

India-Nepal Relation From Nation-Building Perspectives

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Abstract

Nepal is a landlocked country with a unique national history and geopolitical location between two giant neighbors, India and China. Its relationship with these two nations has had a significant impact on the process of nation-building in Nepal. This article discusses the influence of the changing relationship between Nepal and India on various dimensions of nation-building, using the conceptual framework of Saunders' Research Onion Peeled Method and Harris Mylona and Stein Rokkan's theory of nation-building. The study uses a qualitative approach with phenomenology and historical methods to examine the trends of nation-building around the world and the paradigms of nation-building in Nepal during various periods of its history, including the unification period, the aftermath of the Anglo-Nepal War, the Rana Regime, the Monarchical period, and the aftermath of the end of the monarchy. The research found that internal and external forces, such as globalization and industrialization, as well as geopolitical developments, have had an impact on statenation-building in Nepal.

Key words: Nation, nationbuilding, geopolitics, bilateral relation & nationalism.

Introduction

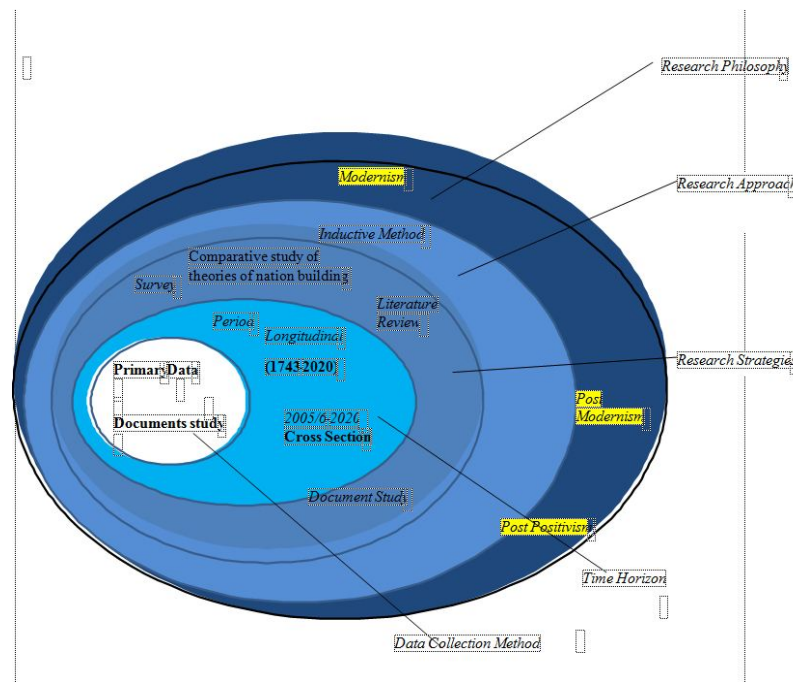
Nepal, being a land locked country with unique national history and geopolitical location between two giant neighbours has significant impact in building Nepali Nation State. There is a prominent debate amongst the scholars how does bilateral and multilateral relationship between influences in building the Nepali Nation. Hence, it can be argued that contours of nation building resonates as the relation between Nepal and India changes its shape. This article invariably discusses influence of changed relationship between these two nation states in various dimension of nation building.

Nation building is the process by which a nation state is formed and the national identity of its citizens is shaped. It is a complex process that involves various factors, including state building, democratization, modernization, political development, and peacebuilding. In Nepal, the relationship with its neighboring giant, India, has had a significant impact on the nation building process. Scholars have debated the influence of bilateral and multilateral relationships on nation building in Nepal, and it is believed that the changing relationship between Nepal and India affects the contours of nation building in the country (Gellner, 1983). This article discusses the influence of the changed relationship between Nepal and India on various dimensions of nation building in Nepal. It is suggested that the nation-building experience in Nepal has had an impact on patterns

of state formation, social order, self-determination movements, war onset, and public goods provision.

