

Internal and External Security Challenges of Nepal

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Abstract

Nepal has been a home to diversified settlement in terms of ethnicity, religion, dialect and culture since its outset in civilization. It also lies between two great military and economic giants of Asia – India and China – that are hostile to each other. While these bring abundant opportunities for Nepal, it possesses several internal and external security threats. Nepal suffers from cyber-attack, environmental degradation, pandemic, ethnic, racial or religious conflicts, inequality and poverty, extremism, human trafficking, corruption, migration and trans-boundary crime. In addition, Nepal also faces several security threats, traditional and non-traditional, including terrorism and insurgency. These threats possess serious implications on peace and security of Nepal and the South Asian region. There is a need of serious study about the major internal and external security challenges that Nepal faces in recent decades. This study aims at examining some of the major security challenges, explore the factors behind it, and attempt to suggest few policy recommendations to the government of Nepal to deal with them. The study is conducted by reviewing the primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data includes documents of the government agencies, press release, joint statement and organizational

reports. It also includes the interviews with security experts, bureaucrats, policy makers and academicians. Similarly, secondary data includes books, news reports, academic journals, seminars report and reports of research institutes and think tanks. The study highlights that Nepal should prepare itself to meet with the emerging internal and external security challenges what have emerged in recent times. With the rise of India and China, two adversarial powers in the region, Nepal possess extreme challenges in days to come. Similarly, hardly any countries of the world had prepared itself to deal with recent pandemic like COVID-19 that has shattered even the most powerful countries of the world. Taking lessons from these, it is time for Nepal to learn and prepare to mitigate the challenges.

Keywords: terrorism, natural disaster, environmental security, ethnic violence, cyber crime

Introduction

Security is an imperative issue for the survival of any state. Lack of security is a compromise on the peace and well-being of state and its inhabitants. At the macro-level, state security must be geared towards ensuring territorial integrity and sovereignty. The concept of security is all-encompassing and is required for combating food insecurity, lack of housing,

poor education, natural disasters, terrorism and extremism. The Himalayan state of Nepal that lies at the heart of South Asia also faces several forms of security threats. To examine the internal and external security threats to Nepal, the article investigates various factors behind the security threats, and proposes few policy recommendations to the Government of Nepal to resolve them.

Nepal is a mid-sized country with a developing economy and close cultural ties spanning historical linkages and political relations with India and China, the two Asian giants rivalling against each other. Nepal is also a landlocked state and is often regarded as a “yam between two boulders” (Chaturvedy & Malone 2012, pp. 287-312). Politically, it means that Nepal must strategize itself in a way that prevents it from being attacked by either of the two powerful states. It is best for Nepal to maintain a positive attitude and foster friendship and cooperation with its neighbors, diplomatically balance them and grow with their support. At a global arena, Nepal needs to keep its doors open to the changing times.

The world is facing the worst pandemic now. COVID-19 has taken a toll on human life and has completely changed the way people are conducting their daily routine. Since humanity at large has been facing dangers from natural and man-made threats, such as nuclear arsenals, weapons of mass destruction, terrorist attacks, cybercrimes, economic inequality and poverty, Nepal must upgrade its security apparatus for its survival amidst these powerful states in Asia.

Methodology

The study starts with explicit theoretical predispositions. It primarily uses deductive reasoning. The nature of the study is largely

analytical with some preliminary descriptions. It also applies a mixed method approach, blending quantitative and qualitative research methods. The study makes use of both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources include documents of the government agencies, press releases, joint statements and organizational reports. And secondary sources include books, news reports, journal articles, newspaper clippings, and academic papers. The study also uses information and data collected through various seminars, symposium, think-tank analyses of international organizations, interviews, and other internet sources. In addition, some experts in the field of international relations have been interviewed but identity has been kept anonymous, as the interviewee requested for it. The study adopts a critical and analytical mode to focus on the issue and the effort is made to keep the research as objective as possible without ruling out the subjective biasness of researcher.

