



**Bharat-Nepal relations
in the context of
recent political developments of Nepal**

**नीति अनुसन्धान
प्रतिष्ठान, नेपाल**

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Deepak Kumar Adhikari

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of
An Interaction Program
on
Bharat-Nepal relations in the context of recent
political developments of Nepal**

**29th July 2018
at
Harayana Bhawan, New Delhi**

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कृतज्ञता

यस अन्तरक्रिया कार्यक्रमको अडियो सुनेर लिपिबद्ध गर्ने निकाश खतिवडा धन्यवादका पात्र हुनुहुन्छ । यसका साथै भाषा सम्पादन र शुद्धाशुद्धि गर्दिने तथा सम्पादन एवं अनुवादमा सहयोग गर्नुहुने डा. टीकाराम पौडेल, डा. प्रेमराज न्यौपाने, श्री महेश पौड्याल तथा सम्पूर्ण महानुभावहरू विशेष धन्यवादका पात्र हुनुहुन्छ । यसका साथै प्रतिष्ठानका सम्पूर्ण प्रकाशनहरूको शृंखला र यस प्रकाशनको पनि मुख्य भूमिकामा रहेर प्रतिष्ठानका कार्यालय सचिव Chief Administration Officer श्री सन्तोष आचार्यको योगदानलाई कृतज्ञता व्यक्त गर्न भनेको प्रतिष्ठानका लागि फगत शब्दको एउटा औपचारिकता मात्र हुन जान्छ । उहाँको कार्यप्रतिको यस समर्पण भावले गर्दा आज प्रतिष्ठानका धेरै साहित्यहरू प्रकाशन गर्नमा हामी सफल भएका छौं । तसर्थ उहाँलाई लेखाईमा फगत शब्दद्वारा एउटा औपचारिक धन्यवाद व्यक्त मात्र गरेको नभएर हाम्रो प्रतिष्ठानको तर्फबाट उहाँको कार्यप्रति उच्च मूल्यांकन सहितको सम्मानको उद्गार पनि हो । वक्ता र अन्य सहयोगीहरू संग उहाँले गरेको संचार, संवाद र यस प्रकाशन सम्बन्धी पनि गर्नुपर्ने अन्य सम्पूर्ण क्रियाकलापहरू अन्त्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण हुन् । यसका साथै ले-आउट, डिजाइन एवं फोटो सेटिंग जस्ता महत्वपूर्ण प्राविधिक कुराहरूको समयमा नै संकलन तथा संयोजन गरी प्रकाशनको यस घडीसम्म ल्याउनमा उहाँको अत्यन्तै महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको छ । साथै प्रतिष्ठानका कार्यालय सहयोगी श्रीमती चन्द्रा तामांग लगायत अन्य सबै कार्यकर्ताहरू पनि उक्त कार्यक्रम र प्रकाशनका विशेष धन्यवादका पात्रहरू हुन् । उहाँहरूको सहयोग बिना यी सबै प्रकाशनहरू सम्भव थिएनन् ।

अन्तमा उक्त कार्यक्रममा नेपालका तर्फबाट संस्कृति तथा इतिहासविद् डा. रमेशकुमार ढुंगेल, साथै नयाँ दिल्ली स्थित नेपाली दूतावासका पोलिटिकल काउन्सुलर श्री हरि प्रसाद ओडारीको महत्वपूर्ण

उपस्थिति रहेको थियो । कार्यक्रममा उहाँहरूले आफ्ना अमूल्य विचारहरू राख्नु भएको थियो । भारतका तर्फबाट भारतीय लोकसभाका माननीय पूर्व सदस्य, भारतीय जनता पार्टी (भाजपा) का पूर्व राष्ट्रिय उपाध्यक्ष तथा वरिष्ठ नेता एवं उत्तराखण्ड राज्यका पूर्व मुख्यमंत्री र भारत सरकारका तर्फबाट प्रबुद्ध समूहका संयोजक श्री भगत सिंह कोशियारी, इन्स्टिट्युट फर डिफेन्स एण्ड स्ट्रेटेजिक एनलाईसिस (IDSA), दिल्लीका वरिष्ठ अनुसन्धानकर्ता डा. निहार रंजन नायक एवं अखिल भारतीय विद्यार्थी परिषद्का राष्ट्रीय सह-संगठन मन्त्री श्रीनिवासज्यूको गरिमामय उपस्थिति रहेको थियो । दुबै देशका पत्रकार, रिसर्च स्कलर, युवा विद्यार्थी तथा विज्ञहरूको समुपस्थिति रहेको उक्त कार्यक्रममा आफ्नो अमूल्य समय दिएर आउनुभएका सम्मानित वक्ताहरूलाई हामी कृतज्ञता व्यक्त गर्दछौं । नेपाली राजदूतावास नयाँ दिल्ली, हरियाणा भवन, हरियाणा तथा दिल्ली प्रशासन एवं सरकारका सबै प्रतिनिधिहरूको महत्वपूर्ण उपस्थितिलाई समेत हामी विशेष धन्यवाद व्यक्त गर्दछौं । अन्तमा पुनः एक पटक सबैमा साधुवाद ।

धन्यवाद ।

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नीति अनुसन्धान प्रतिष्ठान, नेपाल

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In the event, the cultural historian Dr Ramesh Kumar Dhungel, and Political Counsellor from Nepal Embassy in Delhi Shri Hari Prasad Odari had their glorious presence from Nepal contributing their ideas on the subject.

Shri Bhagat Singh Koshiyari, former honourable Member of Parliament, Vice-President of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Chief Minister of Uttarakhand, and currently convener of Eminent Persons' Group (EPG), Dr Nihar Ranjan Nayak, Senior Research Fellow from Institute for Defence and Strategic Analyses (IDSA) and Shri Shriniwas, National Joint-organizing Secretary

of Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) attended the event from India. A large number of journalists, research scholars, youths, students and experts from both the countries contributed to the event. We are grateful to all of them for making the event a success by sparing their valuable time. Embassy of Nepal in New Delhi, Harayana Bhawan, New Delhi administration and all the delegates from Nepali and Indian governments deserve special thanks for their valuable presence here.

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Deepak Kumar Adhikari
Director
Neeti Anusandhan Pratishthan, Nepal

प्राक्कथन

नेपाल-भारत सम्बन्ध प्राचीनकालदेखि नै विश्वमा एउटा अद्वितीय र अनौठो भएको यथार्थ हामी सबैलाई विदितै छ । दुबै देशको सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, राजनयिक तथा आर्थिक सम्बन्धको सन्दर्भमा नीति अनुसन्धान प्रतिष्ठान, नेपाल (नेनाप) का पूर्व प्रकाशनहरूमा विस्तृतरूपमा छापिएको सहर्ष जानकारी गराउन पाउँदा हामी अत्यन्त हर्षित छौं । नेपाल र भारतको सम्बन्धमा अझ समझदारी वृद्धि गर्न तथा जागरूकताको लागि प्रतिष्ठानले इस्वी सम्बत् २०१२ देखि नै संगोष्ठी, संवाद, वार्ता, तथा अनौपचारिक भ्रमणका माध्यमद्वारा ध्येयका साथ कटिबद्ध भई निरन्तर कार्यक्रमहरू सञ्चालन गर्दै आएको कुरा बारे पनि यहाँहरू विदित नै हुनुहुन्छ । कार्यक्रमहरूको शृंखलामा कुनै आवासीय, कुनै लामो समयावधिका भईरहेका छन् भने यो कार्यक्रमको शृंखला छोटो समयावधिको र एउटा छुट्टै प्रकृतिको भएको हुँदा त्यसको पनि प्रकाशन गर्न पाउँदा यस प्रतिष्ठानका तर्फबाट खुशी व्यक्त गर्दछौं ।

नेपाल-भारत सम्बन्धमा धेरै वर्णन गर्नु आवश्यक ठान्दैनौं । सरकारी स्तरमा हुने वार्ता, संवाद, भ्रमण तथा अन्य कार्यक्रमहरू निरन्तर हुनुपर्दछ र भई नै रहेका छन् । यसका साथै समाजमा अन्य सामाजिक, शैक्षिक तथा धार्मिक-सांस्कृतिक, व्यवसायिक संगठनहरूद्वारा समय-समयमा वाञ्छित कार्यक्रमहरू भइरहेका छन् र तिनीहरूका सकारात्मक परिणामहरू पनि आइरहेका छन् । यसलाई हामी अत्यन्त सकारात्मक र उत्साहका रूपमा लिन्छौं । तर हामीले गर्ने हाम्रा यी स-साना प्रयासहरूलाई उपर्युक्त संघ-संस्थाद्वारा सञ्चालित गतिविधिहरूमा होस्टेमा-हैसे होस् भन्ने उद्देश्य पूर्तिका लागि एउटा सानो लोखर्क प्रयासका रूपमा बुझ्दछौं । समाजमा यस्ता धेरै संगठनहरू छन् जसले सकारात्मक प्रयास गरिरहेका छन् र हुनुपर्दछ भन्ने हाम्रो दृढ मान्यता छ । राष्ट्र पुनर्निर्माणको महत्तम कार्यमा सबैको योगदान अपरिहार्य हुन्छ र त्यो महायज्ञ हो । त्यसै यज्ञलाई

पूर्णाङ्ग प्रदान गर्ने दिशातर्फ यो शृंखलालाई हाम्रो विशेष एवं सकारात्मक प्रयासको एउटा लघुतम बिन्दु ठान्दछौं ।

