# SECURITY ISSUES, PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF NEPAL AS A SMALL STATE

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# LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

I certify that this dissertation entitled "Security Issues, Problems and Challenges of Nepal as a Small State" was prepared by Birochan Khadka under my supervision. I hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee Master's in International Relations and Diplomacy, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of MASTER'S IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY.

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June, 2020

**DECLARATION** 

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that it contains no materials

previously published. I have not used its materials for the award of any kind and any

degree. Where other authors' sources of information has been used, they have been

acknowledged.

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Birochan Khadka

Date: June, 2020

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# APPROVAL LETTER

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Small states face serious security threats because of assorted reasons. These states are dependent on others for economy and security, which make them more vulnerable than other states. Landlocked between India and China, those are widely considered as the two major rising powers in the international arena, Nepal is viewed by many commentators as a small state situated between two geographically, demographically and economically giant neighbors. Interestingly, notwithstanding its smallness, Nepal is also perceived as a geopolitically important country in the region owing to its geostrategic location. In light of this reality, this dissertation primarily aims to assess the security situation of Nepal as a small state that occupies a strategically important place in the northern South Asian region.

The research aims to look into three main issues. Firstly, it aims to elucidate the concept of small state to show that Nepal is a small state; secondly, it delves into exploring the security challenges that Nepal faces as a small state and; finally, the research seeks to offer possible measures to address the challenges, if there are any.

With the realization that there exists limited research regarding security threats to Nepal in the changed global and regional security realm, this research attempts to address the same limitation. Methodologically, the research has employed a qualitative research design and adopted descriptive method to compare relevant texts, analyze governmental reports published by Nepali governmental agencies and also used a argumentative framework to make a strong case that Nepal faces unique challenges as a small state situated between India and China.

The dissertation highlights how small states like Nepal are compelled to refrain from aggression even at critical times and maintain a fine balance in diplomatic relations with neighbors and other friendly nation to cope with geopolitical

challenges and ensure sustainable national and regional peace. The dissertation finds

that in Nepal, rather than traditional security threats, non-traditional security threats

have started posing greater challenge to national security. It reaches to a conclusion

that Nepal must focus on enhancing its position through soft power and diplomacy

rather than other measures to continue enjoying its dignified place as a sovereign

nation in the international community.

Key Words: Small State, Security, threats, diplomacy

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#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ADB : Asian Development Bank

ASEAN : Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BIMSTEC: Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and

**Economic Cooperation** 

CPN : Communist Party of Nepal

DMI : Directorate of Military Intelligence

EPG : Eminent Person's Group

EU : European Union

FP : Foreign Policy

GDP : Gross Domestic Product

GNP : Gross National Product

IR : International Relations

LDC : Least Developed Countries

LLC : Land-Locked Countries

MCC : Millennium Challenge Corporation

MoFA : Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NID : National Investigation Department

OBOR : One Belt One Road

PDNA : Post-Disaster Needs Assessment

SAARC : South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

SAFTA : South Asian Free Trade Area

TU : Tribhuvan University

UNCTAD : United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNDP : United Nations Development Programme

UNO : United Nations Organization

UNPKO : United Nations Peace Keeping Operations

USA : United States of America

#### **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

# 1.1 Background of the Study

In trying to look into the security issues of small states, it is pertinent to begin with what exactly constitutes a small state. The prevailing definition of small state is elusive at best and is interpreted in various ways. Small states can be looked into from both qualitative and quantitative perspective. Qualitatively small states are defined in terms of their vulnerability emanating from their physical and geographical features. Likewise, quantitatively, small states are marked by relatively low levels of socioeconomic indicators such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Gross National Product (GNP), per capita income, population, territory and the like. Small states today, are also defined in terms of a new variable, i.e., by their reliance upon external actors to ensure their security understood in terms of alliances and collective security (Maass, 2009).

Notwithstanding the complexity associated with defining small states, many commentators have observed that after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the cold war, many small states have entered upon the world scene. At present, smaller nations have a special place in the international system, having the capacity to challenge the expectations of most observers and many prominent theories of international relations although most of the international theories are mainly based on behavior and interest of big powers and explains very little about the international behavior of small states (Jayasekera, 1992, p. 98).

World history shows the stories of small states which could not stand against the threats of bigger ones; it shows their clear interference in internal affairs, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the small states of this world. History has shown the evident that the larger powers have influenced the countries weaker than themselves either economically or militarily. With the seismic shift brought about by the end of cold war the world has been witness to far more instances of intra state conflicts than interstate conflicts. Civil wars, armed rebellions, breakdown of internal law and order, transnational terrorism pose a greater threat to national security than threats to national sovereignty and territorial integrity by acts of international aggression. Thus the overall definition of security has itself expanded to not only include territorial security and security of person of one's nations but to also include other multi-dimensional elements. Barry Buzan in the 1980's introduced a much more comprehensive scope of security to include aspects such as military, political, economic, environmental and societal security. Likewise the world today is tasked to address concerns which is beyond the scope a state acting alone and requires a concerted effort from a number of states such as climate change, poverty reduction, refugee crisis and international terrorism among other (Buzan, 1980).

There are various definitions of small states. "It is not the size of the state which matters but rather its relative strength" (Handel, 1981). A small state is "a nation which can't wage total war in defense of her sovereignty" because of weakness in any of the elements of national power: geography, population size, and economic strength (Al-Hameli, 1989, p.2). Although other elements such as relative strength of neighbors, national will and strategic location determine the vulnerability of states, Al- Hameli's analysis of small states provides a framework to categorize small states and to determine appropriate national security strategy.

Generally, a variety of factors have been used to define the term "Small States": first, population size and geographical location; second the ranking scale of a state in terms of its capability; third, the relative influence exercised by the states; and fourth, identifying characteristics through hypothesis on what differentiates small

states from the other classes of states (Aditya, 2001, p. 7). Although such classifications are usually less than watertight, as only the geographical factors tends to remain constant over a given time, the exercise, nevertheless, helps to generate a better understanding of the status of the countries at the international level (Aditya, 2001, p. 7). Among the four categories, the reliance on population and geographical factors in determining the status of small power is most controversial, because even though states may behave in terms of their capabilities as small powers, they may actually have a large geographic area and population size for example Bangladesh and Pakistan in south Asia.

Traditionally, small states were vulnerable because of geographic condition, small population or lack of economic strength in the past but the scenarios is being changing in the present context. Security of small states is increasingly considered in terms of territorial, political, economic, and technological security. Internal conflict has a large number of causes including: the manipulation of ethnic, social or religious divisions; poverty and or underdevelopment; crime; corruption, or bad governance and their bad decisions; environmental decay; and population pressure (Jayasekera, 1992, p. 19). Many states including developed ones suffer these problems, but small and less developed countries are most vulnerable. The small states might be able to maintain their preferences through influencing larger and stronger powers in international organizations.

A brief glance through the fundamental attributes of Nepal will suffice to confirm the fact that Nepal adequately fits into all of the accepted parameters to define a small state. In this respect, a question arises as to what security threats does Nepal face because of its "smallness" and what options it has to effectively counter these threats. Nepal, historically, has defended threats to its sovereignty with utmost

aplomb, be it during the war with British or China. However, with the fundamental changes in the international system, a volatile regional environments and persistent disorders and instability domestically, the threats that Nepal faces are vast and diverse.

Furthermore, given the changed context characterized by transformations in Nepal's social, cultural, economic and political milieu as well as in the broader international and regional environment, the security threats to which Nepal is exposed have also grown in form, number and size. As a result, Nepal is in a very precarious and vulnerable position. This is also to say that the prevailing definition of "security" has become obsolete because today the security of the state of Nepal is not only linked with warlike threats or foreign aggression but with a plethora of other hazards that emanate from issues which were previously not deemed dangerous. These threats are even more dangerous for Nepal primarily because Nepal is a small state.

The research has focused primarily on dissecting the academic as well as practical discourse on "security" of "small states". This has been done by looking at all relevant scholarly works available in the field till date to get an idea of what security for small states constitutes and also by analyzing the security history of Nepal in brief. Some sections has been devoted to explain why Nepal fits into the category of small states, primarily by looking at the contentious definitions of the categorization and evaluating the rationale for such division in security studies. Efforts have been made to borrow ideas from the relevant country specific cases. The research has tried to underline Nepal's present security status so as to highlight short term as well as long term security threats.

#### **1.2** Statement of Problem

Quite a few researchers have recognized that Nepal is a small state, regionally and internationally and analyzed Nepal's predicament as a small state. Most of these researches have highlighted Nepal's smallness vis-a-vis India and China to analyze Nepal's foreign policy behavior as a small state.

For example, it has been recognized that Nepalese psyche has always been conditioned by the fact that Nepal lies between two big powers, i.e. India and China. Nepal started practicing small state diplomacy after the defeat in Anglo Nepal war (1814—16) before which Nepal had been considered an empire i.e. Gorkha Empire – a sub-regional hegemon. Furthermore Nepal's smallness vis a vis the two big neighbors has compelled the country to adopt varying forms of foreign policy endeavors ranging from bandwagoning, to equidistance policy, to equiproximity, to trilateral cooperation depending at different times in history (Adhikari, 2018).

Similarly, it has been recognized that Nepal's foreign policy inconsistency derived from sudden and recurring political shifts have rendered it's foreign interactions ineffective and ignorable in the larger comity of nations. A revamp in Nepal's internal political process to reestablish its external image to survive geopolitical tides that keep changing in the backyard of two giant 'protagonist' neighbors. Hence, Nepal is a small state that is surrounded by big states and that to maintain its international relevance, albeit as a small state, Nepal needs to overhaul its internal and external endeavors (Dahal, 2011).

Other scholars have looked at the constraints that Nepal faces as a small state. For example, Nepal as a small state faces complexities both externally and internally to guarantee its survival in the international society of states. Small states are not only

affected by external or systemic challenges but also by domestic forces (Bhattarai & Cirikiyasawa, 2020).

Some scholars have identified that Nepalese foreign policy has historically been designed, executed and driven through a narrow mindset of 'small state complex' (Shrestha, 2012). Such an approach to handling foreign relations and have called for practicing diplomacy on the basis of Nepal's inherent strength in 'soft power'. The argument is that even in terms of geography and population, Nepal ranks better than most countries in the world that practice independent diplomatic dealings.

However, there is limited research interest on the contemporary security issues faced by Nepal in the face of many internal and external constraints and challenges. This research is a small attempt to bring this to academic notice and entice further interest in this issue for further large scale research.

On the other hand, it is also plausible to focus primarily on security aspect of Nepal's smallness in the backdrop of existing research literature on Nepal's small stateness that are scattered on a range of other issues. In this context, the research pays special attention to deduce various security challenges brought about by Nepal's perceived smallness in the South Asian region and beyond.

The core problem of the research is to find out the type of security threats that Nepal faces because of its smallness, trace the most visible challenges and suggest possible solutions to subdue these threats.

With the seismic shift brought about by the end of cold war the world has been witnessing far more instances of intra state conflicts than interstate conflicts. Civil wars, armed rebellions, breakdown of internal law and order, transnational terrorism pose a greater threat to national security than threats to national sovereignty and territorial integrity by acts of international aggression. Thus the overall definition of

security has itself expanded to not only include territorial security and security of person of one's nations but to also include other multi-dimensional elements. Barry Buzan in the 1980's introduced a much more comprehensive scope of security to include aspects such as military, political, economic, environmental and societal security. Likewise the world today is tasked to address concerns which is beyond the scope a state acting alone and requires a concerted effort from a number of states such as climate change, poverty reduction, refugee crisis and international terrorism among others (Buzan, 1980).

In this changing environment, this paper will try to address the main security threats that Nepal faces today? Nepal, as has been said earlier, has all the attributes of a small state, thus the options at its disposal seem limited, but how can Nepal make effective use of these limited options in an efficacious manner becomes an equally important question?

It will be argued that Nepal, with its volatile domestic political situation and its attendant socio-economic repercussions faces grave internal threats to its security. Likewise, as external threats are a function of geography, Nepal with its geo-strategic setting and the tumultuous regional environment is equally exposed to external threats as well. Similarly, it will also be shown that Nepal faces threats due to causes which are out of its control. In this context, the measure to be adopted both internally and through international cooperation will also be suggested.

#### 1.3 Research Questions

- i) What does small state mean?
- ii) How Nepal can cope up with the security threats (both internally and externally) in the changed domestic and international scenario?
- iii) What possible strategies should Nepal adopt to deal with security threats?

# 1.4 Objectives of the Study

- To introduce the fundamental characteristics of small states and analyse how Nepal fits into the picture.
- To illuminate the primary security threats, both internal and external, confronting Nepal in the changed domestic and international scenario.
- To explore the possible strategies Nepal can take to effectively deal with the security threats.

# 1.5 Significance of the Study

Given the paucity of scholarship regarding small states and its security, both within Nepal and at an international level, this thesis will help to undertake small steps to cover the research gap existing in the field. Likewise the analysis of the paper could also prove useful to students pursuing their research on small states, strategists from military and Armed Police Forces and policy makers alike to have a better understanding of the myriad implications emanating from the smallness of Nepal and how best to address it.