Concept of Security and its Widening Contours in South Asia

Traditionally, the concept of security is gravitated towards military security. It referred to the threats against the crucial values of states like territorial integrity and political sovereignty through improved national weapons and armament mechanisms, strategic alliances, military deployment, adversarial management, nuclear weapons, etc. However, the widening of the concept of security means that it has begun to envelop political, economic, environmental and identity as contemporary determinants of state security. Considering the direct impact of war on state inhabitants – internally displaced people and refugees – the traditional concept of security had to cater to the wellbeing of human beings and their survival. In this

manner, security has not just widened but also deepened and become inclusive, that is, the concept of security now accounts for human beings as well. The term human security understands and analyses global vulnerabilities along with challenging the traditional determinants of national security, especially military security, by arguing that security must be assessed at human level instead of national. A noteworthy explanation of human security has been extended by economist Mahbub ul Haq. He argues:

We are entering a new era of human security where the entire concept of security will change ... security will be interpreted as – security of people not just security of territory; security of individuals, not just security of their nations; security through development, not security through arms; security of all the people everywhere – in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment. (Haq, 1995, p. 68)

In other words, human security entails not just procurement and development of arms but development of human beings, their livelihood and community.

South Asia is one of the most diverse regions in the world. The socio-cultural commonalities support the distinctive identity that the region of South Asia cherishes. But the region is also home to several security threats that differ from country to country. The high population rate is susceptible to an increased form of vulnerabilities especially because South Asia is also the poorest region in the world. On the one hand, the region is trying to recuperate with traditional security challenges. The active terrorist groups, war in Afghanistan, border tensions, bilateral conflicts (i.e., Pakistan-Afghanistan, India-

Pakistan, India-China, India-Nepal) have yet to settle. The 21st century threats to human security, such as, health, resource scarcity, infectious diseases, food shortages, natural disasters, transnational crime, internal conflict, forced migration, energy, transnational crime, cyber security, and human trafficking are upfront and they do not accede to traditional approaches to maintain peace and security. Minority conflicts, religious and ethnic disputes, state repression, demands for sovereignty, famines, floods, terrorism, lack of development projects and crisis of migration and refugees, have added to the challenge of human security conditions in South Asia. For example, the effects of COVID-19 pandemic in South Asia have been drastic primarily because of the pressure to ensure health and economic security to the large number of populations.

Internal and External Security Challenges of Nepal

Nepal is a land-locked country that lies between two emerging powers of Asia – China and India. Both the countries are nuclear powers that are antagonistic to each other. In this situation, a small state like Nepal faces several external and internal security challenges. Though Nepal is not a small state in terms of size, but in terms of economy, military, and Nepal's position in international politics, it behaves like a small state. Some of the major internal and external security challenges that Nepal face are as follows:

Internal Security Challenges of Nepal

National Security

National security is a sensitive and a multifaceted issue. Every country is built on its originality and priorities. Security of a nation encompasses sovereignty, national

integrity, social, economic, cultural, and humanitarian aspects. National security is affected by the foreign policy of the nation, policy on internal peace and order, ideas on social security and implementation. National security also covers issues like protecting the citizens of one's country and maintaining reasonable secrecy regarding national interests.

Article 51 of *the Constitution of Nepal 2015* covers the policy of national unity and security. As per *the Constitution*, Nepal shall pursue the policies relating to national unity and national sovereignty to keep the national unity intact, while protecting the freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Nepal. It also aims to promote the national unity while developing mutual cooperative relations between the Federal Units by maintaining mutual cohesion, harmony and solidarity between different castes, religions, tribes, cultures and communities. Apart from these, it also aims to maintain law and order by developing a national security system and guarantee the overall human security system. Based on national security policies, the security organs will be made which would include the Nepal Army, Nepal Police and Armed Police Force with competent and strong professionals. The policy also aims to make proper use of the knowledge, skills and experience of former public employees in the interest of the nation and keep the citizens ready and competent to serve the nation as and when necessary.

Experts claim that there has been frequent external interference in Nepal's political, economic, and religious policy which acts as a detrimental factor to the security of the nation. On the development of Nepal's national security policy, Geja Sharma Wagle, the security expert of Nepal argues that:

Nepal is now in the process of transforming from a feudal and unitary state into a plural, democratic, multi-ethnic, federal, and secular one ... the definition of national unity and security has widened (so) national security policy needs to be refined in changed political landscape, safeguarding Nepal's national values and identity, based on national consensus following comprehensive consultation with various stakeholders in society (Wagle, 2009, pp. 89-90).

However, Wagle emphasizes that Nepal's national security lacks effective institutions that can formulate and implement strategies. The Nations Security Council needs to re-promote and frame a clear mandate (Niraula, 2075 BS). Similarly, there have been secessionist movements in the past. C. K. Raut launched a free Madhesh Movement for almost a decade demanding an independent Madhes state which had radicalised youths in Madhesh, posing serious security threat to the unity and integrity of the country. Fortunately, he reached an agreement with the government of Nepal and joined mainstream politics (*The Kathmandu Post*, 8 March 2019). Since the possibility of such activities in future cannot be ruled out, the government needs to take special initiatives to counter such threats that can challenge national security. The National Security Policy 2073, which was brought after many deliberations, covers many issues, and if implemented successfully, Nepal's national security can be strengthened.