Methodology

Historical process of nation building in Nepal seems a paradoxical, unprecedented, and evolutionary and dynamic in nature (Bhat,2021). It consists of significant enclaves or turning points trajectories of which emanates from ancient history. Theoretical framework using Saunder's Research Onion Peeled,(2007) based on relevant theories of John Galtung, Stein Rokkan, Reinhard Bendix, Lucian Pye have been used to study the nation building in Nepal. A qualitative approach with phenomenology and historical methods have been utilized with to devise a study framework (Figure 1.1). The paper initially discusses the Trends of nation building around the world.



It will follow the discussion of paradigms of nation building in Nepal particularly during unification period, aftermath of Anglo-Nepal war up to the end of Rana Regime, Monarchical times and aftermath of end of the monarchy. There after paper will shade light on how bilateral relation influences the dimensions of nation building in Nepal.

Theoretical debate over global trends of nation building

Some of the theories believes that nationalism precedes modernity where as others holds the idea that nationalism is created because of modernity. The conceptual theories related to nation building were specially discussed after the end of Second World War, although idea of nation implicitly been started much before it. This term of nation building gained momentum after mid of the twentieth century when great powers such as Great Britain, Portugal and France loosened its hold over the third world nations and gave birth

to newly liberated nation states (Stephenson, 2005). This discussion can be divided into two parts. Firstly, theoretical perspectives and Secondly global trends of nation building.

Theoretical Aspects of Nation Building

Ernest Gellner believes that "Nation building is the process whereby ruling political elites attempt to make the political and the national units overlap" (Gellner, 1983). Bendix assumed the extension of citizenship to members of ever-larger groups as the very hallmark of successful nation building (Bendix, 1996). Harris Mylonas vividly visualizes his experience of a state's choice to assimilate or exclude ethnic groups within its territory. He laid his argument relating state's nation building policies toward non-core groups. Karl W Deutsch (1953) proposed the mechanistic model of nation building by using assimilationist approach with social communication. Galtung's theory of imperialism explains the interaction between centre and periphery within and between the nations of the centre and periphery. RAND Corporation defines Nation building as "the use of armed force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin an enduring transition to democracy"(RAND, 2003).

Trends of Nation building

Nation building often involves waves of influence emanating from powerful states, which can either be adapted by or transform the nation-states in their periphery. In Europe, the process of nation building began in the Middle Ages and lasted until the French Revolution. However, there has been debate among some politically motivated and pro-INGO intellectuals in Nepal about defining and mobilizing Nepali citizens against national unity, despite their long history of coexistence at the grassroots level(Rokkan, 1997). Additionally, some Westerners and political parties in Nepal have politicized ethnicity, religion, culture, and language in an attempt to destabilize the nation and gain power in the state.

Empire has been the defining world experience of the modern era. Already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European powers put their stamp on the Americas. After the decline of the old pre-industrial empires in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, new empires arose, as Europe raced ahead of the rest of the world in terms of economic and military power. In 1800, Europe and its colonies and ex-colonies covered just over half the land surface of the world; by 1914 this proportion had increased to nearly 85 per cent. By the Second World War, the only major inhabited areas of the world that had never been under European rule were China, Ethiopia, Japan, Mongolia, Persia, Siam, and Tibet. Yet within little more than thirty years, these great global empires had almost all collapsed, and by the end of the twentieth century, all that was left were a few isolated and fragmentary colonial possessions.

Geopolitics and external forces

Argument can be made that external force including geopolitical and geostrategic location of the nation has significant impact on selecting the internal and foreign policy goals. Nepal, being a land locked country with unique national history and geopolitical location between two giant neighbours and world powers. India and World's power

canters has been playing their role directly or indirectly to cause significant changes in Nepal's survival, prosperity and social well-being. As a result, it significantly influences the nation building process in Nepal.

Harris Mylonas and Darden (2015) argue that the international environment in which a state develops partially determines the extent of its linguistic commonality and national cohesion. Specifically, the presence of an external threat of territorial conquest or externally supported secession leads governing elites to have stronger incentives to pursue strategies of nation building to generate national cohesion, often leading to the cultivation of a common national language through mass schooling. Comparing cases with similar levels of initial linguistic heterogeneity, state capacity, and development, but exist in different international environments. Mylonas mentions that states that did not face external threats to their territorial integrity were more likely to outsource education and other tools for constructing identity to missionaries or other groups, or not to invest in assimilation at all, leading to higher ethnic heterogeneity (Mylonas & Darden, 2015).