The research will be of special importance for academic audiences of diverse fields. While this is a small attempt to look at Nepal's security issues through qualitative methodology, it is also expected to contribute in mainstreaming Nepal's smallness as a special factor in understanding Nepal's security issues.

#### 1.6 Operational Definitions

# **Small state**

Small states have seven behavioral characteristics (East, 1973, p. 557). They include: low levels of overall participation in world affairs; high levels of activity in intergovernmental organizations (IGO's); high levels of support for international legal norms; avoidance to the use of force as a technique of statecraft; avoidance of

behavior and policies which tend to alienate the more powerful states in the system; a narrow functional and geographic range of concern in foreign policy activities; and frequent utilization of moral and normative positions on international issues. Small state exhibit above behavior patterns in her dealings with powerful states.

# **Security**

Security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and ability of state to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of threats they see as hostile.

# **Small state syndrome**

It refers to the composite behavior manifested in the actions of states which are perceived as being characterized by 'smallness' in the international system. As opposed to the view that small states fit into a rigid quantitative standards of smallness as defined by geography, population and economic strength, small state syndrome is a way of conceptualizing states as small on the basis of their behavioral traits measured by a range of indicators

# **Security Dilemma**

Security dilemma is an important paradox inherit in the state system. An aspect for the existence of states is to provide their citizens with security from internal and external threats, however the existence of these armed states threatens the very security they are expected to maintain.

#### **Security Threat**

It refers to the immediate and long term political, economic, social, environmental and other forms of threats and uncertainties associated with states in international relations.

#### **Alliance**

Alliance in international relations refers to treaty entered into by two or more states to engage in cooperative military action in specified circumstances.

#### **Balance of Power**

In IR, Balance of Power is a state of international distribution of power favoring the supporters of the status quo and thereby likely to deter any other state or alliance of states from attacking them.

# **Bandwagoning**

Bandwagoning refers to a situation where a state forms an alliance normally with the stronger power in hope that this would benefit its own national interests.

# **External challenges**

These refer to the set of challenges that emanate from outside the state, especially from alliances formed by other countries, or neighboring countries.

# **Internal challenges**

It refers to the set of homegrown security challenges emanating from within the state such as ethnic and civil wars.

#### **National Interests**

National Interests can be defined as the claims, objectives, goals, demands and interests which a nation always tries to preserve protect, defend and secure in relations with other countries.

#### **National Security**

The policies employed and the actions undertaken by a state to counter real or potent external or internal threats to ensure safety of its citizens.

# **Neutrality**

Neutrality describes the particular status, as defined by international law, of state not party to an armed conflict.

# 1.7 Organization of the Study

The research is categorised into following chapters:

**First chapter** is introductory part that encompasses the background of study, statement of problem, objective of study, significance of study, and organisation of study.

**Second chapter** has reviewed the literatures that consist of various aspects of security concerns of small state especially Nepal. The gap in literatures in present context are also explored in the chapter.

Third chapter has discussed the research methodology adapted by the researcher.

**Fourth chapter** has addressed the small state security concept and context.

**Fifth chapter** has elaborated why Nepal is a small state and discusses about the security threat that Nepal possesses because of its smallness.

**Sixth chapter** elaborates the strategies that Nepal could adopt to cope-up with the security threats.

**Final chapter** has presented findings and drawn conclusion from the analysis and interpretation.

#### **CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Many literatures have been published on the topic of Small states in international relation. Some of the available books, articles, journals and online materials related to the small states are reviewed. This research focuses primarily on Nepal's security challenges which arise simply because of Nepal being a small state. Ideas about traditional forms of security will be borrowed from the existing literature but the concept of security, which mostly concerns strategic security between states, will be enlarged to include other pertinent issues likely to cause direct human and physical harm which arise not just from the geopolitical environment, governmental decisions and military actions but from non-state actors like terrorist organizations, citizens and ethnic groups, foreign civilians including refugees, resource scarcity and natural disasters. There are a limited number of scholars who have worked on the issue of small state security, and the security of Nepal.

While small states used to band together with other states for their survival before the Second World War, after the end of world war many small states joined multilateral frameworks such as non-aligned movement (Fox, 1969, p.761). In all these activities there is a clearly discernible connection between the internal needs of the participants and their external relations. The danger that the United Nations would become increasingly a bystander at the important events in international relations is somewhat alleviated by the kinds of issues in which small states have always been interested, issues which are also of concern to the greater powers, though in lesser degree(Fox, 1969, pp.761-762). The capacity for the small states to speak up in the international system has grown remarkably since 1919, but the possibility of being heard has not increased at the same rate. Not only do the governments of the greater powers find it increasingly difficult to control their relations with the smaller

states, but the latter also add to their own problems by the magnitude, contradictions, and diffuseness of their demands. For the small states with few demands the changes in the last half -century have produced a system favorable to their interests, although, paradoxically, they did little to produce the changes (Fox, 1969, p.764). This article has elaborated the rising of small states in international politics for their benefits which was helpful for this research.

There were three principal motives at play behind the evolution, content and execution of Nepal's foreign policy. They were security, stability and status (Muni, 1973, p.34). Security was the major concern for Nepal because of its vulnerabilities arising from geographical location, smallness and economic backwardness. The foreign policy of Nepal has always been the strategy for country's defense, development and self-assertion as an independent sovereign nation.

Other scholars have highlighted the strategies of small states to achieve benefits or advantages from the strong and the larger nations, their expectation towards the larger nations. This book also explains the various theories regarding the international relations and the conflict management. The book also highlighted that the status of small states can be noticed in terms of their influence in the economic or political or in the strategic level (Beyer, 2006, p.232).

The international relations and security of small states after the post-cold war period which was marked by a new multi-dimensional strategic environment giving new focus to the new world (Thapa, 1997, p.iii). The book describes though the United States is the only superpower, the world is moving to multi polarity and interdependence where regional powers and international systems have an increasingly powerful role. In such an environment small states are finding themselves even more vulnerable. It analyzes the special characteristics of small states

and their vulnerability to both traditional and new forms of threats. It relates national interests with world order and makes an in depth study of the security systems of balance of power and collective security from the perspective of a small state.

Small states have also not been able to fully integrate into regional organizations. Some scholars have examined the political economic factors that have been impediments to economic integration in the south asian region. It looks at regional integration arrangements in other parts of the world to identify key lessons for South Asia. Further, it also examines the role of legal instruments entered in South and Southeast Asia in the area of trade and investment towards regional integration. This paper analyses the political economic factors and challenges affecting regional economic integration in South Asia. In the second part of the paper discusses the challenges in increasing integration in South Asia. Further, it also discusses the incentives and potential benefits of regional integration to the South Asian countries (Kher, 2012, pp.3-4).

One of the greatest barriers for the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has been recurring inter-state conflicts between member states, which have posed significant challenges (Ahmed, 2008). The article has tried to bring the debilitating effect of inter-state conflicts in South Asia on regional cooperation. Analyses has focused primarily on the negative association of interstate conflict and regionalism in South Asia, however this paper also discusses how other regional cooperation mechanisms in Europe and South East Asia have coped with such challenges to promote a vibrant regional identity (Ahmed, 2008, p.1). This article describes the regional cooperation, economic integration, sustainable peace and development at the regional level.

Globalization reduces government's role in the economy and increases economic interdependency among different nations. This interdependency could be beneficial particularly to the advanced countries, which have sufficient exportable capacities with comparatively low cost production techniques (Sharma, 2013, p.8). Globalization is not seemed to be an effective measure in the third world to address their fundamental economic challenges such as massive poverty, increasing unemployment, multidimensional human deprivations, starvations, inequality and environmental degradations. This article helped to understand the issues of globalization on small, developing and economically vulnerable state like Nepal.Thus, small states pose as well as receive numerous advantages and disadvantages as states in the international community.

The concept of human security, can address all types of non-traditional threats, so the human security is a holistic approach which has seven components of security; food security, economic security, health security, personal security, environment security, community security and political security (Upreti, Bhattarai &Wagle, 2013, p.3).

The notion of the threat of non-traditional security looms large in South Asia (Baral, 2006). Baral analyses the non-traditional security threats which is prevailing in South Asia since the end of cold-war. The analysis is generally of South Asia and particular attention has been given to Human security and militarization in Nepal, militarization and territorial security of Pakistan, Peace process in Sri Lanka and Human traffic in India's North-East states. The book highlights and pivots around three schools of thoughts. First, the 'realist school of thought' which alludes to power and defense capability as the source of security. It is the traditional approach to security that puts high premium role of the state. Second, the 'idealist school of

thought' that considers security under peace and other values concerning democracy and freedom. It is non-traditional approach. These threats may come from number of areas, including terrorism, organized crimes, drug trafficking, ethnic conflict, and a combination of rapid population growth, environmental decline and poverty. The third school is the extended version of non-traditional security and its focus is on 'Human Security' agenda. The focus of this school is on human development, encompassing on the economic, food, health, personal, community, environmental and political security.

Small states are almost naturally inclined to look for the protection and support of larger states, which can help to alleviate the negative consequences of their susceptibility. Being aware of the weakness and dependency of small states, these larger states are in a powerful bargaining position to demand whatever form of compensation in return for their support (Veenedaal, 2017, p.564). International solidarity entails that a client state is required to streamline its foreign policy and voting behavior with that of the patron state, and to sometimes openly declare its support of the patron. Illustrating the asymmetric nature of the patron-client relationship, whereas clients may at best be an asset to patron states, the support of a patron is often of crucial importance to the client state. Client states are both economically and militarily vulnerable, and the goals of the client therefore largely depend on an assessment of the main threats to its survival. In this sense, island microstates are obviously extremely vulnerable. Economic support, usually in the form of development aid, seems to be a more palpable contribution of patrons to their clients, especially in light of the observation that many microstates are crucially dependent on foreign investments and aid. In this sense, economic and financial support is the most obvious benefit that microstates can obtain if they are willing to

act as client states of larger powers (Veenedaal, 2017, pp. 566-567). This article has helped to set up a research framework to analyze the status of Nepal through a patronclient model in international relations.

Notwithstanding the current coldness in Nepal India relations brought about by the territorial dispute concerning Limpiyadhura, Lipulekh and Kalapani, Nepal has been given very important place in India's neighborhood policy under the dynamic stewardship of PM Modi, the reason being having strategic location between two Asian giants China and India and long porous border sharing with the latter. Thus, from a security point of view, it is imperative for India to give it an important place in its neighborhood policy (Singh, 2016, p.71). For the given bonds of civilizational and historical relations, India has been enjoying special relations with Nepal. However, the predecessors of incumbent government, have not given adequate space to Nepal. In order to rectify such diplomatic errors, the incumbent government has given it an important place in the Neighborhood First Policy, by paying special focus in terms of exchange of bilateral visits, extending soft credit line, heightening economic cooperation by providing help in the development of health, education, defense, and other infrastructural assistance. Nepal is holding paramount importance for India for its geostrategic and geopolitical interests. In this background, it is highly recommended that Indian policy should be very cautious, friendly, and calibrated visa-vis Himalayan kingdom. It is highly recommended that India should come out of big brotherly attitude, rather treating the smaller Himalayan state as equal partner (Singh, 2016, pp.72-73). The article as portrayed the current status-quo between the two states and the author has also recommended some measures to mitigate the issues between these two states.

Friction between India and China in the Himalayas had its impact on the Sino-Nepalese relations also. India, early in 1955, had coaxed Nepal into establishing relations with China only because it wanted to use Nepal as a scape-goat. But the development of friendly relations between Nepal and China went against the Indian plan. India had always been apprehensive of such a relationship developing between its two northern neighbors. As far back as 1954 India had attempted to expand the scope of Nepali-Indian co-operation on foreign policy by proposing that the two Governments co-ordinate their activities in matters relating to foreign policy and consult each other on Nepal's relations with China. This move had been rejected by Nepal (Ghori, 1964, p.381). Even now Nepal has no desire to be a party to the Sino-Indian dispute. It knows that its very existence depends on a policy of friendship with both its giant neighbors and avoiding any involvement in their disputes or differences. Balance of power has been an age-old concept in the policies of the Himalayan kingdom. Moreover, behind the Nepalese mind there is always the fear that India wants to use Nepal in its China policy. The policy of neutralism has been to Nepal's advantage. While it has given the Nepalese a sense of security in the power struggle, it has also made them fully aware of the political developments around them and they are developing a 'world consciousness' in conjunction with neutrality in Sino Indian affairs. China has looked favorably to Nepal's stand as an uncommitted, non-aligned neighbor in the Sino-Indian dispute. As a result of that not only did more economic aid and assistance flow to Nepal from China, but the two countries were also able to reach an agreement on the demarcation of their 500-mile long common border (Ghori, 1964, pp.381-382).

Although Nepal is small, it has its own strength and Nepal should be able to identify its potential to deal with major powers. Nepal's unalterable geographic

position does not necessarily have to be disadvantageous for Nepal, and the state needs to get over the syndromes of landlockedness and smallness (Vyas & Sangroula, 2014, p.262). The foreign policy of Nepal should be more offensive to adopt with changing situations and be more proactive to confront security challenges.

