

Federalism in Nepal: From National Security Perspective

A Dissertation

Submitted to

Department of International Relations and Diplomacy

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Tribhuvan University

In fulfillment of the requirement for MIRD 525 Thesis of
Master's Degree in International Relations and Diplomacy

Submitted by

KALPANA RANA MAGAR

Roll No: 2820

TU Registration Number: 5-2-37-72-2010

April 2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere acknowledgement to my supervisor Associate Professor Prem Khanal, Coordinator at Department of International Relations and Diplomacy (DIRD), Tribhuvan University, for the expert guidance, useful comments, suggestions, and engagement throughout the learning process of this master thesis without which this work would not have been completed.

I am very grateful to DIRD, TU which has given me an immense opportunity to broaden my perception and given me a new insight. I am also thankful Dr. Khadga KC, teacher Himalaya Thapa and Professors for guiding me a right path, enhancing my skills and understanding for better future.

Finally, I would like to express my profound gratitude to my parents and friends for their continuous support and encouragement throughout the entire process. I would like to dedicate my thesis to my whole family who has always encouraged me to pursue higher study.

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATIONS

I certify that this dissertation entitled “Federalism in Nepal: From National Security Perspective” has been prepared by Kalpana Rana Magar under my supervision. I hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the research committee at the Department of International Relations and Diplomacy, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University in the fulfillment of the requirements of MIRD 525 Thesis for the Master’s in International Relations and Diplomacy.

.....

Mr. Prem Khanal

Supervisor

Date: 2022, April 12

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work has been done by myself and no portion of the work contained in this document has been published or submitted in support of any application for any other degree or qualification of this or any other university or institution of learning. In case of other authors' information, ideas and arguments, the sources have been duly cited and acknowledged as per the requirements. The copyright of this research work belongs to the author.

Signature:

Name: Kalpana Rana Magar

Date: 2022, April 12

LETTER OF APPROVAL

ABSTRACT

The promotion and protection of national security have been a core national interest of every state. The issue of national interest becomes more crucial at a time of restructuring process, survival, and competition in the global politics. As a state building process, Nepal is in the nascent phase of administering the federal system after promulgation of the fifth time amended Interim Constitution of Nepal 2008, which is later replaced by the Constitution of Nepal 2015. There has been significant development in the political system, institutional arrangements of the state and national security-related governing bodies, policies, and priorities.

However, in comparison to a great and emerging power, Nepal experiences more security risks and challenges to protect national security due to more economic interdependence, and limited military power intertwined with geographical positioning which attracts the interest and repercussion of immediate neighbours and rivalry powers. Whilst the existing internal threats also threaten, fragment and challenge the management, regulation, and protection of security. In this landscape, this research aims to study the national security strategies enshrined by the adopted constitution of Nepal 2015 and safeguarded by the foreign policy of federal Nepal. Through thematic analysis, it critically examines methods of promotion of national security and then explores potential challenges that emerged while practicing the federal system. Finally, this paper discusses suggestions or recommendations regarding how the national security of Nepal can be achieved, safeguarded, and promoted by mitigating and managing the security risk and challenges.

Key words: National security, federalism, small state, great power, and asymmetric dependence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LETTER OF RECOMMENDATIONS	iii
DECLARATION	iv
LETTER OF APPROVAL	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	viii
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	6
1.3 Research Questions	6
1.4 Research Objectives	6
1.5 Significance of the Research	7
1.6 Chapter Organization	7
Chapter 2. Review of Literature.....	9
Chapter 3. Research and Methodology	21
Chapter 4. Federalism in Nepal	23
4.1 New Political System and Structure in Federal Context.....	23
4.2 Ideas Behind the Concept of Federalism.....	25
Chapter 5. National Security in Nepal	28
5.1. National Security Strategies in Post-democratic era (1990-2006)	28
5.2. National Security Strategies in Federal Republican State (2008 onwards)	31
5.4 Methods to Promote National Security in Federal Republican State (2008 onwards)	33
5.5 Security challenges of Nepal in Federal Republican State (2008 onwards)	40
Chapter 6. Summary and Conclusions.....	46
References.....	55

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
ACD	Asia Cooperation Dialogue
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Corporation
CA	Constituent Assembly
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CPN (MC)	The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Centre)
CPN (UML)	The Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist–Leninist)
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MJF	Madhesi Jan Adhikar Forum
MoD	Ministry of Defense
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NA	Nepal Army
NID	Nepal Intelligence Department
NSC	National Security Council
OAS	Organizations of American States (OAS)
IR	International Relations
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
UN	United Nation

Chapter 1. Introduction

States naturally crave for independent existence, survival, and security in the international system. For this purpose, no matter big or small power, every state tends to focus on innovative ideas and approaches to protect, promote and safeguard their territorial sovereignty and national security at their best. Accordingly, the concept of federalism evolved as a normative political theory to foster nation-state-building process and achieve a greater state resilience, national integrity, and security in a fragile context (Baral, 2014). Historically, the notion of federalism began in international relations (IR) from Switzerland and then became prominent philosophy after the ratification of the USA's first constitution, the Articles of Confederation in the late eighteen century following the Philadelphia Convention in the wake of independence in 1776 A.D (Burgess, The American federal experience, 2006). This concept is widely accepted as a solid institutional arrangement to maintain national unity and security by many states in the 21st century.

The most pronounced definition of federalism is the division of power between the federal and sub-national government as enshrined by written constitution. Principally, states' legitimacy and linguistic diversities are safeguarded and protected by expanding inclusive decision-making platforms and intergovernmental transfer processes (Scott, 2011). It is more connected with the recognition of ethnic, linguistic, and religious identities by the annihilation of traditional undemocratic practices and oppressive regimes (Tegenbos, 2016). In fact, every modern state adopted federalism during nation-building to achieve common interests as well as prevent, minimize, or mitigate external and/or internal threats side by side. Common interests include "shared political values, expectations of stronger economic ties and associated benefits, the desire for political

independence, geographical proximity, common cultural-ideological factors (nationalism, religion and inherited traditions and customs), political leadership and a broadening of the political elite, and similarity of social and political institutions” (Burgess, 2006, p. 100). Likewise, external and/or internal threats comprise a sense of real or imagined insecurities like military, economic and cultural, and a perceived threat to the stable political order. Henceforth, the provision of policy and polity stability in the federal system has attracted nation-state towards more federalism and established a higher number of federations (Bulmer, 2017). The call for restructuring of the federal system emerged in Nepal after the restoration of a multiparty system and the 1990’s constitution of the kingdom of Nepal and then the first time promulgated Interim Constitution in 2007.

Though 1990’s constitution restored a multiparty democracy and adopted a liberal market-oriented economic policy, there was a minimum address of increasing public expectation of the government in the areas of state building, national integration, and security (Khanal, 2014). The formed constitution had given a limited opportunity to government but preserved a monarchy regime by declaring a unitary state system. Nepal is a common home of 125 ethnic groups and 123 languages are spoken, 10 religions are followed, but they were not accommodated in defining the national identity in 1990s constitutions (Khanal, 2014). On the other hand, the ruling King Birendra controlled the autonomy, operation, and mobilization of the Nepal Army (NA), the Ministry of Defence (MoD). The absence of smooth functioning of state-society relationship and widening socioeconomic trajectories were prudent factors for the emergence of political discourse on nation, nationalism, nationality, and national identity in Nepal (Sharma, 2014).

From 1990 onwards, identity politics and demand for federalism became a dominant instrument for the rise of Maoist insurgency in Nepal. Nepal’s national security,

peace and stability were completely dismantled because of presence of such threats primarily weakens institutional capacity and political legitimacy leading to fragmentation nation's system and institutions (Fukuyama, What is to be done?, 2018). In addition to it, the royal massacre of late King Birendra's family, the enthronement of former King Gyanendra and the deployment of NA by declaring state of emergency after failure of peace talks between Maoist and government were the immediate cause of propagation of Maoist led decade long civil war in Nepal (Mishra, 2004). However, after the royal coup, with the 12-point resolution between the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and the Maoist in Delhi jointly fought against the autocratic monarchy leading popular People's Movement II and then the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2006 (Adhikari, 2013). Nepal was then declared the Democratic Federal Republic by the fifth time amended Interim Constitution of Nepal 2008 AD and ended 204 years-long history of the monarchy regime completely (Jha P. , 2014). Therefore, it would be necessary to understand the dynamics of national security with the changing political situations of Nepal in the federal context.

According to World System Theory, a small state is defined as system-ineffectual state, who are incapable of influencing the international system (Keohane, 1996). Having less population, economic resources, military power and territory or geostrategic positioning has increased more vulnerability and security problems of a small state. Since small states cannot primarily safeguard security by using their capabilities and resources, they must fundamentally rely on the aid and assistance provided by great powers, international norms, or international organizations. In case of Nepal, Nepal is a small state because it lies between giant neighbors, which are bigger in territory than Nepal. Nepal consists of population of approximately 29 million population in 2021 (CBS, 2078). By geographical size, Nepal is 47.58 times smaller than China and 45.68 smaller than India (Adhikari, 2018, p. 47). In terms of the defense budget, China and India's defense budget

is 770 and 242.85 times higher than Nepal (Adhikari, 2018, p. 47). The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate is assumed to be 6.4 percent in FY 2021 (ADB, 2020). So, due to its smallness, Nepal looks like a sandwich between its close neighbors and is economically interdependent with them and other regional and multilateral organizations.

Nevertheless, in a case described above, not all the small states face security threats from great powers. Accounting for various dimensions of small state's vulnerabilities, smaller states in the global politics try to alleviate them by exercising agency and taking advantage of major power rivalries in their environment or staying away from the attractions of great powers or adopting strategic normative ideologies (Thorhallsson & Bailes, 2017) (Madan, 2021). For instance, Nordic states are a group of countries situated in Northern Europe and the North Atlantic region comprising Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Iceland and their associated territories including Faroe Islands, Greenland, Svalbard and Aland. These have been successful in placing their nationals in high-ranking positions within various parts of the UN system over time due to their soft power approach (Ingebritsen, 2004). They are well known as neutral, trustworthy, and compliant value creators in negotiations. Similarly, Costa Rica is recognized for the Arms Trade Treaty, adopted by the General Assembly in April 2013 (Cordero & Harmon, 2015), Trinidad and Tobago's role in the establishment of the International Criminal Court (Arsanjani, 1999), engagement of Malta, Singapore, and New Zealand for endorsement of UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (Koh, 1987).

Furthermore, some small states enjoy a greater affinity for a balance of power in international relation despite being small and federal system. Such small states possess different approaches and negotiation strategies for safeguarding national security against the great powers and the international community. A small state like Switzerland have

profoundly adopted the principle of neutrality and self-reliance in their foreign policy. Being a small state, Switzerland is successful in liberating the aspirations of federalism through robust infrastructural development that coordinates Swiss government with specialized departments and contributes to safeguarding national security. Switzerland has a stronghold in the international economy and assert as a central power in the decision-making in the European Union (EU) and significant visibility and more representative in the international organization like UN. Anecdotal evidence shows that this state is quite successful in preserving its national security is the result of a framework of national security and foreign policy orientation governed by the nature of institutions and political system. Togetherness and the correlational relationship between the structure and political strategy have promoted the bargaining capacity and sovereign independence of their foreign policy and henceforth ensured their national security. Compared to Switzerland, Nepal is just paving a path of federalism.

Underlying these assumptions and realities, being a small state, how can Nepal ensure its national security while institutionalizing the federal system with respect to the hidden interests of closed neighbours and great power? Under which conditions and methods, Nepal will be able to promote and strengthen its national security as prime interest is more challenging which triggers further research areas worth investigating to uncover deeper mechanisms to play. Thus, this draws a great concern about the sustainability and longevity of the federal system with respect to national security in Nepal.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Though many kinds of literatures are available on federalism in Nepal related to national security policy, more attention and concerns are required to sensitize, internalize, and built a common consensus for prioritizing national security as a vital interest and mainstream agendas in current domestic politics. Therefore, this study tries to fill the gap and presents the findings in relation to federalism in Nepal: In national security perspectives. Lastly, the outcomes of this research will assist policymaker to informing evidence-based policymaking and be useful for academicians and practitioners to address security challenges or in intervention areas for strengthening the national security in federal Nepal.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions are:

1. How can Nepal promote its national security strategies in federal context?
2. What are the national security challenges that Nepal may encounter after the practice of federalism?

