Abstract

There can be no issue of greater consequence than the use of force for police and law enforcement professionals. In a transitional post-conflict country like Nepal, internal security agencies play a vital role in managing the complexity of political, social and economic transformation. Ever since the end of the feudal oligarchic militaristic Rana regime, internal security and law enforcement took precedence in providing safety and security for the Nepalese people. Since Nepal entered a democratic transition in 1950, it almost failed to consolidate and strengthen its internal security and law enforcement apparatus by appropriately restructuring and consolidating the Nepal Police and National Intelligence functions. Even after the democratic political transformation of 1950, it took five years to establish the national Nepal Police in 1955.

Law enforcement agencies are now challenged to solve problems well beyond traditional scope. Therefore, internal security must come up with highly developed methods of policing and law enforcement. Technologically, this may not be possible yet, but it can provide management and training of its personnel based on world standards of policing and emphasizing knowledge and skill enhancement and professional behavior.

This paper has tried to focus and analyze the use of force by internal security apparatus of the Government of Nepal in the past and brainstorm its future roles and challenges. The paper is divided into two parts. The first part will touch upon contextual commentary on the use of force in brief. The second part will highlight three time-tested models and procedures of the use of force.
Introduction

Setting Standards for the “Law Enforcement Use-of-Force Policy” is one of the hotly contested subjects of policing today. Simply put, use-of-force describes how much force officers use when interacting with civilians. Law enforcement leaders must arm officers with proper information and training to keep them safe (“Law Enforcement Use-of-Force Policy,” 2018)

Law enforcement continues to be challenged to solve problems well beyond the traditional scope of the field today. At the same time, public scrutiny has increased—and with it, pressure from local and national stakeholders to solve societal problems quickly and well. With such broad and critical responsibilities in the hands of local law enforcement agencies, it is more important than ever to provide law enforcement officers and executives who serve in them with proven, up-to-date methods for addressing the many challenges they may face (U.S. Department of Justice, 2018)

Broadly speaking, the use of force by law enforcement officers becomes necessary and is permitted under specific circumstances, such as in self-defense or in defense of another individual or group (National Institute of Justice, 2019). But sometimes lack of clear and guiding principles on the use of force challenge the legality, proportionality and legitimacy of the use of force for which the government and the organizations must pay dearly.

International agencies along with National Human Rights Commission and even Parliament State Affairs Committee question the legality and credibility of the use of force by the agencies of the government of Nepal. On June 2019, Parliament State Affairs Committee (SAC) instructed the Ministry of Home Affairs to launch a probe into the killing of Kumar Paudel, the Sarlahi in-charge of Netra Bikram Chand-led Communist Party of Nepal (My Republica, June 24, 2019). Reuters writes, “Nepal Police and protestors both used extreme violence during recent protests in the lowland Tarai region,” Human Rights referring Human Rights Watch (Both police and protestors n.d.)

International Association of Chiefs of Police describes use of force as the “amount of effort required by police to compel compliance by an unwilling subject”. Use of force is a delicate and risky job. There can be “no two situations the same, nor are any two officers. In a potentially threatening situation, an officer will quickly tailor a response and apply force, if necessary. Situational awareness is essential, and officers are trained to judge when a crisis requires the use of force to regain control of a situation” (ICAP, n.d.).

There are many strategies evolved by law enforcement experts and veterans on the Use-of-Force by law enforcement agencies of the world that Nepal can learn and adopt from. Many such strategies like Standard Use of Force Model, Critical Decision-Making Model trainings have been in place in many police agencies around the world for years. As there are going to be multiple law enforcement agencies from central, provincial, metropolitan to local level, the use of such models can be vital for the uniformity of principle and practice of the use-of-force all over the country.
Confronting today’s brutal facts

Many governments and their law enforcement agencies feel overconfident and sometimes too defensive; at the same time, they tend to undermine the fact that they are always under microscopic public scrutiny. In the coming years, many state and local law enforcement agencies and their officers may feel misunderstood and undervalued for the service they provide and the sacrifices they make for the community. These days, many law enforcement agencies show more concern with crime data than actual performance and service.