Most of the literature reviewed in this chapter have emphasized on the security of small states at the international and regional levels. But such literatures only provide conceptual understanding in Nepalese context. The literature which is written in Nepalese context also focuses on non-traditional aspects of security. However, none of the literature reviewed here talks about both the traditional and non-traditional security for a small state like Nepal. In addition, there were limited literatures available about concept of human security in Nepal. Literatures by Nepali scholars are highly influential by the explanation on Indian threats but threats from China is not regarded as a major concern which has even made it very hard to find literatures in that context.

#### **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

# i) Research Design:

The research has been designed based on descriptive approach. Qualitative research design has been adopted with special focus on the available literatures about the security interest of small states with primary focus on Nepal's security concerns. It is a secondary research carried out by gathering related information from books, government documents such as reports published by Institute of Foreign Affairs, articles and journals written in this issue.

#### ii) Nature and Sources of Data:

Except using government data (of about military and GDP/GNP) this study has mostly used secondary data i.e. national and internationally published books on Nepal's security, national and international journals, newspaper articles on strategy, foreign policy and defense, academic thesis that focus on security, and various forms of reports, etc..

# iii) Method:

Comparative, analytical, and argumentative method have been employed to analyze the relevant research literature. Literature that assume how the powerful factors including geography, political instability increase dependency of small states on powerful states for economic and security aspects, which later creates asymmetric dependence of small state on powerful states have been critically reviewed, and comparisons made to reach to a conclusion about Nepal's security. Similarly, argumentative method has been used to make a strong case that Nepal's security challenges deriving out of its smallness have been further compounded by its unique geostrategic location.

Theoretically, Asymmetric Dependence, Structural Scarcity Theory and Patron-Client Relations have been used to analyze and interpret the status of small states in the international system. Similarly, using the same tools, the research has tried to elaborate the position of Nepal as a small state and its relations and behavior with others.

Asymmetric dependence theory posits that interstate relations between some countries are characterized by unequal nature of interdependence, particularly in terms of economic interrelations. Such asymmetric dependence is often a characteristic of a small state in its trade, commerce, foreign aid, foreign direct investment and even military security dealings with other economically powerful and advanced countries (Dolan et al, 1982). Hence, the proposition of this theory can be applied to investigate the challenges on small state's security that are posed by their asymmetric dependence with powerful nations. In Nepal's case too, the theory can be used as a methodological tool to investigate the nature of our economic interdependence especially trade relations with our economically superior neighbors and other nations to deduce if there exists any asymmetry and to ascertain any possible geopolitical or other challenges such as threat to our political autonomy that emanate from asymmetrical relationship.

Patron client relation is another widely used method of analyzing interstate relations. Patron client relation is assumed to exist when one state (client) is heavily dependent on the other (patron) for military or security purpose where the nature of relationship is voluntary and continual. Generally, small states are described as being dependent on larger states for military and security, and the larger states are described as generating geopolitical leverage out of that relationship (Shoemaker & Spanier, 1984). The relationship between Nepal and India is not a patron-client relation but

India's mindset on micro managing the issues in Nepal are among the security threats for Nepal. In order to analyze security challenges of Nepal as a small state too, the patron client framework has been used as a methodological tool to investigate Nepal's relationship with its neighboring countries and other countries beyond the neighborhood.

By employing a descriptive research framework based on critical review and comparison of relevant texts and analysis of governmental reports to collect qualitative data and, by making use of the aforementioned theoretical frameworks to study Nepal's security status as a small state, the research aims to derive timely conclusions regarding Nepal's security, revisit and reassess popular understanding about Nepal's smallness and offer viable recommendations to further invigorate large scale research in this area in the near future.

# **CHAPTER 4: SMALL STATE SECURITY: CONCEPT AND CONTEXT**

At the beginning of the 21st century, the world is facing extraordinary challenges and at the same time extraordinary interconnectedness. Thus we are all vulnerable to new security threats, and to old threats that are evolving in more complex and unpredictable ways. Therefore time has come to take effective action to meet all of them on the basis of a shared commitment to collective security (Annan, 2004). The present day international politics is marred by security issues that defy individual government control, climate change, pandemics, migration, and terrorism which have called for new approaches to international security. States can no longer solve these issues on their own, so they must collaborate multilaterally and with the aid of intergovernmental agencies - both International Organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations to develop new forms of global governance. Theorists and policymakers have acknowledged that the very concept of security has changed and the traditional approach of security which referred to traditional military threats to the security of states and their national boundaries has been eclipsed by new more complex security threats. Barry Buzan in the 1980s introduced a more broadened definition of security to include five dimensions: military, political, economic, environmental and societal security. The terrorist attacks in the US on 9/11 which were closely followed by military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq have recently triggered a new debate about the sources of security and the different policy responses to them.

Transnational issues such as terrorism, organised crime, small arms and nuclear proliferation have become predominant security issues. The aforementioned text succinctly describes how the world is organized at present. It shows how old and new forms of threats have surfaced to frighten the security of states in the

international system. While this applies to all types of states, the ferocity with which such threats can hamper the security of small states is immense. Thus it is pertinent to study in detail about the security of small states. The concept of security can be best understood by first discussing the concept of power.

# 4.1 Concept of Power

Power is a relative term and is defined according to the international system. There exit different interpretations of the concept of power. Power is one of the key concepts in the field of international relations (Dahl, 1957, p.202). Power in relative context states, "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B do something that B would not otherwise do" (Dahl, 1957, p.202). In an anarchic environment of the international affairs, power is the means to influence over formally equal and independent actors in the international relations. The lack of a governing superstructure in the international arena makes power as the key driver of the international affairs. The early international relations scholars considered power as the key driver as wars occurred during different times of history are due to the fundamental shift in distribution of power. Although states are like units functionally, they differ vastly in their capabilities (Waltz, 1979, p.105) and the search for meaning of these capabilities is the power of the states.

After the Treaty of Westphalia, all states are equal and there is no world government, each and every state has to rely on own self for their survival. Realists assume that importance of power in international affairs is determined by the structure of the entire international system (Mearsheimer, 2001, p.101). Accumulation of power, therefore is the main aim of any independent actor in the international system for their survival. Power is an abstract concept. Hence accumulation of material and non-material resources are often equated with power.

The three major and most important types of power influencing the position of a state in international affairs, which are (a)Military power, (b)Economic power and (c)Power over opinion. He mentioned Military power as the only instrument by which the state can protect itself, Economic power serving as the basis and tool of mobilizing military power and the Power over opinion not less essential for political purposes than military and economic power, and has always been closely associated with them (Carr, 1980, p. 102).

Various resources present at hand of a state constitutes its national power. Geography. Natural Resources, Industrial Capacity, Military preparedness, Population, National Character, National Morale and Quality of diplomacy constitute National power. These different components develop capability of states to exert influence over other states which in return give certain status to states (Morgenthau, 1948, p. 81).

Soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies and when our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced. Soft power is not merely the same as influence as influence can also rest on the hard power of threats or payments. Soft power is more than just persuasion or the ability to move people by argument, though that is an important part of it and moreover it is also the ability to attract, and attraction often leads to acquiescence. Simply put, in behavioral terms soft power is attractive power. In terms of resources, soft-power resources are the assets that produce such attraction (Nye, 2004, p.8).

Strong does not mean big army or big economy but rather the influence they exert on others. In the most general sense, all states can be divided/ classified

according to the level of their influence over the other states and give a distinct identity to states in international political arena. The anarchic system and the unequal distribution of capabilities among states are forcing state to maximize their power in order to focus on their national security. Such structure has kept security and survival of small state under danger.

#### 4.2 Small State

For the definition of the developing small state, the quantitative criteria used so far have been population, size and gross national product (Katzenstein, 1985, p. 11). Some scholars define developing small states in terms of power rather than size (Handel, 1981, pp.10-11; Elman, 1995, p. 171). According to this conventional model generally assumes that developing small states are characterized by one or more of the following: (1) small land area, (2) small total population, (3) small total Gross National Product (GNP), and (4) a low level of military capabilities (East, 1973, p. 557). Even though, the term of the developing small state is rather old and established, there is a consensus on how to conceptualize it. In this context, Hakan Wiberg finds two types of definitions which are called absolute and relational, respectively.

"In first case, indicators of size are sought, such as population, area, Gross National Products, military capability, etc., and attempts are then made to correlate other variables with the size indicators. Relational definitions, on the other hand, are based on the underlying idea that the essence of 'smallness' is either lack of influence on the environment, or high sensitivity to the environment and lack of immunity against influences from it, or both" (Wiberg, 1987, p. 339).

There are various definitions of small states. Handel suggests "it is not the size of the state which matters but rather its relative strength" and uses the terms vulnerable and weak states. Al – Hameli (1989, p-2) defines a small state as a nation which can't wage total war in defense of her sovereignty because of weakness in any of the elements of national power; geography, population size, and economic strength eventhough other elements such as relative strength of neighbors, national will and strategic location determine the vulnerability of states.

"Small states are characterized by low levels of overall participation in world affairs, a narrow range of concerns in foreign policy activities, moral and normative positions on international issues" (East, 1973).

There are not any standard criteria to determine what constitutes a small state. Using Al- Hameli's (1989, p.3-4) analysis a small state is one with a population of less than 5 million, an area less than 10,000 sq. miles or per capita income of less than 500 dollars. Accordingly small states fall into 7 categories with the largest number falling into the category of small states because of small GNP. Perhaps for this reason, smallness of countries is associated with a "third world syndrome" meaning socioeconomic and political problems affecting defense capabilities. Traditionally small states are vulnerable because of geographic condition, small population or lack of economic strength and lack strategic depth and are vulnerable to surprise attack. Therefore, they need to maintain strong forces, but may be hindered to do so because of a small population and lack of resources. Geographical location also can make states vulnerable due to structural scarcity. Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Israel (Palestine), Nepal have been victims of their central geographical location. States not centrally located but of strategic importance and lightly defended can become a victim of "power vacuum." The Russian invasion of Afghanistan is an example of recent times. Landlocked states such as Nepal, Bolivia, and Botswana are

even more vulnerable to economic, political and military dominance by larger neighboring state as they have to be more dependent on them on matters of economic concerns like trade. Small states may also be vulnerable because of scarce resources such as water or oil which are high value assets in present day.

# 4.3 The Evolving Concept of the Small State

The UN convention acknowledges the sovereign equality of all states which portrays all states are equal no matter their capabilities. The concept of sovereignty and self-determination for small states has undergone an evolution over the period of several decades. Before World War I, any country weak and vulnerable was easy prey to an opportunistic large power. The Wilson Doctrine stressed the inherent right of all people to self-determination. This new concept gave support to the concept of a "small state" - a concept which had not seemed possible in the harsh climate prevailing in world politics. In the period immediately following the enunciation of this policy, there was still little change in the plight of small states. The introduction of the concept that a small state did deserve the right to exist independently, free from the bother of any larger country which meant; freedom was a right of every country, large or small, and it was no longer a privilege granted by a larger country to a smaller one, as and when it pleased to do so.

However, before this concept could be applied, the world was once again torn apart by the trauma and horrors of another World War and it took another great war to drum in the urgency of peace for all. After World War II, the period of decolonization together with the establishment of the United Nations allowed the concept of a small state to come to fruition at last. Large numbers of former colonies became independent, and the UN saw more and more nations of nominal size joining it for example, countries like Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Cambodia, Guyana and Singapore.

But the issue of independence did not stop just there. Although these states are all technically independent, that is, they all have a seat in the UN; sadly, many of them soon sank into the quagmire of internal revolt and foreign interference. Some quickly lost the independence they had yearned and worked so long for. Many grew disillusioned with independence as it turned out not to be the utopia they had hoped for and yet among this litany of sad tales, there were a few happier sparks to light up the scene. A few states did manage to maintain independence, economic growth and enhance security. What made the difference between the small states which sank and those which swam? Luck played a part, to some extent, but hard work and sensible policies were what really mattered (Wei, 1999, p.4).

Nepal's identification as a small state stems primarily from its geography. It lies between two giant neighbors, India and China. Therefore, it can be said that Nepal's image is shaped by these two big civilizations. The total land area of Nepal covers 147,181 sq. km. Likewise, the number of populations accounts 28,431,494 (2016 projected). Nepal ranks 93rd largest country in the world on the basis of land area (countries-of the-world.com). Nepal, however, is still identified as a small state because of its relative smaller size than those of India and China (Bhattarai, 2017, p. 1). Nepal's identity as a small state stems from the fact that Nepal is influenced in many ways by two of its giant neighbors. For a small South Asian country Nepal, sandwiched between two Asian giants, security remains a major concern. Nepal lies in a region of conflict and tension not only of nuclear and conventional war but also of internal strife and militant sub nationalism. There is a need, therefore, to analyze various security options for Nepal to meet the security challenges in the 21st century. This paper analyzes the approaches to security from the perspective of a small state. It attempts to discover viable security options for small state like Nepal.