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

1. To explore the strategies that Nepal can promote national security.
2. To examine the national challenges that Nepal has been facing after practicing federalism.

1.5 Significance of the Research

This research is important for academic purposes to bring more insights into the existing works of literatures on federalism in Nepal regarding national security perspectives in a newly established federal system of Nepal. Therefore, this research aims to fulfill the gap.

Furthermore, this research provides practical significance. It attempts to analyze the current national interest, security mechanism, and adopted security approaches. It also aims to find out elements that promote national security in both domestic and IR. It focuses on more policy-level interventions.

1.6 Chapter Organization

This research paper was organized into following chapters:

The first chapter deals with the introductory part and comprises background of the study, statement of the problem, significance of the research, and organization of the study. The second chapter consists of a review of literatures. This section comprises a review of related, existing, and relevant literature and tried to find out the gap in them. By analyzing and identifying various gaps in different books, research papers, journals etc. the research gap was tried to be filled in another chapter. The third chapter contains research and methodology. This section tries to explore the research design, research site, data collection methods, data analysis methods, and limitations of the research. Likewise, the fourth chapter deals with federalism in Nepal from different parameters like the new political system and structure of Nepal, and the ideas behind the concept of federalism. This chapter describes the origin, development, and essence of federalism in Nepal. The fifth chapter presents findings on the national security of Nepal. This section highlights

differences, mechanisms and the security approaches adopted before and after federal democratic state. It explores various methods which help to promote national security in the federal context. It also presents security challenges in the federal republican state. The sixth and final chapter was a summary and conclusions. It discusses the relationship of the findings to previous research on the topic, limitation of the study and implications for further research related to federalism in Nepal: from national security perspectives.

Chapter 2. Review of Literature

National security refers to the protection of the state and its citizens against all kinds of 'national crisis' through a variety of power projections including military and non-military might and so on. Safeguarding national security in the anarchic international system has been viewed as a primary national interest of every state. A number of famous scholars including Bary Buzan (1983), Immanuel Kant (2005), Jonathan Alford (1984), and Robert Gilpin (1988) pointed out that in their scholarly literature, concern about security often has been obscured by realist who focuses on power and by idealist who dwells on perpetual peace. For the understanding of national security, there is need of pursue an understanding the concept of nation-state formation, sovereignty, and national security.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648) provided the modern concept of national security and the foundation of IR based on state-system. According to the Westphalian state system, "states enjoy sovereign jurisdiction, in the sense that they have independent control over what happens within their territory" (Heywood, *Introducing Global Politics*, 2011, p. 5). "The relationship between and among states are structured by the acceptance of the sovereign independence of all states" (Heywood, *Introducing Global Politics*, 2011, p. 5). Each state is established as a sovereign entity over its territory and domestic affairs as well as holds the right of self-determination. All states are treated equally in international law and are not allowed to interfere in the domestic affairs of each other. The state is provided with legitimate use of force to enforce its interest and citizens must accept authority if they reside within the territory. Later, Article One of the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of the State (1933) characterized a state as having a permanent population, a defined territory, government, and a capacity to enter into

relations with another state (Heywood, 2011). State sovereignty has been institutionalized as a core principle in the international system.

Rod Hague and Martin Harrop in their book chapter *The State in the Global Context* elaborated an integrated account of state sovereignty, and the state-building process in the contemporary world. They explained that “a state cannot be partly sovereign. Internal and external sovereignty represent two sides of a single coin” (Hague & Harrop, 2004, p. 8). This implies that internal matters of the state are the full responsibility of the respective government, which has the legitimate authority over the body politic, making the state independent in the international community, which implies that interference from other states or external actors is a violation over the concept of a sovereign state. This conception has been viewed as an enduring attraction of the nation-state because most states are born from nation-states during the colonization period and surge of nationalism ideology or nations. In a modern state, nation-building approaches galvanized on forming a unified ‘national identity’ through a spirit of common political values, citizenship, or a putative majority of ethnic identity. In the post-colonial period, state-building faces numerous challenges. For instance, in modern states, new or reformed institutions and structures are established based on deepening poverty, political and ethnic conflict, or adoption of the western model which is not best suited to the developing countries. Henceforth, for purpose of state-building, a priority is given towards nation-building. National identity matters more ethnically rich heterogenous population which forms a nation.

In the book *Global Politics*, Jean Monnet remarks that “Federalism is one of the main theories of regional integration, which is a sub-national phenomenon, a process of decentralization that takes place within the countries” (Monnet, Regionalism and Global

politics, 2011, p. 481). It developed a belief that multiple levels of government legitimately exist within a single polity. Decentralization especially deals to resolve the monopolization of power of central government held by small ruling elites.

In contrast, according to political thinkers W.F Hegel and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “federalism is a device for reconciling tension between the centre and periphery in domestic politics” (Monnet, 2011, p. 484). The shared sovereignty of the federal system helps to resolve the issues of state-centrism and asymmetries in material power including legislative and administrative possessed by the central government by rendering substantial power to the federal units. It brings a change in asymmetries in interest intensity, participation and policy formulation between periphery and centre. Since constitutions is viewed as a supreme law that governs the power-sharing between federal institutions and the subnational level In the book *Global Politics*, Jean Monnet remarks that “Federalism is one of the main theories of regional integration, which is a sub-national phenomenon, a process of decentralization that takes place within the countries” (Monnet, Regionalism and Global politics, 2011, p. 481). It developed a belief that multiple level of government legitimately exists within a single polity. Decentralization especially deals to resolve monopolization of power of central government hold by small ruling elites.

In contrast, according to political thinkers W.F Hegel and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “federalism as a device for reconciling tension between the centre and periphery in domestic politics” (Monnet, 2011, p. 484). The shared sovereignty to the federal system helps to resolve the issues of state-centrism and asymmetries in material power including legislative and administrative possessed by central government by rendering substantial power to the federal units. It brings change in asymmetries in interest intensity,

participation and policy formulation between periphery and centre. Since constitutions is viewed as a supreme law that governs the power sharing between federal institutions and subnational level, so that neither level of government has absolute power. This normative theory of multilayered government started from USA in the late eighteen century. After the victory in war of independence in 1776 AD, thirteen former British colonies came together to form USA through the ratification of USA constitution in 1789 following successive amendments of Continental Congresses (Forum for Federation, n.d.).

Robin Broadway and Anwar Shah in their book *Fiscal Federalism: Principles and Practices of Multiorder Governance* provide a different concept of federalism. They explained that "federalism is defined as constitutional divisions of powers among various orders of government" (Boadway & Shah, 2009, p. 4). In this political system, sovereignty of a state is split into at least two territorial levels such that each order of government has the authoritative capacity and can act independently on behalf of the people of the federal polity. Constitutionally exercise of power is defined to be used where, how and by whom. Likewise, in the book *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict: Advancing Peace in Deeply Divided Societies*, Ilan Peleg defines federalism as "a decisive move in which the ethnic polity accepts not merely the idea of individual equality but also group rights guaranteed in a power-sharing deal. In a country with a significant ethnic minority, this means granting of substantial autonomy (personal, cultural, and even territorial) to the minority as well as genuine power-sharing in all central political institutions or a division of power" (Peleg, 2004, p. 16). Share-rule thus increases the opportunities of marginalized groups in political power and ensures recognition of individual identity either based on gender, religion, and race.

Further Lok Raj Baral mentioned in his book *South Asia: Nation Building and Federalism*, “nation is much related to variables and culture of developing a feeling of togetherness owning the defined territory and respective identity of diverse people living within a country” (Baral, 2014, p. 9). In relation to approaches of federalism in nation-state building processes he talked about ‘coming together’ federalism is adopted by independent states who believe on national unity is the strength compared to independent sovereign states and thus aspire to create a larger political system to ensure greater prosperity and security. Each constitutional unit has equal power and jurisdiction which is not prerogative of the federal government. Samirendra N. Ray pointed in his book *Modern Comparative Politics: Approaches, Methods and Issues* that, “In the modern state, the attainment of power is the core of central interest of its use and control. Federalism is a principle of power division” (Ray, 2004, p. 150). For example, USA is a federal constitutional republic consisting of 50 states including one federal district, one Palmyra Atoll, and several settled or unsettled territories (Forum for Federation, n.d.). The president, executive head of both Head of the State and Head of the Government. Legislative power is governed by Senate and the House of Representatives while judicial power is held by the Supreme Court. Moreover, individual states possess their own independence.

Baral talked about ‘holding together’ federalism which means a federal solution to the problems of scale and diversity which are formerly unitary states. Elements of nation-building comprise society, the composition of a population, ethnicity, political system, domestic law, inclusivity of diverse range of societies, and states’ capability to maintain check and balance state-system. To resolve this national identity-based issue, holding together federalism as normative theory became vivid in the modern states. In this federation, usually larger country decides to divide power between the constituent states

and the national government to manage nation building process and contain the crises. For example, after its independence in 1947 A.D, India adopted “holding together” federalism to balance greater ethnic, linguistic, and regional divisions. India is composed of 28 states and eight union territories (Forum of Federations, n.d.). He pointed out that India’s federation is “cooperative, centralized and bargaining” (Baral, 2014, p. 19). Otherwise, it would have become difficult for India to govern because of its bigger size, rich diversity, democracy, deeply rooted class, and class hierarchies.

Majority of the literature highlights that a being sovereign entities in the international system, like a great power, small states also face numerous security challenges for survival. There is no doubt that a small state also comprises heterogeneous populations, geographical constraints, hierarchy in political consensus and higher internal conflict, civil resistance over power and authority. Despite smallness, most often conflicts have been propelled in small states by subnational, territorially dense racial groups or ethnic identity community that seeks self-determination. As Francis Fukuyama in his book *Identity* highlights that identity politics is group-based and inclusive institutions are an alternative to governing people and politics (Fukuyama, 2018). He explained people wants to be treated as equal and identified as a human with respect to equal rights and obligation. They are not satisfied with the universal definition of having an identity as citizens rather they claim to be respected and recognized by referring to nation or religion. Politics of identity quests for identity like ethnicity, religion, gender, nationality, sect, and race. As a result, these groups provoke violence and demonstrations to ensure recognition and respect in the political institutions.

In the book chapter, *Federalism Discourse in Nepal: An appraisal*, Krishna P. Khanal, highlights that federalism a suitable option to reorder the state-society

relationships guaranteed by democratic principles and recognition of community rights (Khanal, 2014, p. 114). He pointed out those multiethnic groups and cultural tolerance were excluded and unequally or underrepresented in political and state affairs. Their recognition of the heterogeneity of community and culture was neglected while defining national identity. For example, Women, Dalits, and Tharu minorities were on the extreme receiving end of discrimination, marginalization, and dehumanizing exploitation. It can be said that there was no real practice of nation-state and identities. He further stressed though Nepal enacted decentralization in policy, both the vertical and horizontal disparities were maximum due to polity and policy crisis. Fiscal de-equalization and centralization of authority became a major problem. As a result, weaker nationals including marginalized and backwarded groups experienced more political, economic, and cultural discrimination, injustice, and exploitation from the centralized state. These entrenched discrepancies motivated a large mass of people towards armed conflict to struggle for their right to self-determination. He concluded that the past assimilative model of nation building has produced an inequality among the social groups in Nepal and thus seek for transformation of democratic Nepal into a federal state (Khanal, 2014).