Internal Cultural Conflicts such as Ethnicity and Religious Intolerance

Nepal is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. There are more than hundred ethnic groups co-existing in Nepal. They practice their culture, language, and customs.

Similarly, almost all the major religions, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity and Sikhism are observed in Nepal. Despite the heterogeneity seen in the socio-religious paradigm, there is ethnic tolerance and harmony in Nepal. However, religious intolerance and radicalization fast propagate in South Asia. Often their religious tensions in the neighborhood, tends to spillover and affect Nepal. Given the multitude of ethnic and religious groups residing in Nepal, the state is fertile for ethnic polarization because different ethnic groups often raise voices against discriminations. The most perilous security threat to Nepal comes from internal socio-cultural conflicts: (1) inter-religious – Hindu-Muslim and Hindu-Christian; (2) inter-ethnic/racial – Khas/Mongols, Madhesis-Tharus; and (3) inter-regional – Pahades-Madhesis. These clusters of conflicts cause chain reactions and runs across the nation-state and attract regional and international interference. This has even heightened the likelihood of terming Nepal as a failed state several times by political experts in the past (*Telegraph Nepal 2019*).

While sometimes the grievances expressed are genuine, they are also perceived and fueled by political parties. Time and again, there have been demands for autonomous states based on ethnic identities. Moreover, Nepal is committed to human rights and due to its humanitarian approach and moral obligation, it cannot forcefully repatriate refugees. Thus, Nepal is inhabited by refugees who are of other communities such as Tibetans and Bhutanese. There are many authorized and non-authorized Tibetans and Bhutanese staying in Nepal. The number of Rohingya refugees is also increasing. While these refugees are humanitarian problem, with passage of time, they assimilate in the

society, start demanding rights and pose security challenges for the host country. In addition, they pose serious foreign policy challenges as they get involved in political activities. China has accused Nepal on the grounds that the Tibetans living in Nepal are often involved in anti-China activities and protest China, thereby putting Nepal in uncomfortable situations.

Economic and Gender-Based Inequality

Economic inequality and gender-based inequality in Nepal is severe and it can impose serious internal security threat. Economic inequality has created fertile ground for several armed conflict movements in South Asia in general and Nepal in particular. Similarly, gender-based inequality has also affected the internal security of the country. Due to huge economic disparity and lack of employment opportunities, thousands of youths are migrating to different countries looking for better standards of living. A large number of unemployed youths get attracted to unlawful activities and gives rise to internal law and order problem. As many as 1,500 youths are forced to migrate every day to far off places due to lack of employment opportunities in Nepal (*The Himalayan Times*, 6 December 2017). Moreover, it is likely that COVID-19 will reverse the migration, which will further strain the economy. Hence, Nepal, the country mired in a cycle of poverty, due to lack of equal opportunities is at threat. The lack of resources also brings discrimination by the dominant class creating disenchantment among the people. According to the International Organization for Migration and World Bank, Nepalis are mostly settled in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Malaysia, India, and Kuwait. The remittances sent by them have been the backbone of Nepalese economy in recent times (Fox,

Yokying, Paudel & Chhetri, 2020, p. 1). In such a situation, the government should work towards planned economic development to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor. If the government fails to deal with it on time, it can lead to unfavorable circumstances in future.

Food Insecurity

Food insecurity has been impacting livelihood in Nepal for a long time. According to the International Labour Organization, agriculture provides livelihoods for 68 percent of Nepal's population, accounting for 34 percent of the GDP. Nevertheless, Nepal struggles to produce an adequate supply of food for its citizens. But Nepal is yet to adopt the methods of modern farming to yield more production and most of the time farmers are deprived of improvised technology, improved seeds, enough fertilizers, and market access. This has led to a decline in agricultural production causing depression in rural economies. Consequently, it causes food shortage throughout the nation. Like most of South Asian countries, Nepal also faces malnutrition. As per the reports, 36 percent of children in Nepal under the age of 5 years suffer from chronic malnutrition which causes several diseases like blindness, brain damage and infectious diseases (USAID, Agriculture and Food Security, 1 October 2020). One the one hand, "agricultural sector provides employment to three-fourths of the economically active population, it accounts for just one-third of GDP, and the country imports far more agricultural goods than it imports" (Flowers & Man, 2019, p. 8).