सरकारका औपचारिक तथा राजनैयिक कार्यक्रमका अतिरिक्त दुबै देशद्वारा दुबै देशमा राजनीतिक लगानी हुनुपर्दछ भन्ने हाम्रो ठोस मान्यता रहेको छ । सरकारी कार्यक्रमहरूमा एउटा निश्चित मर्यादा र सीमाभित्र रहेर कार्य सम्पादन हुनु अस्वाभाविक होइन । त्यसैले सरकारी प्रयासलाई मात्रै हामी जस्ता लोकतन्त्रमा विश्वास गर्ने लोकतान्त्रिक देशका नागरिकहरूले पर्याप्त ठान्नु हुँदैन । तसर्थ गैर-सरकारी संस्थाका तर्फबाट विभिन्न प्रकृतिका रचनात्मक एवं सकारात्मक प्रयास निरन्तर भइरहनु पर्दछ भन्ने हाम्रो ठोस अवधारणा हो । हामीले बारम्बार भन्दै आएका छौं कि १९५० ताकाको नेपाल र १९८० तिरको भारत अब रहेन । दुबै देशमा एउटा ठूलो संरचनागत प्रतिस्थापन (paradigm shift) आएको छ । तसर्थ संवादहीनता (communication gap) आएको हो कि ? अथवा आएको छ भन्ने हाम्रो बुझाइ हो । आजको नयाँ युवा विद्यार्थी पुस्तामा आएको विकासको लहर, विकासप्रेम तथा उनीहरूको आकांक्षालाई बुझेर त्यसै अनुसार सम्बोधन हुनुपर्दछ भन्ने पनि हाम्रो मान्यता छ । त्यसै अनुसार दुबै देशका युवा विद्यार्थी तथा विभिन्न छात्र संगठनहरूको बीचमा सघन संवाद हुनु अपरिहार्य भएको छ । तब मात्र वास्तविक स्थितिमा नेपालमा रहेर सही अर्थमा भारतलाई बुझ्ने र भारतमा रहेर सही अर्थमा नेपाललाई बुझ्ने एउटा शसक्त समूह निर्माण हुनेछ तथा हुनु पर्दछ भन्ने हाम्रो बुझाइ हो र त्यही अनुरूपको यो संकल्पित एवं अविरल प्रयास पनि हो ।

लामो अन्तरालमा कार्यक्रम त हुनु पर्दछ नै तर त्यतिलाई मात्र पर्याप्त नठानेर हामीले गत जुलाई २०१८ देखि छोटो अन्तरालको र थोरै संख्यामा संवाद र संगोष्ठीको थालनी गरेका हौं । यस्ता कार्यक्रमहरूको शृंखला नेपालमा भन्दा बढी भारतमा र त्यसमा पनि दिल्लीमा नै बढी गर्ने जमर्को पनि गरेका हौं । कुनै तत्कालीन तथा दीर्घकालीन विषयहरूलाई लिएर प्रत्येक दुई/तीन महिनाको अन्तरालमा नेपाल-भारतबाट एक-एक

वक्ताहरूले विषय राखेर उपस्थित सम्बन्धित विषयका प्राज्ञहरूसँग संवाद थालनी गरेका छौं । यी कार्यक्रमहरूको शृंखलामा नेपाल र भारतका दुबै देशबाट बराबरीको संख्यामा सहभागी गराउने नमूनालाई अपनाएका छौं । उक्त कडीमा २९ जुलाई २०१८ मा हरियाणा भवन, नयाँ दिल्ली, भारतमा “भारत-नेपाल रिलेसन्स इन द कन्टेक्सट अफ रिसेन्ट पोलिटिकल डेभलपमेन्ट इन नेपाल” विषयमा एकीकृत मार्क्सवादी लेलिनवादी (एमाले) र माओवादी केन्द्रको एक आपसमा विलय भएको सन्दर्भलाई लिएर दुबै देशमा उत्पन्न उत्सुकता तथा कौतुहललाई ध्यानमा राखेर संवादको आयोजना गरिएको थियो । जसको प्रकाशन गर्न पाउँदा हामी अत्यन्त गौरवान्वित भएका छौं । उक्त कार्यक्रम यस शृंखलाको पहिलो प्रयास हो ।

Introduction

We all know that Nepal-Bharat relation has remained unprecedented and unique in the world since ancient times. We are highly delighted to know that various publications of Neeti Anusandhan Pratishthan Nepal (NeNAP), which appeared in the past, have discussed the cultural, religious, social, political, diplomatic and economic relations of the two countries in detail. In order to enhance understanding between the two countries, the Pratishthan has been organizing seminars, symposiums, dialogues, and informal tours since 2012 continuously. Among the programmes, some have been short and others of longer durations. The Pratishthan is happy for being able to archive the proceedings of these programmes in series. The Pratishthan expresses pleasure in bringing it out in the form of this book, though it is a short one.

The Pratishthan considers the dialogues, communications, tours and other programmes undertaken by the governments necessary, and they have been taking place from time to time. Together with them, programmes deemed necessary by other social, religious, educational or entrepreneurial organizations are also taking place, and they have been leading to positive outcomes. We take them as extremely positive and encouraging steps. We understand our little efforts as steps undertaken to contribute to such ongoing activities taken up by such organizations. The society abounds in social organizations that leave positive impact, and we are of the conviction that they should continue to be positive. In the colossal task of national reconstruction, the contribution of everyone becomes crucial, for it is a grand ritual. We consider the series of our programmes, though small

in their scale, positive initiatives contributing to this grand ritual as complements.

Besides the formal and diplomatic programmes run by the governments, we believe that the two countries should come up with intellectual and political investment to make life of the people better in both the countries. It is natural that the initiatives of the governments are bound by set decorum and limits. Therefore, citizens like us, who believe in democracy, consider that the government initiatives alone are not enough. We firmly believe that creative and positive initiatives constantly come forward from the side of non-government organizations as well. We also understand that Nepal today is not like it was in the 1950's and India in the 1980's as a lot of changes have taken place in our socio-cultural and economic conditions. A huge paradigm shift has taken place in both the nations in terms of culture, politics, economics and public awareness. However, we feel, in course of time, there seems to have been gaps in communication. If there have been gaps in communication, we need to have continuous dialogues through open discussions among experts and intellectuals. The wave of development that has affected the youths of today, their love for development and their aspirations for freedom needs to be understood and addressed accordingly.

In the same way, a serious dialogue has become necessary among students and youths in individual as well as in organizational levels of both the countries. Such a dialogue will create a group of scholars both in Nepal and India that understands the Nepal-India relations in its true sense. The Pratishthan believes that such initiatives will develop transformative leadership with positive mindset that understands the true meaning of age-old Nepal-India relations leading both the nations to prosperity.

Long-term programmes are necessary, no doubt, but instead of considering that sufficient, we have started many short-term dialogues and seminars since July 2018. We have been organizing these programmes both in Nepal and India. In the interval of two to three months, we take up an issue of short or long-term relevance and invite speakers to speak and address the present scholars belonging to the concerned fields. For such events, we have the policy of inviting equal participants from India and Nepal. In the same vein, a seminar on Nepal-Bharat Relations in the context of recent political development in Nepal, first in its series, was organized at Haryana Bhawan, New Delhi, on 29 July 2018 in the context of the merger of United Marxist-Leninist and Maoist Centres in Nepal, leading to curiosity emerging thereof in both the countries. We feel pleasure to bring out the report of this seminar for our esteemed readers.

These types of programmes provide us an avenue for multilateral interactions on academic experiences with professors, university teachers, scholars, researchers, students and journalists, who have their stake in political and academic issues.

Such programmes, dialogues and visits have always provided a forum to scholars for exploring and understanding the changing socio-political scenario of Nepal and India. Neeti Anusandhan Pratishthan, Nepal, coordinates these programmes providing an appropriate platform for scholars to share their research and academic experiences.

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26 July, 2019

Message

I would like to congratulate Neeti Anusandhan Pratishthan, Nepal (NeNAP) on the successful organization of their talk programme on "Bharat-Nepal Relations: In the context of Recent Political Developments of Nepal" at Haryana Bhawan in New Delhi on 29 July 2018. This book is a compendium of the proceedings of this event.

I wish the Pratishthan good luck for its future endeavours and hope that it would continue to provide platforms that bring the people of India and Nepal together.


(M.S. Puri)



Shishir Ghimire

This is a very significant and timely discussion. The Communist Party of Nepal has come to power through electoral process. They almost got the two-third majority. If one sees the result superficially, it looks emphatic victory of the communist forces.

However, if we compare it with the elections of the post-2006 period in Nepal, the fragmented vote share of the communist parties has always been in between 45-50%. This time the two major communist parties formed a pre-poll alliance and got landslide victory over the Nepali Congress (NC). However, the vote share of the NC has not gone down that much. It has maintained the same level what it used to get after the 1990s.

We expect the communist party to bring some regulatory change in Nepal. There is a kind of obligation. We have to go deep into the history of Communist parties in Nepal to understand them. Though they started their movement as

revolutionaries, they are elected communists. They are not revolutionaries. After their struggle, they have become a part of the current system. We believe they will work within the framework of the constitution. They will play within the given set of rules. I don't think they will distort the democratic constitution. So in that context, I don't believe that there will be any revolutionary changes in Nepal. But, of course there will be something that will be new in Nepal-India relations.

I think some of the mistakes, as often said by communist regimes, will be brought in the discourse of Indo-Nepal ties. One such recent mistake that India committed was in 2015 that severely affected the Indo-Nepalese relations and the economic growth of Nepal. It was the historical blunder. I think India has realized it and it seems it is correcting those mistakes. The recent visit of Honorable PM Modi to Nepal, I think, is one of the steps towards this direction. Since we have a very good relation, there is always a possibility in the improvement of relations.

We can see all these ups and downs in a historical context. There were problems in the past; there will be problems in future. Both sides realized and corrected their mistakes in the past. I think the relation will go smoothly even under the rule of the Communist Party of Nepal. This applies to every government. Even if the Nepali Congress wins the election in future and comes to power, I don't think they will change the relations radically. For this time, regarding correcting mistakes, I think, since there are stable governments on both sides it is the golden opportunity for India and Nepal to fix some of the mistakes.

Thank You.



Nihar Ranjan Nayak, PhD

Good evening everyone.