While talking about Nepal's federalism concerning national security, Prashant Jha in his book *Battles of the New Republic* stated that "Nepal's militant communists were pioneers among Lefts groups in South Asia mixing the issues of class and identity" (Jha P. , 2014, p. 23). He notes that Maoists supported federalism because they were quite resistant to an extractive relationship of internal colonialism. Nepal's ruling arrangement was the main reason behind the internal and external crisis. Further, he analyzed that rise of Maoist insurgency and their armed conflict from 1996 to 2006 AD was the direct cause of the imbalance of state-society relationship. If traditional actors try to challenge the state system through dictatorship or hegemony, then such defaults always emancipate the

birth of new actors in politics and political transformations. He critiqued that Nepali elites are extensively guided by the symbol rather than substance for national security and independence. He concludes that the present is the right time for successful elected leaders or parties to do their best to institutionalize a true sense of republicanism, secularism, federalism, inclusion, and democracy for national unity, security, and integrity.

Taking an account of foreign policy orientation, in the book *Nepal's Non-Isolationist Foreign Policy*, Yedunath Khanal described achievements and challenges of diversification of Nepali foreign policy faced during a political revolution in Nepal (Khanal Y. , 2000). He explained the national security of Nepal is often constrained by the geographical positioning between her immediate emerging neighbours. Because of the limitation of landlockedness and non-aligned record, Nepal adopted foreign policy of equidistance to balance her immediate neighbours but indeed an insufficient strategy to manifest its clear role at a time of achieving her national interest and disputes between closed neighbours.

While overviewing the national security perspectives, Sudhir Sharma also stressed that Nepal had followed the traditional state-centric security approaches including adherence to the UN Charter principles, neutrality and non-alignment, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs (Sharma, 2014). Despite the projection of foreign policy in IR, Nepal faced numerous challenges and interference from her immediate closed neighbours in every political struggle from democratic to federal democratic, republic state. For instance: India's active role was observed during Maoist insurgency, signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, at a time of Madhesi movement and economic blockade during promulgation of the Constitution of Nepal

2015 etc (Jha P. , 2014). He critiqued that Nepali diplomacy adequately lacks a clear definition of foreign policy to deal with its immediate neighbours, regional and global powers. There is a gap in articulating its foreign policy strategies in accordance with short, medium, and long-term objectives of Nepal.

Theoretical understanding of National security

For classical realists like Thucydides (430-406 BC), Niccolo Machiavelli (1532), and Hans Morgenthau (1948), state is the main actor in the international system, security is primarily understood in terms of national security. Every state emphasizes the protection of the state's territorial integrity and physical safety of its citizens against fear, suspicion, and rivalry (Donnelly, 2005). Since human nature is pessimistic, every state tends to maximize its power to prevent status quo, increase imperialism and demonstrate power. For instance, the rise of Roman empire in ancient Egypt (Goldberg, 1996), Shang dynasty around 1600 BCE in China (WHE, n.d.), and Mongol Empire between 1206 and 1405 (Morgan, 2009) illustrate how human desire force a state to act ruthlessly for the sake of state demands.

Structural realist including Jean Jack Rousseau (1750), Kenneth Waltz (1979), and John J. Mearsheimer (2001) argues that the behaviour of states is shaped by the anarchic international system rather than human nature (Leffler, 1990). This anarchy escorts an idea of self-help in which the state intends to maximize its security through relative gain. "The relativity of power requires states to be more concerned with relative strength than with absolute advantage" (Donnelly, 2005, p. 38). The absence of central authority leads a state to face a security dilemma. Henceforth, each state is compelled to adopt a balance of power policies for survival in the international system against security dilemmas (Waltz, 1979). Distribution of capabilities or power eventually leads a state to tolerate a

little risk. State chooses either balancing (opposing a rising power through alliance formation among weak states) or bandwagoning (siding with great power) for minimizing the risk of international anarchy. Forum of Small States (FOSS) under the United Nations (UN) (Lupel & Malksoo, 2019), Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) in Caribbean Community (Axline, 1978), the Gulf of Cooperation Council in the Gulf (Wizarat, 1987) are some examples of regional arrangements to deter security threat of big powers. Similarly, Baltic states in Europe joining North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) (Lamoreaux & Galbreath, 2008), and Japan's alliance with USA after World War II (Rowan, 2005) are some instances of a balance of power maintained by weak states in the world politics.

In contrast, liberal theorist of IR including Immanuel Kant emphasizes that solutions to the problems of anarchic world order and security lie in the establishment of democratic ideals (Burchill, 2005). Since democracy posits the highest expression of the 'will' of the people, democracies hold inherent supremacy compared to other political systems. The Democratic Peace Theory asserts that democratic state does not wage war against each other because of the practice of reciprocity, internal character of governments, and trade interdependence in liberal democracies (Burchill, 2005). Francis Fukuyama also notes the global integration of liberal democracies and structures, economic globalization, and amounted to end of history have guided to establishment of more peaceful and stable world order (Fukuyama, 1989). If disputes take a serious turn, then they would be resolved by the established international judicial measures. States complements each other interest through mutually developed international law, norms, and regulations. However, democracies do not fight each other, the period of transition of democracy may be prone to war rather than a stable democracy or a stable authoritarian.

For example, a war between USA and Afghanistan from 2001 onwards to topple the Taliban ruled Islamic Emirate (Cordesman, 2018).

Whilst neoliberalist theorist focuses on collective security. They stressed that aggression can best be resisted by united action taken by several states. That means “collective security promotes and maintains peace in the international community through a binding, predetermined agreement to take collective actions to preserve it” (Miller, 1999, p. 303). Furthermore, “the idea of national security is shifted towards the broader notion of international security” (Heywood, *Introducing Global Politics*, 2011, p. 19). Majority of states unite to punish a state that committed aggression, safeguarding the collective interest of all the nations while protecting the self-determination of small states who easily become pawns in great-power games. League of Nations in post first world war which was later replaced by UN after second world war was formed on the premise of collective security (Goodrich, 1947). For instance, the UN’s collective security was successful in 1990-1991 to reverse Iraq’s conquest of Kuwait (Musambachime, 1999). The invasion was so blatant a violation of Kuwait’s sovereignty and territorial integrity that the Security Council had little trouble labeling its aggression and authority the use of force by a multinational coalition. The threat Iraq posed to the world’s oil supplies provided an incentive for coalition members to contribute money or troops to solve the problem. Likewise, several regional international organizations like the European Union (EU), Organizations of American States (OAS), the African Union and the Arab League etc. are currently performing security functions in the global realm (Ssekandi, 2013).

On the other hand, social constructivist including Wendt embraces security because of social constructs rather than a fixed objective (Reus-Smit, 2005). Through normative power, Switzerland is recognized as neutral and non-aligned state in international politics (Andrey, 2010). It has neither joined EU nor NATO. Similarly, Canada’s foreign policy consists of its own identity-driven imperatives usually revolving

around peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. Fundamentally, territoriality, security, enemy, and threat are constructed by individuals' and states' preferences. Usually, states shaped their identities by interactions with other states. Despite having a greater nuclear weapon and military power than North Korea, USA treats Britain as an ally whereas North Korea is a threat (Ogden II & Anderson, 2008). This difference is a result of similar identities (history, alliances, and norms) held by both USA and Britain. Likewise, over time states can conceptualize one another in such a way that there is no danger of security, arms races, or other effects of anarchy. In the Constructivist theory of IR, institutions, regimes, norms, and changes in identity are better explanations compared to realist's definition of power politics, anarchy, and military power (Reus-Smit, 2005). For example, Europe, as a continent was the corner of two military conflicts in the first half of the twentieth century that killed millions (Leitenberg, 2006). By the end of the century, war had become unthinkable. European identities are not interlinked with the European Union nor with the violent nationalism causing two world wars. Nevertheless, after September 11 attack, national security became more vital rather than international security due to the emergence of transnational terrorism (Waxman, 2012). Human security became a serious concern of security. State began to re-emphasize their main role in protecting its citizens against any sort of attack.

Although above mentioned school of thought describe different consensus regarding the concept of national security, 'feeling of fear' is the center point of interpretation. The absence of threat has been spotlighted as the determining factor that causes the elimination of 'feeling of fear'. For this purpose, the idea of democratic federalism remains most relevant to dealing with the national security of state during state formation because to respects greater undiluted ethnic heterogeneity and is necessary for the reformation of new institutional arrangements to accommodate ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity.

Chapter 3. Research and Methodology

This research will be carried out in the following methods to make research effective by obtaining qualitative and empirical information. It includes:

This dissertation is based on a qualitative research design. The information collected and presented is all related to secondary data. This study includes more explanatory and descriptive nuances with a major focus on an in-depth case study of Nepal's federalism concerning the perspective of national security.

The research area is the national security of Nepal in the federal context. This was studied between the phase of pre- and post-federalism, starting from the period 1990 to 2015. This time framework was taken for research study because Nepal had witnessed both political and state transformation during this period. After the 1990's constitution, the multiparty system was restored in a wake of the Maoist insurgency which completely threatened the internal security of Nepal. Whist, Nepal took a turning point in the state restructuring process by the adoption of the federal system following the constitution of Nepal 2015. Whether there is any difference in national security strategies for protection of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independent existence or not from both external and internal threats? With this background, this raises more curiosity to explore for a researcher. The whole research was conducted within Kathmandu, Nepal because of availability of secondary resources.

This study was conducted by applying comparative, critical, and analytical methods. For a collection of the data for the study, secondary data sources were mostly refereed. It was conducted by reviewing and critically examining academic and research

publications including books, reports, interviews, websites, articles, papers, and journals relevant to the research studies.

Content analysis of documents and text including printed or visual were conducted. Relevant reports, speeches, articles, books, media, and the historical documents published and made available under Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, and Law Commission were collected and analyzed in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner.

This research study entailed a descriptive method and individual level analysis followed by observations with a review of reported programs.

Research ethics are adequately respected while carrying out this study. All the secondary sources of data were collected either from the library or reliable website, which include books, journals, and newspaper articles. The relevant information and extracted data were cited in APA format. Adding to it, this research study also considers offensive if the sources are misused without giving proper credit.

This research is thesis and was conducted based on limited financial resources and time. It especially covers a specific time period of political development in Nepal where a significant change can be observed in relation to national security policy and priorities. The conclusions drawn from this research can't be generalized to every case. The samples and methodology tools of the primary research were identified purposively by the researcher based on the guidance of the professor which may not be tough to handle the research of such nature.

Chapter 4. Federalism in Nepal

The development of federalism in Nepal is viewed from the social constructivists' theory. As constructivist emphasizes that social reality is constructed based on norms, ideas, beliefs and behaviors, federalism has been accepted as a normative theory for achieving a political reform and restructuring state which best ensures the long-term interests of new Nepal and her diverse marginalized communities. In the early phase of development, this theory became a more debatable issue in Nepali politics while writing in the new constitution due to fear of the administrative burden and deeper polarization of Nepali nationalism. However, the agenda of federalism penetrated in the peace accord and writing of the constitution as one of the interests of Maoist and Madesh-based parties (Upreti & Sapkota, 2017, p. 25). In the aftermath of Madhesh Movement and the formation of the Constituent Assembly (CA) elected in 2008 AD, the preamble of the fifth time amended Interim Constitution of Nepal 2008 abolished 240 years old monarchy completely and declared Nepal as a republican state (Dahal & Ghimire, 2012).

4.1 New Political System and Structure in Federal Context

In the post 2008 CA elections, Nepali politics entrenched a drastic political transformation by establishing an inclusive and representative political institution for an ethnically diversified society. Administrating proportional representation, protecting of minority rights and reservations for the backwarded, marginalized, and disadvantaged groups are the prominent features of the new political system. This new political system is developed under the framework of a parliamentary republic with a multi-party system. President is declared 'the Head of state'. Likewise, Prime Minister and their cabinets hold the executive power of the state whereas the legislative is vested in the parliament. The House of representatives is composed of 275 members who are elected for five years

terms in single-seated constituencies while the National Council composed of 59 members (Federal Parliament Secretariat, 2020). Eight from each state and the remaining three from a private concern of the government. Nepal Communist Party, Nepali Congress, and Janata Samajwadi Party were recognized as the major political parties in the federal parliament (Federal Parliament Secretariat, 2020).