Limitation of the power of law enforcement agencies in the use of force in Nepal

There are many facets regarding the ‘use-of-force’ both for Nepal Police and the Armed Police Force, Nepal. Normally, it is not the chief of the security organization who makes the decision to use force. It is first the prime-minister, the cabinet, the home-minister, and or of? Home secretary decide and dictate in several occasions that compromise professional decisions of officers at the headquarters and the place of incident. One simple example of the faulty decision on the use of force is well elaborated in Box One.

Box One

A notorious gangster Dinesh Adhikari ‘Chari’ was shot dead in police encounter in August 2015 in Kathmandu. In this incident, a mass protest by over 200 United Marxist-Leninist (UML) (a major political party of Nepal) supporters reached their UML party office to draw party’s attention demanding a probe on this case as a false encounter and extra-judicial killing (The Kathmandu Post, 2014)

A Team of Metropolitan Police, Crime Division shot notorious gangster in police encounter, killing Kumar Shrestha alias ‘Ghainte’ along with his two allies injured in Kathmandu on August 2015. The police claimed to have fired in self-defense that was refuted by Nepali Congress, the major political party of Nepal as a ‘revenge murder’ demanding resignation of then Home Minister Bam Dev Gautam (The Kathmandu Post, 2015).

In August 2015, after four people were killed in violent clashes, police constables were allowed to carry only batons and tear gas. Guns were given to junior officers, but with clear instruction (from the government) not to carry them as a last resort.

Five days later, eight policemen including Senior Superintendent of Police, Laxman Neupane were lynched in Tikapur of Kailali in the far western plains. One child (cousin of Armed Police Force, Nepal) was shot dead by the protestors (Bohara, 2017).

The above incidences are just the tip of the iceberg. There may be uncountable instances of disproportionate use of force during the ten year long armed conflict between the government forces and the Maoist combatants of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) which caused the death of more than 16,000 Nepalese people. A major reason for this could be inadequacy and lack of training,
weak supervision and control in the use-of-force by the government forces that escalated the conflict and violence that continues today.

**Need to challenge conventional Thinking**

Chuck Wexler writes in his paper, “Why we need to challenge conventional thinking on police use of force.” (*Critical Issues in Policing Series Guiding Principles on Use of Force, 2016*). He strongly emphasizes a need for guiding principles in police and law enforcement operations, especially in the use of police force. This has to be developed and practiced in such a way that everybody understands and appreciates what police should do while using police force.

In every law enforcement agency, there can be one or two trigger happy commanders who simply damage the image of an otherwise credible law enforcement agency by their reckless use of force. This can be controlled and mitigated by providing good training, supervision and guidance from superior commanders. But it is also important to note that there might be some officers in the force who might never have fired a single shot throughout their entire career except in the firing range during their training. Besides, many law enforcement officers face enormous challenges and risks to their own safety on a regular basis (*Critical Issues in Policing Series Guiding Principles on Use of Force, 2016, p.10*)

Therefore, the decision to use legal, proportionate and justifiable force is not only an issue of common sense, and experience of the concerned officer. Training, expertise, concerns of the government and oversight bodies and finally the chiefs of the organizations, not the least, the head of law enforcement agencies also matters.

**Nepalese context**

In Nepal, use of arms by other than security personnel is negligible. However, the government is lax in gun regulation and control. Box one above, the possession and use of firearms is highly sensitive in Nepal. In Nepal, a few goons with guns can play havoc and intimidate the general public, the government and parliament. As illustrated in Box One.

In Nepal, public protesters and demonstrators are normally unarmed and less aggressive to police and authorities compared to other poor and developing countries of the world. But the use-of-force by security agencies is found to be over-reactive, forceful and sometimes violent with further escalation of tension and violence. An example of the rape and murder case of Nirmala Pant shows lapses in police probe that led to escalation and use-of-force that was disproportionate and unjustifiable (*The Kathmandu Post, 2018*).

