

A New Journey in the New Context: Nepal-India Relations

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Abstract: The geographical setting of Nepal and India are very important in shaping their relations. They share not only a long and open border but also cultural history for a long time. Nepal and India had many modes of their relations like- “Sphere of Indian Influence”, “special relationship” later turned into “Equal Relationship with all”, then “Big Brother role” later become “Dominating power”, “Zone of Peace”, “Panchayat Regime”. So, despite these closeness and friendly relations they had many irritants also. After a long time, Nepal has achieved political stability, except some issues, on September 20, 2015, to adopt a constitution. Nepal had been hankered for a long time to achieve this. Now it is time for Nepal to ponder over the all gamut of relations with India because both of the countries can take advantage of each other as Prime Minister Narendra Modi during his two-day visit to Nepal, on 3-4 August 2014, said about the Nepal’s development and promised to take all necessary steps to take the relations into a new height. Now, it is interesting to see that what kind of relationship Nepal will maintain with India with these developments.

Keywords: Anti-Indian Sentiment, Nepal-India, Open Border, Special Relationship, Zone of Peace.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Having adopted a constitution, Nepal has entered in a new journey that can, perhaps, minimize its political and developmental crisis. But, the promulgation of the constitution was not an easy task for Nepal because it has a long history of political upheaval and it had been hankered for a long time to achieve this stability. While on the one hand, the promulgation of the constitution is a great victory for Nepal, there is a huge violence in some section, on the other. Besides this, because of its geopolitical situation, Nepal’s domestic politics always affects its foreign relations as well and triggers it to be a sovereign state. So, being a small and poor country it can be or had been difficult for Nepal to accommodate in a new situation.

Nepal is a landlocked country situated at, the northern slope of the Himalaya, between two big and powerful countries India (Democratic Country) and China (Communist Country). From the east, west, and north, Nepal surrounded by three Indian states- Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, and Bihar respectively and from the north connected with China. Nepal shares over 1850 km border with India. Moreover, being a landlocked country Nepal’s access to the sea and third countries is possible through the India but now it has developed another option with the assistance of China. In this regard, This geographical situation compels Nepal to depend on its neighboring states. In addition, topographically Nepal can broadly be divided into three regions: (1) The Himalayas; (2) the central hills and valleys; and (3) the Terai [1] and the term close ties between Nepal and India is basically connected with Terai region of Nepal.

In order to secure its interests, Nepal takes advantage of its both neighbours against each other. Historically, Nepal has remained a strategic location for big powers since the cold war. It has also always figured prominently in the regional powers politics centered on the Himalayan region. In return, Nepal took advantage of Major external powers’ presence on its territory to counterbalance the influences of its two neighbours and also to secure its territorial integrity. Despite Nepal’s foreign policy has mostly focused on maintaining a balance between its two bigger neighbours.[2] Thus, although being a small and poor country, Nepal has played a major role in the regional politics and as well for external powers.

In terms of close social, political and cultural ties, India is the most important neighbour for Nepal. Instead of many irritants, their relationship has been the interesting one from many aspects. This relationship is not only between the two countries but also between their citizens and these interweaving relationship is a good example of their friendship. Moreover, they share an open border, because of the absence of any natural barrier, that facilitates free movement of citizens in each other territory without any restrictions as stipulated in the 1950 treaty of peace and friendship.

Although Nepal-India relations have nurtured in a friendly and brotherly environment, they have experienced many ups and downs. Indeed, India's over security concern and Nepal's quest for development have created many disturbances in their relationship and many external powers take advantage of their clash, on the other, that also helps in increasing misconception between them. There is huge confidence crisis between both countries. However, Nepal and India, in order to gain their interests, wisely knows the tactics to be used against each other, for instance, many times Nepal have used 'China card' to pressurize India and on the part of India, it uses economic weakness or Nepal's landlocked situation as well, i.e., imposed economic blockade in 1989 and recently in 2015-16.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The relation between Nepal and India cannot be understood without historical events because it is the bedrock of their contemporary relationship. They have many layers in their relationship where each one incident unfolds another new perspective of this unique relation. Inevitably, Nepal's geographical situation, one of the most important variable, has been very important in shaping its foreign policy.