My sincere thanks to Shri Deepak Kumar Adhikariji, who is leading the Neeti Anusandhan Pratishthan, Nepal. The topic for discussion today is interesting. I know a lot of political development has taken place in the last six months in Nepal. Shishir has already covered a couple of issues such as merger of the two left parties (Maoists and CPN-UML) and the visit of Prime Ministers of both the countries.

I focus on three issues that are the recent developments in Nepal.

First, the formation of a new government in Kathmandu is one of the remarkable developments in the recent political history of Nepal. It is the first government in the country, which is formed after the promulgation of new constitution of 2015 with absolute majority in the parliament. The Government is headed by one of the most popular leaders of Nepal. Shishir has discussed that the UML is not a strong and popular political

party in Nepal. Although there are critics of communist party of Nepal, the UML has been the most consistent performer in the electoral politics in Nepal. It is observed that the UML always ranked second, whereas the Nepali Congress (NC) has been either first or third and the Maoist has been first or second or third in different times during the elections in Nepal. This is the most discussed topic in India as well as in Nepal.

The second could be Maoists U-turn to merge with the UML, which was unexpected. In spite of ideological differences and enmity in the past, the merger of these two left political parties, the new party called Nepal Communist Party (NCP) emerged as the largest political party in the country.

The third is the Terai based political parties support to the Oli government especially by Upendra Yadava and others. These political parties have been strongly criticized Oli, the present Prime Minister of Nepal and other Kathmandu based political parties during their anti-constitution agitation in 2015/2016.

The fourth has been growing support to Dr K.C, a surgeon. Dr K. C. opposed the medical education bill and went for a hunger strike for 31 days. He got enormous support from the public.

Today I will focus on the issues of merger that brought a strong and new political party in Nepal. In fact, Nepalese Constitution of 2015 gives mandates for the Multiparty Democratic System. The Nepali Congress and the UML are the national parties and only the Terai based parties will continue as regional parties. This merger has brought Nepal Communist Party as one of the strongest, largest and most popular party. In terms of cadres, organizational structure, geographical reach,

the present Nepal Communist Party is far ahead from other political parties in Nepal. Most of its cadres have anti-India sentiments. I mean they are very critical towards India's policies particularly on India-Nepal relations. Second important thing is that they are sympathetic to China. China was the first country to recognize this merger on May 18th as the merger was officially announced on 17th of May.

Three important factors were responsible for the merger: political, economical and personal. As you know until the second phase of the local body elections on 18 September 2017, the Nepali Congress and the Maoist were equal partners and they went contested the local body elections together. But in the third phase, particularly, in the Terai region, the Nepali Congress was not willing to share seats with the Maoists. It demanded 40% of seats in the Terai and the Nepali Congress leader, Bimalendra Nidhi, rejected that demand out rightly. Bimalendra Nidhi was unhappy with the then Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba. Bimalendra Nidhi had strong support from India and he took a strong position. He denied the Maoists demand of 40% sharing of the seats in the Terai. Another factor that triggered this division between the Nepali Congress and the Maoists was the official visit of Prime Minister Deuba to India on August 23-27, 2017. During the visit, Prime Minister Deuba and his Indian counterpart Prime Minister Narendra Modi discussed two important issues: the constitutional amendment and the agreement on the Koshi High Dam. Prachanda as an equal partner of the Deuba led government was very unhappy with this commitment of Prime Minister Deuba. Prachanda expressed his dissatisfaction saying he was not consulted by Prime Minister Deuba before making decisions on these issues

during his official visit to India. The third important factor was the adaptation of a new provision that a national party has to secure 3% votes and at least one seat by the Parliament of Nepal on 20 March 2017. It was extremely difficult, for particularly the Maoists and other small political parties, to secure the status of a national party under this new provision. After analyzing the performance of the Maoists in the local body elections, Prachanda somehow realized that he had to merge with a bigger party without losing his political career and political status in Nepal. In this way the threshold provision actually played an important role in the merger of the Maoists and the UML. The fourth and the most important factor was, blackmailing of K P Oli to Prachanda over war crime trial cases against. In February 2015, the Supreme Court of Nepal announced that no amnesty would be given to any political leader involved in war and criminal activities. Prachanda was extremely insecure and he understood that he could be jailed. Therefore, he needed to be in power for his personal safety. This circumstance compelled him to come to compromise in spite of ideological differences for his own personal interest.

The merger also took place because Oli wanted to prevent continuation of the NC and Maoist alliance. Oli was suspicious that, if he did not offer 40% seats to Maoists, they could make coalition with the Nepali Congress. This made Oli agree with the 40% seats to the Maoists in the general elections. Oli was also looking for a coalition, especially in the Terai, particularly in the province number 2 and 5, because the UML had poor performances in the third phase of the local body elections. Oli also understood that, if the situation continued, his party would not get enough seats in the national parliament and provincial

bodies. Another factor was that Prachanda felt that the party would split and he would not be able to control and he would lose the status of party supremo, as he has been often referred to. There was also an economic factor. Prachanda was particularly passing through a very serious economic and financial crisis in managing the party. The premature death of his son could perhaps make him emotionally weak.

Although he was extremely ambitious to become the Prime Minister of Nepal, he chose for the image correction i.e., of a guerilla fighter. He wanted to establish himself as a leader who respects human liberties respecting the civil society. He also understood that the Nepalese society has now become extremely democratic. Now people have realized that under the new constitution they can assure for their rights. All these circumstances were not entwined with the guerrilla fighter image of Prachanda.

Even the government in absolute majority cannot go against the will of the public. The 21 days protest of Dr KC finally made the government of Nepal to step down. This is the beauty of the democratic process of Nepal. Another important aspect in this development is that media in Nepal did not blame India in this entire process. The Nepali Congress and members of civil society came forward to support the cause of Dr K. C. In this entire development none of the political or civil society leaders mention India in this 21 day long protest. And this happened for the first time in the history of protest in Nepal.

Development of this kind helped establish good relations between Indian Embassy in Nepal and Prime Minister Oli. It was a very good understanding. I was surprised; it was completely surprising to me.

In last six months, particularly in the post election period, there are phenomenal developments in Indo-Nepal bilateral relations. The frequent visits of high level officials from both sides contributed to these developments. The External Affairs Minister of India Smt. Sushma Swaraj was the first high level visit from India to Nepal immediately after the election in Nepal. The visit got high coverage in the media and described as highly successful. Immediately after that the Prime Minister Oli visited India in the month of April. During that visit three important agreements were signed; on agriculture, on Raxaul-Kathmandu railway and on inland water ways. Both the Prime Ministers shared their similar feelings on development in Nepal and India. The Prime Minister Modi said Sabka sath, Sabka vikas and the Prime Minister Oli said, Samriddha Nepal, Sukhi Nepal. Both the Prime Ministers have been extremely popular in their respective countries and they belong to the most popular parties of both the countries.

During the previous visit of Oli, there were differences. However, the bilateral relations improved during April 2018 visit. In terms of protocol, the second in number in Indian government, Home Minister, Shri Rajnath Singh received the Prime Minister Oli at the airport.

Followed by the visit of Prime Minister Oli, Indian Prime Minister Modi visited Nepal in the month of May. During the visit, both the governments inaugurated 900 MW Arun-III Hydro Project. They also inaugurated the bus route between Ayodhya and Janakpur. The visit was described as extremely successful.

Despite all these improvements, there are some dark sides of Indo-Nepal relations. The 1950 Treaty is still under discussion. The EPG members have already discussed and report will be submitted to both Prime Ministers soon. I close this talk with a note of good future in the Indo-Nepal relations.



Ramesh Kumar Dhungel, PhD

Thank you Deepakji, chair person of this session, respected Koshiyariji, our embassy representative, consular and friends.

First of all I would like to express my thankfulness for inviting me to present my thoughts here.

I feel very happy to express my opinions on the recent developments in Nepal-India relations. At this point, we need to highlight the most recent developments. Development is the main point here. Previous visits of Prime Minister Modi had two different kinds of impact on Nepal-India relations. The first visit was very exciting and it was successful and as well as very cordial. People of Nepal were very much excited, and he was received as a real family member and personality of the same culture. The second visit was not as exciting as the first one. People of Nepal were not happy with the policies of India, particularly that of Modi Government.

From Nepali side, we also found some symptoms of intervention indirectly played by some outside elements in that situation. I very openly read this issue several times in the media, even in written forms. Why did the visit of a good friend create such an outburst? Why were people trying to demonize the century's long cordial relationship? Most of the people of Nepal were not in that mood, you know. They were not merely demonizing Modi there. So, this recent development was an unprecedented one in the history of Nepal-Bharat relationship.

The third visit of the Indian Prime Minister created a happier mood for a different reason, although there were criticisms. For example, why did Modi just visit Janakpur first, instead of visiting Kathmandu first? Media were full of such comments. Modi's visit to Muktinath was seen in line with getting information from China. Then I wrote a newspaper article with the title "Modi Yatra: Na Birodh, Na Ati Bhakti" meaning, "Modi's Trip: Neither Resistance, nor Excessive Devotion." A group of people started interpreting his visit as the visit of their family members while another group started to interpret it independent of any religious and spiritual dimensions. It was, however, not seen as the visit of the head of a state.

In this context, I came up with my own analysis. It is my personal opinion, and you may agree or not. Modi was not visiting merely to announce some financial packages to develop infrastructure in Nepal. He visited Nepal not only as a Prime Minister but also as a spiritual man. I did not see any evidence in the Himalayas against China, because we do not have any official evidence to that effect except unproven information in the media. I call such happenings 'unfortunate' caused by

some stupid people in Nepal. Prime Minister Modi could have constituted some sort of commission, if he had this sort of plan in his mind to spy in the internal affairs of a neighboring country. Flying on a helicopter through the Himalayas and worshipping Lord Vishnu does not prove someone of spying on the internal affairs of a nation.