The Russification of the Baltic states that occurred in two main thrusts could not eliminate the local ethnic pride, despite the long years of trying. The first thrust began in the 1880s as the Tsarist government implemented a policy to reduce the power of the Baltic-German land-owning nobility. Baltic-German administration of the region was seen as a danger to the unity of the empire. Indeed, the expansion of the German Empire after 1871 included plans to absorb the Baltic states (Kasekamp, 2010). The second thrust began with the 1940 seizure of the Baltic states by the USSR. Beginning immediately after absorption of the states into the Soviet Union, local leaders and intellectuals were either killed outright or deported to central Russia; Russianspeaking reliable Communist Party members were appointed to major administrative positions. The policy was interrupted during the brief period of Nazi occupation. In both periods, Russification had two main aspects: cultural and administrative. The Russian language became the conduit for both. Russian was the state language of administration. In the early period, religious institutions also played a role; Russian Orthodox churches were built in important locations in all major Baltic cities of the empire along with monuments to heroic Russian figures. The aim of this policy in Estonia and Latvia was to keep the population from becoming Germanized; in Lithuania, the focus was also on countering the influence of Poland and the Catholic Church. The first Russification did not include.

In the context of Nepal, importance of Nepali and Tibetan regions of China have been playing the central role to attract the interests of the world and regional powers to counter balance with each other throughout the history. Hence, it certainly has been modulating the national identity, directly or indirectly, from outer rings towards the heart of Nepali nation. For centuries, Nepal skilfully has balanced its diplomatic posture between the ruling dynasties in China and those in India offering letters and gifts that were interpreted as tributes in China but recorded as evidence of equal exchanges in Nepal, then holding out a special tie with China as a guarantee of Nepal's independence vis-à-vis India. (Kissinger, 2015).

Influence of International Actors in Nation building in Nepal

To move further this debate, it is necessary to analyse some critical junctures or enclaves in the history of Nepali nation where status of nation building was under debate and subsequently took a shape in course of its history. These enclaves provides the foundation of contribution of Nepali Army in nation building.

Unification period (1743-1814). The main highlights of this enclave are shown as follows

Context: Nepal was divided into small principalities. The situation was similar in Indian subcontinent. Industrialization process started in Western Europe (1740-1830). Economic interest of Britain France and Portugal was expanding around the world. British East India Company was forming in India. Chinese Emperor was in existence in the China. Tibet was in existence as Independ country.

Content: Religion was main basis of making decision within the state mechanism due to absence of constitution or formal legal system. Traditional agrarian societies in practice throughout the subcontinent. Nepali language used to be the means of communication while interacting with each other principalities of then Nepali territory, which was called "KHAS KURA." There was lack of nationalistic feeling as Nepal. King Prithvi Narayan Shah started unification process from a tiny kingdom of Gorkha with the help of Army which was organized into regular units and trained manpower.

Actors: External actor were British Indian, French Tibet and China. Internal actors were such as King Prithvi Narayan Shah, Hindu and Buddhism Religions. Kings of principalities with in the Nepalese Territory. Army as principle tool of national unification.

Rana Period(1846-1951). The main highlights of this enclave is shown as follows

Consequences: Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors united the principalities of Nepal and expanded its boundaries, adopting a multicultural system with Kathmandu as the capital. Nepali became the official language, and Hinduism was recognized as the main legal and decision-making basis. The Nepali Army's success in quelling the Indian Sepoy Mutiny led to the regaining of several territories. Religion and the caste hierarchy were consolidated, and the state was strengthened with a strong administration using the army as a principal tool. There were also socio-cultural transformations, including the recognition of Nepal and the adoption of Nepali as the official language. The taxation system was also consolidated.

Context: Territorial Loss East of Mechi and West of Mahakali River as result of Anglo Nepal. Industrialization process started in Western Europe (1740-1830). British East India Company was not only consolidating its control over Indian Territory but also exerting pressure to intervene in Nepali State.