Nonetheless, Modern Nepal witnessed several challenges in drafting the new constitution. The then Prime Minister dissolved the first CA on 27 May 2012 AD without promulgating the new constitution regardless of additional two years term in its stipulated timeframe (Dixit K. M., 2012). The presence of greater political disarray, democratic deficit, and a crisis of constitutionalism failed to develop a common consensus on the modality of state restructuring. These barriers became the main causes behind the failure of the first CA. Later, a second CA was held on 19 November 2013 AD to elect representatives for finalizing the protracted constitution-making process of new Nepal (Upreti & Sapkota, 2017). Unlike the first CA, Nepali Congress (NC) obtained majority seats followed by the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) (CPN-UML). The 16-point agreement was signed between the four major political parties including NC, CPN-UML, then UCPN Maoist, and then MJF-Democratic for deciding names and demarcating boundaries of federal provinces after the implementation of new constitution (Jha & Yadav, 2018). By all accounts, after a long struggle and aspirations of Nepali people, the second CA had been successful to endorse a new constitution on September 20, 2015 AD (The Kathamndu Post, 2020).

The promulgation of Constitution of Nepal 2015 instituted a new system of governance into three leveled federal structures, constituting federal, provincial, and local government. The federal government is the largest political unit serving as a central

government whereas provincial governments are intermediary political entities split into seven different geographical areas. Local government comprises seven hundred fifty-three sub-units including six metropolitans, eleven sub-metropolitans, two hundred and seventy-six municipalities and four hundred and sixty rural municipalities (DRCN, 2019, p. 2). These institutional arrangements are based upon share-rule and self-rule (Bhattacharyya, 2021). According to the constitutional provisions, each tier of government possesses corresponding legislative, executive, and judicial bodies along with a list of distribution of powers that are either concurrent or shared. This devolution of powers to subunits ultimately contributed to addressing the problem of fiscal de-equalization in all geographical regions of Nepal.

4.2 Ideas Behind the Concept of Federalism

The constructivist's core concept on identity, behaviour and process of socialization have influenced the Nepali political regime of Nepal too. Nepal is composed diverse range of society with multiculturalism, multiregional and multilanguage, identity became a major issue for the rise of federalism. Ideologically, the idea of federalism originated in Nepali history when an elected Madhesh-based party in the parliament named 'Nepal Sadbhavana Party' raised a voice against discrimination against the Madhesi community after the 1990's constitution failed to address the expectation of Nepali people in bringing institutional and societal change in the pluralistic societies (Upreti & Sapkota, 2017). During the insurgency period, the Maoist rebellion gave undue emphasis to this concept to legitimate and strengthened their vested revolutionary agendas. They claimed that their armed struggle was a legitimate option to bring change in state building process by empowering their political demands that "the new regime would be established on the revolutionary upheaval-correct historical wrongs and

establish Nepal as an egalitarian, autonomous, communist republic” (Jha P. , 2014, p. 26). But Maoist groups have lesser influence in Terai/Madhesh than in the mid-western, far western, and other hilly districts. Henceforth, for achieving a greater number of people’s engagement in armed struggle, they mobilized their Madhesi cadres to speak against discrimination by the state and promised to provide an autonomous province/state according to the majority of ethnicity when their war gets the victory.

However, after the movement of April 2006, the Maoist groups were not found to be interested to ensure the agenda of federalism. As per the agreed conditions between the SPA and the Maoist, a negotiated interim constitution 2007 was endorsed but failed to address the promise made with Madhesi who are larger in size but not exclusively residing in Nepal’s southern plains (Jha P. , 2014). As a dissatisfaction, MJF led Upendra Yadav and other Madhesi leaders burnt a copy of the endorsed new constitution at Maitighar Mandala in Kathmandu and protest began spontaneously. Since the Madhesi parties were most passionate about obtaining a single autonomous province under a federal structure, the movement gained momentum in the Terai region resulting to several deaths and injuries. First Madheshi movement highlighted the issue of ethnonationalism as a core agenda in the national debate for the modality of a state restructuring process. Later second Madhesh movement in 2008 AD got successful to ensure main agendas like federalism, proportional representation, and population-based election constituency (Cheah, 2008).

While talking about unequal power structure and development in Nepal, Devendra Raj Pandey mentions “Fiscal federalism is about coherence in economic and fiscal policies and making them relevant for the people, especially those in marginalized and excluded regions and communities whose interest, in particular, the centralized system of

the discarded unitary state failed to serve” (Pandey D. R., 2009, p. 33). Howbeit, in the post 2006 period, the Maoist and various other Marxist parties have agreed on federalism with a pronounced inclusive orientation (Bhattacharyya, 2021, p. 214).

Chapter 5. National Security in Nepal

As Nepal is in the nascent phase of institutionalizing the federal structure, the preamble of 2015 Constitution of Nepal and National Security Policy 2016 provides a mandate to completely safeguard state through geographical, social, economic, and political perspectives. In contemporary federal Nepal, the idea of national security is not limited to military power but emphasizes the protection of her citizens and the rule of law. For Shambhu Ram Simkhada, “National security has a more extensive meaning than protection from physical harm; it also implies protection through a variety of means, of vital economic and political interests, the loss of which could threaten fundamental values and vital interest of the state” (Simkhada, 2018, p. 132).

In the present context, national security paradigms have been greatly challenged by various security challenges. It is observed that foreign interventions, open borders with its closed neighbours and its encroachments and infiltration, energy and supply constraints of primary resources, conflicting interest of security and community regimes are prime external threats to federal Nepal (Simkhada, 2018). Whilst political instability, rise of terrorism, espionage, extremism, refugee crisis, cybercrime, and food, energy, information, and social insecurity are existing potential internal threats to new Nepal (Upreti, Nepal: From War to Peace, 2009).

5.1. National Security Strategies in Post-democratic era (1990-2006)

During the post-democratic period, as per the 1990s constitution, the ruling monarch and unitary state system were treated as the main pillars of state authority, national unity, and security. From the security mechanism, the National Defence Council (NDC) was formed by the Prime Minister Chairman, the Defence Minister Member, and

the Commander-in-Chief Member. The King was treated as the Supreme Commander to operate and mobilize the army on the recommendation of the NDC. Article 115 allowed the late King to declare a state of emergency in case of crisis regarding sovereignty, or integrity or the security of any part thereof, whether by war, external aggression, armed rebellion, or extreme economic disarray (His Majesty Government of Nepal, 1990, p. 43).

From the lens of foreign policy, Article 25 (five) focuses on IR which states that Nepal seeks to promote its dignity in the international regime by maintaining integrity, sovereignty, and independent existence (His Majesty Government of Nepal, 1990). Likewise, article 26 'States Policies' clause (15) describes that Nepal's foreign policy shall be guided by the principles of the UN Charter, nonalignment, Panchsheel, international law and the value of world peace whereas clause (16) tells that Nepal shall continue to institutionalize peace through international recognition, by promoting equi-distance relationship with closed neighbours and rest countries in the world (His Majesty Government of Nepal, 1990, p. 11).

From an international point of view, Nepal had continued to expand bilateral, regional, and multilateral relationships. At the beginning of the 1990s, Nepal had established diplomatic relations with approximately 100 countries (Embassy of Nepal, n.d.). Nepal continued as an active member of the UN and participated in several specialized agencies. In addition to it, during the mid-1991s, Nepal had been endorsed as a 'zone of peace' by 116 countries to adhere to the threats of the cold war (Khanal Y. , 2000). Nepal started sending peacekeeping forces to promote a collective peace approach. Furthermore, Nepal became a member of the Non-Alignment Movement and the Bay of Bengal Initiative. At a regional level, Nepal was a founding member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and became a champion in successfully

negotiating several bilateral and multilateral economic, cultural, and technical assistance. Most importantly, Nepal's relations with the USA, Europe and the Soviet Union showed new signs of vitality in 1991. Likewise, from an economic point of view, Nepal got membership in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in May 1989 for enhancing capacity-building to compete with other trading partners and Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD). Nepal became the first least developed country (LDC) through the full accession process on 23 April 2004 (Pandey, 2014).

Howbeit, during this period, the internal crisis threatened the national security of Nepal. The rise of Maoist insurgency turmoiled internal peace and political stability of the country following the royal massacre of late King Birendra's family and the failure of peace talks for two times. The former King Gyanendra mobilized the NA to curb the growing threat of armed conflict by issuing a state of emergency. The deployment of RNA became more disputable between the King and political parties after defying the 1990s constitutional provisions. Hidden feelings of deception, distrust and lack of confidentiality and accountability between the government, NA, political leaders, and police led to fragmentation of joint coordination for the purpose of security management against insurgency (Jha P. , 2014). The situation became more depressing when the government prioritized increasing the budget, services, and size of police from 10000 to 48000 but limited the size of NA up to 39000 only (Sharma, 2014). The newly established NSC by the government couldn't function properly. These differences hence supported the royal coup of former King Gyanendra, the rise of armed conflict, and more influence of her closed neighbours in domestic affairs.

5.2. National Security Strategies in Federal Republican State (2008 onwards)

In contrast, there was a paradigm shift in the security approaches of Nepal after the promulgation of the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2008 which was later replaced by the Constitution of Nepal 2015. With development of three tiers of government in Nepal, the feelings of security towards NA have been shifted to the local government. People are closer to the local government for sharing any kinds of security concerns. Furthermore, the new constitutional provisions clearly mentioned national security as one of the core national interests of federal Nepal. It states that “Safeguarding of the freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity, nationality, independence and dignity of Nepal, the rights of the Nepalese people, border security, economic wellbeing, and prosperity shall be basic elements of the national interest” (Government of Nepal, 2015, p. 8). President is the head of the state and is responsible for overall state authority.

Like previous foreign policy, according to the MoFA, Nepal’s foreign policy is guided by the basic guiding principles which gives more emphasis on national security (Ministry of Foreign Affairs , 2021). It cherishes mutual respect, equality and cordial relationship with her immediate neighbours and rest countries in the world. By upholding the principles of the UN Charter, nonalignment, international law and norms of world peace, democracy, human rights and rule of law, Nepal is well prepared to make her utmost contribution for the promotion of peace and prosperity (Ministry of Foreign Affairs , 2021).

To govern the security aspect, a separate NSC Policy 2016 has been endorsed. In terms of security mechanism, NA was brought under civilian control by the reinstatement of the House of Representatives in 2006 AD (Jha P. , 2014). Following the Constitution of Nepal 2015, Part -28 (Provisions Relating to National Security), article 266 focuses on

NSC in accordance with recommendations to the Council of Ministers on mobilization, operation, and use of the NA (Government of Nepal, 2015). Similarly, article 51, clause a (five) states that NA, NP, APF Nepal constitute a security organ to serve the ‘good will’ of the people based on national security policies. The President is mainly responsible to control, operate and mobilize NA in case of an emergency security crisis.

NSC consists of Prime Minister as chairperson and six members including Home Minister, Defence Minister, Foreign Minister, Finance Minister, Chief Secretary to GoN and Chief of the Army Staff. The parliament, the Prime Minister’s Office, MoD, MoHA, and NSC are responsible for legislative functions for all security-related matters whereas NA, NP, APF and NID are responsible for executing the policies and programs passed by the legislative body. For the promotion of national security, institutionally, the federal level comprises NP, APF Nepal, and NID; each province has Provincial Police Organization and local level comprises town police. NID and APF are deployed for border security management.

From an international point of view, Nepal has extended bilateral relationships with one hundred sixty-seven countries and the EU. In addition to it, Nepal joined in Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a Dialogue Partner on March 2016 after signing a Memorandum of Understanding with SCO Secretariat (Panda, 2016), China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2017 (Dixit, 2017), and USA’s Indo-pacific Strategy in 2017 (Pradhan, 2022). Besides these developments, Nepal continued serving as major troops and police-contributing country to UN peacekeeping operations to protect and promote human rights. MOFA suggested that Nepal has participated in sixty-one peacekeeping and special political missions and had sent approximately 1,51,000 peacekeepers to

eleven countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021). Nepal is actively participating in various disarmament related programs organized by the UN.