There were also negative criticisms on the vehicles that he used and the army he had for his security during the visit. I take it to be the weakness of our government machinery that does not assure the security of the head of the state of a neighboring country, in spite of all these cordial diplomatic relationships. Therefore, I did not see any reason to criticize in matters of this sort. That is not necessary. He was visiting there as the head of the state of a friendly nation and it was a usual way.

The last visit turned out to be a good one. Lots of positive things are happening now and the media didn't go against the recent case. Comparing to the previous visits, the latest ones had a positive impact. Whatever assumptions were being made turned out to be bogus, without any proof. There was some outburst with regard to Dr Govinda KC's incident and India connection, although it was an entirely internal development. An incident like this requires settlement internally, and the same happened.

To link every incident in Nepal with Indian, like in the case of the Prime Minister's visit was just an imagination that does not build trust among the people of the two countries. So far as we are concerned, we are yet to get official information about the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) report. As a researcher I wanted to read the report before coming here but it was not made available. We assume that the report has good things for

the people of both the countries, as the report was prepared by experts from both the sides. We hope the report comes with the solutions of the issues of Nepal-Bharat relationship. If I were in the Government I would have done the same thing. Since the report is not available yet, we do not have any basis to discuss it in a forum of this sort. May be Shri Koshiyari at the end will tell us about it.

As a student of history, the report could be interesting to me. It will be just like another chapter in the history of Nepal, an addition to the chapters of, for example, Prithivi Narayan Shah, the Ranas of Nepal, King Mahendra, King Birendra or B.P Koirala or National Movements of Nepal, etc. One can find different ideologies if looked through the eyes of his/her understanding. I did not see any truth in the merger or alliance as is often discussed in the political discourse of Nepal today. Ideology in Nepal is being less impressive these days.

People in Nepal are losing faith in the ideology of the political parties. The evidence is case of Dr Govinda KC If it was not solved, it would take the form of a revolution. It is because of the lack of national ideology in Nepal. There is no ideology today in Nepal that addresses the aspirations of the people of Nepal. People do not have much faith in political parties, be it Nepali Congress or UML or others. As Shishir already mentioned, true communists do not exist in Nepal at all. They do not have the spirit of communism, not at all. That's why Dr Govinda KC stood against the communist regime, creating a note of danger to all big institutions, which were no more than money-making machines.

Hospitals and similar institutions became centers of different illegal and criminal activities as evidenced though the

records of history. The power centers made these institutions available to their goons so that they could keep on supplying money to them. These cases were intensified with the beginning of the Maoist revolution. In the beginning, in Jhapa the Communist movement was an ideal.

Talking about poverty, Nepal has nothing to do with ethnicity. Caste-based or ethnic revolutions did not bring any settlement to the issues of poverty. All these alliances and mergers have nothing to do with the issues of poverty; they are merely tools to grab power. Just before the election, the chairman of the Nepali Congress went to Chitwan to canvass for the daughter of Prachanda. And you all know what happened two months later. An altogether different alliance came into existence. Where ideology exists, then? No ideology.

The strongest part of Nepal-Bharat relationship is not political, not even economy. All these things are Euro-centric phenomena. We, both India and Nepal, have been suppressed by Euro-centric ideology. But we ignored our own history and our own practices.

We are closer because of common culture, heritage, spirituality and human practices. This common human practice is often ignored. Just about three weeks ago, Prime Minister Oli mentioned, he failed somehow. In several occasions and in a state speech, he asked, "Where can we get God?" He continued iterating that there is no God and one can get Him. Oli was not like that before. If you go one year back, he was different. He was saying and in one written form. I said I can spare three days to take him to God and show Him to my respected honorable Prime Minister. Everywhere in history, everywhere in the mind of Nepalese people God exists.

There was no need, altogether, to make such a statement. But it happened. That was, to me, a kind rupture in his manners. What does this rupture means? Cutting off the traditions. Nepal was made with traditional belief system; so was India. But, if we practice such rupture India, in Nepal, we will be substituted by euro-centric feudalism. We all would become hollow; there would be nothing. So, we have to maintain the science and technology as well as continuity in the flow of cultures and traditions.

These practices were maintained in Nepal and she was able to remain independent throughout her history. The independence of Nepal played an important role in India when she was in crisis within the chains of imperialism. Whenever India had severe crisis, Nepal came out to help as a spiritual guru and it was possible because of her long, independent and indigenous traditions.

We should not be confused in our relationship. In front of respected Koshiyariji, I would like to bring up one more things today. He was the Chief Minister of Uttarakhand. I visited Nainital three years ago with spiritual and touristic motifs. On a board, I saw a notice that on the western corner of Nainital, there stood a temple called Naina Devi's Temple. I came to know that Nainital was named after Goddess Naina Devi. Do you know its history ? Naina means eye, but whose eye? Obviously, it was Parbati's eye. This fact has been mentioned in the Skandapuram, Himwatkhand and also in the story of Shriswasthani. It was this spot where the left eye of dead Satidevi had fallen and perished.

This is a belief but belief of what time? Not in my time or in Prachanda's time or Modi's time. The story was written at least 700 years ago. It was a belief. It was written in words that at this

spot, Satidevi's left eye perished, and the Goddess that emerged here came to be known as Naina Devi.

Of late, we are feeling less responsible, because of the rupture we deliberately exercise in our tradition's lineage. If the left eye had fallen here (Nainital-Nainatal, Uttarakhand), the right eye had perished at Chandrapur (Chainpur, Shankhuwasabha district) in eastern Nepal's Himalayan region, and there Prakasheshwar Mahadev, a manifestation of Lord Shiva emerged.

In the light of this story, what should be our responsibility now? Connection between these two places. Rupture or discontinuity is not always necessary to bring science. You don't need to cut your culture into halves. You can maintain your tradition and cultures and also bring science and development simultaneously. People these days talk a lot about sustainable development. It's a western concept, and has come here from Europe. What do we need to practice sustainable development? We need tradition and practices of people. And we hold distinction in doing that. So we don't need to practice or announce any sort of rupture or departure. We have to announce the commitment of our thoughts in this relationship. We were one.

How were we one? The Himawatkhand, a part of the Skandapuram, writes that the Buddha was born in Kapilwastu and enlightened in India. People those days had created a ground in which a personage like the Buddha could develop, because he was essential for the society. We can talk about Kapilmuni. We can also talk about Karupchanda Buddha. We can talk about Punakmuni Buddha. They all were sages. They made themselves superhuman with knowledge and wisdom,

which were essential for their times. The Buddha did not know where he was wandering for the betterment human. He travelled through thick forest, where a passerby ran the risk of attacks from tigers, bears, foxes or coyotes. He didn't know when and where he crossed his land or where he was wandering. Now we are talking about the soul, not things. We are just bringing euro-centric ideas. Entire this is a proof in relationship between India and Nepal. So when Modiji started his spiritual trips everything became sorted. We must together and talk, think seriously, philosophically and spiritually our thinking can sort out all issues between us. We don't need euro-centric missions to make peace between us.

I was trained in Columbia University, USA, and I spent 14 years there. But I have this kind of perception. So let us do it.

Coming down to my conclusion I would bring some of the things here for you. In this historical analysis we are talking about Ramayan Circuit. My confusion is on how this concept would get through.

Modiji made an announcement, fine. Not only this, we have many a thing. When will the idea become a reality. When Prime Minister Modi was visiting as a spiritual personality. Started with a holy view of the Janaki Temple at Janakpur, his tour of Nepal started. That was great. There is no need to question why he landed in Janakpur. He could have just checked in car and cross the border.

Emperor Ashoka had resorted to Ahimsa. Ashok Challa was a Khas King, who had also resorted to Ahimsa. What is our current problem, then? Our problem is that, we have become Euro-centric. If you look at Prime Minister Modi's tour, it

started with a visit to Janakpur, and then to Kathmandu. Based on this, we can research and develop many realistic proofs of our religious and cultural circuits. It can be Padmasambhav Circuit or Manjushree Circuit for that matter. Indian pundits who crossed the Himalayan Mountains spent their lives there for the sake of Buddhism. We can imagine a circuit of such people. Why don't we think about that? Why are we then talking about ruptures? Even in the question of nirpekshata, or non-alignment, this country has always been one. It is in the constitution. But ours is a constitution that cannot work. That's why there is a trembling situation There are problems. I am not saying all these things to please my Indian friends. This is real. I am expressing my mind. I have written in the papers too, just two days before the promulgation of our constitution. Even if you announce it will not work and it is not working. It has all be guided by European idea. To bring democracy to our countries you don't need to be European. What can be the shorted definition of democracy? People's mind. Read people's mind and appreciated their practices and facilitate them with your own ideas. That is democracy our democracy. You don't need to take to the street of Italy or Rome or Greece. That is not necessary.

We can always think of different circuits for Buddhists, Shivas, Vaishnavas, Shaktas, Yogini, Rivers, Shrines, Vedic Ashrams, common cultural geography, Saraswati Valley Civilization or Ganga Civilization between Nepal and India.

We have extreme samples of human civilization in our countries. We have to work together, and our diplomacy should be guided by these kinds of things. That's why immediately after Modi's term started as the Prime Minister, I had contributed in

one article on this issue. That was not please Modi, or to please Indian friends and politicians. That was just to bring out the reality on the ground.

For this great work, we need to seek cultural seriousness by constitution high-level committees consisting of experts and government and political representatives from both the countries. EPG is one of such committees, and respected Koshiyariji is one of the members. But I would say, this committee is also influenced by the Euro-centric ideas. Luckily we have some friends like this but not all, to talk from the Nepalese side. So, we must think about a high level commission to talk about these things. No one can win or betray us. So we are going through human civilization and cultures this is not mere emotionality, because I was trained in Europe and America. 14 years I have spent there. They talk about objectivity. I am also not a subjectivity mahatma. The reality is this. We can work together through human culture.

Thank you.