Post Rana Period (1951-2007). The main highlights of this period is shown as follows

Context: Consolidation of Indian State with state nation concept. Republic constitution was promulgated. Signing of treaty of peace and friendship between India and Nepal in 1950. End of Rana Regime and democratic constitution was promulgated. Democratic election was held in 1960.

Content: Democratic system commenced with liberal democracy. Development discourse revolutionized with infrastructural development. Commitment of Nepali Army in National development. Participation in UN Peace Keeping Mission.

Actors: External actors were India, USA and China, Hindu Religious Institutions. Internal actors were such as Monarchy, Non State Actors, and Political Parties.

Consequences: The democratic nation building process in Nepal included the implementation of liberal democracy and development policies. The Panchayati period, which began with the adoption of a constitution, focused on connecting the country through an east-west highway and vertical roads emanating from it. Nation building policies and strategies were developed with a concrete vision for a Hindu kingdom, and all strategies for development, including foreign policy, economic policy, education, legal reforms, cultural promotion, and social mobilization, were implemented with an effective communication system. A balanced foreign policy with limited intervention in internal matters was adopted, and efforts were made to promote economic and educational development, including the abolition of caste discrimination through the constitution and the decentralization of essential goods and services with an established administrative system.

Aftermath of Panchayat Period(2007- Present). Modernists paradigm such as social communication and transformation, citizenship, conscription, democratisation of the country. Lucian Pye's crisis solving approach is also applicable. It can be concluded that politicization of ethnicity to control the state power dragged Nepal into long-term debate of identity politics. Political activists discovered the notion of identity other than political banner. The political activists in the period of 1991-2005 found the negative weak association. After 1990, Nepali constitutions opened opportunities for all forms of activism. The suppressed voices came out individually and collectively, especially in organizational form (Gellner & Karki, 2008). The Maoist insurgency brought up the identity issue into the core of polity. The rise of cultural nationalism, regionalism, Dalit, and women appeared as powerful forces in the public sphere. Weigert, Teitge and Teitge (1986) argue that 'by the 1980s, the identity had become a stock technical term in sociology and a widespread social label. However, until 1940, it was unknown.' It is also true that in Nepal identity groups appeared at the same period through conflict-based experiences with the state despite non-political agenda of identity; for example, ritual, ethnic and language. However, for its ownership democracy provided a vital role.

Paradigm of Nation building in Nepal

The status of nation building in Nepal has been influenced by geopolitical situation and ethnic politics of Nepal. Although, Nepal has been struggling to become a prosperous, sovereign and peaceful nation state since the unification period, Nepal as its identity existed even much before and will continue even after the promulgation of new constitution of Nepal 2015. "If one observes the process of nation building in terms of political participation where people are involved in the process of decision-making, he or she will find very brief but hotchpotch accounts. From 1951 to 1975, it was limited, from 1975 to 1979, it was eliminated and from 1979 to the to 1990 state was party less. Thus, it

may be said that though the country is marching ahead in the process of popular participation, she still lacks an adequate organisational base for its effective utilisation"(Poydya, 1984).

On one hand, the concept of nation building in Nepal has proved to be endlessly contentious internally, like many socio- economic and political issues. On the other hand, Nepal has been continuously facing direct and indirect influences of international actors to exploit its geopolitical situation in their favour externally (Bhandari, 2015). Although Marxist rejected the Idea of nation, the later Marxists defined it as "a stable historical community of people which has arisen on the basis of common economic life, combined with the same language and territory and a distinctive culture, consciousness and psychology"(Victor Shevisov,1982).

So far the nation building in Nepal are concerned, Joshi and Rose, in 1966, emphasized the rationalisation of the political process, problem solving administrative machinery and sense of national unity and solidarity (Joshi, 1966).Later in 1975,Rishikesh Shah dealt with the problems of nation building in Nepal fitting into Pye's crisis solving model and Deutsch's communication approach (Shah, 1975). In the Same year Frederick H, Caige's work on national integration was also published. This work is a case study of Nepal's Terai belts the reasons behind the feeling of regionalism and a sense of deprivation among the Terai people (Frederick, 1975).

