minister's recommendation, the government was dismissed for failing to hold general election in time. Though the Deuba government was failing on all fronts, reservations were expressed in political circles when then PM Deuba, appointed under the due process of constitutional law, was dismissed unceremoniously.

These political developments occurred in the aftermath of bloody 'palace

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massacre' in 2001, when then king Birendra, queen Aishworya, crown prince Dipendra, prince Nirajan and many other members of royal family were killed. In a very critical situation, then prince Gyanendra had acceded to the throne of the kingdom of Nepal. From the beginning, the relation between then king Gyanendra and the leaders of political parties was. Some political leaders were, openly, censorious of then king Gyanendra Shah's motive and role behind the constitutional crisis faced by the country.

The tussle between then king Gyanendra and leaders of political parties was bad omen, especially when the country was then grappling with Maoist insurgency. One witnessed an unprecedented constitutional crisis that had erupted after the dismissal of Deuba government in 2002. The statute was silent on the appointment of new prime minister. The authors of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 AD, did not seem to have foreseen this situation. When Gyanendra Shah had appointed the prime minister of his own choice, leaders of political parties' **feet offended** and termed the royal take-over as derogatory.

In the fall of 2002, Mr. Lokendra Bahadur Chand, a senior leader of Rastriya Prajatantra party was appointed prime minister and was entrusted to form a multi-party national government for holding election. But the offer of ministerial berth in the cabinet was rejected by major political parties. Mr. Chand made no effort for holding general election. But, he made an unsuccessful bid to negotiate with Maoists. The Chand Ministry failed on both counts. The street protests by political parties and Maoists rebellion were continuing unabated against the regime. As a reconciliatory move by Gyanendra Shah, former Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa, considered an astute politician in Nepal's political circle, was entrusted to the task of regaining political order in the country. He too failed to form multi-party government and talks with Maoist did not bear fruit either.

The political situation turned worse and it appeared that political leaders were preparing for some sort of show-down with Gyanendra Shah. Soon, the street protests began against the royal take-over. Though breakaway Nepali Congress (democratic) party led by Sher Bahadur Deuba and Rastriya Prajatantra party, a party formed after the reinstatement of multi-party system in 1990 were not party to the protest at the beginning, Nepali Congress led by Girija Koirala and NCP (UML) joined hands in protest against royal take-over. At the outset, people were indifferent to protests organized by parties. Only a limited number of party workers were present at the rallies. The government had little difficulty to tackle them.

The continued political stalemate and the administrative chaos seemed to convince the king to undo his past actions. Mr. Deuba was reappointed prime minister, probably, by respecting parliamentary democratic norms. He was able to form multi-party government with representations from NCP-UML and Sadbhavana Party. Interestingly, however, Nepali Congress led by Girija Koirala was in no hurry to join the government. Meanwhile, the intensity of political party's street protest was weakened. Yet, there was no improvement in country's peace and security situation. The government was neither able to hold general election nor was successful to resolve the Maoist problem.

The dismal performance of Deuba government prompted king Gyanendra to take control of country's administration. It appeared that he intended to rule the country as his father late king Mahendra did in 1959. But, the king failed to win people's favour and could not succeed to put the system on track. Probably, the king and his political advisors did not seem to understand the gravity of the prevailing situation in the country. Also, the palace misread the changed political equation fast developing in South Asian region.

The appointment of 'Panchayat' workers and supporters as ministers, regional and zonal administrators had negative impact on public. People felt that he (Gyanendra) was in favour of practicing 'Panchayat' rule that his father Mahendra had successfully orchestrated, but later abandoned by his elder brother Birendra after the successful 'Jana Andolan' (people's revolution) in 1990. People, now, were increasingly conscious of individual rights and freedoms and were not prepared to return to 'Panchayat rule', even though they were fed up with multi-party misrule that gave birth to Maoist insurgency.

The royal take-over of power, which accompanied with the induction of 'Panchayati workers' into general administration of the state had negative effects on politics. Probably, because of king's action, the political parties of diverse ideologies were united. This resulted in the formation of the SPA (seven party alliance), made of Nepali Congress, Nepali Congress (Democratic), Nepal Communist Party -UML, Nepal Sadbhavana Party and three other leftist parties. Later, the SPA joined hands with Maoists by signing the 12 point SPA-Maoist New Delhi pact. In other words, a united front of political parties was launched for a fight against the autocratic rule. By then, the street protests against the regime began taking momentum. Indeed, for the king Gyanendra, it turned out to be inauspicious to be chairman of the council of ministers.

Urban population showed no favour to King's direct rule. This was well indicated by low turn-out in the municipal elections held in early 2006. Even

the officially acknowledged voter turnout was about 20 percent of total voter population. High percentage of the population had remained indifferent or defiant. Moreover, municipal election was seen to be no solution to the problem the country was facing. It was too late and too little.

It is well-known that Nepal's political change in 2006 got partly accelerated due to role of foreign powers too. Especially close neighbor India and the only super power U.S.A. reacted strongly against king's assumption to direct rule and appeared to favor agitating political parties. Earlier, both India and U.S.A. seemed to have a view that favored understanding between the king and political parties to fight against the Maoists. But both these countries had stopped supply of fire arms and partly other assistance too to Nepal after royal takeover. Another close neighbor, China, however, appeared indifferent to the power struggle in the country.

Especially, during the past one decade of political uncertainty, Nepal witnessed worsening law and order situation and deteriorating socio-economic order. Maoist rebellion, multi-party misrule and lately, over- ambitious royal government contributed towards it. The political system and state administration was constantly under attack, and weakened due to inflexible posture taken by the government and political parties. The state machinery appeared functioning irrationally. It is this absence of good governance that gave way to 'Jana Andolan II'. Some change was inevitable. The political party's three year long protest for the regime change and twelve year long Maoist insurgency seemed to act in unison and culminated in a mass uprising.

A final assault on the king's direct rule came on 6th April, 2006 with 'Mass Movement' launched by SPA and supported by Maoist. The movement continued for 19 days paralyzing business activities and life of people in Kathmandu valley and in other major towns of the country. Even the work of government offices were hampered due to the non-cooperation of civil servants. The leaders of the movement demanded the reinstatement of the parliament. King Gyanendra reinstated the 'Parliament', duly dissolved earlier on October 2002. As a result, Girija Koirala of Nepali Congress, an octogenarian leader of 'Jana Andolan II' became country's Prime Minister.

The reinstatement of parliament happened to be a turning point in Nepalese history. The royal take-over of administration had angered political leaders. This was well reflected in a resolution, unanimously passed by the reinstated 'House of Representatives' (HoR) on 18th May, 2006. In a nine-point resolution, the HoR announced itself as sole sovereign body of the nation, decimated powers

exercised hitherto by the monarch and replaced 'His Majesty's Government' with 'Nepal Government'. Main points of the resolution were:

- The HoR will promulgate the laws relating to the heir to the throne,
- The king's actions can be questioned in the HoR and in a court of law,
- All the executive powers would be vested solely in the cabinet,
- The king is no longer the supreme commander-in-chief of the army,
- The palace budget, allowances and facilities would be decided by the HoR, and Nepal becomes a secular state.

Not long ago, monarchy was considered a revered institution, the founder of modern Nepal and a symbol of national unity. However, today, some leaders are openly blaming this institution for the misfortune of the country facing today. The above resolution passed by the reinstated parliament clearly shows how political parties were fuming dislike against the institution of monarchy. It was evident that political parties and monarchy could not reconcile their differences and rather, were on the path of confrontation for the last 4 or 5 years. Maoists were anti-establishment and anti-monarchy from the beginning. Political scientist may say the present change is due to malfunctioning of constitutional institutions. But, perhaps, the current political change was predestined.