Shrinivas

अहिलेको जुन राजनीतिक समीकरण छ, भारत र नेपाल दुबैको अत्यन्त परिवर्तनशील भएको छ। भारतमा पनि लगभग ३० वर्षपछि एउटा पूर्ण बहुमतको सरकार आएको छ। उ सँग एउटा विजन छ। राजनीति सँगसँगै आध्यात्मिक नेताको पनि एउटा कोण रहेको छ। जहाँसम्म नेपाल र भारतको सम्बन्धको कुरा छ आज चाहे नेपालका युवा हुन्, अथवा भारतका युवा हुन्। जहिले पनि हामी जब वर्तमान र भविष्यलाई हेर्दछौं तब हामीलाई थाहा हुन्छ कि यसको ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि पनि रहेको छ। भारत र नेपालको केवल राजनीतिक र कूटनीतिक सम्बन्ध मात्र होईन। तपाईंले जति पनि कुरा सुनाउनु भयो, त्यसैमा हामी कहिले काँही सुन्थ्यौं भारत र नेपालको रोटी बेटीको सम्बन्ध छ भनेर। अर्थ एक बृहत सांस्कृतिक विरासत सँगै हाम्रो सम्बन्ध जोडिएको छ।

त्यसैले जब भारत र नेपालको विषय आउँछ तब लाग्दछ कि हामी दुईटा देश होइनौं, एउटै देश हौं। एकै किसिमको संस्कृति छ तर भौगोलिक सीमामा बाँडिएका छौं, बाँकी सबै प्रकारका जुन हिमालको संस्कृति छ, त्यो भारतमा पनि छ। त्यसैले फरक पनि लाग्दैन। कसैले भन्यो भने मात्र नेपाल छुट्टै देश हो भनेर याद आउँछ। त्यस्तै छुट्टै देश

हो भनेपछी मात्र भारत याद आउँछ, नत्र भने एउटै लाग्दछ । यसलाई हामीले बुझ्नु पर्दछ ।

दोश्रो, नेपालमा पनि यस कुरालाई बुझ्नु पर्दछ कि अगाडि बढ्दै जाँदा हामी दुईटै देशलाई नै सरभाईभ गर्नुपर्दछ, त्यसैले दुबै देशले एउटा समझदारी गर्नुपर्दछ । चीन सँग जाँदा कसैको भलो हुँदैन । चीनको प्रभावलाई स्वीकार गर्नुमा पनि कसैको भलो छैन । किनकि उनीहरूको जुन दर्शन छ, त्यो विस्तारवादी छ । जहिले जहिले पनि जहाँ जहाँ उनीहरूको प्रभाव उत्पन्न भएको छ, त्यसको स्वभाविकरूपले संस्कृतिलाई नै नष्ट गरेको इतिहास देखिन्छ । आजको समयमा मलाई लाग्दछ कि यस गोष्ठीको सबैभन्दा ठूलो विषय यही हुन सक्छ । यस समयमा जो नवयुवाहरू छन् उनीहरूको संवाद बढाउनुपर्ने आवश्यकता रहेको छ । किन भने उनीहरूलाई एतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमिको धेरै बुझाई नरहेको पनि हुन सक्छ । मलाई लाग्दछ कि, म भगतदाससँग निवेदन गर्दछु, रमेशजी र बाँकी सबै सँग पनि । यसका लागि अघि अजितजीले पनि तुरुन्त सुभाब दिनुभयो कि यस प्रकारको विषय जुन तपाईंहरूले भन्नु भएको छ, त्यसमा हामीले संवाद शुरू गर्नुपर्दछ । भारत र नेपालका हामी सबै मिलेर यसमा एउटा निरन्तरता सँगै कुनै एक महिनामा, कुनै दुई महिनामा अथवा कम समयमा सकिन्छ भने, एउटा संवादको माध्यमले युवाहरूको बिचमा संवाद शुरू हुनुपर्दछ । केवल यो एउटा सानो तहमा मात्र होईन, यसलाई ठूलो तहमा गऱ्यौं भने, म त विद्यार्थी परिषद्को तर्फबाट यो निवेदन गर्न सक्दछु कि यसका लागि भारतको तर्फबाट जुन प्रकारको संवादको आवश्यकता छ र अखिल भारतीय विद्यार्थी परिषद्को नाताले जो स्रोत व्यक्तिहरू छन् र जसले यी विषयहरूलाई ठीक सँग बुझ्न सक्ने व्यक्तिहरू हुनुहुन्छ, ती व्यक्तिहरूको बिचमा यो कुरा पुऱ्याउन र निरन्तर सम्वाद गर्नमा म हमेशा सहयोगीको भूमिका गर्ने कार्यमा तत्पर रहन्छु ।

त्यस दिशातर्फ यसलाई बढाउनुपर्ने आवश्यकता छ । म नेपाल सम्बन्धको जानकार व्यक्ति होइन । अखिल भारतीय विद्यार्थी परिषद् र

नेपालको हाम्रो जुन मित्र संगठन छ, प्राज्ञिक विद्यार्थी परिषद्, नेपाल । दीपकजी हुनुहुन्छ, जसले वर्षौंदेखि यो पुरै सम्बन्धलाई ठीकसँग बुझ्नु भएको छ, भगतदा हामीहरूको बिचमा हुनुहुन्छ ।

मलाई आज यहाँ दीपकजीले बोलाउनु भयो, म यहाँ केवल एउटा श्रोताको नाताले आएको छु । जुन विषयको धेरै जानकारी छैन, त्यस विषयमा धेरै बोल्न पनि ठीक हुँदैन । किनभने पछि तपाईंहरूले मेरो पनि समीक्षा गर्नुहुन्छ कि विद्यार्थी परिषद्को राष्ट्रिय सह-संगठकलाई यति पनि थाहा छैन । आफ्नो कम दक्षतालाई लुकाएर राख्नु पनि राम्रो कुरा हो ।

म आज यति नै मात्र भन्न चाहन्छु कि जुन प्रयास हामी सबै गरिरहेका छौं, यसको लागि तपाईंहरू सबैलाई शुभकामना । हाम्रो जुन संस्कृतिको सम्बन्ध छ, यो अरू सबैभन्दा माथि छ, यस कुरामा हामी समझदारी गर्नेछौं । यो जुन युवाहरूको संवाद छ, यो यस समयको आवश्यकता हो, अहिलेको राजनीतिक परिदृश्यमा नेपाल र भारत दुवै राजनीतिक

परिदृश्यमा हामी यो कार्यलाई अगाडि बढाउने छौं । यो कार्यक्रम आयोजना गर्ने जुन संस्था छ, सायद यसको माध्यमबाट यस प्रकारका कार्यक्रमहरूको अरू फ्रिक्वेन्सि बढ्नेछ ।

धन्यवाद ।



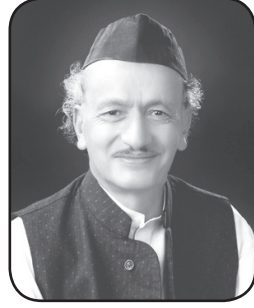
Hari Prasad Odari

Dr Ramesh Kumar Dhungel focused on the cultural part of the scene. The way he presented was quite impressive. However, everything is not discontinuity in Nepal. Everything has not been discontinued in Nepal despite the use of the word ‘secular’ in our constitution. It has guaranteed the state to protect the cultural practices and traditions that has been observed since time immemorial. Therefore, it is the obligation of the state to protect cultural practices and traditions of different ethnic groups. In my understanding, the Constitution of Nepal 2015 safeguards the cultural richness of Nepal and protects the cultural belief systems.

The second point that I understood is that in Dr Dhungel’s approach culture plays important role in Nepal–India relations. What we say today about Nepal-India relations are not the development of yesterday; they have been with us since time immemorial. Leadership from both sides is aware of this aspect of our cultural relations. Initiatives such as Janakpur

– Ayodhya, Bodhgaya – Lumbini, and Kathmandu – Banaras connections are the examples of it. Greater economic and physical connectivity measures are critical to this end.

Culture is an important component. I agree with Shriniwas on the importance of the dialogues between young people from both the countries. I mean the leadership of our generation from both the countries needs to know each other for cordial relationship with trust and respect. When the current generation retires, there should be others that can shoulder the responsibility to advance Nepal-India relations further. We need to prepare our generation for the purpose i.e., the generation that understands its neighbors. This is only possible with continuous dialogues nurturing respect to the age old traditions of both the countries.