Bhandari argued that the issue of nation building in Nepal seem to be of four broad paradigms influencing the political discourses: identity based nation building, restructuring the state from a unitary to a federal structure, inclusiveness of the state, and democratic nation building. While identity-based nation building shares the features of an exclusionary belongingness, democratic nation building incorporates the idea of inclusionary belongingness. Restructuring of the Nepalese state from a unitary to a federal setup may proceed via either path, or become a hotchpotch of both exclusionary and inclusionary belongingness. (2015). In addition, a large segment of society views nation building as a task yet to be accomplished. However, they sharply differ on the methodology of accomplishing nation-building (2015).

Baral and Hachhethu has focussed their studies on federal set up mainly by inclusionary methodology. Baral(2012) argued that most nations of South Asia are yet to become complete nation state or state nation. Krishna Hachhethu (2013) has studied the ethnicity and federalism in Nepal. He proposed a federal model of accommodative nature for Nepal in his study. His propositions seems to be similar with Ashutosh Varsney's concept of state nation(2012) which have been practicing by Indian State . According to him, nation-states tend to be assimilationist. Among their key features is the erasure of ethnic and cultural diversities. State-nations, by contrast, work on two levels: They strive to create a sense of belonging with respect to the larger political community, and at the same time, they put in place institutional protections for politically salient diversities having to do with language, religion, or sacrosanct cultural norms.

If such diversities are territorially specific, they normally require the protection afforded by federal arrangements (Varshney,2012). However, the situation in India does not match

with Nepal. Like in India there are states having different contending qualities to become a nation. He elaborated further that a state-nation means more than just a safe way to institutionalize diversity. It also, as the authors stress, means a simultaneous nurturing of commitment to the larger Indian polity. In India, the institutions that have played key roles in generating loyalty to the Federal Republic include the Congress party, the armed forces, the federal civil service, the Indian Institutes of Technology and Indian Institutes of Management, central high schools, the Supreme Court, and (over the last two decades) the Election Commission. To unite them under one umbrella this concept of State nation is genuine. In Nepal there are not the territorial concentrations of homogeneous population although some multicultural values can be considered but not the exact way like Kymalick(1999).

Surendra Bhandari (2014) believes the liberal democratic form of nation building in Nepal as a workable approach. He frames the nation-building process in Nepal in three different forms and categories of nation building formative, democratic, and post-nation stages to create conducive environment for equal citizens, building market, institutionalizing universal social protection, and governance in accordance with the rule of law, which are, in their totality, achievable under a system of liberal democracy. He concludes in his study that the challenges of nation building, managing identity, creating an environment for equal citizen, ensuring universal social protection, and justice are addressable only under a system of constitutional governance, i.e., a liberal democracy where all power relationships, including political ideologies are brought within the scope of a constitution.

Dhruba Kumar argued that Social inclusion is therefore considered to be as a policy agenda to pursue in order to reverse the past pattern of state-society relationships based on the distinct caste, cultural and geographical discrimination. He examines interrelationships of these three conceptual variables social inclusion, human development and nation building and explicate how these can mutually be complicit with contributing towards equity and social justice through poverty reduction in Nepal (Dhrub Kumar,2013,p.1).

Aspects of nation building in Nepal

Economy: Nation building involves creating a society, economy, and polity that meet the basic needs of the people, such as addressing poverty, inequality, and unemployment. This means not only establishing formal institutions of democracy, but also promoting a culture of respect for the identities and needs of others. It involves the development of human rights, including political, civil, economic, and social rights, as well as the rule of law. It also involves the development of infrastructure, such as sewer systems, roads, and jobs, as well as education. Nation building should allow for the participation of civil society and should promote the welfare of the people through democratic state institutions. Rostow's theory of economic modernization, which divides the process into five stages, is often used to guide development, but it has been criticized for underestimating the role of colonialism and not providing hope for small countries without certain advantages. Neo-liberal economic theory offers the hope of economic maturity and the age of high mass-consumption for many countries, but it leaves a

potential "grim meat hook future" for those without the necessary resources, political will, or external support to become competitive with developed economies.