5.4 Methods to Promote National Security in Federal Republican State (2008 onwards)

The Constitution of Nepal 2015, article (56) has clearly mentioned that three tiers of government (the federation, provinces, and local levels) are fully responsible to maintain national security at a domestic level whereas MOFA is responsible to deal with the international regime. Since the structure of power relationship has determined the national security of a country in the IR system, optimization of power has been attributed to strengthening the security of state in the competitive global politics whereas states having less power are either dominated or intervened by great power influence. The success of the external security projection in federal Nepal is invariably linked with internal security. Some of the crucial methods for promotion and protection of national security are described below:

As Winston Churchill said, “Diplomacy is the art of telling people to go to hell in such a way that they ask for directions” (Acharya, 2019, p. 491). Nepal can foster its national security interest through diplomacy. From security perspective, Nepal can be benefitted from neutrality compared to both alliance formation and bandwagoning policy with her immediate neighbours and rival great powers. Because of more economic, social, political, and cultural dependence on her both neighbours, Nepal is less likely to be benefitted or ensure security by building an alliance with a single neighbour. For this purpose, Nepal must foster bilateral negotiation and dialogue to settle disputes regarding issues of border and treaties. On the other side, at regional context, Nepal must effectively orient a system-centered approach including development diplomacy to foster bilateral

and multilateral relationships. Nepal can strengthen its position in the UN mechanism by enhancing collective security and others like NAM, G77 etc. It is a praiseworthy achievement that Nepal was elected for the second tenure as a member of the UN Human Rights Council and committee member on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021).

There is growing interest of using soft power diplomacy in the contemporary politics. Joseph S. Nye defines it as “the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment” (Nye, 2008, p. 94). Such kind of power are simply understood as diplomacy or persuasive power based on its resources of culture, values and policies in world politics (Acharya, 2019). In context to Nepal, Nepal’s soft power includes political values, foreign policy, multiculturalism and biodiversity, Nepali literatures and scriptures, religions, democracy, educational institute and access to several regional and international communication channels, interconnected networking channels and credibility at domestic and global realm like successful peace keeping force in world etc. (Acharya, 2019). Internalization of these soft power at different structures can contribute sensitization of feelings of national unity whereas in IR it can create more conducive environment for grasping objectives of national security interest of federal Nepal. In recent years, philosophy of Buddhism, land of Mt. Mount Everest, birthplace of Lord Buddha, Pashupatinath temples as holy land of Hindu God Shiva and other vibrant touristic areas are largely fostering Nepalese soft power in global realm.

Likewise, the non-military diplomacy is important soft power for the protection of national security. Though Nepal do not possess the affluent of superpower’s wealth and capability, it prioritizes non-military diplomacy as a soft power to strengthen and protect

national security from external threats. Nepal conducts educational exchange trainings, workshops, offers research fellowship, ship and aircraft visit, military sports, and other interesting adventures activities with other foreign countries. By practicing military diplomacy, Nepal not only ensures good diplomatic relations with neighbours and international system, but also enhance economic, political and security interest of Nepal. Practice of collective security and peace keeping missions are praiseworthy. Nepal has already sent more than 12 peace keeping missions under UN around the world (Anupam, 2020). The UN has acknowledged the peacekeepers by awarding them. At internal level, intergovernmental transfer of capacity building, coordination for effective communication and interactions could bridge for sensitization of national unity and security interest.

Notably, diplomacy and soft power often serve as the tools of foreign policy. The best use of these tools determines the risk how much a state is prepared to escape and the degree to which they are willing to place confidence in their policies at time of conflicting interest or tough situation against opponent states or forums. Strong foreign policy fortifies power of negotiation while weak foreign policy either results to hopes or accommodation. In real words, “foreign policy is the confidence of strength which allows a state to act with conciliation along with duties and responsibilities to make a more peaceful world” (Documentation: Foreign Policy and National Security, 1976). For effective execution of foreign policy, leaders filling in the position and authority of government must pursue diplomacy with innovative, strategic, bargaining negotiation and dialogue skills and far-sighted knowledge (Acharya, 2019). His/her attitude must be optimistic, friendly, humble, well-mannered, influencing, and professional. Such person must be aware of core national interest above his or her regional, territorial, communal, parties and personal goals. There is greater possibility that conflicting interests can be resolved through diplomacy of give and take relations or carrot and stick relations.

Therefore, it is one of the convenient ways to manage the internal political transition and balance external forces while advancing the national security agendas.

The MoFA who serves as a national representative body in the international level contributes for promotion and protection of its national security interest, life and interest of Nepali nationals abroad through effective conduct of diplomacy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs , 2021). Its effective policy coordination, affluent communication with diplomatic missions, consular office, Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA) and international organizations helps to mitigate and prevent potential security risk. In other hand, it expands and strengthens Nepal's bilateral, regional and multilateral relations to support stable and efficient international system. In the integration of federal system, the MoFA can build domestic support by bridging reform on the organizational structures of the central government and the replicating changes within the national administration through the division in functions among different lines ministries and vertical level of government. From past experience, there is growing necessity of key factors like morale of coordination, inclusiveness, legitimacy, discipline and leadership, professionalism, transparency, and accountability for strengthening and developing MoFA and other governing bodies. Parliaments, diplomatic ambassadors, bureaucrats, leaders, political parties, government, citizen plays a crucial role for smooth operation of a MoFA as strong institution in accordance with written constitutional provisions.

Besides MoFA, states' national security threats can be prevented in advance or resolved through strong national intelligence mechanism. Regarding Nepal, NID and APF are serving as the national intelligence bodies of Nepal. For vibrant operations, there is a greater need of modernizing these institutes with latest technology, proper trainings, intelligence unit and other adequate resources. Think tank including academic scholars,

professional experts and practitioners who could be backbone for NID, APF and IFA. They are playing a crucial role in shaping a foreign policy, resolving, reconciling, and investigating policy crisis or conflicting situations/issues. With highly qualified academic degree, foresighted vision, and years of work experience, they predict future projections by deploying certain methodologies and design a proper plan to address them. Comprehensive information obtained from them are mostly based upon the in-depth analysis conducted by research teams. Such findings and recommendations provide an evidence and direction for decision-makers, academics, general public and government authority to legislate and execute a result oriented policies related to 'will' of the people. Sometimes, think tank personal act as frontier to reach and communicate their affiliated institutional or party ideologies effectively and persuasively to the audience. Henceforth, think tank are gradually developing a catalyzer to the government for improving and addressing the concern or issues of national interest in right manner/direction. Furthermore, its collaboration with line ministries and three tiers of government is crucial to create check and balance against domestic security issues during nascent federalism.

Whilst good governance is treated as pillar of affluent strong institution and government. As prescribed in the Constitution of Nepal 2015, good governance is guaranteed by "ensuring equal and easy access of people to services provided by the state and making public administration clean, competent, impartial, transparent, accountable and participatory" (Government of Nepal, 2015, p. 30). It mainly consists of rule of law, leadership, inclusive democracy, transparent, accountable, effective, legitimate, and efficient government. Institutionalization of good governance in the layers of government promotes the fulfillment of national interest in smooth way. Nepal has promoted the practice of good governance by successfully conducting a free, fair, transparent, and broad-based participatory elections across three tiers of government by safeguarding

norm of inclusive and proportionate representation. In addition to it, Nepal has allocated adequate resources for prevention, investigation and prosecution of the cases related to improper conduct and corruption (Ministry of Foreign Affairs , 2021). Nepal has endorsed gender responsive budget. More priority is given for building transport infrastructure, promoting connectivity, and improving conducive environment for investment, focusing on social and human development sectors to enhance good governance in Nepal. Consequently, these all practices contribute to reduces domestic conflicts and crisis.

As state's power are solely weighted in international relations by economic resources, economic development can contribute to promote national security by providing state political leverage in relations trading partners to achieve desired national interest. From 2006 Nepal has forwarded economic diplomacy as one of the objectives of foreign policy while at domestic level periodic plans have supported for overall development initiatives (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021). The economic diplomacy aims to promote Nepal's trade, tourism, employment, innovative investment, and transfer of technology. At federal structure, globalization, inflow of remittance, social capital, devolution of power and resources between the layers of government supports bottom-up approach to create demographic window of opportunity in optimizing domestic economic sector. At international level, minimizing economic extractive institution, expanding export trade, and seeking major donors to write off international debt helps to build improved economy of Nepal (Acharya, 2019). To achieve economic development, first, Nepal Government must entail coordination with line ministries, layers of government and private sector for generation of economic opportunities and inclusive growth in the areas of nature-based tourism, trade and so on. Second, Government of Nepal must develop a simple and streamline process for multinational setting shops in Nepal and

promote actively economic diplomacy to attract more Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Third, promotion of digital trade and e-commerce through digitization and incentives for exporters (World Bank Nepal, 2021). As a whole strengthening economic security will increase investment in capacity building of existing security forces, advance hi-technology and equipment, deployment of highly skillful human resources in productive sector, reduces problem of poverty and unemployment within the country.

Finally, it is assumed that possession of natural resources is power and such power can change the behaviour of others. Though Nepal is small state but have abundant natural resources like Himalayas, water resources, evergreen forests, and rich biodiversity. The presence of natural resources like high Himalayas at the northern border are major elements of national security. Mt. Everest, and Kanchanjunga, are world's highest peak which are located at the northern side of Nepal. Presence of extreme cold climatic condition, and higher altitude challenges or creates difficulty for the mobility of people. As a result, Nepal's sovereignty and independence is protected externally and internally from any kinds of organized terrorists' attacks, criminal activities, and threat of refugee. In addition to it, it is found that water security has become an extremely sensitive regional issue including both neighbours and South Asia due to higher population growth rate, industrial development, and climate change. Under this context, since Nepal is rich in clean drinking water resources and energy, it can be used as a bargaining power to optimize the economic development and strengthen national security strategically. Whilst Nepal can endeavor to get independence on energy security by the maximum utilization of available water resources through generation of hydropower which ultimately build capacities to enhance national security interest of Nepal.

5.5 Security challenges of Nepal in Federal Republican State (2008 onwards)

At present context, Nepal is struggling to integrate a peaceful, transparent, and democratic state to create a safe, competitive, conducive environment for economic and social development. Though federal Nepal had already initiated a security reform process, Nepal experiences both external and internal security challenges while restructuring the federal system.

The external challenges of national security are listed below:

Repercussion of immediate neighbours: Both the immediate neighbours China and India are emerging powers in the central Asia and extending their ideological orientation and vital interest in their own proximity. Due to their geopolitical power struggles and geopolitical interest in the world economy, Nepal accounts to be more geo-strategically important but fertile ground for both of its neighbours in terms of its location, resources, and proximity (Mishra, 2004). Border disputes between India and China like recent issue of Tibet and Dalai Lama and Doklam issue illustrated serious confrontation projecting Nepal in a geographically contested situation between two Asian giant neighbours (Ghimire Y. , 2017). Similarly, refusal of India's support on BRI initiatives have created a political pressure on Nepal regarding the ratification of the project. As experience of Himalayan frontier attitude, greater engagement and interreference in domestic politics and two times economic blockade, Nepal is likely to face severe blockage and criticism from south neighbours in the absence of affluent diplomacy and greater economic dependence. Moreover, border insecurity has remained a serious issue in Nepal. Publication of new political map including disputed territory like Lipulekh pass, Kalapani and Limpiyadhura of western Nepal have escalated tensions between two neighbours (Koirala, 2020). Therefore, repercussions of immediate

neighbours increase greater security risk for Nepal to protect sovereignty and territorial integrity through non-alignment policy or aligning with one country. Moreover, greater interference of closed neighbours has challenged belief system among political parties whilst Nepal's land has turned into fertile ground for external influence. Due to open border, there is greater possibility of rise to infiltration of unwanted elements between both countries.

The global powerful state like USA and European Union perceives Nepal as a potential actor in the geopolitics for balancing the emerging powers' influence (Chand, 2021). There is a growing concern for federal Nepal about how to protect Nepali soil and border security while ensuring economic security from projects led by great, regional, and emerging power. Nepal had signed both China's BRI initiative project and USA led MCC-Nepal Compact (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021). Both the project intends to boost economic and infrastructural sectors of Nepal. In other side, both this powerful competing country aspires to use Nepal in their favour. Authoritarian China aspires to make Nepal ally to balance growing threat of Tibet and increase economic hegemony in the rest world while democratic USA desires to seek alliance with Nepal for her containment policy against rising power of China's authoritarian regime. Henceforth, how could Nepal negotiate to maintain balance of power between the opposing powers' interest and strongly defend her national interest remains challenging.