Nevertheless, the determinants factor of Nepal's foreign policy was clearly reflected in the king Prithvi Narayan Shah's, the founder of unified Nepal, statement that:

"This Kingdom (Nepal) is like a tarul (a root vegetable) between two stones. Great friendship should be maintained with the Chinese emperor. Friendship should also be maintained with the Emperor of the southern seas (the British), but he is very clever. He has kept India suppressed. He is entrenching himself in the plains.... Do not engage in an offensive attack, fighting should be done on a defensive basis....If it is found difficult to resist in the fight, then even means of persuasion, tact, and deceit should be employed." [1]

This statement has shown that King Prithvi Narayan was aware of Nepal's vulnerabilities or weaknesses and even he had already warned his successors to don't mess with a neighboring country, but if any such situation would arise then took advantage of both countries against each other. In this regard, many times Nepal has taken advantage of India and China against each other.

The relation between Nepal and British India mainly began from 1816 Treaty of Segouli, until then, Nepal was busy with China in Tibet issue and also did not took a keen interest in the world affairs. After defeated in war, Nepal being forced to sign a treaty of Segouli in March 1816. This treaty was a costly bargain for Nepal because its possession in Sikkim, Kumaon, and Garhwal was lost and some another obligation was imposed on Nepal. Although Nepal was being defeated in war, it had great impact on British through the bravery of Gorkhas and to avoid any possibility of further Anglo-Nepalese conflict the British not only diverted the war potential of Nepal in the form of Gorkha recruitment for their army but also endeavoured to encourage economic and cultural intercourse between the two Governments.[1] In order to improve diplomatic relation, another treaty was signed in 1923 between Nepal and British India. in which British formally recognized Nepal as a sovereign country and also facilitated Nepal to freely imports goods and arms through the Indian Territory. But, this sovereignty was not absolute because in external and security related matters Nepal had to consult with British. In order to save its regime, Ranas maintained friendly relations with them and always tried to help British through their Gorkha forces. In return, British gave assurance to preserve its regime and returned its lost territory in 1814-16 war, as a reward.

In 1947, India got independence from the British colonialism but the British withdrawal from India did not make Ranas comfortable. India achieved independence through the democratic movement that could be a peril for Rana regime and they were sure that their interest could be safe only with the British. But it was pleasant for the Ranas to found the attitude of the congress government in India was friendly. In fact, India adopted the British policy of Himalayan Kingdom. In this order, the two governments concluded a "standstill agreement" under which India as a successor power to the British was recognized and the terms of a relationship between Nepal and India as they existed prior to independence retained.

However, The Rana regime did not survive much longer before democratic forces in Nepal and revolt begun against the Monarchy. In this regard, India's involvement was crucial to solve this issue. Through the "Delhi Settlement", the Ranas agreed to amend their initial proposals for constitutional reforms, according to the "friendly suggestions" of the Government of India. In accordance with the "Delhi Settlement", King Tribhuwan formed a Cabinet responsible to him on 18 February 1951. The Cabinet included Mohan Shumshere and B. P. Koirala, as well as other representatives of the Ranas and the Nepali Congress in equal numbers. Thus, "the revolution" ended in a compromise and the disturbed situation seemed to be gradually settled.[1] Through this settlement, the term "special relationship" started, with the efforts of king Tribhuwan, in Nepal-India relations. The period of 1950-55 of King Tribhuwan reign, there was seen an Indian dominance on Nepal's foreign policy. In this time, New Delhi had played 'Big brother' role in Nepali politics and in any chaotic situation Nepalese leaders looked towards Indian assistance and many times they visited New Delhi for its guidance.

After the King Tribhuwan's death in 1955, his son King Mahendra began major shifts in Nepal's foreign policy. The "special relationship" with India turned into "Equal relationship" with all the countries.

Even, Mahendra diversified its all trade to minimize Indian influence or dependency on India and began improving the diplomatic relationship with another country. In order to grab the power, he dismissed the government, banned the activities of Nepali Congress and jailed many leaders and imposed “Panchayat System” in Nepal. India criticized this move as a setback to democracy in return, Mahendra accused India for interfering in Nepal’s internal affairs. So, the personality of the kingdom’s ruler played a major role in shaping its foreign policy.

King Birendra, son, and successor of King Mahendra, had also followed his father’s framework in domestic and foreign policy. One of the major moves in Nepal’s foreign policy was his “Zone of Peace” (ZoP) proposal in 1975. On the one hand, India sought this ZoP proposal as a violation of the treaty of 1950, China and Pakistan endorsed its proposal, on the other. Through this proposal, Birendra’s intention was clear to keep away Nepal from Indian sphere of influence. Thus, the post-1955 period was damaging for Nepal-India relationship.