#### CHAPTER 5: NEPAL AS A SMALL STATE

Several international institutional bodies have their own specific yardsticks to define the status of a state. Both the World Bank and the Commonwealth Secretariat use the 'population principle' to place states in different categories. The most widely employed strategy to classify states uses population, physical area, and economy to appraise the position of the state. While the aforementioned definitions are useful, they do not constitute standard scales of measurement and there is no generally accepted definition of 'small' states, therefore, 'the criterion or combination of criteria, chosen depends largely on the purpose for which the definition is to be used (Misra, 2003, p.3).

The relative position of Nepal lying between two geographically large nations is one of the factor of its smallness. Regionally Nepal can be considered small state as it is located between two major powers China and India. China's population is approximately 48 times bigger, GDP is 530 times bigger and defense budget is 770 times bigger to that of Nepal. India's population is approximately 46 times bigger, GDP is 107 times bigger and defense budget is 242 times bigger to that of Nepal (Adhikari, 2018, p.62).

Nepal is not only underdeveloped, but also extremely vulnerable to a host of agencies. The country's vulnerability is a direct result of its precarious cartography that perpetually undermines its autonomy. Further, Nepal's foreign policies of its two giant neighbours, China and India, and their impact on this Himalayan state play an important role (Dabhade& Pant, 2004). Nepal's landlocked status has contributed to its grinding poverty, backwardness and an ongoing violent civil war.

Small states are almost naturally inclined to look for the protection and support of larger states, which can help to alleviate the negative consequences of their

susceptibility. Being aware of the weakness and dependency of small states, these larger states are in a powerful bargaining position to demand whatever form of compensation in return for their support (Veenedaal, 2017, p.564).

Nepal is a state with low levels of overall participation in world affairs, narrow range of foreign policy activities and more reliant on others in matters of economy. Its geographical structure, landlockedness, etc. can be regarded as the structural scarcity of the state that has led to the asymmetric dependence of the state to others on economic and security aspects. Furthermore the nature of our economic interdependence with our economically superior neighbors and other nations have exposed weakness and limitations which can eventually create the patron-client relations with them. In order to analyze security challenges of Nepal as a small state too, the patron client framework elaborates Nepal's relationship with its neighboring countries and other countries beyond the neighborhood.

Similarly, Nepal's low level of influence in both regional and international forums, dwindling economy, instable politics and a range of other problems demand outside support and aid in most simple of issues, leading it to be largely dependent for survival. Such dependence can also be considered a benchmark for the "smallness" of Nepal.

It is pertinent to start with the sources of security and sources of threats while discussing about the security issues of Nepal as a small state.

# Sources of security and sources of threats for Nepal

| Sources of Security              | Sources of Threats                     |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Geo-strategic Location           | Open Borders                           |
| Neutrality                       | Trade Deficit                          |
| Non-Alignment                    | Geographic Location                    |
| Multilateralism                  | Dependency                             |
| Equidistance                     | Institutions(small)                    |
| Diplomacy                        | Political Instability(1950-2020)       |
| Norms( Nepal as a zone of Peace) | Micro-management                       |
| Transit Policy                   | Diplomacy(weak)                        |
| Vital Resources                  | Internal Cultural and ethnic Conflicts |
|                                  | Aid Dependency                         |

Security threats for Nepal are discussed further in detail below.

# 5.1 Security Threats for Nepal

Every state in the world faces some sort of security threats, Nepal is no exception. If we scrutinize and analyze we'll come across three major threats in the Nepalese context. The traditional security threat, non-traditional security threat, and the human security threats. If we analyze the prevailing situation, the locus of the conflict has shifted from the external to the internal spheres particularly in South Asia. Hence, the notion of non-traditional security and Human security which focuses on the condition of daily life of the people, close to non-traditional school of thought which advocates on the food, shelter, employment, health, public safety and human rights of the people marks significance in our context.

Foreign intervention, open international border, border encroachment, infiltration and fuel/energy crisis are identified as major security challenges for the country. Similarly, transition into new governance system, political instability and polarization, entrenched communalism and regionalism have been mentioned as internal security threat (National Security Policy, 2016).

The document further lists politicization of crime and criminalization of politics, white-collar crime, increased violence at community level, weak economy and dependency, separatist groups and their activities, as well as strategic interests of regional and global powers as security challenges, and outlines various strategies to address these challenges. The working policy section of the document states, 'National sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country shall not become a subject of discussion and compromise, and all forms of extremist and separatist tendencies will be discouraged'.

# **5.1.1** Traditional Security Threats

It would be tenable to identify some traditional security threats before delving into contemporary security threats. Wedged between China and India, Nepal has since its unification in 1769 followed a policy of neutrality and equi-proximity with her neighbours. Prithvi Narayan Shah, the founder of modern Nepal in his "DibyaUpadesh" has accepted Nepal as small state. This country is like a gourd between two rocks (Stiller, 1968, p.56). Adhering to this policy together with her military capability to withstand Chinese and British invasion, no colonial flag has ever flown over Nepal. It was in pursuance of this policy that King Birendra called for Nepal to be declared a "zone of peace" in 1975. The recognition of this declaration of zone of peace by 110 countries including the US and China, though significant, is immaterial without India's endorsement. No doubt, Nepal's relationship with India will remain a key element in determining Nepal's strategic options. Nepal's attempt to pursue a totally independent and neutral policy has been at odds with Delhi's perception of Nepal forming part of India's security framework. India claims a "special relationship" under the 1950 treaty and has tried to ensure that her "security concerns" are not compromised by Nepal's relationship with China. Another aspect of Indo-Nepal relationship is economic trade, transit and sharing of waters and for a landlocked country transit to the sea is a vital concern. The 1990 economic blockade of Nepal by India exposed not only this vulnerability of landlocked states, but also India's willingness to apply pressure (Thapa, 1997, pp. 19-20). Thus, traditionally the Nepali establishment put much emphasis on the foreign threats that were likely to erupt from its giant neighbours.

# **5.1.1.1 External Security Threats**

The international system of states gives an ambivalent place to small states. In analyzing the small states security mentality there should be a great emphasis given to the external factors (Vayrynen, 1997, p. 98). These external threats should be analyzed and digested in detail in order to reach accurate conclusions. These factors seem to influence the prospects for preserving the autonomy of the smaller state: the strategic significance of the small states geographic location to the great power, the degree of tension between great powers, the phase of power cycle in which the nearest leading great power finds itself, the history of relations between the small state and the nearest great power, the policy towards the small state of other, rivaling, great powers and the existence of intergovernmental institutions in the security field (Brezezinski, 1997, p. 79).

# 5.1.1.1 Threats within Neighborhood

## **Issues with India**

Nepal is an important neighbor of India and occupies special significance in its foreign policy because of the geographic, historical, cultural and economic linkages. Historical and geographical factors determine the relation between these countries than any other considerations. These two countries not only share an open border and

unhindered movement of people, but they also have close bonds through marriages, familial ties, cultural considerations, religious bonding and linguistics inheritance.

Apart from socio-cultural and religious connections, Nepal is of strategic importance for India for various reasons. Articulating India's strategic interests in Nepal, Jawaharlal Nehru in December 1950 said: "From time immemorial, the Himalayas have provided us with a magnificent frontier. We cannot allow that barrier to be penetrated because it is also the principal barrier to India." (Nayak, 2014, p.xi). There is an Indian suspicion that China is assisting and supporting Nepal on various aspect and Nepal may go beyond its circle of influence and this somehow shows the colonial mindset of India towards Nepal. But it's not an approach introduced by democratic India itself. Instead, it has a colonial legacy. With the treaty of Sugauli in 1816, the British East India Company restricted Nepal's strategic and economic relations with other European countries and the United States. But following the establishment of Communist China in 1949 and its incorporation of Tibet in 1951, New Delhi rejuvenated the colonizers' security doctrine for Nepal because it saw its neighbor in the northern Himalayas, bordering China, as part of its defense (Bhattarai, 2020).

Despite close ties there are numerous conflicting issues with Nepal and India throughout the history which will be dissected in the following sections.

# The Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 between Nepal and India

The 1950 treaty covers strategic, security, social and economic dimensions in Nepal– India relations. Nepal and India signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship on July 31, 1950. It was inked by Nepal's Prime Minister Mohan Shamsher Rana and India's ambassador to Nepal Chandreshwar Narayan Singh. The treaty provides for free movement of people and goods between the two countries and close cooperation

and collaboration on areas relating to defense and foreign affairs (Bhasin, 1970, p. 32). This treaty replaced the former treaty (Sugauli Treaty) and continue to exist till today.

There is a consensus in Nepal that the 1950 treaty is outdated and needs revision. The regional security situation has also changed. Nepal and India have both widened and deepened their relations with China in their own separate ways. At the same time, anxieties about Chinese behavior in the region continue to dominate India's strategic thinking. Nepal has gone through a major political transformation and it is passing through a difficult process of political transition. There is a need, therefore, to update the treaty to suit the current realities, remove the outdated provisions and include new provisions to address mutual concerns. There is a realization in Nepal that the need for revising the treaty is being increasingly acknowledged in India as well (Karki&Paudel, 2015, p.405).

The government of India and Nepal formed the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) to review all major treaties and agreements, including the Peace and friendship treaty of 1950. From Nepalese side the members includes former foreign minister Bekh Bahadur Thapa, former chief commissioner of the Commission for the Investigation and Abuse of Authority Surya Nath Upahadya, Former Constituent Assembly member Nilamber Acharya and lawmaker Rajan Bhattarai. India has Bhagat Singh Koshiyari, former Ambassador to Nepal Jayant Prasad, Professor BC Upreti and Professor Mahendra P Lama as EPG members. EPG members will focus on bilateral legal instruments like the 1950's Peace and Friendship Treaty, including on its abrogation, and offer suggestions to governments of the two countries.

## **Open Border and Border Encroachment**

The initiation of an 'open' border between India and Nepal can be traced in the Treaty of Peace and Friendship which the two countries signed in 1950s. Which allows the citizens of India and Nepal to cross their shared borders without passport and visa restrictions as social strengthening and relations.

Open border between Nepal and India is not only responsible in strengthening social relations and trade ties between two countries but can also attributed to various securities related issues and criminal activities. Because of the availability of the safe haven on the other side of the border, the criminals on both sides do not hesitate in carrying out dreadful acts.

There are 54 places and spots of encroachment, dispute, conflict, controversy and debate along Indo-Nepal borderline, especially in the plain of southern border of Nepal (Shrestha, 2003, p.2). There are frequent border disputes and debates in the borderline which are not yet demarcated and erected border pillars as well as local publics accusing Indian side for illegally placing border pillar inside the territory of Nepal.

The most recent disputes is over the map released by Indian government which includes Kalapani in the political map of India. A new political map released by India has sparked controversy in Nepal as it places Kalapani within its own territory. The Government of Nepal has objected to the inclusion of Kalapani within Indian territory, and rightly so. The Foreign Ministry said that the two countries had agreed to resolve border disputes through consultation between their respective foreign secretaries. India's latest step is clearly against the agreement and is a breach of good faith. But this is not the first time that encroachment at Lipulekh and Kalapani has been criticized. India wants to keep a close watch over Chinese movements on the

border, and Kalapani seems to be strategically the best point to do so. India had built check posts at 17 places within Nepali territory in the 1950s, all of which were removed in the 1970s except the one at Kalapani in the northwest. Its national mapping authority has been including Kalapani and areas south of Lipulekh Pass since then. But Nepal has firm proof to show that Lipulekh, Kalapani and Limpiyadhura belong to it. The maps published by the then British Survey of India in 1827 and 1856 clearly show how these areas have been accepted as part of Nepal. Limpiyadhura in the north-western corner of Nepal has been accepted as the origin of the Mahakali River as per Article 5 of the Sugauli Treaty of 1816(Rijal, 2019, p.2).

## **India's Involvement in Domestic Politics of Nepal**

After the independence of India in 1947, India has become a dominant influence in South Asia. Various forces in India has helped the prodemocracy forces of Nepal to launch political and armed insurrection to remove Rana regime. There has always been direct or indirect help from India in every political transformation of Nepal whether it be the democratic revolution of 1990 or the Maoist revolution for federal republic of 2006. There is a deep seeded suspicion in Nepal that India has an extraordinary influence on Nepalese politics. It has tremendous leverage over political forces to sway Nepalese politics in one direction or another (Karki&Paudel, 2015, p.404). Indian diplomatic officials have openly advocated for political influence in Nepal in past days. Jha (2018) wrote, "Nepali society—particularly the hill dominated Kathmandu bureaucracy, media, civil society institutions—is becoming more autonomous of Indian influence" demanding for stronger influence from Indian side.

# **Economic Issues**

Indo-Nepal trade has its own importance for the economic development of both these countries. Trade relation with India is rather crucial to Nepal particularly due to her landlocked geographic characteristics. Nepal's close links with the Indian market and dependence on India for transit routes has resulted in Nepal and India having a special trading relationship. This relationship has resulted in many advantages for Nepal but has constricted Nepal's ability to pursue an independent trade policy. India is the largest trading partner of Nepal. The trade deficit of the country with India reached Rs. 855.19 billion (Kafle, 2019, p.2). Economic issues with Nepal are correlated with security issues by India in many instances. India's policy towards Nepal is a package as a whole includes security and economic provisions (Murthy, 1999, p.1535).