The first task Nepal government had undertaken in 2006 was to bring the NCP-Maoist into mainstream national politics. This had begun with the signing of a document by the SPA and the CPN-Maoist on November 8, 2006. As a follow up to the agreement of November 8, a 'Peace Accord' was signed by the Government of Nepal and the NCP-Maoist on November 21, 2006. These documents subsequently endorsed by the government, covered a host of subjects such as composition of present constituent assembly and taking decision on future of monarchy, size and composition of interim legislature and locking up Maoists' arms etc. The constituent assembly members were to be elected through a mixed electoral system which applied the first-past-the-post system as well as proportional representation system.

It is worth-mentioning here that the Maoists who once waged war against the state, have now made commitment to shun the violence by agreeing to ceasefire. Indeed, the accord appeared exemplary and one hoped that it would help resolve a decade-old conflict peacefully. The peace accord, mentioned above, also guaranteed the human rights and freedom of individuals. On the issue of Maoist arms, it was then agreed to lock up the arms with a single lock in temporary camps and the key was to be handled by the Maoist commander in the camp. However, it was to be monitored by the UN and to some extent, Nepali Army's arms was to be managed the same way. The above said ad

hoc arrangement of Maoist army was intended for a period until the new constitutional order was established.

Emerging political arrangement had made the constitution adopted in 1990 AD non-functional. So, in order to empower the newly established interim political authority to discharge the day today functions of the state efficiently, the parliament had duly promulgated the interim constitution, signed and recommended earlier by the SPA constituents and the NCP-Maoists.

The interim constitution had taken off all power hitherto exercised by the king and made the prime minister all powerful. Its main features were as follows:

- The king had no status of even a ceremonial king until fate of the monarchy was decided by the first meeting of the constituent assembly(CA),

All the functions hitherto discharged by king as the head of the state would devolve on the Prime Minister,

- Nepal would be a secular state,

The fundamental rights would included health, education and employment rights among others, and The cow would be the national animal as before.

Drafting of the constitution for new Nepal

The first session of the newly elected Constituent Assembly has now abolished 240 year old monarchy and declared Nepal a 'Federal Democratic Republic.' And now, the Constituent Assembly has been busy working on the final document of 'New Constitution' that it will, after deliberation, submit to the nation. How the political structure of tomorrow's Nepal would look like is any body's guess even now. Nepal is a multi-lingual and multi-ethnic society. The political party with a major or minor share of seats in the constituent assembly is expected to play its role, appropriate to its party ideology. Ultimately, some compromises or adjustments might be needed when the assembly members from diverse political ideologies and interests push for the inclusion of their demands while framing the constitution.

The task of restructuring Nepali state will not be as simple as we thought earlier. Indeed, the drafting and promulgation of the new Constitution that would address the demand of stakeholders having diverse interests have proved to be a complex political exercise. Already, the new regional, religious and ethnic groupings have been emerging and working as pressure groups for their demands.

The challenge to write new constitution is enormous. It remains to be seen how the challenges of local demands of several autonomous regions or ethnic autonomy would be met while finalizing the draft of the proposed constitution. Indeed, Nepali politics will remain unsettled until the new constitution for Nepal is drafted and approved by the elected assembly.

As elsewhere, political parties in Nepal come under various ideological groupings. Some adhere to liberal democratic ideals, some like themselves to be called socialists, some claim to be staunch nationalists and some follow leftist ideologies. But, they all, whatever are their ideologies, face the real challenges of tackling increasingly sensitive socio-economic problems such as poverty, unemployment and deteriorating security situation.

Unlike in the past we are today in an era when social class is no longer important.

Also, country's class structure is fast changing. So, in the changed environment, political parties can't afford to be rigid in old political ideologies and dogmas. If the society is to prosper, it has to encourage entrepreneurships. The advancement and social position need to be based on merit. Ultimately, our goal is a politically stable and democratic Nepal where peoples of all caste and creeds are free and equal, and are allowed to compete and participate, freely, in the making and functioning of government.

Conclusion

The promulgation of interim constitution and the signing of treaties it was focused on multi-party democracy, ceasefire among warring parties and arms management followed by UN monitoring expected. Successful election of Constituent Assembly was a milestone in the country's changing polity. But, much more goodwill, understanding, wisdom and collective efforts are required for successful implementation of various treaties and agreements that the parties have committed. Firstly, it is essential that the signatories honour the political commitment fully. People want peaceful resolution of the conflict and establishment of lawful and viable political order as soon as possible. It would be contrary to peoples' wishes if parties continue to resort to violence, human rights abuses, displacement of population, abduction of common citizen and extortion for securing power and positions as it had happened in the past.

Secondly, the Constituent Assembly which has the representation of various political, regional and ethnic groups is expected to come out with constitutional provisions to serve interests of all people. Thirdly, healthy and competitive political atmosphere is created for free, fair, peaceful and timely solution of all issues such as 'Janamukti Sena' of NCP (Maoist) and new federal structure of

the country. Fourthly, it is expected that various pressure groups (political or non-political) play constructive role and not destructive one, and contribute to successful formulation of the 'New Constitution for Nepal'. Even when we succeed to make a document it remains to be seen whether it is practicable and addresses the demands of all the stakeholders. Moreover, it is political leadership and magnanimity that counts a lot for the success of the system. We can only hope that social harmony and peace enjoyed by Nepali people till now will be maintained or reinforced and not adversely affected.

Finally, it is true that there is no alternative to democratic form of government. Democracy alone can accommodate any regional or ethnic ambitions in its political structure. It is not so difficult to dismantle the old political order, but it is certainly a formidable task to visualize, plan, design and build a new order that ensures a good future for the society. In developing countries, where the institutions for smooth running of democracy are not well-established, politics has often failed to serve peoples' interests. Concerns are expressed that rulers tend to use democracy as a tool to apportion power and pay less attention to promoting common people's welfare. For this, political leaders will have to rise above the individual or group interests and serve for the promotion of national concerns that will help the leaders to earn people's confidence.

Mr. Fareed Zakaria, well-known political writer, rightly says "The basic problem confronting the developing world today is not an absence of democracy but an absence of governance, (The Limits of Democracy, Newsweek, Jan29, 2007)." Nepal too, in the past few decades, did practice a kind of democratic set up, but had failed to give good governance. Now the country is, currently, undergoing a major political shake up. Hopefully, the recent changes brought about in Nepal will get people's mandate soon and firmly reestablish a viable democratic political order, which will ensure peace, security and good governance, and enable Nepal to maintain a respectable status in the comity of nations.

Whatever we inherit today is, probably, the fruits arising as a result of our past actions, performed knowingly or unknowingly. We cannot disown the 'past' altogether, because it upholds our existence. Our 'past' actions might not have been all good. But wise people preserve the good part of it as 'culture' and reject the bad ones. Perhaps the most important is 'present', which we must best utilize by dutifully serving for the sake of the society, which provides us with livelihood and protection.

'Exodus' of Nepalese People: Some Dimension

*Prabhu Yadav**

Struggle for Survival

Air travel is a means for visiting abroad. Nepali people are fond of it too. But the air fare is costly to them. Possibly, they manage their fare with debt. But, this means has been a good access for foreigners to see Nepal. Their air journey is much happier than the journey of majority people who visit abroad mostly in search of job opportunities earning money. They are less interested in gaining knowledge. They enjoy a lot in serving and earning foreign money. But, foreigners visit Nepal to learn and acquire knowledge. The government of Nepal is absolutely indifferent to enhancing people's knowledge. Nepali people's knowledge is diminishing today. The mass exodus of Nepalese towards the sea and mountains for bread earning is terrific. Crowds of people going abroad can be seen at ports of embarkation.