Intrastate conflicts: Notwithstanding the fact interstate conflicts are decreasing, interstate conflicts remain constant. Occurrence of these conflicts in global politics possess a great threat for Nepal to protect life of her citizens living abroad. Afghan-Taliban war in 2021 (Hollingsworth, 2021) and Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022 reflects a limited capability of Nepal to protect her citizens at the time of political crisis outside

(Nepali Times, 2022). Undoubtedly, there is lack of pre-emptive rescue or evacuation measures from Nepal Government (Ghimire & Ojha, 2022). On the other side, because of these conflicts in foreign land, there is greater risk of increasing terrorism and refugee crisis in Nepal. Previously, despite smallness, Nepal has been providing asylum to several refugee including Bhutanese, Tibetans, Rohingyas and others. It is observed that due to open border with India and limited immigration control, many refugee finds feasible and safe to move in Nepal while extremist groups or alleged criminals or terrorist, smugglers, perpetrators come to Nepal to hide out or for experimentation. Thus, these sorts of activities directly challenge Nepal's internal stability in coming days if the Government of Nepal fails to emphasis preemptive border regulation.

Besides external threat Federal Nepal also experiences internal security threats while integrating federal system. Some of major internal threats are explained below:

Political instability: Despite achieving significant political reforms, Nepal is still struggling to institutionalize and localize the federal democratic process. Higher presence of internal power struggle or excessive politics of conflicts and confrontation have weakened accountability of government, peace, and stability of domestic affairs of the state (Simkhada S. R., 2018). Disagreement between ruling NC, CPN (MC), CPN (US) and Rastriya Janamorcha regarding ratification of Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC)-Nepal Compact is an example which highlights lack of political consensus. Such political turmoil has lowered congruency between the institution and social structure to promote and strengthen national interest. Furthermore, problems like remoteness, insularity, limited diversifications, and inadequate institutional capability are existing obstacles in some parts of the province. There are still unresolved issues related to decade long Maoist's insurgency which are fueling the rise of new rebellion group. For instance,

creation of rebellion group (Netram Bikram Chand led Biplav group). Demands of former ex-combatants are not addressed adequately (OHCHR, 2012). Inter and intra party conflict over the accumulation of power and authority have further jeopardize the value of democratic institution. It is found that political parties manipulate it with their personal or party interest and defines it as a national agenda. So, they fuel it as a political strategy where individuals and mass are used as means to organize political violence to justify their cause and bargain with the government to amend the system or policy. Therefore, the rise of political violence and political instability threatens the nation-state' peace and stability.

At first, issues regarding the name of provinces, delineation of provincial boundary, clear division of power between the federal, province, intersectional minority, and marginalized rights and, citizenship rights to women are some of the unaddressed issues of Nepal (Khanal, 2014). Deeply rooted intersectional disparities within the marginalized, backwarded and minorities group have lowered effective implementation about constitutionally enshrined values of diversity and national integrity. In long term, there might arise debate of ethnic polarization at sub-national level due to the presence of conflicting interest of diverse social groups over the ownership in new federal Nepal. Second, a major focus is not given to empower the ability of weak units who might react differently during legislation and execution of policy in relation to federal. This might give rise to de-facto asymmetric relations between tiers of government. Even, the ambiguous delineation of the division of constitutional power among layers of government has given birth to disputes between them. There is no clarity in the delineation of power according to the constitutional schedule. For example, there was a dispute between Kathmandu and Province Two over the establishment and governance of town police force (Varughese & Payne, 2019). Local and provincial elected

representatives were pessimist towards making laws because of legal uncertainty and judiciaries' intervening behaviour. As a whole, these all issues can dismantle the peace and stability of state.

Environmental security: Climate change and environmental degradation is a global threat. Nepal is not exceptional. Nepal is also facing adverse impacts of climate change. Every year, thousands of Nepalese are internally displaced due to occurrence of extreme weather events floods, landslides, forests fire and soil erosion or natural disasters like earthquake (Nepali Times , 2021). Because of this, poor and helpless population without adequate resettlement opportunities might suffer from generational poverty, unemployment, food crisis. Due to absence of livelihood opportunities, they are more likely to engage in criminal activities to fulfill the hand to mouth problem. In other grounds, tensions might take place in the receiving community regarding the issue of reintegration, autonomy and right to self-determination over the available public services and opportunities. There is greater threat of a higher intensity of conflict related to multiculturalism, social cohesion, and identity politics. Thus, decline in environmental security leads to chaos of domestic order of the country.

Human security: Human security generally explains about food and health security. It is directly dependent upon livelihood, nutrition, and better health facilities. During COVID-19 pandemic, Nepal faced a serious challenge on human security. Thousands of migrant Nepali migrant workers and cross border seasonal migrants were stranded at the border and international airport or deported without any minimum medical and food assistance. Furthermore, internal migrants like informal workers faced extreme socio-economic and psychological vulnerabilities. There was severe problem in getting inoculation of COVID-19 vaccination at ease. Even, due to declining agricultural

productivity and increasing dependence on export, food insecurities have been significantly threatened human security in Nepal.

Corruption: According to the latest Anti-corruption Index 2020, Nepal ranked at 117th position out of total 180 countries (Shrestha, 2022). Corruption level was found to be higher in public sector, export and import, tax payment, public contracts, judicial decisions and politically preserved certain interested groups. If rampant corruption continues, then it worsens national security. Deception allows state leaders, employees, national forces and citizens less accountable for crimes they commit. Government led insufficient anti-corruption efforts, misuse of power in the public service sectors, poor action against civil servants, bribery in business enterprises and inadequate access of information were the reasons behind increased corruption in Nepal (NP, 2021)

Chapter 6. Summary and Conclusions

The concept of federalism evolved in Nepali history due to the demand of identity and national integration of hierarchically dominated and geographically marginalized ethnic groups and communities who were left behind by 1990 Constitution in relation to the state-system, economic development, and representation. This identity crisis became the immediate cause for the rise of new actor Maoist rebellion group in Nepali political history. Though federalism theory originated by the wake of Maoist insurgency, it is said that the aspiration of federalism took a serious turning point in Nepali history because of second Madheshi movement.

Having strong position in mid-western, far western and hilly districts than Terai districts, Maoist party aspired to culminate more people's support in Terai region too. With this interest Maoist utilized the Madhesi cadres to gain wider support by promising to provide a separate autonomous state or provinces after being successful in armed revolution. Larger group of Madheshi people had supported the struggle because their culture and language has been treated disrespectfully and excluded from the inclusion process.

However, after the Comprehensive peace accord in 2006 AD between the SPA and the Maoists following the people's movement II, interim constitution 2007 got promulgated. But this constitution deliberately ignored to address the demand of Madheshi minorities and did not mention clearly that Nepal is a federal country. As a result, MJF led by Upendra Yadav and other few leaders burnt a copy of the interim constitution showing a dissatisfaction and started the protest demanding the adoption of federalism. Nepal witnessed two majors Madheshi uprising and second Madheshi movement ensured federalism. The promulgation of fifth amendment of Interim

Constitution of Nepal 2008 declared Nepal as a Federal Democratic Republican Constitution on 28 May 2008 AD and 204 years long monarchy got completely abolished from Nepal. Later Constitution of Nepal 2015 established three tiers of government into Federal, 7 provinces and 753 locals through successive elections for respective representatives in the units. Nepal's federalism is a mixed federalism having the values of ethnic identity and fiscal development.

In accordance with national security and nation building, federalism is viewed as important political ideology even in Nepal to end decade long Maoist insurgency and prevent internal conflict and confrontations. Nepal's federalism underpins an approach of 'Holding together' federalism which is more inclusive and representative. This federalism supports to create more participatory environment and tries to prevent the fear of ethnic polarization, contestations, and ethnic violence in Nepal. Adoption of federalism has not only brought change in political aspect, but it has also shaped national security interest of Nepal. From internal security viewpoint, structurally the role of local government has increased significantly because the feelings of security have increased more towards them compared to NA. By constitution, the interaction of local government with citizen has increased in case of service delivery and decision-making power.

As per 1990's constitution, Nepal's national security interest of Nepal were defined from state-centric view where security and unity were prescribed from the lens of monarchy. The ruling King holds a supreme position to operate, mobilize and decide the security related matters and NA. NDC was established under the membership of Prime Minister Chairman, the Defence Minister Member, and the Commander-in-Chief Member. NDC was responsible to provide the recommendation on security related issues to the King while mobilizing NA. To protect the national security of Nepal from external

attack and balance the interference of closed neighbours and other international system, the foreign policy represented Nepal as an independent, democratic, sovereign monarch kingdom in IR. Nepal seeks to maintain friendly equi-distance relationship, non-alignment and neutrality. By principal, the foreign policy was guided by principles of UN Charter, non-alignment, Panchasheel, international law and the value of world peace

During mid-1990's, for promoting socio-economic development, independent existence and sovereign identity in global regime, Nepal administered economic liberalization policy, extended diplomatic bilateral relationships approximately 100 countries, and adopted 'zone of peace'. Nepal became pioneer and member of the regional organizations like SAARC, ACD, GATT, The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), UN and so on.

Nonetheless, the internal political crisis threatened peace and stability. Weak state-society relationships between the monarch, government and NA have resulted to rise of Maoist insurgency and ethnic conflicts in Nepal. Identity politics have turmoiled political stability of the country. During the early phase of conflict, country witnessed a lack of coordination, trust, and confidentiality among them. It reached apex when King Gyanendra forcibly tried to maximize power by deploying NA over Maoist insurgency and then royal coup in 2005 AD. Consequently, Nepal suffered from state of chaos, civil war, and conflict while her immediate neighbours became more dominant in the internal politics.

But, after People's Movement II and 2008 Interim Constitution of Nepal, national security approaches changed. Ownership of NA, MoD, NSC are shifted in the hand of democratically elected government where President owes the leadership in accordance with the recommendation of NSC, Prime Minister along with other members. Federal

Nepal aspires to maintain vertical and horizontal integrity by disaggregating system of security governance. Federal government comprises state's whole national security and military management power, provincial government with state security force and are obliged to maintain public security whereas local level government comprises authority of town police. Fundamentally, national security apparatus has shifted from military to non-military concepts and aspires to balance both internal and external threats. The national security has been overlapped with other vital national interests of federal Nepal.

While analyzing national security approaches at IR in post federalism period, Nepal's foreign policy and diplomacy has made significant progress. Nonetheless all diplomatic instruments are guided by directive principles and foreign policy as outline by 2015 Constitution. Despite uneasy situation with immediate neighbours, Nepal prioritizes neighbourhood policy with her neighbours and continues regional and multilateral diplomacy with rest of the world. For advancing more political, economic, security and humanitarian interests, Nepal continues her active engagement with SAARC, BIMSTEC, EU. Nepal joined as member into ACD and dialogue partner in SCO. In addition to it, Nepal has signed development corporation agreements like China led BRI project and USA's MCC-Nepal Compact project in 2017 AD and MCC in 2022 AD. Nepal have always supported disarmament process.

Meanwhile, Nepal is in the nascent phase of federalism. Considering this situation, Nepal faces a multi-facet issue of national security interest. Mutual interest and common consensus of political parties, strengthening national unity by resolving issues of federalism and ethnic groups, balancing her closed neighbours and regional powers are some concurrent issues of Nepal while paving a path to new form system. In similar manner Nepal prioritizes to safeguard democracy, sovereignty, territorial integrity,

nationality, independence and dignity of Nepal, the rights of Nepali people, economic wellbeing, and prosperity at domestic and international arena. Other key priorities of Nepal include active partnership, leadership role and engagement in the regional, multilateral forums and international organizations to foster the economic and development diplomacy. Nepal is optimistic to preserve its national security interest at any cost. and prosperity at domestic and international arena.