Bhagat Singh Koshiyari

नीति अनुसन्धान प्रतिष्ठान, नेपालका निर्देशक तथा आजको यस कार्यक्रमका अध्यक्ष श्री दीपकजी, श्रीनिवासजी, निहारजी, शिशिरजी, अजितजी, संदीपजी । साथै विशेष गरेर यो राम्रो गर्नुभयो कि तपाईंले नेपाल सरकारको नयाँ दिल्ली स्थित नेपाली दूतावासका प्रतिनिधिलाई यहाँ आमन्त्रण गर्नु भएकोमा म उहाँहरूलाई धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद व्यक्त गर्दछु । साथै सम्पूर्ण उपस्थित साथीहरूमा मेरो नमस्कार छ । मलाई राम्रो लाग्यो, अहिले सम्म दुई तीनजनाले आफ्नो विचार राख्नुभयो, अब राम्रो हुन्थ्यो अरू युवाहरूले पनि आफ्ना विचार प्रस्तुत गर्नु हुन्थ्यो भने । यस्तो कन्फ्रेन्स, सेमिनार र संवाद चलिरहनु पर्दछ । नेपाल होस् या भारत, जुन संस्कृतिको अहिले रमेशजीले कुरा गर्नुभयो, त्यसमा एउटा कुरा सबै पण्डितहरू, यहाँका र उहाँकाले एउटै कुरा बोल्दछन् । *वादे वादे जायते तत्त्वबोधः* । तपाईंहरू यसको विचार गर्नुहोस्, कुरा गर्नुहोस् र त्यो वाद-विवादबाट फेरी के मिल्छ त ? तत्त्वबोध मिल्दछ । तत्त्वबोध भनेको ज्ञान हो ।

कुराकानी गर्नु भन्ने विभिन्न कुराहरू हुन्छन् । जस्तै अहिले रमेशकुमार ढुङ्गेल जसरी बोल्दै हुनुहुन्थ्यो । मलाई लाग्दै थियो कि नेपाल

सरकारको प्रतिनिधि हुनुहुन्छ, भनेर । उहाँलाई पनि कहीं न कहीं मौका मिलोस् कि यसै विषयमा, निश्चित विषयमा सायद उहाँ केही बोल्नु हुन्छ । You solve better in the work. Thank for that. यि कुरा, कुरा भएर तत्वबोध । हामी कुराकानी गछौं, चर्चा गछौं । चर्चा गर्दै गर्दै जाँदा कुनै नयाँ विचार वा अवधारणा निस्कन्छ । जस्तै हामीले दहीलाई घुमाउँदा घुमाउँदा के निस्कन्छ ? नौनी निस्कन्छ । जुन आनन्द मोही पारिसकेपछि नौनीमा छ, त्यो आनन्द बटरमा हुँदैन । त्यसैले जब नौनी निस्कन्छ, यो चर्चापछि पनि नौनी समान विचार निस्कन्छ । तपाईंहरू नवजवान, युवा मान्छे हुनुहुन्छ, प्रायः धेरै जना अहिले पनि यहाँ भारतमा पढिरहनु भएको छ ।

त्यसैले तपाईंहरूको लागि वास्तवमा जुन यो समय छ, बच्चाहरूको लागि, नवजवानहरूको लागि यही सुनौलो समय हो । तपाईंहरू नेपालको नागरिक हुनुहुन्छ र तपाईंहरू भारतमा शिक्षा प्राप्त गरिरहनु भएको छ । त्यसैले तपाईंहरूलाई सुविधा यो छ कि तपाईंहरू १४ वर्षसम्म युरोपमा बसेर पढेर पनि तपाईंहरूलाई त्यहाँ जुन आत्मीयता, प्रेमको आवश्यकता हुन्छ त्यो प्राप्त हुँदैन । जति पढ्नुहोस्, पढाउनुहोस्, कमाउनुहोस् जसलाई आत्मीयता भनिन्छ, त्यो आत्मीयता तपाईंहरूलाई त्यहाँ प्राप्त हुँदैन । चीनका मान्छेलाई जुन आत्मीयता मंगोलियामा या भियतनाममा वा जापानमा प्राप्त हुन्छ, यदि त्यही व्यक्ति हिन्दुस्तानमा बसेर त्यस्तै आत्मीयता चाहन्छ भने, चाहे ऊ बौद्ध धर्म मान्ने वा बौद्धिष्ट होस् सबै होस्, तत्पश्चात् पनि उसलाई त्यही आत्मीयता यहाँ भारतमा प्राप्त हुँदैन जबकि त्यस्तो आनन्द हिन्दुस्तानमा भन्दा जापान, भियतनाम अथवा मंगोलियामा प्राप्त हुन्छ ।

यी केही प्राकृतिक कारण हुन् कि व्यक्ति चाहे पाकिस्तानको होस् या बंगलादेशको होस् या भुटानको होस् वा नेपालको होस् या भारतको होस् । उनीहरू जब आपसमा भेट्दछन् तब मनमा एक किसिमको आत्मीयता हुन्छ । It is not further study at all. This is not

bio-category to view and see. स्वाभाविकरूपमा एक किसिमको आत्मीयता रहन्छ । त्यसैले हामी सौभाग्यशाली छौं । एकअर्कामा सम्पर्क गर्नका लागि हाम्रो नवोदित विद्यार्थी प्रशिक्षणको माध्यमबाट प्राज्ञिक विद्यार्थी परिषद्, नेपालको माध्यमबाट, नीति अनुसन्धान प्रतिष्ठान, नेपालको माध्यमबाट एकअर्कालाई अभि नजिक ल्याउने प्रयास गरिरहेको छ । विशेष गरेर जो अतीत छ, अतीतलाई भुल्न सकिन्न । तपाईंहरूलाई मैले नाकाबन्दीलाई भुल्नुहोस् भनेर भुलिदैन । परन्तु यदि त्यस नाकाबन्दी पछि हामीलाई चोट लाग्यो, चोट लागिसके पछि मलम लगाएर र मलम लगाएपछि थाहा भयो कि त्यस चोटबाट राम्रै भयो, नराम्रो त केही भएन । भगवान्ले नराम्रो पनि राम्रैको लागि गर्नुहुन्छ । यदि त्यसपछि केही राम्रो हुन्छ, भने के भनिन्छ ? हाम्रो हिन्दुस्तान र नेपालीमा के भनिन्छ, भने भगवान्ले नराम्रो नै गर्नुहुन्छ भने पनि के का लागि गर्नु हुन्छ ? भलोका लागि । यदि रिजल्ट अधि कही चिप्लियो भने व्यक्तिले के गर्छ ? अधिल्लो पटक सम्हालिएर हिँड्छ ।

नेपाल भारतको ऐतिहासिक सम्बन्ध धेरै लामो छ । यस्तो लामो इतिहासमा, यस्तो अनादि कालदेखि हाम्रो सम्बन्ध छ । यस्तै कहिले काँही खानामा अमिलो पिरो गुलियो हुन्छ । अमिलो पिरो गुलियो चिज आउँदछन् तर समग्रमा सम्बन्ध कति गहिरो छ ? स-साना कारणहरूले कहिल्यै बिगार्न सक्दैन । यो सम्बन्ध हाम्रो जुन छ, यो अभि प्रगाढ़ हुन्छ । कुनै समस्या छैन । तर यसको कारण के हो ? वास्तवमा हामी दुवै देश परापूर्वकालदेखि एउटै संस्कृतिले बाँधिएको छौं भने र म कहिले काँही नेपालको बारेमा बोल्छु, तब यहाँ एण्टी इण्डियनको आए जस्तो छ पनि भन्दछन् । मैले भने केही एण्टी इण्डियन आए तपाईं चिन्ता नगर्नुहोस् । जस्तै वर्षा आउँदा सबै धूलो, मैलो, फोहोर बगाएर लैजान्छ, पनि अनि फेरि सम्बन्ध पनि जस्ताको त्यस्तै हुन्छ, नेपाल र भारतको । मलाई नेपालका पत्रकारहरूले यो यस्तो, त्यो त्यस्तो भनेर उक्साउँदै थिए । जब तपाईंहरूको संविधान बनिरहेको थियो मलाई व्यक्तिहरूले भन्ने

गर्भे कोशीयारीजी के नेपालको संविधान बन्छ ? निश्चितरूपमा म मात्र त्यस्तो भारतीय हुँ, जसले नेपालको संविधान बन्छ भन्यो, तपाईंहरूलाई पनि भरोसा थिएन होला । मानिसहरूलाई लाग्थ्यो होईन । संविधान बन्छ बन्दैन भन्ने गर्दथे र सोध्थे । सार्वजनिक घोषणा गरेर नेपालको संविधान अब बन्छ भनेपछि मलाई सन्तुष्टी भयो र बन्यो पनि ।

मानिसहरूलाई लाग्दथ्यो कि बन्न त बन्यो । अब आन्दोलन चलिरहन्छ, यहाँ स्थानीय तहको निर्वाचन पनि हुन्छ, र ? आदि । मलाई लाग्दैन थियो कि यिनीहरू यसो बोल्दैछन् यिनीहरू आशावादी हुन् या निराशावादी । मैले भने चुनाव हुन्छ । अब तपाईं कल्पना गर्नुहोस् कि मेरो कति के छ र मधेशका जनताहरूसँग । तपाईंहरूका तीन ठूला नेताहरूले सम्झाउन सक्नु भएको छैन होला, त्यति नै मलाई सम्झाउनमा सरलता हुन्छ । तपाईंहरूको तागत आउछ, तपाईंहरू आफ्नै नगरपालिका, गाउँपालिका चलाउनु हुन्छ । सबैजना राजी हुनुभयो, चुनाव सम्पन्न भयो । तर लाग्दथ्यो कि चुनाव हुन्न भनेर यो हुन्छ, त्यो हुन्छ । फेरी संसदीय चुनाव आयो । फेरी किन, यसको लागि के छ कि तपाईंहरूको जस्तै यिनीहरूले क्रमबद्धताले यात्रा गरे, आत्मीयताले गरे । त्यो आत्मीयता हुनुपर्छ । अहिले एकात्मक प्रणाली छैन, संघीय प्रणाली छ । यिनीहरूको नेपालबाट यति छ, थाहा छैन अगाडि के हुन्छ ? को हुन्छ ? कस्तो हुन्छ ? यो त चलिरहन्छ । एउटा गयो भने अर्को आउँछ । यो धारणा व्यक्तिहरूमा थियो र चुनाव भयो सही तरिकाले सम्पन्न भयो । संसदीय चुनाव पनि भयो ।

मलाई लाग्दछ कि नेपाल अब विस्तारै विस्तारै, निश्चितरूपमा सम्बृद्धितर्फ अघि बढ्नेछ, सुखतिर लम्कनेछ । नेपाल अब जुन तपाईं युवाहरूको हातमा रहेको एउटा वृक्ष हो, यसलाई निश्चित रूपमा तपाईं युवाहरूले अगाडि बढाउनु हुनेछ । नेपाल जति सुखी र सम्बृद्ध रहनेछ भारतवर्ष पनि उति नै सुखी र सम्बृद्ध हुनेछ । यी बिल्कुल परिपूरक छन् । यी दुईलाई अलग गर्न सकिदैन । दुबैको यति आपसमा हुन सक्छ; नेपाल यति सानो देश हुन सक्छ । नेपाल त्यस्तो सानो देश हैन, In the relation with India and Nepal.