Movement on Airport

It was on 11th January, 2012 when I was preparing myself to take a flight for Delhi. The day was very hot and sunny. I hadn't predicted that the day would be so clear and visible in such an extreme cold weather. The purpose of my journey was to present a paper at a seminar on the "Relevance of Translation in a Global Era" held by Lakshmibai College, University of Delhi. I reached the airport on time at 9 am. The flight time was delayed by two and a half hours. Among the Spicejet passengers, we two friends were reading newspapers, sitting in a corner of the main entrance of the airport. The porter had already labeled the boarding slip on our luggage and kept them in the cargo.

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Facing Degraded Behavior

After entering airport departure lobby, I found there a long queue of Nepalese passengers. The queue was apparently for the flight to New Delhi. There were foreign passengers for security check in the queue. It was about eleven AM. After a while, I saw a large queue of passengers. They were passing through the security check to get on the plane. Before they could get on the plane, they had to show all materials they had carried with them. They were taking off their clothes, belt, jacket, shoes, camera, purse, pen drive, and other metal things in a plastic basket at the security check. The passengers were standing on both sides of the queue for security check. The airport security police were searching passengers' body and their luggage. Many of the Gulf flight passengers were Nepalese young people. They belonged to all regions of the nation. They were ready to fly for the gulf country. They were in the row of security check, holding and clutching their bags with their bare foot (Guideline 136). Most of the passengers of the gulf airline were of Maddhesh origin. Their one hand was holding plastic basket of bags while another hand was holding shoes at the security check.

Tragedy with Family

Their aim was to be happy and rich by earning dollars. But from their facial expression they appeared to be tired and cheerless. The reason was that they were departing from their homeland for a long time. They could not be back soon like the bus or train travelers. Air travel, as stated earlier, is more costly for the labor class. They can't take several journeys as foreign laborers class do. Their government provides unemployment salary to poor people. The unemployment salary system is not available in Nepal for the labor class. It is in the sense that the Nepali labor class people globally feel their "identity.... fading out" (Bhatta 2-3).

Such people are also there....

Free from their family pains and worries, foreign passengers were relaxing by reading books. In fact, they can upgrade their knowledge by reading various books and visiting natural sites. They can make use of several informatics technologies like photographing in their group and working on the laptop screen. Foreign people are rich enough to make repeated journeys by air. They have valuable electronic goods like Camera, Laptop, and Video Recorder machine, Cell phone and others.

But our Nepalese people are deprived of information technology and modern facilities. Nepalese can't afford the world of IT knowledge. Instead, they serve the foreigners. The query is: why is the Nepalese government happy with the income from tourists, instead of educating and uplifting its own citizens in the world of IT knowledge?

Technology

IT is the area of managing technology and spans a wide variety of areas that include computer software, information systems, computer hardware, programming languages but are not limited to things such as processes, and data constructs. In short, anything that renders data, information or perceived knowledge in any visual format whatsoever, via any multimedia distribution mechanism, is considered part of the IT domain. IT provides businesses with four sets of core services to help execute the business strategy: business process automation, providing information, connecting with customers, and productivity tools.

IT professionals perform a variety of functions (IT Disciplines/Competencies) that ranges from installing applications to designing complex computer networks and information databases. A few of the duties that IT professionals perform may include data management, networking, engineering computer hardware, database and software design, as well as management and administration of entire systems. Information technology is starting to spread further than the conventional personal computer and network technologies, and more into integrations of other technologies such as the use of cell phones, televisions, automobiles, and more, which is increasing the demand for such jobs (Andrea 68).

Marxist view

The Marxian analysis begins with an analysis of material conditions, taking at its starting point the necessary economic activities required by human society to provide for its material needs. The form of economic organization, or mode of production, is understood to be the basis from which the majority of other social phenomena — including social relations, political and legal systems, morality and ideology — arise (or at the least by which they are greatly influenced). These social relations form the superstructure, for which the economic system forms the base. As the forces of production, most notably technology, improve, existing forms of social organization become inefficient and stifle further progress. He

says that "Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and consequently, all charm for the workman" (Marx 25).

Sisters under exploitation

There were no Nepalese ladies in the queue for the gulf flight. They are exploited in the gulf countries. Gulf people are perhaps cruel to the fair sex. So, the gulf women always wear a veil. Government's rule there is too severe for gulf women. This is why Nepalese women are scared of working in the gulf countries (ILO 05). There are many reasons behind them. Nepalese working class women do not even enjoy democratic rights in New Nepal. The perennial question: what is the position of Nepalese women?

TIA: A model of mismanagement

In conclusion, the Tribhuvan International Airport (TIA) has become now a symbolic place, where the condition of Nepalese people can be gauged. They are below the poverty line. They are still far behind in the world of technical knowledge. In ragged clothes and with tired and exhausted looks, they board the plane with the anticipation of a happy life. Our airport is also such place, where foreign money comes labourer who are employed abroad. Government should enhance earning sources instead of sending laborers abroad. Nepalese young generation going abroad is painful and stressful. They enjoy staying in their own land. They are not as happy as foreign passengers are. It seems that our international airport is 'foreigners' park'. On the other hand, our Nepalese are laborers in the foreign land.

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Pax Asiatica

*Rajeev Kunwar**

Nepal has always given a message of peace for the greater welfare of people in the world. The country has been showing inborn nature of pursuing just objectives in national activities and international engagements. Although the concept of peace and happiness is difficult to materialize, it is not an exaggeration that these humane ethos are in the womb of Nepalese civilization. However, nurturing peace has never been a challenge of great magnitude in the present times.

Lessons of history guide that enemy of peace are losers and war cannot be an arbiter of misunderstanding, discontentment and disagreements. Not only securing freedom from fear but also ensuring the right to peaceful livelihood must direct our unstoppable effort to foster mutual benefit, trust and confidence within and amongst nations.

There is not a single country which is satisfied to lessen 'security dilemma' and our approach, therefore, is to reduce misperception and human inflicted sufferings and agony. An echo of history resonates in the current period that a true leader must act to prevent war and conflict and exercise maximum restraint in violently responding hostile activities against the state and offenders of peace. Those at high positions must pursue the method of dialogue and democratic way of conflict resolution. Nepal must whole heartedly support peace-making, peace keeping and peace building in the country, region and the conflict ridden areas of the world. Nepalese people possess tremendous resilience to withstand conflict and they will never lose patience despite unparallel ordeal facing in daily lives.

The concept of peace leading to prosperity and happiness is near universal. And Panchasheel – the five principles of peaceful co-existence serve as an invaluable oriental guideline to countries large and small, rich and poor in Asia that desire to live and let live.

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At present the focus is on attaining progress and prosperity together with seeking assistance and cooperation from advanced industrial country Japan and two emerging economies of Asia - China and India. For this to take a concrete shape, peace, stability and security is a mandatory prerequisite a layperson can opine.

Nepal's pursuit of peace and disarmament has led it to become the second land-mine free country in Asia after China. It is hosting United Nations Regional Center for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific. It underlines our country's total and unflinching commitment to these noble goals.

The three major power centers of Asia are indisputably India, China and Japan. They have their own conception of world order in their own terms propounded by native liberal realist scholars. We have heard about *Pax Indica*, *Pax Sinica* and *Pax Nipponica*. Some view the state of flux in relations among them as competing rivals in Asia and world arena to establish supremacy of their ideas and political action. They naturally vie for creating a dignified space of their activities with incomparable clout of the civilizational heritage. Nevertheless there must be a pointer to common interests and convergence of Asian trinity in issues, policy dialogue and action imperatives. In order to tackle knotty challenges of the new century, their concerted efforts are amplified and necessary for a secure future of new generation in Asia. Moreover we need to chalk out a neat and consistent strategy to consolidate Asian culture, norms and values by simultaneously consolidating liberal order.