Nepal is almost entirely dependent on its neighbor for trade, this is especially true for fuel, which is one of the most important commodities that any economy requires in large quantities. Economic means has always been used for political and security motive by India. The blockade of 1990 and 2015 are the proofs of such actions. The blockade of 2015 was the result of dissatisfaction of Indian government over the promulgation of new constitution of Nepal. Economic power has always been the hard tool when it comes to pursue the interest of powerful actors and small states like Nepal has always suffered the blow of it when it comes in confrontation with its large trading partner state like India.

As economic power cannot be in isolation with security, concerns of economic issues between Nepal and India are among the security threats of Nepal.

# **Issues with China**

China, the northern neighbor of Nepal has been involved in many infrastructure development of Nepal. Amidst the blockade of 2015, Nepali government tried its best to supply resources from China. Though the territorial disputes are very much lesser with China in comparisons with India, there are issues

China is concerned such as the use of Nepali land against the national interest of China.

Despite ethnical-cultural resemblances of the people of Upper Himalayan region in Nepal and Tibet, the interaction is limited due to the Himalayan segregation and is not as intense as Indo-Nepal interactions. As China seeks to translate its economic clout into major geopolitical advantage in Asia, Nepal makes it to its priority list. Of the four Ts that dominate China's global engagement -Tibet, Taiwan, Tiananmen and Trade; Nepal fits into China's strategic calculus due to its proximity to Tibet (Adhikari, 2016, p.89). The geographical location of Nepal is also important to China which has been emerging as a global power. As an emerging global power, China's interests appear to be not only to secure its borders but also to seek stable, cordial and friendly relations with its immediate neighbors. If a country which cannot secure stable relationships with its neighbors and maintain stability, it would be difficult for it to gain international status. China certainly has put geo-strategic importance on Nepal and that needs to be given ample considerations while Nepal pursues its strategic interests. Therefore, the geographical location of Nepal has had important interests to both neighbors and any problem that has emerged here is the matter of concerns for both of our neighboring countries and results in their serious concerns. Similarly, the US-India partnership to contain china and what role Nepal plays in these issues are also the concerns of China.

## **One China Policy and Tibet Issues**

Foreign Ministry of Nepal states, "Nepal is firmly committed to One China Policy and never allows its soil to be used for any inimical activities against China". With regard to the China-Nepal bilateral relations, there is an asymmetry in priority of issues in the Sino- Nepal relations with regard to Tibet. While Tibet is the centerpiece

of Chinese engagement in Nepal, Nepal has thoroughly adhered to the "one China" policy dismissing Tibet's claim to freedom with no assessment to domestic priorities. Despite sole adherence to the "One China policy" the frequent demonstrations by Tibetans, further shows why China has not been convinced by Nepal's verbal commitment (Adhikari, 2016, p.94). However, the issue of Tibetans in Nepal and their alleged protests against the China using Nepal's territory have always been a concern for Nepal.

#### **One Belt One Road Initiative**

Nepal's development efforts have been slow and inadequate due to political instability, lack of resources, difficult landscape and poor infrastructure. Land-lockedness and access to limited transit points has compelled the country to face trade and supply disturbances time to time. In this context, Nepal is hopeful to get significant benefit from OBOR initiative, as this might help improve the transport infrastructure and provide access to multiple transit points. Nepal has a history of being part of ancient silk routes. OBOR initiative is revival of this history. Nepal signed a preliminary agreement with China in December 2014 expressing its willingness to join the OBOR initiative and finally signed the memorandum of understanding in May 2017. Nepal is a founding member of China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which is a funding body of OBOR (Shrestha, 2017, p.8). Apart from the advantages of development, this might also grow the influence of China over Nepal, which should also be the concern for Nepal. Also, India and other major powers may also be concerned about the rising influence of china in Nepal as India is not willing to enroll in OBOR.

# **Increasing Involvement in Nepal**

China has scaled up its engagement in recent years and has also taken soft diplomatic measures, i.e. people-to-people contacts, cultural relations, scholarships for students, economic aids and spread of Chinese Confucianism by setting up Confucius Institutes in Nepal (Nayak, 2010, p.81). Moreover, China is planning major investments in Nepal. A dry port at Tatopani and the improvement of the current Ring Road (Eight-lane) has been done. China also plans to construct some flyovers in Kathmandu. Plans are also underway to construct a railway line from Lhasa to Kathmandu, which will reduce dependence on India. China has already helped build China-Nepal Boda Hospital, Civil Servants Hospital, several roads and instituted many Chinese study centers to promote Nepal China cultural interaction. Chinese investments follow a "no strings attached' model, due to which it has generated considerable goodwill in places like Africa. In Nepal too, the same pattern is followed which has helped to build a good public perception of China's role in Nepal (Adhikari, 2016, p.92). The concern for Nepal would be if China also tries to pursue the proactive role in Nepalese politics like India.

# **5.1.1.1.2** Threats beyond Neighborhood

# **European countries and Western Powers**

Powerful nations have many tools and strategies to control small nations.EU countries have unanimously used "vetting" as a tool to dominate Nepal where human rights track records are studied and are denied cross border travel. Security personnel of Nepal Police, Armed Police Force and Nepal army are all targeted by this softer weapon (Pokhrel, 2019).Apart from that, the INGOs supported by these states have been playing an influencing role in the policy making process of Nepal. Similarly the aids and economic helps from these states are also to pursue their self-interests.

Whatever the reasons for their economic support, Nepal should always make sure that it would not be against its national interests.

#### **United States of America**

Since 1950, US policy toward Nepal has been determined by Nepal's strategic location, containing the domino effect of Chinese communism in South Asia and the emergence of China and India as economic and military powers (Sangraula, 2018, p.17).

Involvement of US have been increasing in recent days. US has taken some significant steps such as enhancing its annual assistance to 80 million dollars, signing a Trade and investment Framework Agreement, withdrawing the travel advisory issued in January 2011, selecting Nepal for Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), reviving Peace Corps operation after nearly eight years, sanctioning 2 million dollars for new directorate in Nepal Army, and setting up a disaster management cell with support of Nepal Army and the US Pacific Command( Nayak 2014, p.121). The MCC has been highly criticized in Nepal for being against the interests of Nepal and argued as a tool for involvement in affairs of Nepal by some of the scholars of Nepal.

# **5.1.1.2 Internal Security Threats**

Growing threats to the national security of small democratizing nations by terrorist groups and political behavior have introduced a new dimension of transformation. Nepal's national security must be addressed as a conceptual framework and cannot be observed independently. It is related to the concept of national interest, power and stability. Senior political scientist David A Baldwin suggests that three themes emerged at the end of World War II—decline of military power in international politics, need to reexamine the concept of international relations and national security and need to view national security in broader terms.

This is also the post-Cold War period with the US as the only standing global power. Accordingly, Nepal's security perception differs from those of her bigger neighbors due to geo-political situation, military, society and economic strength. It cannot be denied that the 1996-2006 armed conflict led the country to a state of chaos, instability and violence (Basnyat, 2016, p.2).

## 5.1.1.2.1 Civil peace and order

Differing ideas and thoughts that emerge at certain point of social and political process should not be ignored if these intentions are for the overall wellbeing of the majority of the people. In every phase of socio-political change, people's aspirations of change for the better are included. So if their hopes are not fulfilled, a nation has to suffer as the seed of conflict takes roots. As a result, social co-existence and harmony decreases and there is a sense of insecurity putting a threat to national security as a whole. Some of the major factors which lead to decline social harmony are discussed here.

# Political Change of 2006 and Maoist in mainstream Politics

The Popular Movement of 2062/063 ended Monarchy System and new challenges emerged in the changed context. It was an important time for the leadership to be aware of the people's sentiment and the voice of the time and work for the benefit of the people. The aspirations of various groups – castes, sex, ethnicities, and regions – were multiple. But the political leaders were not able to please these multiple interests of the people. "Nepal, a semi-feudal society was in need of a grand reengineering of socio-economic structure in order to quench the thirst of huge bulk of poor people in the remote and rural areas" (Bhattrai, 2004, p. 2). On the contrary, most often there emerged intra-party and in-party conflict thereby spreading seeds of further conflict creating a fertile ground for an emergence of social

conflict. Maoist Party grabbed this opportunity to cash in on people's frustration. They declared that in order to make people 'relatively equal' in terms of their access to resources and to make people sovereign in real. In the years that followed, Maoists distributed hopes of separate autonomous provinces with political rights for separate ethnic groups. But when these promises were not fulfilled by the ultimate New Constitution, people became frustrated and were divided on the basis of race, region, gender and ideologies. This situation helped increase political division in Nepali society.

## Madhesh/Tharu Movement and Ethnic Division

After the Maoists signed a 2006 peace agreement with the Nepal government, high-ranking Madhesis and Tharus in the Maoist movement were pushed to the sidelines. This exposed the Maoist hypocrisy that its rhetoric of equality did not apply in their practice. In response, large numbers of supporters from the Terai broke away from the Maoists to start their own movements, with knowledge from indigenous social mobilization tactics gained from involvement in the Maoists. Hoping to dissociate themselves from this violent past, the three largest Madhesi organizations formed the United Democratic Madhesi Front (UDMF) in 2007, in order to unite Madhesi for the civic right.

The principal demand of UDMF has been for the 'liberation' of the entire Terai by redrawing the region into a single autonomous unit called Madhes that will have the right to self-determination under Nepal's yet to be finalized federal system. This demand is known in common parlance as 'One Madhes' in Nepal. The first postwar nationwide elections in Nepal were held in April 2008, and each of the organizations of the UDMF chose to participate with an election slogan of 'Ek Madhes, Ek Pradesh' (one Madhes, one state, collectively gaining 11.3% of the

nationwide vote and 81 of 601 seats. Other political promises made included greater representation in the political, bureaucratic, and military spheres, recognition of Nepali citizenship, recognition of Maithili as an official language of Nepal, and ending discrimination of Madhesis by Pahadis by evicting Pahadis from the Terai if necessary (Mikklian 2008, p. 5). The anti-Pahadi fire started by the UDMF in grassroots supporters has been reflected into action, resulting in calls for not only autonomy, but also secession and a Pahadi-free Terai. In response, ethnic cleansing of Pahadis by hardcore supporters has already begun in some parts of eastern Terai. The UDMF adds to the anger of the expectations of supporters by promising to fulfill a One Madhes demand that is increasingly unlikely. In turn, supporters promise to return to violence and fight for secession if the February 2008 agreement is not implemented 'line by line', with the One Madhesh promise top on the priority list. This helped to further widen the division between Hill and the Terai. As a result, people from certain ethnic group have begun to view other ethnic group with suspicion and antagonism. This is going to cause a great damage to social coexistence. Ethnic politics, which is associated with identity politics, whatever forms it takes, always carries with it a risk of violence. Such politics has "potential for creating communal strife," even though identity politics is generally the preserve of downtrodden members of society, who often use communal solidarity to push themselves out of the dregs. (Gyawali 2015).

The violent incident in Tikapur in Western Nepal in which thousands of Tharus – an often downtrodden and marginal community – brutally killed eight police officers with spears and homemade guns has brought ethnic politics to the forefront of Nepali politics. The protesters were demonstrating against a division of the country that fails to take ethnic considerations into account. In particular, they worried that the

Tharus would not be given their own autonomous province, but would be subsumed within two territorial entities delineated on the basis of geography.

Trans-nationality is one of the security concerns of Nepal. Terai-Madhesh' geographical linkage with India and its cross cultural practices make security more vulnerable. It creates a different kind of culture in border which center could not hold the communication space of trans-nationality. This communication gap helps to create the regional politics in Nepal's Terai-Madhesh region.

#### **5.1.1.2.2** Economic Threats

Being a land-locked and developing country Nepal is highly dependent to her neighbors and other nations for basic commodities. Lack of industries and infrastructures make Nepal dependable on others. Nepal has experienced three economic blockades of varying magnitudes from India within the period of almost three decades (Bhattarai, 2018, p.39). Corruption is also one of major economic threat the state faces. Economy is mostly dependent on the remittance and millions of Nepalese are working abroad. Lack of political stability and security has hindered the scope of foreign investment to create the employment opportunities and enhance the industrial and service sector industries. Lack of institutional framework to enhance the internal economy through selection of rewardable industries like hydropower, tourism, etc., Nepal has not been able to uphold the economic status. Unless the establishment of industrial sector to self-sustain and provide employment opportunities, economic factor will prevail as an internal security threat to Nepal.

# **5.1.1.2.3** Armed Groups and Organized Crimes

After the end of a decade long Maoist armed insurgency, there are still dissatisfied groups who are still in armed insurgency. Time and again they have carried out sabotage for their political gain and this pose a serious threats to national

security as existence of armed group not only disturb national political environment but also brings external interventions (Acharya, 2014, p.22).

Organized crime like hooliganism, drug and gold smuggling, human trafficking, abduction, etc. pose a serious security threat in Nepal. The weakening of state in the post-conflict period facilitated the emergence of new forms of crime and consequently system of violence. Whereas some of these groups are actually linked with some political parties and protected by them.