Culture

The word "culture" derives from a French term, which in turn derives from the Latin "colere," which means to tend to the earth and grow, or cultivation and nurture. "It shares its etymology with a number of other words related to actively fostering growth, (Kim Ann Zimmermann, 2017). Culture is the characteristics and knowledge of a group of people, encompassing language, religion, cuisine, social habits, music and arts. The Centre for Advance Research on Language Acquisition goes a step further, defining culture as shared patterns of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs and understanding that are learned by socialization. Thus, it can be the growth of a group identity fostered by social patterns unique to the group (Zimmermann, 2017, p.2). Lucian Pye linked modernization with Westernization and "the diffusion of a world culture," what it today is called globalization (Pye, 1966, pp.8-9) He identified political development with: A world culture based on advanced technology and the spirit of science, on a rational view of life, a secular approach to social relations, a feeling for justice in public affairs, and, above all else, on the acceptance in the political realm that the prime unit of the polity should be the nation-state (Pye, 1966, p.9).

Cristina De Rossi (2007), an anthropologist at Barnet and Southgate College in London argued "Culture encompasses religion, food, what we wear, how we wear it, our language, marriage, music, what we believe is right or wrong, how we sit at the table, how we greet visitors, how we behave with loved ones, and a million other things". Examples of some cultures are Western Culture, Eastern Culture, Latin Culture, Mid-Eastern Culture etc. Nepal's cultural routes emanates from mainly four civilizations of ancient Nepal; first Mithila one-time Dehoa Kingdom of King Janak, Buddhism originating from Shakyas Dynasty in western Terai of Nepal, Kathmandu Based civilization and Doti and Khas Kingdom of Jumla on the west.

Cultural pluralism emanates from factors such as language, religion, societal ethos and historical heritage. Cultural pluralism was downplayed in Nepal and the Hindu national ethos was projected as Nepali nationalism. Such an approach results from a Deep-rooted concept of dharma: the belief that there is no conflict if the king and the subjects were to uphold their respective dharma (Ghai, 2008, pp.73-74) makes it unnecessary to hold the rulers accountable for their behaviour towards ordinary folks. Nepal's cultural ethos had a dimension of hill Brahmin-dominant socio-religious factors. The rulers also adopted the nation-building method essentially in the belief that the nation-building process compresses disparate identities into a singular whole and that such forced oneness would automatically ensure the unity and integrity of the state, neutralizing any fissiparous tendencies.

Religion: The majority of people in Nepal practice Hinduism and Buddhism, and Kirat and Bön are also traditional religions. In more recent times, Islam and Christianity have also become part of the religious community in Nepal. Hinduism has a long history that is closely tied to social and political developments, but its exact origins are difficult to

pinpoint. The early history of Hinduism is studied through language and archaeology, and it is believed to be related to other Indo-European languages (Gavon, 2009). Secondly, there does seem to be archaeological continuity in the subcontinent from the Neolithic period. The history of this period is therefore complex. One of the key problems is that no horse remains have been found in the Indus Valley but in the Veda, the horse sacrifice is central. The debate is ongoing. This period, beginning from around the time of Buddha died (400 BCE); saw the composition of further texts, the Dharma Sutras and Shastra, the two Epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and subsequently the Puranas, containing many of the stories still popular today. The famous Bhagavad Gita is part of the Mahabharata (Gavon, 2009, p.3).

Furthermore, the conquest of India first by the Muslims and then the British meant that the central lands of Hinduism were defined by their lack of Hindu rulers. Nepal became, in the eyes of its rulers and those close to them, the only and last truly Hindu country (Burghart, 1984, p.116). Jung and Rana Prime ministers after him made staunch Hinduism a mark of their rule. Tolerance and respect for other religions would remain but they considered Hinduism an essential support (Stiller, 1999, p.103). That vision of Nepal as a Hindu nation continues to attract many adherents today. Although Hindu and Buddhism has been influencing Nepalese society relentlessly with mutual trust and respect. Christianity interestingly has been noticed penetrating Nepalese society through direct or indirect means.