Nepal must not shy away from building blocs of peace as it had unilaterally declared the zone of peace in the past. There is an underlying need and desires of uniting voices of Asian countries under the aegis of Pax Asiatica. This terminology encompasses and captures the diverse mosaic of culture, religion, society and state in varied political and spatio-temporal realm of Asia.

The post-war world of 1945 saw two hostile ideological camps competing between themselves to persuade free nations and peoples and more importantly after decolonization in the South to their fold. The apogee of Western development of capitalism and industrialization has been achieved and western historians regard that history repeats itself, the rise and fall of great powers is inevitable.

With the advent of the 21st century there has been an irresistible shift in the centre of geopolitical gravity away from the West to the East and it is a well-recognized reality that India and China are movers and shakers of Asian international relations and international political economy. Both India and China are dynamic

centers of economic growth which are projected as becoming leading super-economies in the future and apparent reference to both giants most often end in comparative assessments.

The call for Asian unity is not new as the first *Mukhtiyar* of Nepal General Bhimsen Thapa invoked it during the ascendancy of Imperial Britain in Asia contending in the vicinity of the Indian sub-continental region. In the recent past it was then raised by *chef de guerre* when he took the reins of real power in Nepal. Whatsoever modernization and reconciliation of political actors could have taken similar path as the Meiji Restoration in Japan which had a positive effect on Japan's development. The scientific and technological prowess with which Japan has inculcated and imbibed is an exemplary standard second to none. Interestingly cultural preservation with openness and weaver-beaver style of life are worth to emulate to steer Nepalese life to classical maxims. Let action speaks louder than words in Nepal.

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Is Ethnic Federalism Viable in Nepal?

Dr. Chandra Kanta Gyawali*

Introduction

Federalism is as distribution of powers and responsibilities in federal countries .It presents an objective, balanced, description, analysis of the distribution of powers and responsibilities in the federal Constitution and practice in 27 countries including with Nepal. *For each federation there is an in -depth examination of such themes as (1) the distribution of governmental , political, monetary, fiscal, administrative, and policy responsibilities; (2) symmetry and asymmetry in the distribution of responsibilities; (3) the reasons and ways in which powers and responsibilities are explicitly and implicitly exclusive, concurrent, or shared in the constitution; (4) the reasons and ways in which responsibilities become divided and shared in actual governmental practice; (5) current controversies over the division and or sharing of powers and responsibilities; and (6) assessments of the executive and concurrent exercise of powers and responsibilities (Forum for Federation,2006 :3).*

Federalism is also seen as method of good governance in which political accommodation and understanding become sound practices in the midst of conflicting ideologies, disparate groups and seemingly irreconcilable positions. The federal system is a device of shared governance, and the constitutions of federal polities usually envisage a "creative balance" between the need for an effective federal centre and the need for effectively empowered constituent federal units. There is also need to balance the factors promoting a federal – institutional model of self – rule with those promoting shared rule.

Federalism has been chosen to bring together formerly separate units into a new country, or to rearrange a previously unitary country, and even as a product of both processes together. Federations have been formed in a series of historical waves over the last two centuries.

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Federalism is not always best, and there is no best version of federalism. Federalism seems particularly suited to democracies with very large populations or territories or with highly diverse populations that are regionally concentrated. *Over time, federalism requires a significant part of the population to have a sense of identity with the whole country, as well lively and engaged political communities at the regional levels (Anderson, 2008, p. 12.).*

Federalism is suitable for some democratic countries and it means democratic forms of government rooted in constitutionalism and the rule of law.

Nepal

Mandates for Federalism in Nepal

Nepal becoming a federal state could be attributed indirectly to the decade long Maoist insurgency and Jana Andolan-2 in 2006 which resulted in overthrowing 240 years old monarchy. Federalism was not an agenda of 40 Point demands submitted by the Maoists in 1996 to the then His Majesty Government of Nepal. When the then Government turned its deaf ear to Maoists' demands, they launched their "People's War". Neither was it the agenda of Twelve Point Accord between Seven Party Alliance and the Maoists in November 2005 five months before Jana-Andolan-2. Most of political parties announced in their election manifestos for Constituent Assembly elections (CA) that they favored a federal Nepal after movement in Madhesh in 2007, the biggest catalytic agent in declaration of Nepal as a federal state could also be attributed to Madhesh movement. It is ironic that one of the factors that led to movement for federalism in Madhesh was due to disenchantment with the Maoists and the desire of most Madheshis to live in a part of Nepal which is not ruled by the Maoists. When Nepal was a unitary monarchical state, one of the bone of contention between the hills and the Terai was Hindu religion.

As 90 percent of the people in the Terai follow Hinduism, the religious bonding factor between the hills and the Terai disappeared when Nepal was declared a secular country. It is interesting to note that federalism was not part of the Interim Constitution promulgated in January 2007. It was made part of it by Fifth Amendment in July 2008, two months after elections to CA. The Fifth Amendment has stated that the centralized and unitary structure of state would be replaced by inclusive, democratic and federal system in order to end

discrimination based on class, ethnicity, language, culture, religion and region. According to the Fifth Amendment, Nepal would be a federal democratic republic in recognition of aspirations of Madhesis, indigenous, backward and people of other regions for autonomy. The number, boundary and structure and distribution of powers and resources of the autonomous regions would be done by CA.

Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007

The Interim Constitution has included in its first amendment in March 2007 about formation of a High Level State Restructuring Committee (HLSRC) to give advice to CA (The Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007).

The election to CA took place in April, 2008 and its first meeting was convened in May 2008 but no such HLSRC was formed by the Government. The Interim Constitution has included in its first amendment in March 2007 about formation of a High Level State Restructuring Committee (HLSRC) to give advice to CA (Ibid). The election to CA took place in April, 2008 and its first meeting was convened in May 2008 but no such HLSRC was formed by the Government.

(a Chandra Kanta Gyawali vs. Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala

A writ of Public Interest Litigation for mandamus was filed against Nepal Government and other parties on March 2009 by Chandra Kant Gyawali, Advocate of Supreme Court (Gyawali, 2064) to force the Government to form such committee as required by IC. However, Chief Justice Kedar Prasad Giri who was just appointed dismissed the writ on the ground that it was a political question and the judiciary should not be involved in cases of such nature.

Proposed by CA

Constituent Assembly Committee on State restructuring and Distribution of State Powers recommended on 20th January 2010 for creation of fourteen states. It recommended Limbu, Kirat, Sherpa, Newa, Jadan, Tamsaling, Magarat, Tharuwan and Tamuwan on the basis of ethnicity. On the other hand, it recommended formation of Sunkosi and Narayani states in the central and eastern part of the country and Karnali and Khaptad in the mid western and far western part of the country. It also recommended creation of two regions in

the Terai consisting of Mithila-Bhojpura-Koch –Madhesh in the east extending from Mechi River in the east to Parsa in the west and Lumbini-Awadh-Tharuhat in the west extending from Narayani River in the east to Mahakali River in the west. It is interesting to note that a State Restructuring Commission should have been formed for this purpose as required by the Interim Constitution which was not done yet.

The fourteen proposed states and their “capitals” are as follows:

S.N	Proposed State	Capital
1	Limbuwan	Ilam
2	Kirat	Trijuga
3	Sherpa	Salleri
4	Sunkosi	Kamalamai
5	Tamsaling	Chautara
6	Newa	Kathmandu
7	Narayani	Bharatpur
8	Tamuwan	Pokhara
9	Magarat	Tansen
10	Karnali	Birendranagar
11	Jadan	Simikot
12	Khaptad	Silgadhi-Dipayal
13	Lumbini-Awadh-Tharuwan	Ghorahi
14	Mithila-Bhojapura-Koch-Madhesh	Janakpur

Source: Draft Report of Re-structuring committee of CA.