# **5.1.2** Non-Traditional Security Threats

Major transformations in areas of international politics have enlarged the scope of national security. In this changed context, how can national security interest of Nepal be defined and linked with the architecture of human security? National interest is defined by overall environment, policies and actions beneficial to all citizens. It stands above the interest of subsidiary caste, class, ethnic, territorial and economic interest groups. National interest establishes the inseparability of policy and national security, the importance of territorial integrity and freedom of the state.

Normally, national security measures "the absence of threats to acquired values" and "absence of fear that such values will be attacked" (Wolfers, 1981, p. 150). Similarly, national interest can also be judged along time dimensions. This makes certain national interest variable, less permanent factor as vital interest at one time becomes survival at another time, major interest at another time and peripheral still another time. There is a correlation between national interest and national security. Security of Nepal means security of its people, space, values, resources and identity and realization of the objective and subjective rights of state and citizens so that they live in reasonable harmony and peaceful coexistence with other peoples and states. Nepal cannot be separated from the Nepalese people, land, tradition, issues and

symbols though territorial organization of modern social life has been stretched to regional and global communication and transnational movements of both positive and negative factors have made common cause with local actors (Dahal, 2011, pp. 33-34). The non-traditional security threats of Nepal are further discussed below:

## **5.1.2.1 Terrorism**

Global terrorism continues to pose a serious threat to global as well as domestic peace and stability. Therefore, combating terrorism is high on the agenda to almost all the governments of the world. Terrorists today are no more confined to a single state rather they operate globally today. They also maintain a very wide and complex linkage. Latest technology and internet communication has enabled them to operate with reasonable ease. Combating terrorism therefore, can no longer remain as an isolated program for a single nation. It requires a well-coordinated and concerned international plan and response. Because of its complexity it needs a clear and comprehensive policy to combat terrorism. In order to combat it effectively it will require clear understanding of the problem at all levels, a robust response by all the agencies simultaneously. Combating terrorism is certainly not a police job alone. The entire world community along with all its national resources is required to be utilized for combating terrorism.

After 9/11 attack, US defined terrorism as Global war on Terror, global security paradigm and concepts have changed. A state's principal threat may no longer be another state, but rather shadowy sub-state or even trans-state-networks of individuals, weapon and financing. According to the global terrorist index 2015, terrorist activities are increased by 80% in 2014 as 18111 deaths in 2013, 32685 in 2014, 40% of 162 countries experienced terrorism related death. Boko Haram of Nigeria is in top killing 6644 which is followed by ISIS with 6073 in 2014. ISIS has

claimed attempting 18 attacks within last year including recent Dhaka Café attack killing more than 20. We now witnessed shift from ideologically sponsored terrorism to religious extremists sponsored terrorism like Al-Queda, ISIS, Taliban, Bokoharam, Alshaba, Laska-re-Toyeba. The Paris attack, Beruit bombing, Mali attack and Russian plane crash are the major incidents by ISIS.

Nepal has not experienced global and regional terrorism but being in geostrategic location, there might be any threat of terrorist activities in future. Terrorist group active in India and Pakistan like Laska-re-Toyeba and Jai-se Mohammad might act as a playground due to porous open border with India. They can conduct serious trans-border and organized crimes like drugs trafficking, fake currency and money laundering, which pose a serious security threats to Nepal as well as to the whole world. Nepalese were also been victimized outside the country, 12 Nepali killed in Iraq to Kabul attack killing same number in 20 June, 2016.After mainstreaming of CPN (Maoist) into the Nepalese politics, Nepal is one of the peaceful countries in South Asia in terms of terrorist related activities. Although, Nepal is in impact of terrorism due to several matters.

## **5.1.2.2** Ethnic conflicts

The instability caused by internal conflict and armed struggles that espouse a variety of causes; self-determination, elimination of class exploitation and discrimination on the basis of caste and ethnicity. During the current decade Nepal has experienced a complex political change process accompanied by disharmony, communal tension, and social mistrust. The strategy of the Communist Party of Nepal Maoist to garner support of ethnic communities, and their tactics to mobilize youth for electoral and political gain, were the main reasons for advancement of exclusive ethnic and societal militarism in Nepal.

A sociological perspective complements the conflict management perspective as it focuses on understanding the social relations that frame relationships among parties in conflict. However, these different approaches for dealing with conflict are little acknowledged in Nepal because political decision makers are more strongly influenced by the analysis of ethno-political ideology tend to be guided by certain personal/communal interests, and they are lacking comprehensive understanding of the complex social composition and plurality of Nepalese Society. The main pillars of Nepalese Society are ethnicity, caste, language, religion, and class. During the period of armed insurrection, especially after the failure of 2001 peace talks, the CPN-M developed and implemented a policy of ethnic states like Limbuwan, Kirat, Tamsaling, Newa, Tamuwan, Magrat, Tharuwan and three other states Madhesh, Seti -Mahakali, Bheri - Karnali as autonomous region (Dahal 1995; Pradhan 2003).

The new constitution, because of its failure to include the demands of the Madhesis, indigenous nationalities, Tharus, Muslims and Dalits, have not generated the expected results. So Nepal is currently facing a grave crisis, there is a shortage of many essential goods including petroleum products and medicine causing a humanitarian crisis. Aftermath of the blockade of 2015, an unusual increase in anti-Indian and anti-Madhesi sentiments among the hill people, stoked by high-pitched political propaganda.

# 5.1.2.3 Human Trafficking

Nepal is a source country for men, women and children who are subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking. In addition, trafficking takes place for the purpose of organ transplant to India and Korea and Hong Kong for the purpose of marriage. Nepali migrants are smuggled to develop countries which latter turns to be trafficking. Each type and form of trafficking has age and gender dimension among which

children are victims of trafficking both internal as well as cross-border for sexual and labor exploitation and other purposes. Based on the report of Maiti Nepal, Trafficking of Nepalese minor girls to Gulf Countries and to Lhasa, Tibet has been increasing in the recent times. Women are victims of trafficking in all three types of trafficking, especially for the purpose of sexual exploitation. They are subjected to sex trafficking in Nepal, India, the Middle East and Asian countries including Malaysia, Hong- Kong and South Korea. Trafficking and all the cases were related to sexual exploitation while none of the cases was reported as trafficking for marriage, labor exploitation and trafficking of persons for removal of kidney and other purposes. Comparing the characteristics of trafficking survivors and accused persons it appears that the root causes of vulnerability of Trafficking – disadvantaged status, poverty, illiteracy - are also the root causes of committing the crime of trafficking in Nepal.

Studies on trafficking of human organs have not been carried out in Nepal, and hence it is difficult to know the magnitude of the problem in the country. Sources said that trafficking is managed by criminal racket- extending its network from villages to Kathmandu and Kathmandu to Indian cities. Media has widely reported that Nepali people are smuggled to developed countries but there are no studies to understand the dynamics of smuggling of migrants and smuggling turned to be trafficking in Nepal. Despite this, major sources of smuggling of Nepali migrants may be Consultancy among of Education, Labor Recruiting Agencies, Travel Agencies and Nepali people residing in the destination Country.

# **5.1.2.4 Refugee**

The global refugee crisis affects almost every country in the world. Among this Nepal is also one of the refugees hosting country in the world. Refugees are not born but created by the unfavorable conditions created by states, individuals and groups. The issue of human rights and the problems of refugees are interlinked. The vast majority of refugees are driven from their homes by human rights abuses and furthermore Persecution, torture, killings and the reprehensible practice of 'ethnic cleansing' generate huge flow of refugees. The Nepali-speaking Southern Bhutanese refugees were driven off from their homes by the Bhutanese government since 1990.

In the late 1980s, the Royal Government of Bhutan became increasingly concerned by the large increase of the Lhotshampa population in southern Bhutan. Political agitation in the Lhotshampa community led to the imposition of "one nation one people" policies which further antagonized the Lhotshampas, generating antigovernment protests and violent opposition. The government's efforts to impose a single national culture and language and to restrict citizenship led to a further rise in tensions and the eventual displacement of over 100,000 ethnic Nepalese from Bhutan to Nepal between 1988 and 1993. An estimated of 108,000 Bhutanese Refugees had resided in seven camps in eastern Nepal: Beldangi-I, Beldangi-II, Beldangi-II Extension, Sanischare, Goldhap, Timai and Khudunabari but currently after third country resettlement program, nearly 1,00,000 refugees settled into US, Canada, Australia and Europe countries, only Beldangi and Sanischare have remained ( UNHCR, 2005). Refugee problem in Nepal posing internal as well as national security because refugees are heavily dependent on forest resources for their daily lives and Bhutanese refugee problem interlinks the relation between Nepal, India and Bhutan.

## 5.1.2.5 Trans- border crimes

Trans-border crime is defined as the illegal activities in the border areas. However, "trans-border crime" represent a number of illegal and notorious activities carried out by individuals and groups across national and international borders, either for financial or economic benefits and also sociopolitical cum religious considerations (Ering, O.S, 2011,p.74).

In 2000, the UN in its convention against transnational organized crime defined transnational crime even more broadly to encompass any criminal activity that is conducted in more than one state, planned in one state but prepared in another, or committed in one state where there is spillover effects into neighboring jurisdictions (United Nations, 2000). When governments and international organizations refer to transnational crime, they most often mean transnational organized crime.

The socio-economic relation and interdependency of people living at the Nepal-India border areas has strengthened bilateral relation. However, from security point of view, criminal activities are increasing because of the open border policy and business of illegal arms has also encouraged cross border crimes. Taking advantage of open border, armed groups are infiltrated into Nepal and even criminals can move across the border without any difficulty. Though there is a provision of keeping record of the people crossing the border and checking their identity cards at the check post installed at the border, it still lacks effective implementation Ministry of Home Affairs has identified 17 types of crimes committed on its border with India in cross-border control action plan 2013. Some of the crimes including smuggling of drugs and small arms, money laundering, robbery abduction, extortion and homicide. The crimes with involvement of international gangsters are mostly related to fake currency and terrorist acts, on which India has great security concern and blaming Nepal as a playground.

#### **5.1.2.6** Natural disaster

Among the major challenges associated with small states, proneness and vulnerabilities associated with natural disasters are really a cause for concern.

According to UNDP "Disaster is a serious disruption of the functioning of a society, causing widespread human, material or environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected society to cope using only its own resources". The Natural Calamity (Relief) Act 1982, is the first Act that recognizes earthquake, fire, storm, flood, landslide, heavy rain fall, drought, famine and epidemics as disasters in Nepal.

Nepal is situated in one of the most fragile eco-regions of the world and is prone to natural and human induced disasters. The country is highly prone to natural hazards such as floods, landslide, fires and extreme weather events, including thunderstorms, epidemics, cold waves, GLOF and earthquakes. With recent, devastating Gorkha earthquake killed nearly 9000 people, hundreds and thousands were injured, 6, 00,000 houses are fully damaged while 2, 85,000 houses are partially damaged with total cost \$7 billion estimated by PDNA (Post Disaster Need Assessment). Also, deadly avalanches in the Annapurna region, Sindhupalchowk landslide and annual floods impacting thousands in the terai, so it is easy to understand why Nepal is considered as one of the most vulnerable countries of the world to natural disasters. Moreover, daily road accidents lead to numerous deaths every year.

With such a diverse landscape, ranging from the massive Himalayan range to the fertile terai region, the people of Nepal face a variety of life-threatening hazards. Classified as a global 'hotspot' (World Bank, 2005), Nepal is vulnerable to multiple natural disasters each year resulting in the loss of lives and fragile livelihoods (MoHA, 2009). These disasters include earthquake, flood, landslide, windstorm,

hailstorms, fire, GLOFs and avalanches. In terms of relative's vulnerability, Nepal has been ranked as the 11th most at risk country in the world to earthquake and 30<sup>th</sup> most at-risk to floods and landslides (UNDP, BCPR, 2004). This vulnerability to natural disasters results in preventable deaths and injuries and puts development at risk.

Disaster risk and vulnerability has increased due to security issues and decreased livelihood opportunities, migration, displacement, limited access to and weak flow of information to the population displaced internally due to more than a decade-long conflict in the country (NSDRM, 2009). The data from NEOC, MOHA shows that how the people's lives and property has been lost due to different kinds of natural and manmade disasters in Nepal. Hence, natural disasters pose grave security challenges to Nepal.

# **5.1.3** Human security

Human security consists of two complementary elements: "freedom from fear" (e.g. threats from war, conflict and state sponsored violence) and "freedom from want" (e.g. preventable diseases, economic hardship, poverty, developmental concerns) (UNDP 1994, p. 24).

As UNDP, Human Development Report 1994 evolved the concept of Human Security with the broader concept of comprehensive security approach, which comprises following aspects of security:

- Economic Security: accesses to income above poverty level.
- Food Security: access to adequate food.
- Health Security: access to health care and disease prevention.
- Environmental Security: freedom from environmental hazards such as resource depletion.

- Personal Security: physical safety from violence such as war, torture and violent crime.
- Community Security: protection of traditional cultures indigenous groups.
- Political Security: freedom of oppression and the presence of political and cultural rights.