Language: Language is one of the dominant dimensions of nation state despite the fact to preserve vernacular languages of Nepal. Nepali language is one of the important factors to unite the diversity of Nepali nation state. Investigations of archaeology and history indicate that modern Nepali is a descendant of the language spoken by the ancient Khasha people. The word Khasha appears in Sanskrit legal, historical, and literary texts such as the Manu Smriti (100 CE), Kalhana's Rajatarangini (1148 CE), and the Puranas (350–1500 CE). The Khashas ruled over a vast territory comprising what are now western Nepal, parts of Garhwal and Kumaon (India), and parts of southwestern Tibet. Ashoka Challa (1255–78 CE) called himself Khasha-Rajadhiraja ("emperor of the Khashas") in a copperplate inscription found in Bodh Gaya. His descendants used old Nepali to inscribe numerous copperplates during the 14th century. Some Khasha moved to the eastern parts of present-day Nepal, where their language became a lingua franca for the region's linguistically diverse ethnic groups (Pokhrel, 2018).

After studying the gold inscription of Prithvi Malla of 1413 B.S, we can surmise that the Nepali language came into existence in Gorkha and Gadawal since then. Bhanu Bhakta Pokharel writes, "Five-seven hundred years prior to the unification of Nepal, the kings and rulers of the nations in this region relied on Nepali language for inter-state use as in sending letters, treaties and agreements. Prithvi Narayan Shah, during his unification campaign spanning Baise, Chaubise, Limbuwan, Khumbuwan including Apungi breakaway states, used Nepali language whenever he had to speak with the monarchs of these states. With the growth of linguistic nationalism, the name Nepali became increasingly popular among the Nepalese living in Nepal and India. Previously, from 1959

to 1964, the news had been broadcast in Hindi and Newari in addition to the national media's principal language, Nepali. Hindi and Newari were immediately reinstated in 1990. Because of the changes of 1994 only Nepali and Newari are in use throughout the whole country Hindi was dropped. The country was divided into four zones and news in the various languages is only broadcast in the appropriate zone. All programming other than these news broadcasts continues to be in Nepali. One language policy and Radio Nepal was maintained (Sonntag, 1995).

The trends of international migration in Nepal in relation to place of birth indicated that it increased from 337,620 persons in 1961 to 608,092 persons in 2001, an increase of 370,472 persons or 110 percent within 4 decades. The figure on foreign-born population is marked by uneven growth. It is marked by decrease from 337620 persons in 1961 to 337448 in 1971 But in 1981; it recorded 234039 persons, a drastic decrease of 103409 persons or 30.4 percent (Kansakar, 2014). In the census of 1981, the number of foreign citizens exceeded by 248980 persons or 206.4 percent. This anomaly will be discussed in the countries of birth and nationality or citizenship of the immigrants in Nepal.

The trend of immigration of the foreign citizens or nationals in Nepal is on increase since 1961 and drastically increased in 1981, but drastically decreased in 1991. It recorded 483019 persons in 1981 and drastically went down to 90427 persons in 1991, a drastic decrease of 392592 persons or 81.3 percent as compared to 1981. In 2001, the number of foreign citizens increased again as compared to 1991, but less than that of 1971 and far less than that of 1981 (Table.14.2). The sensitive issue of international migration and policy measures to control and regulate international migration particularly from Nepal India open border sparked diverse pro and anti-sentiments resulting in the misreporting of the immigrants of their identity.

Table 4.7:Trends of international migration in Nepal from 1961-2001 (Based on foreign countries as birthplace and citizenship).

1961	9412996	337620	3.57	110061	1.17	32.6
1971	11555983	337448	292	136477	1.18	40.4
1981	15022839	234039	1.56	483019	3.21	206.4
1991	18491097	439488	2.38	90427	0.49	20.6
2001	22736934	608092	2.67	116571	0.59	19.2

Source: Population Census of Nepal 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001

It shows that the rate of growth between 1941 and 1954 is much higher than that between 1920 and 1941. Population increased by 22 million in the last 13 years ending 1954, indicating a 34.2 per cent growth over the 1941 level. The main reasons for the faster growth of population after 1941 could be three: first, after the thirties, the Government towards immigrants adopted a more liberal policy. Secondly, the deforestation policy, especially in the Tarai region, led to the immigration of Indians from the adjacent districts of Bihar, Bengal and U P. Thus, most of the tenants in the Western Tarai are generally migrants from Gorakhpur. Bastia, Baharaich and Gonda districts of UP

who do not sever their link with their homes and move out seasonally from Butawal, Berdia and Banke districts of Western Terai. Lastly, the return of the Gorkhali soldiers from the British Army in India and other places after the end of the last War might have possibly added to the country's population (Economic Census, 1955).