Some of the above towns have infrastructure as already having been regional centres such as Pokhara, Birendranagar, Silgadhi-Dipayal. On the other hand, few have been district headquarters such as Ilam, Janakpur, Salleri, Ghorahi, Chautara and Tansen. Likewise, other like Trijuga and Kamalamai have little infrastructure and would need huge investment in infrastructure before functioning as federal state capitals.

It was also recommended that largest group in each state should be given special preference for such posts as Chief Minister for two terms. An article written by the Maoist leader Baburam has provided interesting insight about Maoist thinking and vision on federalism. According to him, any ethnic group which has its own language and geography (presumably meaning area in which they are living) should be given its own autonomous state. *He realizes that such*

ethnic states envisaged by the Maoists as Tamsaling, Magarat, Tamuwan, Kirat, Mithila and Tharuwan, the "main ethnic group", presumably meaning the one after whom the federal state is named, makes only 20 to 40 percent of the population Bhattarai (Bhattarai, 2006). There may be other ethnic groups which might make majority of the population.

He proposes naming the federal states on the basis of "minority groups" and giving priority (Agradhikar) to the discriminated groups for a certain period of time say (twenty or thirty years) in order to compensate for the losses they had incurred for their backwardness. He also proposes giving political leadership of the federal states to the ethnic groups after whom the state is named. According to him, there should also be proportional representation for all the ethnic groups in Parliament, executive, judiciary and security related branches of the government.

If Bhattarai's line of arguments are to be followed it will also prove that Chhetris in Nepal being the largest group should be given priority in leading the country as they also make majority of population in 11 districts in Midwest and the Far West which also form the most backward districts in the country. Many indigenous people in Nepal have adopted Nepali as their mother tongue. The majority of Magars, the largest indigenous group in the country speak Nepali instead of Magar language as their mother tongue. The percentage of Gurungs, Newars, Tamangs, Rais and Limbus who speak Nepali as mother tongue is smaller but is not insignificant.

Therefore, the argument about each ethnic group being given a separate autonomous state on the basis of language and geography is not entirely convincing. There are Gurung villages in the hills of eastern Nepal such as Rumjatar where they had migrated during the campaign for unification and their mother tongue is Nepali. There are Newars in many urban centres of the country. Newars living in Ilam and Dhankuta in the east and Silgadhi in Doti in the west speak Nepali as their mother tongue.

Although the exact boundaries of the fourteen federal states as recommended by the committee have not been known at the present time, studies of ethnic make up of some of the earlier models provide some indication about the proposed one. In Magarat autonomous region declared by the percentage of Magars is only 31 whereas the percentage of hill upper caste people (Brahmin, Chhetri and Thakuris) is 47. As more than half of Magars have now adopted Nepali as

their mother tongue, the percentage of Nepali speaking people in this region is overwhelming. In Tamuwan autonomous region, the percentage of Gurungs is only 20 whereas that of hill upper caste being 41 percent is almost double.

There are more hill upper caste people in Newa autonomous region (37 percent) than Newars (35 percent). This is based on census taken in 2001. As a large number of people have migrated to Kathmandu valley in the past decade due to its location as the capital city and those affected by conflict have also migrated, this percentage could be different in 2011 census. There are more Nepali speaking people (54%) in Tharuwan (Kailali, Kanchanppur, Banke, Bardia and Dang) than Tharus (35%) (Rimal, 2009). The largest ethnic group living in Solo Khumbu is Rai and Sherpas make up only 20 percent of the population of the district.

There have already been staged protests against the recommendation of the committee. All Madhesh based parties like MJF, TMLP, MPWF have protested division of Terai in two parts and non-inclusion of Narayani including Chitwan in Madhesh. The Madhesh based parties are in favour of a single autonomous unit for the entire Madhesh. MPWF has threatened to start agitation on this issue. (Republica, 22/1/10). Similarly, there are protests against non-inclusion of Terai parts in far western federal republic named Khaptad (Annapurna Post, 21/1/10). Some groups in the eastern hills included in Kirat Autonomous Region have protested as they should have been made part of Khumbuwan. Several Tharu organizations which had struggled for a Tharuwan in Parsa and Bara districts in eastern Terai have protested the non-inclusion of Tharu areas in Tharuwan (Kantipur, 22/1/10). There have been disputes in areas supposed to be parts of federal states even before recommendation by CA committee.

The town of Banepa inhabited mainly by Newars was declared part of Tamsaling, autonomous region of Tamangs by the Maoists. Some Newar ethnic organizations wanted it to be part of Newa autonomous region. So, there was a dispute between those who wanted it to remain part of Tamsaling and those who wanted it to be part of Newa autonomous region. The Maoist leader Baburam Bhattarai has written that there are several Newar majority clusters inside proposed federal autonomous state of Tamsaling. He has proposed these be made autonomous areas within Tamsaling or to settle the issue by referendum.

The districts of Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari were named by the Maoists as Kochila autonomous region although it was made part of Madhesh in eastern

Terai in accordance with recommendation of CA committee. These districts were claimed earlier by Limbuwan mainly on historical grounds. The largest group in proposed Kochila is speakers of Nepali language who make up 37 percent of the population. They make up more than half of the population of Jhapa and Morang districts (Gauri Nath Rimal, Infused ethnicities). The Federal Limbuwan Council has protested non-inclusion of territories of all nine districts it had claimed and inclusion of part of its territory in Sherpa, Kirat, Narayani and Sunkosi states. Nepal Tamang Federation has objected to inclusion of Tamsaling territory in Narayani and Sunkosi states.

There is no doubt that federalism in Nepal has received mandate from the people during constituent assembly elections in 2008. However, such mandate was not for creating federal states based on ethnicity. Most of political parties that participated in the elections favored federalism but not on the basis of ethnicity. No such mandate was given for forming fourteen states as recommended by the State Restructuring Committee. Actually, the famous Swedish economist Johaan Galtung has written that Swiss model of federalism is not suitable for Nepal as ethnic distribution in Nepal is not as orderly as in Switzerland. Besides, there is a mixed population in most parts of the country. Actually, there is only one district out of 75 where Magars make majority of population. Similarly, there is one having Gurung majority (Manang), one having Tamang majority (Rasuwa), one with Newar majority (Bhaktapur) and one with Tharu majority (Bardia) (Raj, Prakash A, Crisis of Identity in Nepal). Is it justifiable to declare federal states on the basis of ethnicity where a particular ethnic group does not make the majority of population? Gerrymandering is a term used in the US to describe a process to change constituency in an election favoring a particular party.

Proposed by Re-Structuring Committee of CA

The Constituent Assembly has formed a Re-structuring of the State and Power Sharing Committee (RSPSC) in accordance with the bylaw of C.A., rule 66-930 in order to regulate and regularize thematically to promulgate the constitution, a 43 member restructuring of state and power sharing committee was formed in 2065/08/30 B.S. (November 15, 2008). It was reorganized twice in two month times. It was chaired by Lokendra Bista Magar of C.P.N. (Maoist). RSPSC was given the mandate of preparing of draft report including a concept paper. CA has given the following responsibility:

1. Re-structuring of the state,
2. Determination and naming of each federal unit,
3. Division of power of federal governments among executive, legislative and judicial,
4. Determination of concurrent power of different levels of units,
5. Determination of interrelationship of executive, legislative and judicial power among different federal units,
6. Body to resolve disputes among the federal units,
7. Other pertinent factors related to functioning of committee.

There are two types of fundamental principles in according to the Committee as follows:

1. Identity
 2. Capability
- 1 Identity: A person has plural identity at the same time in Nepal. There are class, social, political, cultural, linguistic, gender, and regional identities. The primary emphasis should be own identity. Identity may be a) ethnic group, b) cultural group, c) Geographical and regional continuity and d) Historical Continuity.