Natural Resources Scarcity and Natural Disasters

Over exploitation of natural resources is a non-traditional internal security threat which

is prevalent in Nepal. Due to its size, it has limited natural resources. In such a case, when big corporations monopolize resources, it becomes problematic for the local citizens and their development. Nepal faces huge drinking water scarcity.

Nepal has diverse ecology from alpine region to mid-hills to Terai plains. Risks of climate change also impacts Nepal despite the state emitting a negligible amount of greenhouse gas. Nepal ranks 109th globally for greenhouse gas emissions. However, it is situated between two of the greatest carbon emitting countries – China and India. Nepal has shown a consistent trend in increased annual temperatures, annual precipitation, and wet spells (Shrestha & Aryal, et. al, 2019, pp. 315-334). Nepal has also reported incidence of drought and plant diseases (*Nepal Central Bureau of Statistics* 2017, p. 37).

Nepal faces floods and mudslide that causes mass destruction to people's lives and infrastructure. When such natural calamity arises, weak capacity of a small state gets emphasized. Though Nepal is not small in terms of its territory, it behaves like a small state in international system because of its weak capacity. According to Robert L. Rothstein small state is:

A state which recognizes that it cannot obtain security primarily by use of its own capabilities, and what it must rely fundamentally on the aid of other states, institutions, processes, or development to do so; the Small Power's belief in its inability to rely on its own means also be recognized by the other states involved in international politics. (Rothstein, 1968, p. 29)

In 2015 when 7.8 magnitude earthquake struck Nepal causing huge destruction to people's lives and houses resulting in internally displaced people and economic losses (Cook, Shrestha & Htet, 2016, p. 4). While the neighboring countries and international humanitarian agencies contributed significantly in response to the earthquake, Nepal's vulnerability to natural hazards and its dependence on aid and assistance from others got highlighted.

Corruption

One of the primary factors affecting the gap between the rich and the poor is the increased levels of corruption in Nepal. Corruption is a major challenge to the successful working of rule of law, lucidity, liability, and good governance. Corruption disrupts social harmony by generating discrepancies in the trust factor in the society. In addition, corruption is a breeding ground for the growth of internal threats as it inhibits accountability, checks, and balances. And an endemic form of corruption undermines state capacity and legitimacy which inflames grievances that are associated with several conflicts. As a retired Major General in Nepali Army argues that corruption is an issue of public debate and to tackle it the people of Nepal must be aware and not hesitate to boycott the corrupt person and preserve the ethical values of the society (Ghale, 2020).

Thus, Nepal's internal security challenges include political challenges, law and order challenges, social and economic challenges, disasters and natural resource loss challenges and extremism. Due to Nepal's internal political conflict, even those identified as external security challenges have not been able to change or improve. As the lure of materialism of the major leaders of the

political parties and the hopes of foreign visits increase, Nepal becomes more and more endangered. In order to make Nepal religiously, culturally and economically strong, it is therefore necessary to protect the nation, before the security of elites, to meet the external security challenge.

Climate Change and Security

Climate related risk creates disastrous results for Nepal. In 2010, Nepal approved the National Adaptation Programme of Action to Climate Change (NAPA) and reiterated that there is a need "to reflect more fully the needs and aspirations of tremendously diverse communities" (Penniston, 2013, p. 2). Nepal became the first country in the world to frame a formal Local Adaptation Plan of Action in this direction but due to the lack of funds, the programme has not seen its fruition till date. Climate change has led to several natural and man-made disasters for farmers such as drought and floods.

While climate related changes have been negatively affecting the farming culture of Nepal, caste-based inequality is a critical aspect and is intensifying food insecurity. Dalits in Nepal carry low caste status and have been facing historic marginalization. Dalits are forbidden from owning land and using agricultural strategies such as crop diversification. This has also increased their dependency and indebtedness on the wealthier counterparts (Aryal & Holden 2011). Moreover, Nepali labors migrating to abroad for economic opportunities, hoping to reduce poverty by sending remittances, is also contributing to land degradation and food insecurity (Kim, 2019, pp. 719-732).