As one of the economically poorest nations in the world, Nepal is plagued by poverty and resulting low education and health indicators. As a consequence of this poverty, many people living in Nepal experience human insecurity in their daily lives, with little hope of bettering their situation. . In a country like Nepal, which suffers from widespread poverty and few effective official social protection mechanisms, food security is a particularly important issue. Whilst the Government of Nepal has ratified several key international agreements pertaining to people's right to food, the problems and inequities arising from Nepal's political, economic and social context prevent these agreements from being effectively implemented. This situation is unfortunate as Nepal is primarily food deficit, with only the Tarai region producing a surplus. In addition to the geographic dimension of imbalanced food access and security, other discriminatory divisions within the country such as gender and caste play a role. Inadequate access to food has led many Nepali people to migrate in search of better opportunities, creating further insecurity in many cases (Carlton, 2013, p.283). In the changing domestic and global context, such as increasing dependency on healthcare services as the population ages, mutating and drug-resistant disease strains and bio-terrorism, pose additional threats to Nepal's health sector. In order to react appropriately to these new

challenges, as well as address existing problems including the outbreak of epidemics and pandemics, health sector reform is necessary. Political security is determined by an individual's ability to exercise his/ her human rights without fear and is thus one of the most fundamental components of human security. Particularly the decade-long Maoist insurgency and its legacy determine the contemporary political security situation in Nepal.

The major human security concerns of Nepal - poverty, social protection, food, health, migration, climate change, environment and politics - both shape, and are shaped by the country's present-day context. One of the principal contextual influences on human security in Nepal is the deep-rooted social hierarchy resulting from traditional caste, ethnic and gender divisions which favor certain groups above others. This social system inhibits democratic ideals of equality from being wholly translated into reality. In addition to socially constructed divisions, discrepancies also exist between the country's rural and urban populations, with greater wealth and opportunity available for the urban-dwelling minority. Nepal's many social divisions affect development and human security, with certain people prevented from accessing the political or economic means to implement change and improve their human security situation (Carlton, 2013, p.285).

These aspects of Human security are to be addressed by Nepal by initiating appropriate measures for the wellbeing of its people.

#### **CHAPTER 6**

#### STRATEGIES TO COPE-UP WITH THREATS

Although small states share certain characteristics, each state has its own special strategic environment and must also approach security from the perspective of their historical setting, national interests and concerns. Nepal's security options can be analyzed by Nepal's special condition in the light of the various security systems of balance of power and collective security.

Historians have praised the steps and policy options taken by Nepal during history for protecting its independence and sovereignty (Rose & Dial, 1969, p.3). Nepal began the diversification of its foreign policy after Mahendra became the new King in 1955 (Simkhada, 2014, p.49). In the year 1955 alone, Nepal got the membership of United Nations, jointly laid the foundations of Non-Aligned Movement and had diplomatic relations with China. Decolonization and democratic wave in the world politics after the end of World War II and the establishment of United Nations created the favorable international system for Nepal to expand its external relations. Nepal's policy of "Principal of Panchasheel" approved by both India and China created regional environment for diversification.

King Birendra called for Nepal to be declared a "zone of peace" in 1975 and the recognition of this declaration by 110 countries including the US and China, though significant, is immaterial without India's endorsement. It's obvious that Nepal's relationship with India will remain a key element in determining Nepal's strategic options. Nepal's attempt to pursue a totally independent and neutral policy has been at odds with Delhi's perception of Nepal forming part of India's security framework as India claims a "special relationship" under the 1950 treaty and has tried

to ensure that her "security concerns" are not compromised by Nepal's relationship with China.

Some major strategies that Nepal can adopt to cope-up with its security are discussed below.

# 6.1 Multidimensional Approach: Vision for the Future

The current strategic environment of the world politics is interdependent, multipolar, rapidly, hence, it would be prudent not to rely on just one system of security but to adopt a multi-tiered flexible security in depth option. Nepal's traditional "zone of peace", and "equi-proximity" policy, therefore, needs to be augmented with a credible deterrence of self-reliance and Nepal must equally pursue sub-regional cooperation for economic development. The secure future for Nepal lies in Asia Pacific for both economic and security concerns. However, Nepal must also continue to have faith in the UN system, which has the legal authority for maintaining peace and stability. So how can all these options be linked? The answer could lie in an institutionalized system interlinking the UN, the region, sub-region and nation states. The Asia Pacific region could work in close cooperation with the UN in addressing the "comprehensive security" of the region. Similarly, the sub-region should interact with the region and nation in accordance with clear charters qualifying these relationships. The Marxist principle of "to each according to his needs" could be applied to determine the defense needs of each state. International and regional defense regimes could in the future help in arms control and limit size of armed forces to ensure security for the "parts and the whole" (Thapa, 1997,p.25).

Nepal should revitalize its regional and global domain. Regional platforms like SAARC, BIMSTEC and SCO should be highly exploited. Nepal Army and other security institutions have maintained their presence with continuous contribution in

UNPKO (Upadhaya, 2011, p.236). The participation of Nepal in UNPKO spans over the period of over half a century and presently Nepal is the fourth largest troop contributor in UN peacekeeping. Continuation of this would be a leverage for Nepal to show its presence in world politics.

Nepal needs to focus on addressing respective security concerns of both China and India through trilateral security cooperation (Karki&Paudel, 2015, p. 407). Although Nepal conducts bilateral security meetings with India and China respectively, it would be wise to bring both the countries together in one forum to discuss security concerns which could help to minimize the common threat perception of the states.

# 6.2 Neutrality, Diversification and pragmatism of Foreign Policy Neutrality

Nepal being a small state will not benefit from engaging in power game and it would be in its best option to adopt the policy of neutrality and non-alignment showing adherence to the principal of Panchasheel. Non alignment and neutrality should be according to the priority and foreign policy bases be established (Khatri, 2019). The main advantage of Neutrality is political independence but it should be recognized by neighboring powers. Sweden and Switzerland remained neutral by maintaining strong defense capabilities. For a country like Nepal which is positioned between two giant neighbors, remaining neutral may be one viable option. Needless to say, neutrality is a strategy for small states like Nepal to cope with anarchic international system. Nepal needs to send a clear message to the international community that our neutrality is not that of hiding but of binding and based on Nepal's adherence to world peace, international law and UN Charter (Bhattarai, 2018).

# **Diversification of policy**

Pragmatic policies like Zone of Peace proposal, encompassing the value of neutrality was a failure because of wrong timing and procedure. The proposal of Zone of Peace was against the common strategic perception of both India and Nepal, and was directed at dissociating Nepal from Indian Security perception (Thapaliya, 1995, p.73). Consultation with experts, good homework and involvement of oppositions make policy pragmatic and realistic. Pro-active diplomacy with two immediate neighbors regarding their concerns on security and economic aspects can enhance the position of Nepal on pursuing national interests.

# 6.3 Political Consensus in Foreign Policy and Managing Internal Socio-Cultural Diversity

The political parties of Nepal are hardly in agreement with each other on policy making issues because of their ideological differences. But it is essential to have a minimum consensus over the priorities regarding national interest and foreign policy issues so as to formulate policies safeguarding the national interests of Nepal. Foreign policy decision should be taken only after rigorous dialogue with major political parties and it should carry a uniform theme (Thapa, 2012, p.64). Foreign policies must be coherent, comprehensive and very smart and the diplomats assigned are to be of highest standards.

Internal socio-cultural solidarity promotes social harmony and further enhances national unity. The constitution of Nepal has protected Nepal's multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-linguistic and multi religious identity under the secular framework. Any provocation against the religious sentiments and identity can pose serious threats to national integrity and security, hence to national interests. Federalism, Inclusive practices in government services will not only address the

diversity but also enhances unity thereby promoting national security (Uprety, 2011, p.114). With the practice of secularism, federalism and inclusion, government should always be cautious to reexamine its real practice so that no group is left out or over represented which can affect national harmony.

### 6.4 Self-Reliance

Self-reliance option can be adopted in the fields of economy, diplomacy and military. To survive in the "anarchic world" states must ensure their own security by protecting no their vital interest against external and internal threats (Brown, 1992, p.57). This is especially so for small states. Apart from the diplomatic approach of the zone of peace, Nepal should also augment its defense potentials by a policy of deterrence based on self-reliance. For this purpose Nepal needs to maximize its instruments of power, especially its geographical conditions and people. The successful approach under this option would be to maximize human resource for military purpose. Conscription is one option like Switzerland and Israel; it helps deploy large force with less economic burden and helps national cohesiveness. This approach would meet Nepal's interest of maintaining national identity and internal harmony.

Furthermore Nepal could adopt economic policies like concentrating on specific areas for economic development like Iceland is utilizing its resources in medical research and Finland and Singapore in IT. Active diplomatic practice inspiring cooperation in the region, role of honest broker, etc. can enhance soft power, hence strengthen self-reliance.

#### **Alliance**

Alliance between weak state and powerful state is considered as necessity not preference. The major advantage of alliance option is that it increases the power of nations by balancing the adversary or deterring the threat. But conversely, the decisions can sometimes affect internal policies. An alliance is another approach that Nepal could adopt as a security option. An alliance with India could benefit Nepal economically and perhaps militarily, but this could mean some loss of national identity and political independence as dependence with India is asymmetric. This would also be a departure from Nepal's traditional posture. However, China could feel vulnerable at its underbelly Tibet and adopt a threatening posture, despite China's improving relations with India.

Alliance with other small states for common goal like economic development, environmental issues, climate change and other issues of concern of present world can enhance the role of small state like Nepal in the world politics.

# 6.5 Decreasing Dependence on India and getting attached to global value chain

Nepal should develop strategy to decrease dependence with India in all sectors and project itself as a proactive actor (Khatri, 2001, p.31). As Nepal is highly dependent on India because of its geographical proximity and landlockedness, measures to decrease dependency should be searched. Trading with China is difficult because of lack of infrastructures and geographical difficulties. Hence Nepal should focus on developing infrastructures like roads, railways, and airports to link with China as well as globally to enhance its economic strength and decrease dependence on India.

Attracting foreign investments in different sectors will enhance the economy as well as give employment opportunities and help Nepal to go global. Adapting the policy of economic diplomacy, economic relations can be developed beyond neighborhood. Nepal has not yet sought the advantages of being member of international organizations, hence it should focus on playing proactive role in order to pursue its economic as well as political interest.

## 6.6 Strengthening Government Institutions and proficient Intelligence Service

For small states, the best option is to be proactive with their diplomatic skills and soft power. For small states the most potent instrument of exercising international relations is diplomacy (Vyas &Sangroula, 2014, p.261). In order to enhance diplomacy government institutions should be strong and apart from political influence. Co-ordination and cooperation between ministry of foreign affairs and ministry of finance, trade, defense, commerce, tourism, and labor would only enable to pursue effective policies. Corruption free institutions are a must need. Military diplomacy through the participation in UNPKO needs to be fully exploited for national interest.

Intelligence constitutes an important aspect of national security strategy and can play an instrumental role in analysis of threats and challenges to national security. For many reasons, Nepal has not yet developed its intelligence mechanism anything comparable to the capability of neighboring countries (Shah, 2011, p.239). Intelligence agencies have been left neglected in Nepal. It is often criticized for its non-transparent recruitment methods and political interventions. Bringing National Investigating Department (NID) under prime minister's office is a welcome move. Apart from this NID should work with close collaboration with Directorate of

Military intelligence (DMI) of Nepal Army and intelligence of Nepal Police and Armed Police Force. There is a need to develop a capable, modern, and efficient intelligence service suited to the needs of national security (Acharya, 2014, p.29.).It should also develop capability to undertake counter-intelligence capabilities against any potential national security threats.

## 6.7 Regional Collective Security and Collective Security under UN

Regional collective security could be a viable option for Nepal. Though SAARC is not a collective security arrangement, as SAARC countries become interconnected, interdependent and prosperous, a sense of security will develop, hence, SAARC could then be a forum for discussing collective security issues within the region. Though China supports South Asian cooperation (Singh, 1994, p.78), a collective security arrangement of just the SAARC countries would be too narrow and China could perceive it as an alliance against her. Therefore, for any effective collective security system will need to look beyond South Asia to encompass China and other Asian countries. A broader Asian collective security system could be a more viable future option for Nepal in the issues of security concerns. "The Asia Regional Forum remains a useful forum for cooperative security" but has limitations (Cronin &Metzgar, 1996) as it does not include all Asia Pacific countries. A formal Asia-Pacific region collective security and economic block, would greatly enhance regional cooperation and security while maintaining close ties with other Asia-Pacific powers such as the US. Such a regional bloc could work in close cooperation under the United Nation charter (perhaps in conjunction with RSC) to resolve all security and other issues within the region. The disadvantage of such a diverse and monolith bloc could be the inability to reach consensus, however, arrangements could be made to

discuss issues at sub- regional groups. Membership could also be a problem and there would be a need for all South Asian countries to join (Thapa, 1997, p.23).