2 Capability:

- a) Interrelationship with capabilities and economy,
- b) Conditions of development infrastructure and possibilities,
- c) Availability of natural resources,
- d) Accessibility

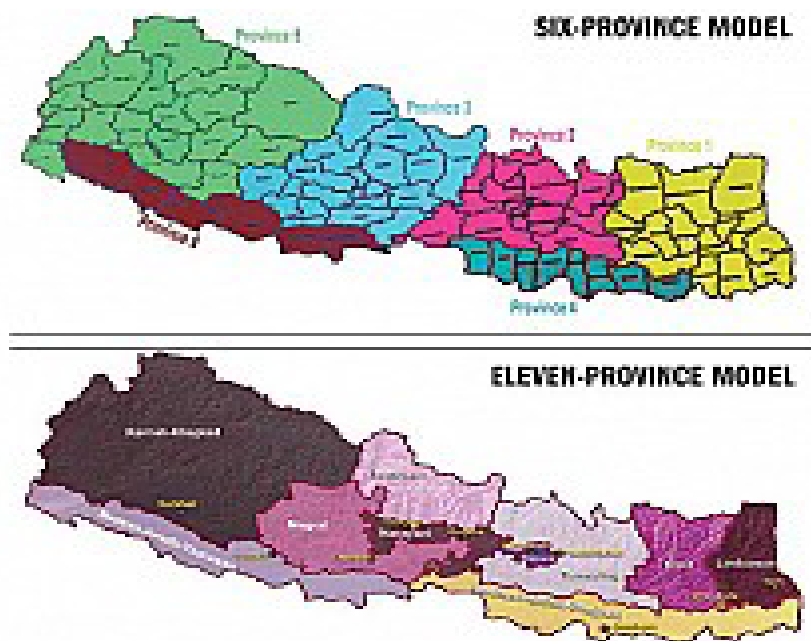
Proposed by Re-structuring of State and Power Sharing Committee of CA



Source: Draft Report of Re-structuring committee of CA.

CA committee has proposed three tiers of government and fourteen states. The committee has proposed 14 states on the basis of identity and capabilities which are as follows:

- 1) Khaptad –Capital Dipayal, 2) Jadan – Simikot, 3) Karnali –Birendranagar,
- 4) Lumbini Abadh – Tharuwan – Ghorahi, 5) Magarat- Tansen, 6) Tamuwān- Pokhara, 7) Narayani – Bharatpur, 8) Tamsaling- Chautara, 9) Newa- Kathmandu,
- 10) Mithila- Bhojpura- Koch- Madhesh –Janakpur, 11) Sunkosi, 12) Sherpa- Kamalamai, 13) Kiranta- Triyuga, 14) Limbuwan- Ilam.



Proposed By Restructuring of the Commission

Proposed by the Author

A federal Nepal containing a number of states which would be economically viable, would not be a burden upon the central exchequer and would have potential for economic development should be the primary criteria. On the other hand, such factors as geographic compactness, addressing concerns about ethnic and linguistic identity and complementarity of economies of three major regions of the country such as mountains, hills and the terai should also be taken into account. Most people in Nepal have more than one identity. Just to give one example, more than half of Magars in Nepal speak Nepali as mother tongue.

The blueprint of fourteen states presented by Committee on State Restructuring of constituent assembly (CA) in early 2010 included four based on geography (Khaptad, Karnali, Sunkosi and Narayani) although people speaking Nepali as mother tongue make overwhelming majority of population. On the other hand, the states named after ethnic groups such as Tamuwan, Magarat, Tamsaling,

Jardan, Sherpa Autonomous region, Newa Autonomous Region, Limbuwan do not contain these groups forming majority of population. The Maoists have already declared these states from the street during 2009 and early 2010 when CA was either in session or was being interrupted by the Maoists. They have also declared that the ethnic groups after whom the federal states were named would get preferential treatment for some time, a concept which is against democratic norms. The Maoists also declared their own constitution on 15th May 2010; the day after the elected CA would have completed its own tenure but did not. There are twelve federal states in this draft Constitution.

The authors have proposed seven federal states in Nepal taking in consideration such factors as potential for economic development, complementarity of economy of the hills and Terai, historic, ethnic and linguistic factors. The states are named after rivers, Himalayan peaks and places of historical importance. Homogeneity of population was also taken in account. A brief description of federal states and the rationale for their creation is as follows:

1) KANCHENJUNGA

It is situated in the easternmost part of the country and contains Ilam, Panchthar, Taplejung and Jhapa (all of which are located in Mechi Zone), Sankhuwa Sabha, Dhankuta, Tehrathum, Sunsari and Morang (all of which are located in Kosi Zone). Actually this corresponds to the demands for Limbuwan. However, more than half of the population consists of ethnic groups other than Limbus, especially in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari which are the most densely populated districts in the proposed state. The percentage of Limbus in three districts having the largest percentage is as follows:

Taplejung	42
Panchthar	40
Tehrathum	35

The percentage of Nepali mother tongue Khasas in some of the districts having highest percentage is as follows:

Jhapa	45
Tehrathum	44
Ilam	34
Panchthar	29
Morang	29

Such urban centers as Dharan and Biratnagar could be made capital of this federal state.

(2) MITHILANCHAL

The federal state of Mithilanchal consists of Saptari and Siraha of Sagarmatha Zone and Sarlahi, Dhanusha and Mahottari districts of Janakpur Zone. The basis of creation of this state is language, culture and relative homogeneity of population speaking Maithilli language and historical background as ancient Mithila. Actually, speakers of Maithili constitute the second largest linguistic group in the country, next only to Nepali. The population of Mithilanchal is 2.3 million. It is estimated that 77 percent of people speak Maithili as mother tongue making it a homogeneous area linguistically. The town of Janakpur could be made its capital.

(3) SAGARMATHA

This federal state extends from Arun River in the east to Sunkosi River in the west. It is one of few states that does not contain Terai. It consists of Bhojpur, Khotang, Udaypur and Okhaldhunga districts of Sagarmatha Zone, Sindhuli, Ramechha and Dolakha districts of Janakpur Zone and eastern part of Kavre Palanchok district of Bagmati Zone. It is named after the highest mountain peak in the world and contains a population of Rais, Sunuwars, Tamangs and Khasas. It is interesting to note that there are several languages spoken by Rais who often use Nepali to communicate with each other.

The districts having the largest percentage of Rais are as follows:

Khotang	39
Solukhumbu	31
Bhojpur	34

The districts having the largest percentage of Khasas are as follows

Ramechhap	40
Okhaldunga	46
Udaipur	39
Khotang	42

This federal state could really be called multi-ethnic. Its capital could be located in Trijuga in Udaypur.

4) BAGMATI

Bagmati State will be the largest federal state in Nepal in terms of population and the most developed one. Bagmati includes western half of Kavre, Sindhu Palchowk, Nuwakot, Rasuwa and Dhading districts and Kathmandu valley including Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts of Kathmandu valley, Makwanpur, Chitwan, Bara, Parsa and Rautahat districts of Narayani Zone. Bagmati State will be multi-ethnic and multi-lingual. Its population includes Tamangs, Newars, Khasas in the hills and Bhojपुरी speaking population in Bara, Parsa and Rautahat districts of Terai. It includes Tamang majority district of Rasuwa and Newar majority district of Bhaktapur. However, no ethnic or linguistic group makes up majority of population in Kathmandu valley. There has been migration from the hills to Chitwan and areas north of East-West Highway in Bara, Parsa and Rautahat districts. The capital of the state could be located in Hetauda.