External Threats

Changes in political dynamics do not change geostrategic concerns. For a small landlocked state like Nepal, Robert O. Keohane's 'Lilliputian Dilemma' rightly fits the situation wherein Nepal is both trying to balance and bandwagon with the bigger powers (Keohane, 1969, pp. 219-310). Nepal does not have real threat militarily, but there are multiple insecurity elements impacting Nepal's inhabitants. Geostrategic location makes Nepal a fertile ground for the incoming of external security threats for which Nepal is ill-equipped. For example, due to the lack of special powers at the state level, people of border areas fend for themselves. In 2017 a Nepali citizen got killed by an Indian security guard in Kanchanpur district (*The Himalayan Times*, 2017).

Secondly, Nepal is not self-sufficient. Being a small state with limited resources, Nepal is dependent upon the fuel and energy of other countries. And this becomes a valid reason for the foreign interference and imposition of economic blockades that often runs contrary to Nepal's interests.

Nepal lies between two nuclear powers of Asia namely, India and China along with another nuclear power Pakistan. India and China have hostile relations and both China and Pakistan have border issues with India. Both have fought war against India and India and China compete for influence in the region. Both also compete with each other and aspire to be global power. Hence, the region is very volatile and can trigger big war at any point of time. And this can pose as a security threat to Nepal. Political instability in Nepal also increases the risks for the nation.

India-Nepal Border

Boundary disputes and tensions can be categorized as both internal and external security threat. Nepal has boundary dispute with India, a country with which Nepal has been friendly and cooperative for centuries. Nepal and India share 1,880-kilometer border. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship between India and Nepal signed in 1950 recognizes the ancient ties as the continuation of the historical relationship. The open border has served the interests of both the countries since times immemorial. Nepalese people can come to India and seek employment opportunities in administrative service, police services, etc. Similarly, Indians can get involved into economic activities in Nepal and people of both the countries have unrestricted travel.

However, the India-Nepal open border situation has become a security concern for both. Miscreants take advantage of the open border as a transit point. Smugglers, terrorists, and traffickers have used open border to hamper peace and security of both the countries. Human trafficking especially women and children is a rising concern. Nepal is used as a source as well as transit state for women and children to gulf countries or to others countries that are emerging as a potential market for human traffickers.

Similarly, if problems like Kalapani and Susta remain, anti-India sentiments in Nepal will continue to grow and affect the cordial relations that both the countries have been enjoying since centuries. According to the Treaty of Sugaulie signed in 1816, Nepal renounced all its claims to the areas that were lying in the west of Kali River. Thereon, river Kali emerged as a boundary demarcation for Nepal and India. However, the dispute of Kalapani remains over the source of Kali River.

Nepal claims that its territory has been encroached in more than 71 places bordering India. Only four districts connected to India - Mahottari, Dhanusha, Dadeldhura and Baitadi - are free from encroachments. It is estimated that more than 60,000 hectares of land has been unilaterally cleared from India except the last Dang, Parsa and Bara. 36,000 hectares of land has been encroached in Kalapani (Limpiyadhura) area alone, 14,000 hectares in Susta of Nawalparasi and 9,000 hectares in other districts. Moreover, 474 border posts in 18 districts bordering India from Mechi to Mahakali has disappeared from the Indian side. Out of 26 districts bordering India, Nepal has set up Armed Police Camps in only 18 districts within 394 kilometers of the border. These incidences indicate that the government of Nepal is falling short of framing clear strategies on border security but also deploying security mechanism in areas of urgency. It is the need of the hour for the Armed Police Force to mobilize security on border defenses. While bilateral task force and committees have been formed for resolving border disputes, the efforts in that direction has not borne results. The Kalapani and Susta issue, for instance, has not been resolved at technical and administrative level despite diplomatic dialogues and exchanges.

Nepal-China Relations

Nepal's relationship with China is marked by geo-strategic and political interests. Nepal shares 1389 kilometers of common border with China. Each year, Nepal welcomes Chinese tourists who act as a sustainable source of valuable foreign exchange and the number of Chinese working in Nepal is increasing. The Chinese corporations who invest in various infrastructural and developmental projects in Nepal is also a source of economic growth for Nepal. However, the issue of Tibet reigns

high on Nepal's security concerns. Post 1959 uprising when the Dalai Lama took refuge in India, thousands of Tibetans flocked to Nepal for asylum. The 1950s and 1960s has been marked in the history of Nepal for attracting international agencies and donors such as, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Nepal Red Cross for providing financial assistance to the needy refugees (NUCRA 2003). The Tibetan refugee issue highlights Nepal's weak status to any form of foreign incursions, especially because Nepal is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention or the 1967 Protocol that administers protection to refugees.