Accommodation of migrants through settlements. The China born persons in 1961 seems to be related with the Tibetan refugees who entered Nepal after China established control over Tibet in 1959. China born population was marked by overwhelming concentration of 96 percent in the Hill region. Ninety Seven percent of the Pakistan born population was concentrated in the Terai mostly in the eastern Terai District of Jhapa, which is at 14 kilometres distance from erstwhile East Pakistan or present Bangladesh border. After the Partition of India and formation of Pakistan, the non-Bengali Muslims and Hindus seemed to have migrated into Nepal from East Pakistan. Burma born population was mostly concentrated in Eastern Terai and Western Hill, while Malaya born population was mostly confined to the Western Hill indicating the stationing of the British Gurkha and their families in Malaya.

Aftermath of Panchayat Period (1990-2015)

The political relations were strained during the 30 years of Panchayat rule. King Birendra, son and successor of Mahendra, had continued with the policies of his father by trying to balance both the neighbours of Nepal. He came to power in 1970 and emphasized the policy of non-alignment and equidistance with neighbours. He had proposed a novel concept in his foreign policy through declaring Nepal as a Zone of Peace in 1975. The proposal ignored the realities of open border between India and Nepal, unrestricted movement of population across the border facility for the Nepalese to access economic activities in India—which was withdrawn for the Indians in Nepal by King Mahendra. China and Pakistan attempt to weaken Nepal's close relations with India.

Rulers in Nepal used the strained relations of their neighbours to their advantage by proposing policy pronouncements and proposals, which balanced one against another. There was a shift in Nepal's relations with India due to two developments: normalization of relations between India and China from 1985, and restoration of multiparty democracy in Nepal in 1990. Thirty years of panchayat rule ended through people's agitation, which brought in democracy and constitutional monarchy. The democratic governments in Nepal tried to forge close relations with India. The new constitution of Nepal (1990) dropped the concept of the Zone of Peace and instead emphasized close and friendly relations with India (Thapaliya, 2016,p.10).

The early Indian settlers were those who came to Nepal for agricultural production and timber collection in Terai region. This occurred mainly after the unification of the country (1769). The main reason to develop the settlements in Terai was to increase production and revenue for the government. Immigration of Indians into Nepal is one of the reasons for increased population pressure on land in Terai. This immigration along with internal migration from hill to Terai has led to faster rate of deforestation. For example, Karan and Hiroshii²² reveal that there were 2.53 million hectars of forest in

Terai in 1964-65, which was reduced to 2.03 million hectares in 1978-79. The rate of deforestation in this period was 1.4 per cent per year (2.0 per cent in Terai and 1.2 per cent in Siwalik). The estimate of Terai forest in 1990 was about 1.62 million hectares. In 2000, forest area in Terai is estimated at 1.24 million hectares according to ADB and ICIMOD. This essentially means, the rate of deforestation from 1978 to 1990 was 1.7 per cent per year, and from 1990 to 2000– 2.3 per cent per year. This is considerably a high deforestation rate (Nepal Migration Year Book, 2009).

Conclusion

In Nepal, the politicization of ethnicity in an attempt to gain control of the state power has led to long-term debates over identity politics. This research aimed to examine the state of nation building in Nepal, considering key variables such as history, culture, language, religion, ethnicity, economics, and geopolitics. By analyzing the major paradigms of nationalism and belongingness in Nepal during the considered period, the internal and external forces and important developments in the socio-economic sector, including globalization and industrialization, and their impact on the geopolitical environment were compared. It is recommended that Nepal should focus on balancing its bilateral relations with India for self-reliance through socio-economic development, utilizing its natural resources.

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