5) LUMBINI

Lumbini state would include the entire Lumbini, Gandaki and Dhaulagiri Zones. It will include trans-Himalayan, mountain, hills and Terai. Its capital will be located in Pokhara which already has necessary infrastructure. As parts of his federal state were proposed to be made into Tamuwan and Magarat, as proposed by the Maoists, it doesn't seem to be practical. Districts having largest percentage of Gurungs are as follows:

Manang	76
Kaski	18
Lamjung	32
Mustang	45

Districts having the largest proportion of Magars are as follows:

Myagdi	42
Baglung	28
Palpa	50
Tanahu	26

The percentage of Khasas in the hilly districts of the proposed federal state is quite high. This percentage is also considerable in the three Terai districts of the state which are as follows;

Nawal Parasi	31
Rupandehi	26
Kapilvastu	16

This indicates that there has been considerable migration from the hills to this part of Terai. The three districts don't have a homogeneous population of Madheshis to form a separate state.

6) KARNALI

This federal state will be the largest in the country and will contain Rapti, Karnali and Bheri Zones. The largest group in this state will be that of Khasas and there will be some districts having considerable Magar population such as Rolpa (44 percent) and Piuthan (31 percent). Some districts having large Tharu population in the south are as follows:

Dang	31
Banke	16
Bardia	52

Tharus don't make an absolute majority of population in the three districts. These districts could not be made into a separate Tharuwan. This federal state is the most backward in the country. The capital of this federal state will be in Surkhet.

7) KHAPTAD

The hilly regions and the Terai between Karnali and Mahakali rivers will constitute the federal state of Khaptad. The overwhelming majority of population of the hills is made of Khasas. There is considerable population of Tharus in the two districts in the Terai as follows:

Kailali	43
Kanchanpur	23

There has been a considerable migration from the hills to the Terai. *The majority of population of Kanchanpur consists of Nepali speaking Khasas (Rimal, 2009).*

Disadvantages of Federalism

Some disadvantages of federal Government are as follows:

1. It is more expensive to make such infrastructure as buildings and make other necessary arrangement for both centre and the constituent units and there are additional expenses for areas of increased manpower in the constituent federal units.
2. There may sometimes be disputed regarding distribution of power and jurisdiction between centre and states.

3. There may be disputed regarding boundaries of states.

There are examples when both unitary and federal states have disintegrated. The most prominent examples of such states are the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

Conclusion

The new federal state of Nepal, formerly a unitary state, owes its federal character to Popular Movement against the monarchy in 2006 in which the Maoist insurgents played an important role. Nepal is now involved in an exercise of making new constitution. The CPN (United MAOIST) has declared 12 federal states on its draft Constitution on date 29 May 2010. A committee on state restructuring of constituent assembly has recommended creation of fourteen federal states on the basis of identity and capability. Several of the proposed states are based on ethnicity although the ethnic groups after which the states are named don't make more than 50 percent of the population of that state. In accordance with the agenda of the Maoists, the Committee has also recommended "prioritization" or positive discrimination in favors of the ethnic group after which the state is named, which is totally against democratic practice.

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Climate Change and its Impact in South Asia

*Khuma Sharma Dhital**

General Perspective

Climate change, global warming, melting of polar ice and Himalayan snow, rising up of sea level and erosion rate create serious adverse impact on human and animal life. These are the cause of great concern and it is one of the greatest challenges of 21st century. Global warming had been predicted by scientists almost 100 years ago. Climate change results from both natural (volcanoes and solar radiation) and anthropogenic factors. Anthropogenic climate change has been accelerated by the emission of green house gases (carbon dioxide, methane, nitrogen oxide, sulphur dioxide, water vapor, chlorofluorocarbon etc.), mainly due to increased use of fossil fuel combustion, industrialization, urbanization, deforestation etc. Increasing amount of anthropogenic emission of green houses gases (GHGs) has made the climate change a major and costly challenge.

There have been changes in rainfall patterns (low, high, irregular, off season and intensive rainfall) and seasons due to climate change. Climate change imparts impacts ranging from affecting agriculture and food security, water resources, forest resources, health situation, infrastructures development practices, livelihood and biodiversity as well. It affects on everything ranging from basic eco-system to whole earth system process, not only physically but also economically and socially. In many developing countries, climate change is marginal in comparison to pressing issues like food security, poverty, energy access, natural resource management, and urban transport.

The impact of climate change is more pronounced in landlocked and mountainous countries like Nepal. *Generally climate is defined as an average weather*

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condition of a place or globe throughout the season. It is often attributed to variation in solar energy, temperature and precipitation. It not only affects water resources, agricultural land, coastal regions, fresh water habitats, forestry and vegetations but also the shrinking of ice cores, ice melting in Himalayas, landslides, desertification, and floods. It influences the whole eco-system, including productivity of agricultural crops. Nepalese economy depends on agriculture and over 65 percent of rural population depends on it. So its impact on agriculture sector is of prime concern. Intense rainfall, landslide, flush flood, droughts are major problems in Terai, whereas melting ice and glacier lake outburst are major incidents in the mountains due to climate change in Nepal. Glacier in the Sagarmatha region has receded 330 ft vertically. Glaciers recede from rapid ice melting and glacier lakes are expanding day by day. The problem is getting acute due to the change of climate over the years. Climate change has emerged now as a new challenge for environment with a serious threat to development efforts. However, Nepal, where around sixty percent of the country is covered by hill and mountains, it is rich in biological diversity but it has tremendous pressures from genetic erosion, habitual fragmentation, land degradation and deportation.

Each day climate change, pollution and unsound agricultural practices take a toll on environment. A doubling pre-industrial carbon dioxide in a twenty first century is expected to rise global temperature by about 5° centigrade. Nepal has experienced an average maximum annual temperature increase of 0.06°C; this rate of increase is higher in the mountains than in other regions. Though, only 0.4 percent of the total global population is being responsible for only 0.025 percent of total green house gas emissions in the world, Nepal will be affected disproportionately. The significance of trans-boundary pollution is immense in Nepal as it is land locked country between China and India. One country accumulates GHG and other country, though not industrialized, has to bear the adverse effect of emissions and has to take necessary measures on bringing resiliencies that minimize adverse effect of global warming and climate change.

South Asian Perspective

South Asian region, presently supporting a huge population of more than 1.3 billion, is highly sensitive to consequences of climate change. This region is also known to be one of the most disaster prone regions in the world.

It is critical as climate prediction for future encompasses increased infrequency

and intensifying of extreme weather events like droughts and floods. The number of storms with more than 100 mm rainfall in a day is reported to have increased by 10% per decades. Despite this, a decade of drought is also marked for certain regions in Asia being affected. Rapid depletion of water resources is already a cause for crucial concern in many countries within the region. In South Asia alone, 2.5 billion people will be affected with water stress and scarcity by 2050.

The Himalayan range constrains high altitude glacier that supply water to many rivers in Asia. These rivers provide water to more than half of the world population. Many people are dependent on glacial melt water during dry season. In Nepal and Bhutan, melting glaciers are filling glacial lakes beyond their capacities contributing to glacial lake outburst flood. All eight SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation) countries are facing the effects of climate change. Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have low-lying coastal areas. Nepal and Bhutan have fragile mountainous ecosystems. India and Pakistan depend on cultivation in arid and semiarid lands. Maldives is threatened by salt water intrusion into fresh water, while Nepal, Bhutan and India are concerned about reduction in flow of snow fed rivers.

In Pakistan, a 6 percent decrease in rainfall will increase the net irrigation demand required for wheat by 29% (NC of Pakistan). Increased glacial melt due to global warming is also predicted to affect river flow. In Bangladesh, at least 30% of the population is directly affected by rising sea level. Changes in rainfall patterns are yielding flood, drought shocks and cyclones. Varying agricultural yields are likely to be greatest threats in Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Nepal, India and Pakistan. Frequency of storms surges rise in sea level and increased cyclones have adverse impacts on dense populations and livelihood in India, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Pakistan.