In the pursuit of balancing relations with both India and China, Nepal has not been wholly successful. However, time and again, the issues such as Chinese hacking Nepalese banks or Tibetan refugees protesting China creates problems between the two countries. China expert, Bhaskar Koirala once said that "the concerns and interests of India loom large in Nepal, but the inability of Nepal to successfully ally Indian apprehension can itself be understood as one of the main factors undermining Nepal's capability to build a more meaningful partnership with China" (Koirala, 2009). However, with changing times, Nepal's priorities also shifted. Nepal seeks to maintain friendly relations with both China and India. And for this, Nepal must respect the security concerns and dilemmas of the big powers. Gone are the days when political balancing game (one against the other) was successful. Thus, to benefit from the developing economies of neighbors, Nepal must befriend all.

New Age Security Threats

New forms of security threats like cybercrimes, epidemics, etc. are making inroads in Nepal.

Nepal is facing a new pressure because of the pandemic – Corona virus. Its features and impact are still being understood. Similarly, another area of security is neither wholly political nor social; nor is it a medial one. COVID-19 crisis closed the tourism sector and many people have been unemployed. The year 2020 has witnessed several political demonstrations and violence against civilians when enforcing lockdown. Till now Nepal has not seen holistic effect of it, so measures to prevent it has not been devised. In the fiscal year 2018-2019 (until 13 June), 180 cases of cybercrime were registered in Nepal, among which 125 cases were from the Kathmandu valley alone and 55 cases outside the valley (Pulami, 2020).

Hence, India and China have deep strategic interests and security concerns in Nepal. Not only India and China, but also the United States and European countries have meaningful strategic interests in Nepal. China claims that western powers want to use Nepal against them. Therefore, a diplomatic and strategic balance must be maintained with the superpowers and neighboring countries. If not, Nepal could be an arena of great power politics, putting the country into conflict and instability.

The Way Ahead

The article identifies the key internal and external security factors in Nepal. Security is a dynamic concept. Human security has perceptual, social, economic, and psychological effects. Therefore, security is not unidimensional, that is, there are many interconnected sources of insecurity and it has a butterfly effect traversing states and continents. Nepal does not employ offensive strategy to tackle balance of power. It prefers to preserve its nation and heritage.

Nepal has had a series of governments who have produced policies, but their strategic intentions remain to be implemented. Moreover, Nepal is yet to draft a realistic planning on determinants of insecurity and ways to resolve it.

A glance at the population size of Nepal and the number of police force deployed will show that it is sufficient for a small state. But because of poor management, Nepal's internal security is shaky for the past seven decades. An effective security force is vital for establishing law and order that ensures secure environment and protect the life and liberties of the inhabitants. The law and order in Nepal are the domains of police and armed forces. But Nepal is awaiting the promulgation of a police act that clarifies the areas of responsibility for police and armed personnel. There are no proper federal laws that enable both the security providers to function properly. Simply put, Nepal has been functioning on ad hoc policies that are themselves susceptible to misinterpretations. In an event of security crisis, who shall be deployed first and who will gain charge is a big question in Nepal's internal security.

Based on the assessment made, the paper recommends:

- Security is a comprehensive issue that needs cooperation of diplomats, politicians, researchers, medical professionals, and economists. External security threats can only be dealt in a coordinated manner. A concerted effort is required by different organizations, political leaders, research institutes and healthcare sectors.
- There is also the need to update the national intelligence agencies with norms of the international structures.

- Clarity, precision, and accountability must be stated in the constitution of Nepal so that clear purpose, operating procedure, and conceptualization of training can be set in place for the police and armed forces much before its mobilization. This would require financial assistance, planning, training, infrastructural development for denoting the rates of crimes, political violence, status of rule of law and corruption.

George Tanham rightly said that “Strange as it may seem, the military victory is the easiest part of the struggle. After this has been attained, the real challenge begins: the reestablishment of a secure environment opens a new opportunity for nation building” (Tanham, 1966, pp. 138). So, there is an urgent requirement to address this security issue in Nepal. Currently, Nepal is in a phase of socio-political and economic transition. There are no proper federal laws governing the different sectors of Nepal’s development. Therefore, the speed is extremely slow for Nepal’s progress. And in this manner, security is being compromised. Thus, in many ways Nepal is under-prepared to tackle issues of territorial and human security. The government of Nepal should prepare for it before it is too late.

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