To promote, preserve and protect national interest and security within the country and in IR, diplomacy, soft power, nonmilitary diplomacy, economic development, natural resources, good governance, vibrant national intelligence mechanism and think tanks are important method. MOFA and other line ministries, diplomatic missions, Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA), independent think tanks, media and other civil society organizations are the main governing institutions responsible for smooth, effective, and efficient execution of foreign policy in IR. Strengthening these institutions ultimately builds strong image of Nepal in the international realm.

With changing demands and global scenario, Nepal must integrate binding and bonding diplomacy to balance its immediate neighbours and prepare for counterinsurgency against the vested interest of global powers. For such strategic approach, vibrant national intelligence mechanism, IFA, NID, APF and think tanks plays a crucial role in shaping a policy with their more critical and far-sighted visions. All these initiations are directly dependent upon the economic development of the state. So, Nepal must empower economic development by developing a conducive environment to flourish nature-based tourism, investment, trade and attract large number of FDI. Nepal government must focus on digitalization of economy and provide incentives to exporters. Similarly, paving a path for economic independent is likely to strengthen state's power in

shaping power game in her favour and achieve national interest. Like every state, national securities of are intertwined with national interests of Nepal. Nepal can develop a strong national security by promoting a strong institution, vibrant national intelligence mechanism, economic security, military diplomacy, and natural resources. For this purpose, Nepal requires a collective and coordinated engagement between the government, institution, leaders, political parties, and citizens.

Nepal struggles various security challenges while expanding the normative theory of federalism. Repercussions of immediate neighbours, role of regional and great powers, unaddressed issues of federalism, corruption, human security and environmental security and political instability are some challenges which can assert negative influence on federalization process in Nepal.

Nepal's geostrategic position has provided enduring attraction to her closed neighbours and international regime. While looking over external threats, in the contemporary struggle and competition for global hegemony and power rivalry, Nepal bears greater possibilities of power play and repercussion of immediate neighbours and global powers. In addition to it, uncertainty in global politics, unforeseen political turmoil and emergence of pandemic diseases have threatened the lives of Nepali people living abroad. Since Nepal is small and dependent upon her immediate neighbours and foreign aid and assistance, Nepal needs to deal with the security problems and concerns diplomatically.

At internal level, due to lack of clear contextualization and delineation of power, some of the issues related to constitution are left to be addressed. Their timely addressed is must otherwise it might result to threats to internal security in long run. Rampant corruption has completely derailed the dignity of Nepal in the world politics whereas

heightened the risk of national security. If no proper and serious attention are paid in time, then there is greater risk of state failure in near future.

It is worth mentioning that Nepal shares a positive historical experience of protecting the state by adopting neutrality and nonalignment as a strategic tool in its foreign and security policy. Notably, Nepal has fully integrated these policies into its national identity, for both internal and external cohesion, peace, and stability. Even neutrality, non-interference, non-aggression, and principles of Panchasheel has been inscribed in the Nepal's Constitution of Nepal 2015, Article 51. While assessing federalism in Nepal from perspectives of national security, this study asserted a positive note that Nepal possesses a great possibility of ensuring and safeguarding a national security in federal system. Federal government, especially MoFA is responsible to take necessary measures for protecting and promoting external security, independence, sovereignty, and neutrality of Nepal. For this purpose, representatives of MOFA and tiers of government must be clear and precise about short term, mid- and long-term goals of national security interest.

Internally, the federal structure has provided a more emphasis on vertical intergovernmental arrangements for promoting and mediating defense sector of Nepal. As defined in the Constitution of Nepal 2015 on NA, the main objective of NA includes the defense of its population, sovereignty, territorial integrity, national unity, as well as promotion of world peace. The town police are primary actors for law enforcement within the country and subjected to maintain law and order, prevent, control, and investigate crime within the constitutional jurisdictional. Constitution has provided the provincial and local government to operationalize the mobilization of town police. However, tension between the provincial/local and federal government regarding intergovernmental

arrangements and delineation of shared provincial/local and federal on national security systems and functions. Having said that internal political dynamics must be improved. Negotiation and dialogue facilitation are important instruments to draw a common consensus on vital national security interest between the opposing political parties. Closed coordination, collaboration, and partnership between the Government to Government and layers of government, private sectors and civil society organizations can improve condition of public security within the country whereas strengthening national unity helps to lower the influence of external actors into Nepali land.

Therefore, based on the evidence provided above, national security must be revitalized as one of the important national interests of every level of government and citizens. Promotion and strengthen of internal security at layers of government contributes to create conducive environment for peace and stability within the country and does not allow interference of external actors, which ultimately ensures, protects and safeguards the national security of Nepal. Thus, a clear recognition and limitation of power according to constitutional schedules is an immediate need to foster the national security sectors and policies. One should realize that different countries have applied different forms of federal structure that best suits them on their historical background, sociocultural and political context and ideological values and norms. Accepting this fact, authorized stakeholders and government must rethink actions while determining or shaping the laws that complements our country's framework. For this purpose, collective actions are important. All stakeholders including governments, civil servants, bureaucrats, political parties and leaders, civil society organizations and public are equally needs to be aware about essence of national security so that each will be fully aware of their own civic roles and responsibilities.

At external level, realizing the ideological orientation and hidden interest of external actors, federal Nepal must facilitate tactful diplomatic negotiations to create win-win situation rather than the party's interest. In case of failure of diplomacy with the external actors, there is high risk of intervention from the outsiders and high risk of state failure if internal issues are not properly addressed on time. More focus is required on empowering and managing the existing institutions like IFA, NID and APF with economic as well as human resources that could effectively contribute to improve the national security of Nepal. Lastly, for strong national security there is essence of both balance between internal and external security. Imbalance in one end welcomes the outsider's interference.

References

- Acharya, M. R. (2019). An Instrument of National Power. In M. R. Acharya, *Nepal World View* (pp. 491-517). Ganpati Bhawan, Ansari Road Daryaganj, New Delhi: Adroit Publishers.
- ADB. (2020). *Nepal: Macro Economic Update*. Asian Development Bank. Retrieved from <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/577946/nepal-macroeconomic-update->
- Adhikari, A. (2013). Nepal: The Discontents after the Revolution. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48, 27-29. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23391302>
- Adhikari, D. R. (2018). A Small State Between Two Major Powers: Nepal's Foreign Policy Since 1816. *Journal of International Affairs*, 43-74.
- Alford, J. (1984). Security Dilemmas of Small States. *The World Today*, 363-369. Retrieved 1 01, 2021, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40395652>
- Andrey, M. (2010). Security Implications of Neutrality: Switzerland in the Partnership for Peace Framework. *Connections*, 9, 83-96. Retrieved February 22, 2022, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26326226>
- Anupam, B. (2020, October 24). UN Day Special Feature: The proud story of Nepal Army in UN Peacekeeping Missions. *My Republica*. Retrieved March 15, 2021, from <https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/un-day-special-feature-the-proud-story-of-nepal-army-in-un-peacekeeping-missions/#:~:text=Nepal%20Army%20has%20been%20actively%20participating%20in%20UN,serving%20in%2012%20different%20missions%20around%20the%20>
- Arsanjani, M. H. (1999). The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. *The American Journal of International Law*, 93, 22-43. doi:<https://doi.org/10.2307/2997954>

- Axline, W. A. (1978). Integration and Development in the Commonwealth Caribbean: The Politics of Regional Negotiations. *International Organization*, 32, 953-973. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706183>
- Baral, L. R. (2014). Multiple Paths to Nation Building in South Asia. In L. R. Baral, & K. Hachhethu, *South Asia: Nation Building and Federalism* (pp. 9-31). India : Vij Books India Pvt Ltd.
- Baral, L. R. (2014). *Multiple Paths to Nation Building in South Asia*. Vij Books India Pvt Ltd.
- Bhattacharyya, H. (2021). Federalism and Institutional Innovation . In H. Bhattacharyya, *FEDERALISM IN ASIA: India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Nepal and Myanmar* (pp. 85-123). 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN: Routledge.
- Boadway, R., & Shah, A. (2009). Introduction to Federalism and the Role of Governments in Federal Economies. In F. Federalism, *Fiscal Federalism: Principles and Practices of Multiorder Governance* (pp. 4-60). The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
- Bulmer, E. (2017). *Federalism*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA).
- Burchill, S. (2005). Liberalism. In Scott Burchill, A. Linklater, R. Devetak, J. Donnelly, M. Paterson, C. Reus-Smit, & J. True, *Theories of International Relations* (pp. 55-83). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS: Palgrave Macmillan 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010.
- Burgess, M. (2006). Federalism and Federations . In M. Burgess, *Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice* (pp. 76-101). 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN: Routledge.

- Burgess, M. (2006). The American federal experience. In M. Burgess, *Comparative Federalism* (pp. 50-75). 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN: Routledge.
- Buzan, B. (1983). National Security and the Nature of State. In B. Buzan, *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* (pp. 36-44). A member of the Harvester Press Group.
- CBS. (2078). *Nepal in Figures 2021*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Stastics.
- Chamlagai, A. (2020). Nepal: Tarai/Madhesh Movements and Political Elites. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 1-15. doi:10.1177/0021909620954881
- Chand, H. P. (2021). Nepal's Engagement in BRI and MCC: Implications onNepal's Geopolitics and Foreign Policy. *Journal of Political Science*. doi:https://doi.org/10.3126/jps.v21i1.39288
- Cheah, F. (2008). Inclusive Democracy for Madheshis: The Quest for Identity, Rights and Represenation. *Institute of South Asian Studies*. Retrieved from <http://madhesh.org/reports/inclusive-democracy-for-madheshis-the-quest-for-identity-rights-and-representation-farah-cheah-institute-of-south-asian-studies-2008/>
- Cordero, L. A., & Harmon, K. A. (2015). *Breaking the Cycle: Costa Rica, the Arms Trade Treaty and the Responsibility to Protect*. Pensamiento Propio.
- Cordesman, A. H. (2018). *Afghanistan: Conflict Metrics 2000-2018*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep224>: Center for Strategic and International Studies. Retrieved April 21, 2021, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep224>
- Dahal, D. R., & Ghimire, Y. (2012). Ethnic Federalism in Nepal: Risks and Opportunities. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 13, 71-78. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43134216>

Dixit, A. M. (2017, July 21). China's Belt and Road Comes to Nepal. *The Diplomat*. Retrieved April 20, 2022, from <https://thediplomat.com/2017/07/chinas-belt-and-road-comes-to-nepal/>

Dixit, K. M. (2012, August 4). The Life and Death of the Constituent Assembly of Nepal. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47, 35-41. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23251625>

Documentation: Foreign Policy and National Security. (1976). *International Security*, 182–191. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2538582>

Donnelly, J. (2005). Realism. In S. Burchill, A. Linklater, R. Devetak, J. Donnelly, M. Paterson, C. Reus-Smit, & J. True, *Theories of International Relation* (pp. 29-54). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.

DRCN. (2019). *Budget Allocation and Implementation by Local Governments in the Federal Structure*. Lalitpur: Democracy Resource Centre Nepal.