Agriculture is the main source of several economies in south Asia. Climate change has affected agriculture sector severely and the people are living an unhygienic life with no drinking water and sanitation facilities. So, every day a large number of them is migrating from village to capital site. A World Bank study report says that, in near future, 700 million people in India will migrate to urban areas due to the impact of climate change on agriculture. 80% of 1,200 Islands of Maldives are no more than one meter above sea level, and scientists fear that the sea may rise up to 0.9cm a year. If the world does not fight against climate change, within 100 years, Maldives could become uninhabitable. In Sri

Lanka, major part of Jaffna and other northern areas will be submerged as the sea level rises. Bangladesh is trapped between the Himalayas in the north and the encroaching Bay of Bengal to the south and it is the most vulnerable country in the world towards natural disasters due to high frequency of extreme climate changes and its high population density.

There are very few studies done about the effects and likely impacts of climate change so far. Scientific evaluation is yet to be carried out to understand the types and degrees of impacts on specific geographical region and development sector. Understanding past climate change patterns and monitoring climate change impacts are important for identifying vulnerable areas and designing appropriate adaptation measures. Regional co-operation can play major role in adaptation and development in the Himalayan region and country wise initiatives. Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives and Nepal are making efforts to cope with climate change and have prepared the National adaptation program of action in 2005, 07, 08, 09, and 2010, respectively. A climate change cell was established in Bangladesh in 2004, while Sri Lanka created a specific climate change secretariat within Ministry of Environment and Natural resources dealing with both adoption and mitigation issues.

There have been many initiatives taken by individual countries and the SAARC towards addressing the challenges of climate change. The SAARC environment ministers adopted SAARC action plan and declaration on climate change at the SAARC Environment Ministerial meeting on Dhaka in July, 2008. Following the COP 13 in Bali (Indonesia), the Government of Bangladesh launched its climate change strategy and action plan (BCCSAP) at a UK-Bangladesh conference held in London on September 2008. In 2009, Pakistan Ministry of Environment held a corporate summit on climate change aimed at increasing the involvement of corporations in Pakistan on the climate change. The government of Nepal has also hosted a regional climate conference titled "Kathmandu to Copenhagen" in August-September 2009. The government of Nepal organized a cabinet meeting at Kalapathar, near the base camp of Mount Everest and issued "Kalapathar Declaration". In their 25th jubilee year SAARC summit in 2010 concluded with the Thimpu Declaration on climate change. Summit set an ambitious goal for South Asia to lead the world in renewable energy, cutting carbon emission and reducing poverty. In this context, Nepal has started a new initiative where like-minded people of similar geography will discuss joining hands to raise the issue of climate change at global forums. *In the first week of April, 2012, more than*

fifty countries having over 4000- meters are gathering in Nepal in a single platform to discuss and promote sustainable mountain development (SMD) agenda.

Stake holder education and job training are necessary to prepare rural population for urban employment. State investment and subsidies to industries such as green manufacturing and employment opportunities provided in climate change will help drive mass migration and resettlement pattern. Millennium development goals initiatives have addressed the issue of climate change to a certain extent. Being agriculture based economy, countries like Nepal have to adapt low methane emitting agricultural technologies and sustainable utilization of clean and green agricultural technologies as well. Researche in green manure crops, cover crops, and preserving soil moisture, soil organic matter micronutrients and new technologies towards low carbon economy and agro renewable energy, are necessary to be carried out.

Regarding current capacity limitations in South Asia, there are wide disparities in the capacity to adapt and that access to adaptation options is severally constrained by economic recourses, technological factors, access to information and skills, infrastructure and institutions that enhance the capacity to further changes to zone extent. Many countries in South Asia, vulnerable to changes in the climate, are also under pressure due to high population growth rate, poor living conditions and poverty.

As regard to strengthening regional co-operation, positive role of government towards effective social networking, participation of stakeholders and voluntary community based system may play a major role for coping with climate stresses. Massive manmade forest fires that threaten the environment and public health across the region are major contributors to global green house gas emissions.

Regional co-operation will be necessary to effectively address climate change in South Asia. Despite, the existence of regional and multilateral organization, the associations of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) provides prospects for effective regional co-operation. Indian Ocean Tsunami or outbreak of pandemic disease have sparred some steps towards expanding regional cooperation and state planning.

Trans-border threats may arise as a result of climate change, which may involve conflict on upstream water management of trans-border rivers. River basin management might also include bilateral and multilateral consultations and decision process when upstream and downstream countries are not the same, as

apparent in the conflict between India (downstream) and Bhutan(upstream) over sharing Ganges water, and sharing Himalayan water between Nepal(upstream) and India(downstream). Numerous trans-boundary rivers in South Asia are governed by treaties. These include the treaties viz: Mahakali (to which India and Nepal are parties), the Ganges (India and Bangladesh) and the Indus (India and Pakistan). India and Bangladesh have 54 trans-national rivers. As many as the rivers in the region share trans-boundary system, regional coordination and cooperation will inevitably require both increased understanding of the nature of climate challenges and the formulation of appropriate approaches to address such changes effectively. *"In past, water has been a source of tension among countries that share trans-boundary Rivers"* says Ahmed (economist for south Asia, World Bank). However, the success of the Indus water treaty between Pakistan and India has demonstrated cooperation that benefits people. *"Managing a common problem will require a cooperative solution that would include data collection, exchange analysis and exploration of shared responsibilities"*-says Ahmed.

Coastal changes and loss of Islands due to sea level rise might generate demands for revisions of base lines and jurisdictional boundaries. To date, South Asia has played a relatively a larger role in the debate over global climate change policy. ASEAN countries were early signatories to the Kyoto protocol, and have participated constructively in subsequent climate change policy forums.

However, capabilities and capacities need to be enhanced to address emerging issues and to mobilize financing, especially for the development of disaster risk management plans. On managing environment and development through adaptation of eco-friendly approaches and technologies, South Asia might become a world leader in low-carbon technology and renewal energies. Rural people are the major stakeholders and should be brought in the main stream of mitigation effect of climate change and take advantage from the policy regarding the climate change. Its effects cannot be controlled; but effective planning, change in human habit towards low-carbon economy and implementation can minimize the related disaster.

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Activities Photos



Prime Minister, Mr. Jhala Nath Khanal, lighting a traditional lamp to inaugurate the 64th anniversary of NCWA on June 9, 2011



Chief Guest, Rt. Hon'ble Prime Minister, Mr. Jhala Nath Khanal, releasing the NCWA Annual Journal 2011 at a function to mark the 64th Anniversary celebration on June 9, 2011



Chief Guest, Prime Minister Mr. Jhala Nath Khanal, addressing the Council on the occasion to mark the 64th anniversary of NCWA on June 9, 2011



Executive Committee Member in the Annual General Meeting of NCWA on August 20, 2011

A Section of Members Participating at the Annual General Meeting of NCWA on August 20, 2011



Hon'ble Mr. Chitra Bahadur KC, Member of CA, and Mr. Tika Jung Thapa, President, NCWA, releasing books written by Prof. Dr. Shreedhar Gautam, Secretary General, NCWA, on August 17, 2011



Hon'ble Mr. Chitra Bahadur KC, Member, CA, addressing the Council at an interaction and book releasing on August 17, 2011.

A section of member's participation in an interaction and book releasing function on August 17, 2011



NCWA executive members meeting with CAFIU delegation at a lunch hosted by the council in honour of the visiting Chinese delegation on October 20-23, 2011



*Group photo with visiting
CAFIU delegation on
October 20-23, 2011*

*A Book entitled “Deng Xiao
Ping & Hon Kong” Written
by Dr. Pushpa Adhikari,
being released by Dr. Ram
Saran Mahat at a function
organized by the Council on
December 20, 2011*



*A Section of the members at
a book released on December
20, 2011*