नेपाल हिन्दुस्तानको लागि त्यति नै ठूलो देश हो जति हिन्दुस्तान छ । यसको कारण के हो भने नेपालमा जति पनि मानिसहरू बस्दछन् ती तिनै व्यक्तिहरू हुन् जो भारतमा बस्दछन् । भारतमा जो व्यक्तिहरू बस्दछन् ती तिनै व्यक्तिहरू हुन् जो नेपालमा बस्दछन् फरक छैन । नेपाली भाषा छ त्यो पनि सबै एकै हो र ? बैतडी, दार्चुलाका मानिसहरूले बोलेको त तपाईंहरूलाई पनि आउदैन बुझ्नु हुन्न । म जान्दछु छिटो किनकि उनीहरू मेरो छिमेकमा बस्दछन् । जुन संस्कृतिको कुरा भन्दैछु तमिलनाडुका मानिस सबैभन्दा धेरै मुक्तिनाथ जान्छन् । मलाई पहिले मुक्तिनाथको बारेमा थाहा थिएन । यो के हो त ? आखिरमा यहाँको व्यक्ति त्यहाँ जान्छ । यो संस्कृतिको कुरा भन्दै थिएँ । यो सम्बन्ध यति मजबुत छ, यसलाई तपाईं तोड्न सक्नु हुन्न ।

त्यसैले हाम्रो के भनाई छ भने नयाँ मर्जरको कुरा छ । मलाई कहिले पनि लाग्दैन कि मानिसहरू भन्छन् कि कम्युनिष्ट आए, माओवादी आए । मैले भने मलाई माओवादीदेखि कुनै डर छैन । खाओवादी आउनु भयो भने चाहि डर छ । मलाई धेरै खुसी लाग्यो तपाईंहरूको प्रधानमन्त्रीसँग भेटेर यो पटक । जसै मेरा प्रधानमन्त्री आउने वित्तिकै They got a political fruit work होइन यो floor मा छैन । यो चर्चा चल्दै डिस्क्रिप्सन चल्छ, जस्तो तपाईंले भन्नुभयो चर्चाको चर्चा गर्नुपर्थ्यो । मेरो देशमा मोदी जी आएपछि उच्च तहमा हुने भ्रष्टाचार समाप्त भयो । ओलीजीले भन्नु भयो कि म भ्रष्टाचार समाप्त गर्न चाहन्छु । यदि एकपटक दुबै देशहरूमा भ्रष्टाचार नै समाप्त भयो भने म सोच्छु कि कहाँ युरोप कहाँ अमेरिका । हामी त सुनको लंकाभन्दा पनि राम्रा छौं । दुबै प्रधानमन्त्रीले एउटै कुरा बोल्नु हुन्छ, कसलाई मन लाग्छ ? गान्धीजीले सत्याग्रह शुरू गर्नुभयो र उहाँको सत्याग्रह जुन थियो त्यसमा सेकुलर गान्धीजी कहिल्यै बोल्नु भएको थिएन । यो सेक्टर हिन्दुस्तानमा र आजभोलि नेपालमा पनि छ सेकुलर दुबै देशमा छ । गान्धीजीले सेकुलरको कुरा गर्नु भएको थिएन ।

गान्धीजीको जुन आन्दोलन चल्यो त्यसबेला रघुपति राघव राजा राम भन्दै चलेको थियो । सारा संसार उनको पछि लाग्यो ।

त्यसैले नेपाल भित्र पनि यो स्वभाविकरूपले यदि कोही नयाँ गान्धी जन्मन्छ भने हुनसक्छ । हिन्दुस्तानमा हजारौं गान्धी बनुन् या कुनै गान्धी बनुन् जरूरी छैन हरेकपटक उस्तै हुन्छ । अतः त्यो सम्भव छैन । तर समग्रमा प्रजातन्त्रका जुन सिद्धान्त छन् जसले हाम्रो भारतीय जीवन मूल्यको जिकिर गर्दछ, त्यही नेपालको पनि जीवन मूल्य हो । जीवन मूल्य एक हो । जुन मूल्य छन् ती मूल्यभित्र विस्तारै विस्तारै जो विरोधीहरू पनि छन्, तिनीहरूलाई ओलीजीले यदि सबै मान्नु भयो भने, के नेपालको सबै क्रान्तिहरू सकिए त ? मतलब डा. के.सी.का माग ओलीजीले मान्नु भयो भने यो आन्दोलन समाप्त भयो त ? डा. के.सी.का माग ओलीजीले मान्नु भयो मतलब नेपालमा नयाँ क्रान्ति भयो भनेर भन्न मिल्छ ? त्यो आन्दोलन के हो ? त्यो आन्दोलन सही दिशामा छ भने सही दिशामा हुनाले नै तपाईंलाई प्रजातान्त्रिक मूल्यको मान्यता मिल्दछ । प्रजातन्त्रमा उनको माग भन्नाले जनतालाई पनि आफ्नो अधिकारको साथ-साथ यो नै हाम्रो अधिकार हो भन्ने लाग्छ । अधिकारीले अधिकार माग्नु हुन्छ तर आफ्नो कार्य वा कर्तव्य चाहिँ पुरा गर्न चाहनु हुन्न भने के हुन्छ ? यसैले आफ्नो अधिकारकाप्रति हामी जति सजग हुन्छौं त्यति नै सजग आफ्नो कर्तव्यप्रति पनि हुनुपर्नेछ ।

हामी हाम्रो देशलाई अगाडि बढाउन सक्छौं र अरू अगाडि बढाउने छौं । हिन्दुस्तान अधि बढ्नेछ । निश्चितरूपले संसार त हिन्दुस्तान र नेपालको आशा लिएर बसेको छ । किन आश लगाएर बसेको छ त ? यो जुन २१ औं शताब्दी छ, यो आध्यात्मिक शताब्दी हुन गईरहेको छ । आध्यात्मिक कै शताब्दी बन्न गईरहेको छ । यसका लागि नेपाल र भारत, भारत र नेपालले मुख्य भूमिका खेल्नु पर्दछ, यसमा । यस अध्यात्मको माध्यमले आज एउटा मोदीजीले भन्दैमा १८० भन्दा बढि देश तुरुन्त तयार भए योग दिवस मनाउन । योग सँग-सँगै तपाईं अमेरिका जानुहोस्,

म छक्क परे । म टि.वि. खोल्छु, त्यसमा सबैभन्दा पहिला योग गर्दै गरेको देखाईन्छ । यसको अर्थ यो हो कि हाम्रा जो पुर्खाहरू हुनुहुन्थ्यो, जसले हामीलाई एक प्रकारले पुरै संस्कार दिएर जानु भएको छ । त्यो संस्कार निश्चितरूपले आन्तरिक छ, शाश्वत छ, सनातन छ, यस्ता हाम्रा मूल्य छन् ।

त्यसमध्ये प्रजातान्त्रिक मूल्य मान्यता जस्ता थिए पहिला त्यस्तै छन् अहिले । यस्तो होईन कि हामीलाई रिपब्लिक विदेशीले सिकाए । ठीक छ, मोर्डन रिपब्लिक उनीहरूबाट आएको हो तर हाम्रोमा पञ्चायत पहिलादेखि नै थियो । हाम्रा अजितजी र श्रीनिवासजी हाम्रो संघबाट हुनुहुन्छ, आर.एस.एस को व्यक्ति हुनुहुन्छ । मलाई थाहा छ, धेरै पहिला एकपटक कुनै एकजना कम्युनिष्टहरूले भने भारतका श्रीगुरुजी सँग जो संघका पूजनीय द्वितीय सरसंघचालक हुनुहुन्थ्यो । श्री गोलवलकरजी राष्ट्र राष्ट्र भन्नु हुन्थ्यो । हामी राष्ट्र धेरै बोल्छौं । अनि अरूले भने कि यी त खाली राष्ट्र राष्ट्र भन्छन्, भने यो भारतमा त धेरै राष्ट्र छन् । जसरी सौ राष्ट्र, महाराष्ट्र यो कसैले आर.एस.एसको श्रीगुरुजी गोलवलकरजी लाई सोधे । श्रीगुरुजीले के भन्नुभयो तपाईंहरूलाई थाहा छ ?

यहाँ सौ राष्ट्र, महाराष्ट्र मात्र छैन, यहाँका त व्यक्ति पनि राष्ट्र छन् । जस्तै धृतराष्ट्र हुन्छन् । Nationality is deaf in India. Nationality is deaf in Nepal. As you don't take it India is a nation making Jawaharlal Nehru said. It is true. हाम्रा जुन मूल्यमान्यता र सम्पत्ति छन् यदि ति मूल्यमान्यता र सम्पत्तिलाई सही ढंगले राख्न सकेनौं भने विकासको गति उल्टो हुनेछ, यी मूल्यमान्यता र सम्पत्तिलाई राख्यौं भने विकास सही दिशामा जान्छ । म आश्वासन दिन्छु तपाईंहरूलाई हाम्रो नेपाल र भारतको सम्बन्धमा They will be strengthen and they will be unique, as it is unique, they will be unique in the committee of the nation . I assure this again. Thank you very much.

Question-Answer and Comments

Ambika Joshi

Today Nepal is ruled by political leaders, not by monarchy. Nepali people living in Nepal and India speak the same language and they belong to same nationality. The interest of King Mahendra during the Panchayat System is still being propagated by political leaders of Nepal. On the other hand, the Indian side always tries to micro manage everything in Nepal. It is heard in media; people complain everywhere. If Indian system is ready to accept the Nepali sovereign nation state and these two nation states evolve from the same civilization roots, there would not be any deadlocks in the relationship between Nepal and India. This needs to be understood in the policy making levels, then in the bureaucratic levels and other strata of the society. If this happens, I think, we will not have any deadlock at all.