Following the disturbances in Nepal-India relationship, one was an economic blockade of Nepal, in 1989, by Rajiv Gandhi Government of India. This crisis arose after the expiration of the Trade and Transits treaty in 1987. In which, Nepal wanted two separate treaty of trade and transit but India was reluctant to do so. In addition, arms importation from China, Citizenship for Indian teacher was all together was irritation of India that came into economic embargo in Nepal. Being a landlocked country, Nepal affected badly due to this blockade. There was a shortage of every commodity of livelihood. That’s why, in order to minimize this kind of trouble, Nepal has developed another option through the China and other third countries.

Nepal has witnessed much trouble and one of them was its own internal political instability that was the root of many others predicament. In this regard, the decade of the 90s had been very chaotic for Nepal due to Maoist insurgency. The matter became more worst when King grabbed all power, dismissed all human rights and imposed a state of emergency on February 1, 2005. The king announced that he wanted to bring peace in the country but nothing seemed like peace. However, this 10-year civil war ended with an Indian negotiation in 2005 after signing a peace agreement and 240-year old monarchy abolished in 2006. Then in 2008, first constitution assembly election was held and Maoist had a majority in assembly but they failed to draw a constitutional draft. The constitution assembly was again elected in 2013 which was dominated by traditional parties that worked together with Maoist and all the parties for making the Nepali constitution. After a long and difficult process, Nepal’s unprecedented constitution was promulgated on 20 September 2015. However, Nepal’s difficulties are not seeming settled because of agitation against the constitution.

III. BILATERAL TIES: PROS AND CONS

Every relation relies upon some demand-supply, trust-mistrust, give and take formula where clashes of interest are must exist. Despite these things, interdependence is one of the most important factors that helps to normalize the relationship between two or more than two countries. In this line, Nepal-India relation based on some kind of interdependence, history proves that whether they have faced much disturbance, this interdependence was never seemed to be changed. Both countries have intimated cultural links that can be never underestimated and these ties are one of the most important factors in boosting their relationship.

Moreover, both countries have good economic relations as well. India has had a major role in its development project. The bilateral trade that was 29.8% of Nepal’s total external trade in 1995-96 reached 66% in 2013-14. Exports from Nepal to India increased from INR 230 crore in 1995-96 to INR 3713.5 crore (US\$ 605 million) in 2013-14 and India’s exports to Nepal increased from INR 1525 crore in 1995-96 to INR 29545.6 crore (US\$ 4.81 billion) in 2013-14. Indian firms are the biggest investors in Nepal, accounting for about 38.3% of Nepal’s total approved foreign direct investments. Till 15 July 2013, the Government of Nepal had approved a total of 3004 foreign investment projects with proposed FDI of Rs. 7269.4 crore. There are about 150 operating Indian ventures in Nepal engaged in manufacturing, services (banking, insurance, dry port, education, and telecom), power sector and tourism industries. [6] Despite this closeness, there are many irritants between both of the countries.

3.1. Controversial issue: Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950

The 1950 treaty of Peace and Friendship one of the most debating issue in this bilateral relation. There are many controversies pertaining to this treaty, however, the treaty still exist between them without any respect or even without any minor change. It is interesting to see that the treaty was signed due to the emergence of China as a communist country sin 1949 and its occupation of Tibet that concerned India as well as Nepal in a matter of security. The Himalaya had became the security barrier between India and China because of the open border between Nepal and India. This all over situation created a background for this treaty.

A letter was also exchanged between both of the countries that kept secret till 1959 and even it did not register in the UN along with the treaty. The letter provides India’s first preference in Nepal’s natural resource projects but Nepal have given many projects to China over reservation of India by this clause. Furthermore, The

unequal status of the treaty created resentment in Nepal because it was signed between Nepali King M.S. Jung Bahadur Rana and the Indian Ambassador C.P.N Singh. From the Nepalese point of view, that was an insult to Nepal. Even, the Ranas, who was not a representative government, fell within six months after signing the treaty. Some section also argues that India was compelled Rana to sign the treaty because this treaty is one-sided that totally tilted upon India's interests. This treaty has many obligations which are imposed on Nepal that's why Nepalese feel cheated by this treaty provisions.