Collective security is the strategy for maintaining international peace and stability. Security analysts consider it better than balance of power. As the UN has the primary role of maintaining peace and security, collective security under the UN could be an option for Nepal. Nepal has always supported the UN and believes in its collective security and principles of the charter. Nepal believes in the legitimacy of the UN as the guarantor of the rule of law. Nepal has contributed immensely to peacekeeping and enforcement operations and has volunteered a stand-by force for the UN. Nepal has contributed more than 100,000 peacekeepers to date and it the fourth largest troops contributing country contributing 5102 peacekeepers worldwide. Collective security of the UN has many advantages and after the cold war it has resolved many internal conflicts as well as naked aggression. However, the disadvantage of relying completely in the UN for security is that the UN may not be able to act effectively in all cases. For instance, in the case of Nepal the UN would find it difficult to use force against one of her neighbor because of their large size and China's membership in the Security Council. Nepal must, however, support not only the UN, but also develop links with all international agencies to maintain her national identity (Thapa, 1997, p.24). Nepal must develop links with most international agencies to maintain its national identity.

## **6.8** Rationalizing Economic Diplomacy

Economically weak nation cannot have sound foreign policy and effective diplomacy. Mainstreaming economic dimension into the foreign policy with the objective of further promotion of economic interests with cooperation of the outside world is the necessity of Nepal. Nepal's economic diplomacy has to shift its focus

increasingly from aid to trade, tourism and employment generation with the private sector playing a major role and MoFA and its mission abroad acting as facilitators (Rana, 2011, p.156). Economic diplomacy will help to strengthen relations with other countries and decrease dependence with India and also bring India and China together for their economic interests.

## 6.9 Acknowledging the Issues of Human Security

Disparities in economic opportunities, Excessive International migration, Environmental degradation, Drug production and National and international terrorism seem to be prominent for posing threats to human security (Baral, 2006, p.72). Food security environmental security, health hazard are among the major human security threats for Nepal. Nepal lies in the earthquake prone zone and during April 2015 earthquake, Nepal suffered heavy loss of lives and property. Thus Nepal must prepare itself to tackle all these unconventional threats to secure national interests and promote national security (Upreti, Bhattarai&Wagle, 2013, p.9).

Human trafficking, forced migration, natural disasters, poverty, health security are among the prime concerns of human security in Nepal which needs to be addressed. Until and unless the well-being of citizens are maintained and the state is not vulnerable internally, it can never maintain a strong presence in the international system. Internally unstable state have always become a place of international intervention in the past days. Hence acknowledging human security and maintaining a stable environment in home can only ensure the development of the nation.

### 6.10 Political Stability and Economic Revolution

Good governance with political stability is a must for small states for their development. Domestic consensus about economic development, high levels of education, diversification and the exploitation of niche markets all contribute to the long-term economic sustainability for the small states .The main root cause of the non-traditional security challenges are the instable political environment, bad governance, poor economy of the state, regionalism and tribalism etc. In order to combat the non-traditional security challenges, one of the options available to Nepal is bringing political stability with good governance and radically transforming the country from poverty to prosperity by economic revolution. For this Nepal could learn lesson from small states like Switzerland, Singapore, Iceland, New Zealand etc. The political leaders, academia, civil society all should stand in the common platform to achieve political stability and economic revolution. With this change, Nepal can mitigate the non-traditional security challenges that she is facing now at an alarming rate. For economic enhancement Nepal can adapt policy of Democratic corporatism. Democratic corporatism has the following characteristics: 'an ideology of social partnership expressed at the national level; a relatively centralized and concentrated system of interest groups; and voluntary and informal coordination of conflicting objectives through continuous political bargaining between interest groups, state bureaucracies, and political parties' (Katzenstein, 1985, p. 32). Attracting foreign investments in different sectors will enhance the economy as well as give employment opportunities and help Nepal to go global. Adapting the policy of economic diplomacy, economic relations can be developed beyond neighborhood.

#### **CHAPTER 7**

#### FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

It is seen that Nepal's security challenges as a small state emanate from a range of issues including traditional and contemporary security threats. However, given the current political, economic and socio cultural trends in and beyond Nepal, it can be argued that Nepal faces serious challenges from contemporary security threats. The major findings of the research have been summarized below

Small states can be defined as states with limited capability of influence in the international systems. The elements of national power such as geography, population, size, economic strength determine the status of a state. Also the geostrategic location, relative strength of neighbors and national will determine the vulnerability of small states. Other characteristic of small state include GNP, Military capability, Geography, relative strength and capacity to influence in international politics.

For states like Nepal powerful factors including geography, political instability increase dependency on powerful states for economic and security aspects, which later creates asymmetric dependence on the powerful states. This increased dependency exposes weakness and limitations of state making it more vulnerable. Landlockedness, scare resources, geography, geo-strategic location, GNP, etc. are the other characteristics of Nepal that fits it in the status of a small state.

Similarly, Nepal's low level of influence in both regional and international forums, dwindling economy, instable politics and a range of other problems demand outside support and aid in most simple of issues, leading it to be largely dependent for survival. Such dependence can also be considered a benchmark for the "smallness" of Nepal.

The security threats can be categorized into three major threats in the Nepalese context. The traditional security threat, non-traditional security threat, and the human security threats. If we analyze the prevailing situation, the locus of the conflict has shifted from the external to the internal spheres particularly in South Asia.

Wedged between two giant neighbors, India and China, Nepal occupies a place of strategic importance. The 1950 treaty of peace and friendship with India covers strategic, security, social and economic dimensions and the both governments have formed EPG to review the treaty. Open border between Nepal and India is not only responsible in strengthening social relations and trade ties between two countries but can also attributed to various securities related issues and criminal activities. Because of the availability of the safe haven on the other side of the border, the criminals on both sides do not hesitate in carrying out dreadful acts.

After the independence of India in 1947, India has become a dominant influence in South Asia. Various forces in India has helped the prodemocracy forces of Nepal to launch political and armed insurrection to remove Rana regime. There has always been direct or indirect help from India in every political transformation of Nepal whether it be the democratic revolution of 1990 or the Maoist revolution for federal republic of 2006. There is a deep seeded suspicion in Nepal that India has an extraordinary influence on Nepalese politics.

Nepal's close links with the Indian market and dependence on India for transit routes has resulted in Nepal and India having a special trading relationship. This relationship has resulted in many advantages for Nepal but has constricted Nepal's ability to pursue an independent trade policy. India is the largest trading partner of Nepal. As economic power cannot be in isolation with security, concerns of economic issues between Nepal and India are among the security threats of Nepal.

China, the northern neighbor of Nepal has been involved in many infrastructure development of Nepal. Amidst the blockade of 2015, Nepali government tried its best to supply resources from China. Though the territorial disputes are very much lesser with China in comparisons with India, there are issues China is concerned such as the use of Nepali land against the national interest of China. China has scaled up its engagement in recent years and has also taken soft diplomatic measures, i.e. people-to-people contacts, cultural relations, scholarships for students, economic aids and spread of Chinese Confucianism by setting up Confucius Institutes in Nepal. The concern for Nepal would be if China also tries to pursue the proactive role in Nepalese politics like India.

Non-traditional security threats include terrorism, ethnic conflicts, human trafficking, refugee, trans border crimes, natural disaster, etc. Nepal faces various threats to internal security such as threats to law and order, border security, threats from armed groups, internal separatism, organized crime and the like. Likewise, in the ever changing international environment, Nepal is equally exposed to multitude of external security challenges such as trans-national terrorism, climate change, refugee crisis and the like. Human security which focuses on the condition of daily life of the people, close to non-traditional school of thought which advocates on the food, shelter, employment, health, public safety and human rights of the people marks significance in our context.

Since, small states are militarily, population wise and economically weak as compared to the big states, they are destined to be peaceful, Nepal is no exception owing to its unique geostrategic location. Strategic hedging by accommodating major powers interest with caution can be one of the ideal strategy small state like Nepal could adopt.

The challenge of sustainable development, large market fluctuation and currency crises pose special risks to small states as compared to the big states. Because of the economic, trade and investment issues that the small states faces, though they are linked to the international financial market they are exposed to the vulnerabilities and openness to external economic shocks. In order to compete internationally, Nepal should adopt some unique and different economic role for herself, for example, Iceland specializes in the medical research and Finland and Singapore in Telecommunications and Information Technology.

Good governance with political stability is a must for small states for their development. Domestic consensus about economic development, high levels of education, diversification and the exploitation of niche markets all contribute to the long-term economic sustainability for the small states for instance, Singapore, Iceland, Switzerland etc. Nepal lacks political stability which is the crux of all the problems that she faces today. Likewise, larger countries and multilateral organizations seem to have a key role in establishing a reliable environment for the security challenges that the small state faces.

Small states like Nepal should be encouraged to pursue active diplomacy on the international scene, creating a more coherent, visible and assertive approach. Regional collaboration through co-operation and where appropriate, greater integration will enable Nepal to speak with greater effect and influence on security, economic and other issues. Building coalitions with larger nations, particularly key regional middle powers, is crucial, for instance the Pacific with Australia and New Zealand, Canada with the Caribbean, and South Africa for some Southern African countries, the EU for those in and around the EUs borders, Nepal should also make earnest endeavors to create conditions for coalitions particularly with her neighbors.

If we scrutinize the current Nepalese political sphere, the whim of identity-based politics which is in fact not the aspiration of the Nepalese people is thriving and becoming a challenge for national security. For Nepal, rather than the traditional security threats, non-traditional security threats seems to be more worrisome which is prevalent at all walks of life and energy of the elements of national power needs to be directed in combating those threats. Nepal should focus and lay its energy in combating non-traditional security threats and human security concept along with pursuing and arming to combat traditional security threats. Nepal must learn from the other economically boom small states like Switzerland, Singapore and try to harness the advantages out of the globally emerging economic giant neighbors. Political stability and economic revolution generating the radical transformation are the need of the hour, so the politicians, leaders, academia, members of civil society all should work for the common goal of achieving those desired end state which eventually secures Nepal from the non- traditional security and Human security threats.

#### Conclusion

Nepal must address the issues of identity based politics with a view to minimize internal threats to national interest. As national interest emanates from national identity; In Nepal, the process of assertion of group and regional identity has undermined the national identity. The assertion of identity also pose potential internal security threats, as had been seen with the emergence of several identity-focused armed outfit in the post-Terai and eastern Nepal in the post-conflict period.

In a complex interdependence approach, the regional organizations have become embedded in the normative structure of the United Nations framework, such organizations are obliged to find some way of mediating between the broader security debates. It appears out to be evident that Nepal is to be placed heavily in this formulation.

The foreign policy and diplomacy has always been instrumental and indispensable in international relation. Nepal must muster and harness in this aspect to compensate its fragile structure of being a small state. Active and effective diplomatic practices can only ensure the desired outcome regarding national interests.

In the age of globalization, growing independence, transformed geopolitical environment and rising influence of international laws and organizations have minimized the threat of military invasions but have increased threat to the national interest of small states. Security threats were discussed keeping in view the independent decision making capability and sovereign status of Nepal.

The threats to Nepal's security are diverse. Nepal faces various threats to internal security such as threats to law and order, border security, threats from armed groups, internal separatism, organized crime and the like. Likewise, in the ever changing international environment, Nepal is equally exposed to multitude of external security challenges such as trans-national terrorism, climate change, refugee crisis and the like. Hence Nepal should take some expedient steps to counter such threats effectively, such steps could range from strengthening of security agencies and cooperation among them, security cooperation with neighbors and ensuring security through active participation in regional and international forums.

Every nation must select those policies which are deemed most compatible with that nation's regional and domestic environment. In making the selection, pragmatic and sensible evaluation are needed. Only then will a nation succeed in having a foreign policy that is effective in preserving security. Only then will a country avoid the fate that usually befalls smaller and weaker players in world

politics. If it is true that "the strong do what they will, while the weak suffer what they must" small states must have extraordinary strengths to survive in an anarchic world.

Nepal does not have a national narrative of its worldview. National interest does not just lie in the domain of the state or the government. There has to be an active strategic and academic discourse on defending the national interests. Non-government actors like the civil society, non-governmental organizations, think thanks, academia, Track Two diplomats, and the country's private sector must have a say in articulating and defending the national interests and in the development the worldview through a prism of national interests. There must be a minimum consensus among major political parties while formulating policies regarding national interest and security.

Nepal must continue towards defending national interest utilizing all instruments of national power, including political, economic, diplomatic and military. The leadership must understand the paradigm shift of security from traditional to non-traditional throughout the globe in general and particularly in the developing and least developed countries. State like Nepal must understand own peculiar security need and thus formulate and implement those strategies which is the aspiration of the people.

Nepal must focus on enhancing its position through soft power and diplomacy rather than other measures. Also while formulating the policies of national interest, there should be consensus among political parties and involvement of experts from different fields to make those policies more pragmatic Nepal should decrease dependence on India on every issue and go beyond region and be more global. Nepal's survival and identity can only be ensured by correct policy. Addressing the issues related to both China and India, Nepal can pursue a pragmatic policy.

The researcher still believes that this research could be furthered on the areas of economic security, food security and political security separately. This research has opened a way to work further on different dimensions of Nepal's security issues and challenges.

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