The other factor is the concept of secularism that has important place in our constitution. Whenever I visit India and I meet people who follow the ideology of Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) or Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), they show their concern that we have killed the only Hindu

state in the world. I think India had the key thinkers of the concept of secularism when the constitution of modern India was framed. I think a nation cannot be secular; nations have its own values but state has always been secular. The term secular has western root, more particularly a European concept. If we go through the old Hinduism i.e., ancient Hinduism and read the myths and mythology like the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, we understand that their administration was independent of religious practices and belief systems. God Parshuram went to the Mahendra Parvat for the Tapashya.

He had Shivadhanus with him at that time and he wanted to leave it to Shiva devotees. He did not allow people to worship Vishnu and encouraged them to worship Shiva. There are many concerns of this sort in Hinduism. God Parshuram told Ravan that he did not want to leave the Shivadhanus in his palace and warned Ravan not to punish people on the basis of belief system. He came to king Janak and then he left Shivadhanush there. That was the same Dhanush that Ram broke to get Sita as his wife. These are the examples of the cultural impingements. Rather than talking about the ills of Hinduism, it is high time to revive

the true Hinduism understanding its true values. We need to take this issue seriously. I understand Nepal has been able to save many things about Hinduism and these things will be of great assets to India as well.

Tilak Jha

I am Tilak, a journalist for BBC. I have quick comments. It is good to discuss these things here with you all. The fact is that I live in Bihar, the province that borders with Nepal. Of course, we go to Nepal several times and I see same aspirations among the young people on both sides of the border. The young people from both Nepal and Bihar come here for good education, for good opportunity, for good jobs and they come here to explore themselves. I think all these discussions seem to me that we are talking too much about issues but not the issues of immediate priority of young people. I think, as Hari said, India is becoming a role model for Nepal. But this does not happen with China. Nepalese students going to China get hostel immediately, and they have good scholarship. When Nepalese friends come here, that is not the case. It is not the case even for Indians here.

I think there are of course opportunities in India and these opportunities need to be explored in such discussions. Discussions on political development may be useful

but it is not the immediate concern for the young people. There is no politics without economy; no politics without environment; no politics without opportunities. If we stop them from the opportunities, they will board the plane and fly abroad and you and I remain here discussing the political development and we get nothing.

Thank you

Bhagat Singh Koshiyari I want to put only small remark on Ambikaji issues. It's an interesting comment. I would like to make all of us concern about the term secularism, its emergence and its development. Do you find in Nepalese history that Nepal was ruled by a Mathadhis? It may be different in India. Nepal was never ruled by religious leaders. It was always ruled by political leaders whether you talk about King or people's representatives. Secularism emerged in Europe because there was a tremendous problem for the people because of the religious leaders. You can take Italy as an example of the domination of the religious rule. These were the circumstances of the emergence of secularism. In our case we did not have such circumstances because ours is a completely different civilization.

Micromanagement from the other side, this is totally misconceptions. तपाईंहरूको

प्रतिनिधि यहाँ हुनुहुन्छ । कयौं पटक म उहाँकोमा गएँ, मेरो पार्टीका अध्यक्ष श्री अमित शाहजीको माध्यमबाट हामीले केही गाईड गर्‍यौं ? गर्‍यौं र ? हरि जी के हामीले गाईड गर्‍यौं ? But this is a misconception, I tell you very frankly. Why should India interfere? India can think welfare about Nepal. Not only India can, other countries can also think. So it is the only misconception and I think that have been created by the very very much respected intellectual of Nepal probably. Always they create these things. In India was already there, don't mind.

त्यसैले यी तत्वहरूको उद्देश्य यहाँ र उहाँ, दुबै देशमा एक भिन्नताको खाडल उत्पन्न गर्नु रहेको छ । हामी जो नवयुवा छौं, अहिले देखि सोचौं कि यो न कहिले थियो र अगाडि रहन्छ, किनकि देश दुई, दुई सार्वभौम देश भएतापनि मानिस एकै हुन् किनकि संस्कार एकै छ, धर्म एकै छ । सबै एकै छ । त्यसैले के छ कि एक-अर्काको चिन्ता गर्नु, छोरीको यदि विवाह भएपनि बुबाले थोरै ख्याल राख्छन् नि । बहिनीको यदि विवाह भए पनि भाइले थोरै चिन्ता गर्छन् नि । यो जुन चिन्ताको विषय छ, यो एकदम नाताले गर्दा हामी चिन्तित रहन्छौं । भारतमा चुनाव भयो र हरेक नेपाली, हरेकले यो भन्दथे कि (म सन् २०१४ को कुरा गर्दैछु) चाहे कम्युनिष्ट होस्, कांग्रेस होस्, मधेशी होस् चाहे स्वदेशी होस् या विदेशी होस् जसले पनि भन्थे, मोदीले नेपाल आउने पर्छ । उनको पहिलो पटक स्वागत भयो । नेपालको हृदयमा थियो कि मोदी आउनु हुन्छ, हाम्रो नेपाललाई बुझ्ने छन् । यिनी भारतीय जनता

पार्टीका हुन् भनेर उनीहरूलाई लाग्दथ्यो । यिनलाई नेपालको बारे ज्यादै आत्मीयता रहन्छ । उनी नेपाललाई अलग राष्ट्र, देशका रूपमा मान्दैनन् भन्ने भाव थियो । मोदी आउनुहुनेछ, हाम्रो लागि राम्रो हुनेछ, भलो हुनेछ, हाम्रो सम्बन्ध सुमधुर हुनेछ, यसैले गर्दा उहाँ पहिलो पटक नेपाल भ्रमणमा हुँदा भव्य स्वागत भयो । मलाई सबैले भन्नु भयो । यसको मतलब के हो त ? केही न केही कारण छ, जुन अदृश्य रूपमा चलिरहन्छ । केही न केही कारण छ, जस्तै माता सरस्वती देखिनु हुन्न, तर उहाँ चल्नु हुन्छ कही न कही ।

अब दोश्रो हिन्दु राज्यको बारेमा आउँ । पत्रकारहरूले नेपालमा मलाई सोध्नु हुन्छ । कोशीयारीजी अब नेपाल धर्मनिरपेक्ष राष्ट्र भयो, तपाईंलाई कुनै समस्या त भएन ? मैले भन्थे हामीलाई कुनै समस्या भएको छैन । नाई नाई तपाईंहरू हिन्दु राष्ट्र भन्नुहुन्छ नि त, त्यसैले मैले भने हजुर भन्छौं । धर्मनिरपेक्ष भयो त के ! हिन्दुहरूले केही गरेनन् यो बर्बाद भयो । तपाईं जति पनि धर्मनिरपेक्ष भन्नु होस्, अल्ट्रानिरपेक्ष भन्नुहोस्, केही हुनेवाला छ र ? अब कुनै दिन मलाई भन्दिनुहोस् । यदि मेरो नाम भगत सिंह कोशियारीको ठाउँमा जगत सिंह राखिदिनु होस् । म त त्यही नै हुँ नि हैन र ! तपाईं चाहे जे नाम राख्नुहोस् फरक पर्दैन । नेपालका मानिस हिन्दु हुन्, उनीहरूमा धार्मिक आस्था छ । नेपाल धर्मनिरपेक्ष हुँदा भारतमा सारा ठूला ठूला नेता आउनु भयो । धर्मनिरपेक्ष तपाईंहरूको संविधानमा छ । ग्राउण्डमा के छ ? ग्राउण्डमा हाम्रो शाश्वत जो धर्म छ, त्यसमा हाम्रो विश्वास छ । गंगा,

काली र कोशी जस्तै बगिरहन्छ, कसैले यसलाई मास्न सक्दैन । यसको बारेमा धेरै सेन्सिटिभ हुन आवश्यक छैन ।

यहाँ धेरै सुबिधा पाईदैन, यहाँ नेपालका मानिसहरूलाई केही समस्या हुन्छ, यदि चीन गए भने तुरुन्त होस्टल पाईन्छ, सबै-सबै पाईन्छ । तर सुनको लंका कहिले पनि अवधको राम राज्य हुँदैन । दोस्रो कुरा तपाईंलाई चीनमा जति नै सुबिधा मिलोस्, तपाईंलाई थोरै समस्या हुन्छ, हेर्नुहोस् हामी नेपालबाट आएका हौं, हामी धेरै आशाका साथ आएका छौं । यहाँ हामीलाई जुन सम्मान पाउनु पर्ने हो, स्वतन्त्रता पाउनु पर्ने हो, कहीले कहीले तपाईंलाई यो अनुभव हुनेछ । यी सबै समस्याहरू पछि पनि म भन्छु कि कुनै पनि सुगा, खुल्ला आकाशमा रम्न मनपराउँछ, पिञ्जडामा रहन कहिल्यै मनपराउँदैन । तपाईंहरूलाई भारतमा जति स्वतन्त्रता छ, चीनमा यति स्वतन्त्रता छ, कसैलाई ? गाउँमा गएर यो गर, त्यो गर । पहिला त भाषा नै बुझिदैन, ५ वर्ष लाग्छ चाईनीज भाषा सिक्न । त्यसैले समस्या जरूर छ तर यो समस्या यस्तो होइन कि जुन धेरै कष्टदायी छ । तपाईंहरू हुनुहुन्छ । म सोच्दछु कि भविष्यमा कुनै बन्दको कुनै कार्य गरियो भने: ठीक छ तपाईंले भन्नु भएको छ राम्रो हुन्छ भने कोशिस गर्छौं कि यस्ता साना मसिना समस्याहरू नहुन् । मलाई लाग्दछ कि तपाईंहरूले प्रस्तुत गर्नु भएको विषय नेपालले प्रस्तुत गरेको विषय हो । प्रस्तुत हुनै पर्दछ । प्रस्तुती सँगै परिश्रम पनि हुनु पर्दछ ।

धन्यवाद ।

Bharat-Nepal relations in the context of recent political developments of Nepal



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