A major breach was seen in this relationship in 1962 when Nepal imported some arms and warlike material from China through the Kathmandu-Kodari road. While on the one hand, India was arguing, in the line of article 5 of the treaty, that Nepal had to consult with New Delhi before such kind of importation, Nepal gave its own argument about the territory which is being used, on the other. While both countries were debating in their own point of view but it was clear that Nepal had given importance to its sovereignty rather the obligation of the treaty. Furthermore, Article 6 and 7 of the treaty deals with economic opportunity and national treatment of the citizen in each others country. According to this article, equal rights has given in the matter of residence, job opportunity and acquiring property in each other's territory. This clause was first violated in 1958 when king Mahendra banned the purchase of immovable property by foreigners and Indians. Then in 1987, Nepal imposed work permit system for foreigners including Indian citizens. Instead of this irritants, Nepalese has been enjoying equal rights in India in the matter of jobs, residence and many facilities equal to Indians.

Nepal, however, has always been demanded to renewal or termination of the treaty. In 1996, Communist Party of Nepal (CPN-Maoist) has also raised this issue in his well-known 40-point demand. In which, they demanded the removal of all unequal treaties or agreements with India like termination of the 1950 treaty of Peace and Friendship, regulation of the Indo-Nepal border and nullifying the Mahakali Treaty. However, except for King Mahendra, the monarchy of Nepal never touched upon this issue. It is interesting to note that in Nepalese foreign minister Kamal Thapa visited India in September 1997, with a 'non-paper' which, for the first time, introduced some ideas for a revision of the treaty.[3] In this matter, Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal, during his visit to India, in September 2008, also raised voice for renewal of the 1950 treaty and other similar treaties. Every political party in Nepal have made this issue their political agenda, though, Nepali Congress remains silent over this issue.

In this regard, Article 10 of the treaty clearly stipulates that- "The Treaty shall remain in force until it is terminated by either party by giving one year's notice." In spite of this clause and Nepal's continue agitation against the treaty for termination, neither Nepal nor India have done this formality. Both countries has made this issue intractable, while the same treaty with Bhutan has amended with a minor changes.

The background of the treaty, in which treaty was concluded, has completely changed in the current scenario and even just after signing the treaty. In fact, China, the prime concern of those time, has now become the major economic partner of Nepal and as well as India. On the other hand, Nepal always demanded amendment or termination of the treaty without any solid study on the treaty. The former Nepali ambassador to the United Nation Jayaraj Acharya said on this issue that "I don't think people have made serious study of its provisions and the consequences of its revision. Actually, I am worried that Nepali side is reportedly raising the issue without any serious homework".[8] In this way, both countries have to keep in mind that It's not only the treaty signed between two nations but it's a bonding between citizens of the two countries and their citizens have very close and heart to heart relationship. So, it is necessary for both countries, without making big dialogues, to ponder over on the issue very closely because any unwanted move can breach the brotherly relationship between their citizens.

IV. NEPAL-INDIA OPEN BORDER: UNIQUE SYMBOL OF FRIENDSHIP

The long and open border between Nepal and India is a unique example in South Asia because no one has shared such a long and open border like these countries. The 1950 treaty of Peace and friendship also provides citizens of the both countries to move freely in each other's territory without any restriction which has been created close intimating ties between them for many decades. Nepali citizens (as well as Indian in Nepal) have been enjoying equal rights India, even they can be, or have been, part of the Indian government services except for IAS, IFS, and IPS. Moreover, they have close matrimonial ties especially between the Terai region and along with the Indian border states that are called "Roti Beti" relationship. This kind of relationship helps in improving the bilateral ties.

While on the one hand Nepal-Indo open border is the best example of fostering good relationship through the unhindered movement of the citizens of both countries, it also facilitated unhindered illegal activities, on the other. The open border has become the heaven for criminals and terrorists. At the same time, it has given rise to many irritants and problems that raise serious concerns. These include:

- territorial disputes and encroachments
- transgression of the border by insurgents and terrorists
- spilling over of domestic unrest in Nepal across the border into India
- Cross-border illegal activities like smuggling, gun-running, trafficking in drugs and humans, etc.[5]

In 2009, some Nepalese media reported that Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) had encroached upon Nepalese land and constructed their camps and in this order, 1800 Nepali villagers driven out of Dang district by the SSB. However, not only Indian government denied this fact but also Nepalese government dismissed such kind of violation. Furthermore, The changing course of rivers in every few year also created confusions about boundary demarcation. For this reason, border pillars have lost and people from the both sides infringe the no man's land. According to one Nepalese estimate, there are as many as 54 disputed spots covering an area of approximately 60,000 hectares along the border because of this. [5]

The open border also facilitates informal or illegal trade that disturbs Nepal's economy as well as India. While in Nepal 65% of the respondents entered through friends or relatives in India 58% of the traders entered informal trading through this channel. The evidence points to the presence of non-anonymous transacting.[11] Fake currency, smuggling of weapons, women and child trafficking etc. is going on without any difficulty due to the open and unregulated border. The criminals of both countries found a safe home at the border side. The ISI involvement along with the border area, through the Madrasas, is also concerning issue for India as well as Nepal. The ISI groups have increased its networks through this Madrasas and even, many terrorists have used this border to escape after the crime and ran away safely to another country.