Embassy of Nepal. (n.d.). *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from Embassy of Nepal, Washington D.C.USA: <https://us.nepalembassy.gov.np/foreign-policy-2/>

Federal Parliament Secretariat. (2020, October). *Federal Parliament of Nepal: Brief Introduction*. Retrieved from Federal Parliament Secretariat: Parliamentary Study and Research Section: <https://hr.parliament.gov.np/uploads/attachments/gochy1tj5vmblyvf.pdf>

Forum for Federation. (n.d.). *United States of America*. Retrieved from Forum for Federation: <https://forumfed.org/countries/united-states-of-america/>

Forum of Federations. (n.d.). *India*. Retrieved from Forum of Federations: <https://forumfed.org/countries/india/>

- Fukuyama, F. (1989). The End of History? *The National Interest*, 3-18. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24027184>
- Fukuyama, F. (2018). *Identity*. United States of America: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Fukuyama, F. (2018). What is to be done? In F. Fukuyama, *Identity* (pp. 163-183). Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Ghimire, B., & Ojha, A. (2022, February 27). Nepalis in Ukraine fear for their lives after Russian invasion. *The Kathmandu Post*, p. 2. Retrieved February 27, 2022, from <https://kathmandupost.com/national/2022/02/26/nepalis-in-ukraine-fear-for-their-lives-after-russian-invasion>
- Ghimire, Y. (2017, July 17). Next Door Nepal: Non-alignment in Kathmandu. *The Indian Express*, p. 3. Retrieved 27, 2022, from <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/doklam-stand-off-india-china-next-door-nepal-non-alignment-in-kathmandu-4753681/>
- Gilpin, R. (1988). The Theory of Hegemonic War. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18, 591–613. doi:<https://doi.org/10.2307/204816>
- Goldberg, S. M. (1996). The Fall and Rise of Roman Tragedy. *Transactions of the American Philological Association (1974-2014)*, 126, 265-286. Retrieved February 20, 2021, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/370179>
- Goodrich, L. M. (1947). From League of Nations to United Nations. *International Organization*, 1, 3-21. Retrieved April 18, 2020, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2703515>
- Government of Nepal. (2015, September 20). *Constitution of Nepal 2015*. Retrieved from Nepal law Commission: <https://www.lawcommission.gov.np/en/>

- Hague, R., & Harrop, M. (2004). The State in the Global Context. In R. Hague, & M. Harrop, *Comparative Government and Politics* (pp. 17-34). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heywood, A. (2011). *Global Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan .
- Heywood, A. (2011). Introducing Global Politics . In A. Heywood, *Global Politics* (pp. 1-24). Palgrave Macmillan.
- His Majesty Government of Nepal. (1990, November 9). *Consitution of Kingdom of Nepal, 1990*. Retrieved from Nepal Law Comission: <https://www.lawcommission.gov.np/en/>
- Hollingsworth, J. (2021, August 24). Who are the Taliban and how did they take control of Afghanistan so swiftly? *CNN*. Retrieved April 20, 2022, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/08/16/middleeast/taliban-control-afghanistan-explained-intl-hnk/index.html>
- Ingebritsen, C. (2004). Small States and EU Expansion. *Scandinavian Studies*, 369-384. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40920573>
- Jha, M., & Yadav, P. K. (2018, January 3). Conspiracy and charades: On the making of the 2015 constitution of Nepal. *The Record*. Retrieved April 20, 2022, from <https://www.recordnepal.com/conspiracy-and-charades-on-the-making-of-the-2015-constitution-of-nepal>
- Jha, P. (2014). Waging War and Peace. In P. Jha, *Battles of the New Republic: A contemporary Histroy of Nepal* (pp. 9-68). 7/16 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110002: Aleph Book Company.
- Kant, I. (2005). Towards Perpetual Peace. In D. Karmis, & W. Norman, *Theories of Federalism: A Reader* (pp. 87-99). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Keohane, R. O. (1996). Lilliputians' Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics. *International Organization*, 291–310.
- Khanal, K. P. (2014). Federalism Discourse in Nepal: An appraisal. In L. R. Baral, & K. Hachhethu, *South Asia: Nation Building and Federalism* (pp. 108-132). New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd.
- Khanal, Y. (2000). *Nepal's Non-Isolationist Foreign Policy*. Dilli Bazar, Kathmandu, Nepal: Satyal Publication.
- Koh, T. T. (1987). THE ORIGINS OF THE 1982 CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF THE SEA. *Malaya Law Review*, 29, 1-17. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24865419>
- Koirala, N. (2020, June 4). Limpiyadhura-Kalapani-Lipulekh dispute. *The Kathmandu Post*. Retrieved January 22, 2022, from <https://kathmandupost.com/columns/2020/06/04/limpiyadhura-kalapani-lipulekh-dispute>
- Lamoreaux, J. W., & Galbreath, D. J. (2008). THE BALTIC STATES AS 'SMALL STATES': NEGOTIATING THE 'EAST' BY ENGAGING THE 'WEST'. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 39, 1-14. Retrieved February 13, 2022, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43212804>
- Leffler, M. P. (1990). National Security. *Journal of American History*, 143-152.
- Leitenberg, M. (2006). *Deaths in Wars and Conflicts in the 20th Century*. Clingendael Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05360>.
- Lupel, A., & Malksoo, L. (2019). Introduction. A Necessary Voice: Small States, International Law, and the UN Security Council. *International Peace Institute*, 1-3. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep19645.4>
- Madan, T. (2021, October). Major Power Rivalry in South Asia. *Discussion Paper Series on Managing Global Disorder*, 1-44. Retrieved from Council of Foreign Relations.

- Miller, L. H. (1999, July-September). The Idea and the Reality of Collective Security. *Global Governance*, 5, 303-332. Retrieved February 22, 2022, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27800235>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs . (2021, March 20). *Nepal's foreign Policy*. Retrieved from The Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <https://mofa.gov.np/foreign-policy/>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs . (2021, March 20). *Nepal's foreign Policy*. Retrieved from The Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <https://mofa.gov.np/foreign-policy/>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2021). *Nepal's Foreign Affairs (2020-2021)*. Kathamndu Nepal: Ministry of Foreign Affairs .
- Mishra, R. (2004, September/ October). India's Role in Nepal's Maoist Insurgency. *Asian Survey*, 44, 627-646. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2004.44.5.627?origin=JSTOR-pdf>
- Monnet, J. (2011). Regionalism and Global politics. In A. Heywood, *Global Politics* (pp. 480-506). 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Monnet, J. (2011). Regionalism and Global Politics. In A. Heywood, *Global politics* (pp. 480-506). 175th Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Morgan, D. (2009). The Decline and Fall of the Mongol Empire. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 19, 427-437. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27756097>
- Musambachime, M. C. (1999). THE ROLE OF THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE GULF. *International Journal on World Peace*, 16, 37-67. Retrieved February 22, 2022, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20753204>
- Nepali Times . (2021, July 5). UAV surveillance in immediate aftermath of the flood was a test case for future disaster response. *Nepali Times*.

- Nepali Times. (2022, March 4). Trapped in Ukraine. *Nepali Times*. Retrieved April 20, 2022, from <https://www.nepalitimes.com/latest/trapped-in-ukraine/>
- NLPC. (2020). *An integrated report on Public participation in law making in provinces of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Nepal Law and Policy Centre. Retrieved from <https://nlpc.org.np/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Law-making-in-the-provincial-level-1.pdf>
- NP. (2021, January 28). Corruption on the rise in Nepal: Transparency International. *Nepal Press*. Retrieved February 20, 2022, from <https://english.nepalpress.com/2021/01/28/corruption-on-the-rise-in-nepal-transparency-international/>
- Nye, J. S. (2008). Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, 94-109. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25097996>
- Ogden II, R. F., & Anderson, D. A. (2008). US Foreign Policy toward North Korea: A Way Ahead. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 2, 72-119. Retrieved February 22, 2022, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26267545>
- OHCHR. (2012). *Nepal Conflict Report*. Geneva: United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- OHCHR. (2012). *Nepal Conflict Report*. Geneva: United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for .
- Panda, A. (2016, March 24). Nepal Becomes Shanghai Cooperation Organization Dialogue Partner. *The Diplomat*. Retrieved April 20, 2022, from <https://thediplomat.com/2016/03/nepal-becomes-shanghai-cooperation-organization-dialogue-partner/>

- Pandey, D. R. (2009). Structuring Fiscal Federalism for Democratic Development. In B. P. Bhurtel, *The Political Economy of Fiscal Federalism in Nepal* (pp. 31-62). Kathmandu, Nepal: Nepal South Asia Centre.
- Pandey, P. R. (2014). Nepal's Accession to the World Trade Organization: Case Study of Issues Relevant to Least Developed Countries Department of Economic & Social Affairs. *Department of Economic and Social Affairs*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/es/71435280/Nepals_Accession_to_the_World_Trade_Organization_Case_Study_of_Issues_Relevant_to_Least_Developed_Countries_Department_of_Economic_and_Social_Affairs
- Peleg, I. (2004). Transforming Ethnic Orders to Pluralist Regimes: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Analysis. In A. Guelke, *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict: Advancing Peace in Deeply Divided Societies* (pp. 7-26). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pradhan, T. R. (2022, February 27). Parliament ratifies MCC compact after years of delay. *The Kathmandu Post*. Retrieved April 20, 2022, from <https://kathmandupost.com/national/2022/02/27/nepal-parliament-ratifies-mcc-compact>
- Ray, S. N. (2004). *Modern Comparative Politics: Approaches, Methods and Issues*. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India .
- Reus-Smit, C. (2005). Constructivism. In S. Burchill, A. Linklater, R. Devetak,, J. Donnelly, M. Paterson, C. Reus-Smit, & J. True, *Theories of International Relations* (pp. 194-211). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rowan, J. P. (2005, May/June). The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance, ASEAN, and the South China Sea Dispute. *Asian Survey*, 45, 414-436. Retrieved March 20, 2020, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2005.45.3.414>

- Scott, K. (2011). *Federalism: A Normative Theory and Practical Relevance* (Vol. VIII). New York: Continuum International.
- Sharma, S. (2014). *Prayogshala Nepali Sankramanma Dilli Ra Maobadi*. Bishalnagar, Kathmandu: Fineprint Book.
- Shrestha, P. M. (2022, January 26). Nepal's position in corruption index remains unchanged. *The Kathmandu Post*. Retrieved February 2022, 2022, from <https://kathmandupost.com/national/2022/01/26/nepal-s-position-in-corruption-index-remains-unchanged>
- Simkhada, S. R. (2018). Changing Trends and Priorities in Current International Relations. In S. R. Simkhada, *Nepal, India China: Relations in the 21st Century* (pp. 3-22). Exhibition Road, Kathmandu: SANRAB Publications.
- Simkhada, S. R. (2018). *Nepal India China: Relations in the 21st century*. Exhibition Road, Kathmandu: SANRAB Publication.
- Ssekandi, F. M. (2013). The Changing Role of Regional Organizations in Maintaining Peace and Security. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (American Society of International Law)*, 107, 325-326. Retrieved April 4, 2022, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5305/procannmeetasil.107.0325>
- Tegenbos, G. (2016, March 7). *Belgium at the centre of the conference on federalism 2005*. Retrieved 10 11, 2021, from Forum of Federations: <http://www.forumfed.org/libdocs/Federations/V4N3-be-Tegenbos.pdf>
- The Kathamndu Post. (2020, September 20). Constitution of Nepal 2015 Promulgated. *The Kathamndu Post*. Retrieved from <https://kathmandupost.com/valley/2015/09/20/people-celebrate-constitution-promulgation-in-photos>

- Thorhallsson, B., & Bailes, A. J. (2017). Do Small States Need ‘Alliance Shelter’? In A. W. Neal, *Security in a Small Nation* (pp. 49-75). Open Book Publishers. Retrieved 10 11, 2021, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1sq5v42.7>
- Upreti, B. R. (2009). *Nepal: From War to Peace*. 4675/21, Ganapati Bhawan, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002: ADROIT PUBLISHER.
- Upreti, B. R., & Sapkota, B. (2017). *Case Study on Nepal Observations and Reflections on the Peace and Constitution-Making Process*. Sonnenbergstrasse 17, Switzerland: Swiss Peace.
- Varughese, G., & Payne, L. (2019, May 17). Constitutional guardianship in Nepal. *Nepali Times*. Retrieved April 12, 2022, from <https://www.nepalitimes.com/opinion/constitutional-guardianship-in-nepal/>
- Waltz, K. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Mass: Addison-Wesley.
- Waxman, M. C. (2012, February). National Security Federalism in the Age of Terror. *Stanford Law Review*, 289-350 . Retrieved January 20, 2022, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41511093>
- WHE. (n.d.). *Shang Dynasty*. Retrieved from World History Encyclopaeda: https://www.worldhistory.org/Shang_Dynasty/
- Wizarat, T. A. (1987). THE ROLE OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL IN REGIONAL SECURITY. *Strategic Studies*, 11, 69-78. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45182737>
- World Bank Nepal. (2021). *Nepal Development Update* . Kathmandu, Nepal: World Bank Nepal.