To control these activities, both governments have used many technics but they don't get much success due to lack of cooperation. The unrestricted movement through the border is creating difficulties for both countries but they did not pay much attention despite dialogues. In 2015, during the visit of Indian External Affairs Sushma Swaraj, both neighboring countries agreed to form Nepal-India Boundary Working Group (BWG) for repairing, maintaining and upgrading the border pillars. This is the first time when both countries has seriously working together and conducted a mass survey along the border area. In addition, recently first-time Nepal-Indo open border are going to be guarding by the GPS system. Beside this, Nepal and India have erected a total of 8,553 pillars along the borderline, of which 1,325 are missing and 1,956 are damaged. According to Madusudan Adhikari, Director General of Department of Survey, "we will erect new ones in the missing points and paint white color on the existing ones. We anticipated that the issue of cross-holding will take more time than erecting or renovating the pillars." [12] Both countries can solve their problems merely through the consultation, cooperation, and mutual understanding. In the matter of regulation of the border, Nepal has many troubles and being a poor country it has not many resources to regulate or safeguard the border. Therefore, India, in this matter, has to become more active to solve this issue.

V. ANTI-INDIAN SENTIMENT IN NEPAL

The relation between Nepal and India was very friendly during the King Tribhuwan rule, called as "Special Relationship", but the post-1955 period, since the Mahendra regime their relation got soured and many time it touched its nadir. There are many issues that have created anti-Indian sentiment in Nepal and most of them are arose due to misconceptions and lack of mutual understanding. The 1950 treaty is not only the controversial issue but there are other treaties as well. In the matter of another treaties, Nepal feels cheated by the two water treaties namely, Kosi and Ghandahk: and, indeed, some experts believe that the Integrated Mahakali treaty is another case of being cheated once more. The Kosi and Gandhak treaties are vehemently criticized for causing floods inside Nepal, while the Mahakali one is seen as a treaty that gives more value to the benefits from the export of hydro energy to India than the opportunity costs of the water forgone by Nepal for its own use.[13] Not only Nepal and India have responsible for their own bad relationship but there are also other elements who plays a major role to increasing gaps between them. In this regard, One of China's strategies was to keep Indian influence out of Nepal. In order to achieve this, it sometimes resorted to threats but mostly relied on the political strategy of capitalizing on the growing anti-India feelings and the sense of nationalism in the Nepalese elite's psyche.[14] China always competes with India for the sphere of influence in Nepal and through the soft power. Today, Nepal's most of the trade have moved from India to China and even China has been developing many projects in Nepal mainly that places where India had been involved.

However, both countries has failed to address these issues in bilateral talks even they do not serious attempt to resolve it. They are not only breaching their own relationship but also creating a gap between their citizens. It is true that the anti-Indianism that so often manifests itself in the streets of Kathmandu is fairly superficial- very different from the malaise in Pakistan or even in Bangladesh and usually has a short shelf-life, but India has not succeeded in addressing it through any policy or combination of policies, nor has it learnt to take it in its stride, with the result that the few elements in Nepal who run the anti-India industry-occasionally with help from interested quarters in third countries- invariably get the satisfaction of seeming India over-react to every incident.[15] In the last one decade, Nepalese society has undergone drastic changes. The thinking of the new generation Nepalese youth about India and India-Nepal relations has changed. Their reactions to the "border blockade" by the Madhesis were unprecedented. They do not want to be dependent on India. They prefer to work and study in other countries than India. Therefore, reducing dependency on a single source as well as diversifying connectivity and supply options has been a major foreign policy goal of Nepal during the post-blockade phase.[16]

VI. NEW JOURNEY AHEAD: ALONG WITH MISCONCEPTION

There has been a major shift in India's foreign policy with the change of government in New Delhi in 2014. India's neighborhood is now the prime focus in its foreign policy dispensation. The Modi Government took India's neighborhood policy to a higher level by inviting all SAARC leaders to the prime minister's oath taking ceremony, thereby clearly sending a message that neighbors are more important than others.[17] In addition to improving bilateral ties, Indian Prime Minister Modi visited Nepal in August 2014 that was the first high-level visit as an Indian Prime Minister in 17 years. In his two-day visit, Prime Minister Modi expressed his view on many issue and his address to the constitution assembly was appreciated by many Nepalese leaders even chairman of the United Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (UCPN-M) Pushpa Kumar Dahal or Prachand, one of the critique of India, praised Modi for their inspiring and encouraging speech and stated that 'a new chapter has begun in Nepal-Indo relations'. P.M Modi showed his willingness to review of the 1950 treaty and said that they will welcome the suggestion, if any, regarding this treaty from Nepali side. Prime Minister Modi also outlined the concept of HIT- to help Nepal through the development of Highway, information technology and transmission lines for electricity.

On the other hand, Nepal has also been in a changing environment after promulgation of the constitution. But, this unprecedented victory is also creating a trouble for Nepal. It is said earlier that after this task Nepal would be able to achieve stability or minimize other crisis but just after the adoption of the constitution Nepal not only faced huge agitation, against some constitutional provision but also survived to economic blockade by India. Once again, the economic crisis of 1989 has repeated in 2015 that bring a shortage of every good in Nepal. While Indian government denied about any economic blockade and stated that trucks and any goods loaded vehicles are not entered in Nepal due to violation of protesters along with the border areas.

The Madhesis, Women and Tribal classes are not satisfied with some clauses of the constitution and the division of the provinces as well. They are opposing the constitution to not giving them equal right and about discrimination, as they told, they have been facing in the country for long times. Thus, a huge violation over this issue has emerged, in which, over 45 persons have died and many injured. On the part of India, its suggestions for the constitutional reforms taking as an interfere in Nepal's internal matter while Terai's people are seeking assistance from India. Historically, Nepalese nationalism, as promoted by King Mahendra, is dominated by the ethos of the hill people and the people from Terai were regarded as being close to India and were discriminated against..[2] In addition, India's most of the developmental projects are connected with Terai and it is considered that India increases its influence through this territory. That's why the division of the provisions in the new constitution are made in such a way so that Terai can be separated from the Indian region. In this regard, India's any activity in Nepal's matter is creating misunderstanding among Nepalese. On the other hand, Nepal's sovereignty and security concern can also be seen in the statement of new Prime Minister K.P.Oli, that "Maintaining good relation with neighboring countries is an important aspect of national security but we cannot jeopardize national security for the sake of maintaining good neighborly relations." [19] It is clear about this statement that India, now, neither dominant Nepal nor its external relations as had been doing in prior. There is the only way to normalize their relations through the confidence-building and mutual cooperation. During the past years, India has lost its position in Nepal due to lack of neighborhood policy and also it did not give preference to its small but important neighbor.

Nepal-India relations only governed by the outdated treaties and their foreign policies only guided by the personality of the both countries' head there is not at all any solid policy that can describe their framework toward this relationship. A former Indian ambassador to Nepal Rakesh Sood stated that, "For Narendra Modi's 'neighbourhood first' policy to succeed, India needs to introspect and Prime Minister Modi needs to find a Nepal policy that can resurrect the image of India that he had successfully presented- of a friendly and caring India, sensitive to Nepal's concerns, and generous in seeking mutually beneficial partnerships." Sood also blamed Nepal's dysfunctional politics for the sluggish development in the last 25 years.[12]

VII. CONCLUSION

The relation between Nepal and India are getting worse and worse because of lack of trust and cooperation. In this regard, both countries did not make any serious attempt to solve this issue besides tall talks. It is India's biggest diplomacy failure that it doesn't minimize its relationship deficit with Nepal. Now, it is necessary to, without tall talks, both countries have to try to give a new direction to their relationship and must make it more and more useful in changing world scenario. Nevertheless, no one can undermine their centuries-old cultural and social linkages and geographical setting as well. This is the only reason of their good, and as well as bad, relationship that always helps in maintaining their relationship. In the era of globalization, where each one country has come closer to gain more and more profits while Nepal and India, instead of closeness, do not seem in able to utilize each other's potentials. In this task, India has failed to improve its 'soft power' potentiality while this can be achieved through the little efforts because it has already been working in an undirected and neglected way.

In order to make the relationship better, it must be important to amend and reinvigorate the outdated treaties, which became hurdles in a friendly relationship, in the new world scenario. This friendly relation cannot become stronger if they will not remove these hurdles. It also must be important for, before taking any decision, both countries have to keep in mind the close ties between their citizens.

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