In the ongoing “Umbrella Revolution” protests and demonstrations in Hong Kong, Chinese law enforcement personnel have demonstrated exemplary restraint in the use of force. In the seven-month long demonstration and protest there have been very few fatalities from the use of guns. However, there can be many reasons behind this. And, as another example, protest and mass demonstrations in Iraq show shocking and unprecedented human casualties with 40 deaths and 1,000 injuries in one day.
In Iran, when people protested gasoline price-hikes, security forces responded to the unarmed protesters by opening unrestrained fire, killing 180 people. “The recent use of lethal force against people throughout the country is unprecedented,” says Omid Memarian, the deputy director of the Center for Human Rights in Iran (Gladstone & Fassihi, 2019). According to international human rights organizations, opposition groups and local journalists, the government has killed 180 to 450, wounded 2,000 and detained 7,000 within four days (Gladstone & Fassihi, 2019). All of these incidents depict good examples and bad examples of the use of force by the law enforcement and security agencies of various countries. These all result from either adhering to or ignoring basic principles of the police use of force i.e. the necessity and proportionality of the use of force.

Unfortunately, there is a lack of sufficient literature, research materials and interest in research and studies in these areas.

Security organizations of Nepal need to improve their law enforcement record and standard in the use of force. Old ways of thinking continue to permeate police training, tactics, and culture.

Strategy and policy development in the use-of-Force

This aspect of police personnel involved in shooting incidents is rarely talked about in the force. This is but widely known among police executives that law enforcement personnel who must sometimes use deadly force and often face serious challenges during the incident that remain in their minds for the rest of their lives. It can also trouble them with complicated legal issues as well as possibly traumatic emotional, physical, and psychological consequences. Therefore, one key issue might be to train police officers to rethink and review the use of force, specifically regarding procedure and of using firearms, legal issues involved; de-escalation and crisis intervention techniques and strategies that may be very important and necessary. To achieve these goals, police colleges and law enforcement academies need to initiate modern and advanced training in the police and law enforcement use of force for their officers that may include - mechanism of using firearms, legal issues governing use of force, de-escalation and crisis intervention techniques and strategies etc. Such training may also include tactical disengagement, preservation of life, tactical communication, scenarios, emotional intelligence and stress management for officers during critical incidents etc. Such already exists in some U.S. police agencies (Gladstone & Fassihi, 2019, p.14-18).

For decades, individual police agencies have been developing innovative best policies, practices, and training on use-of-force issues. That process must continue—and accelerate.

There are approximately 18,000 law enforcement agencies in the United States, and these agencies have a variety of policies and practices on the use of force (Gladstone & Fassihi, 2019, P 21). Nepal is presumably going to have 753 small or bigger law enforcement agencies and cells in each of their central, provincial, metropolitan and local governmental bodies in the near-future. The Constitution of Nepal 2015, Schedule 5 has already mandated the Government of Nepal for that. Now, this has become a great challenge to restructure Nepal Police in three tiers and develop training uniformity
and standardization in training including use-of-force principles; skills and behavior that is going to
determine the future of the security governance political stability of the federal Nepal.

Maybe the time has come to challenge the conventional thinking in Nepal too.

Use of Force Models

There is a fundamental difference between the principles and practices of the ‘use-of-force’ adopted
by military organizations and paramilitary forces which is directed and determined by their military
doctrine and the rules of engagement policy respectively. However, police law enforcement use of
force should be more flexible and adaptive compared to that of military and paramilitary forces.
Hence, the fundamental principles of a law enforcement agency should be to use only the amount of
force necessary to mitigate an incident, make an arrest, or protect themselves or others from harm.
Therefore, the level, or continuum, of force police uses may include basic verbal and physical
restraint, less than lethal force, with lethal force only as a last resort.

In this regard, one frequently used model of use of force is called the "Standard Use of Force Model
(see Figure One). Most law enforcement agencies may have policies that guide their use of force
procedures and practices. These policies describe and elaborate escalating series of actions that
generally have many levels. In various situations and levels, a law enforcement officer responds with
a level of force appropriate to the situation at hand, acknowledge the subject’s action and move from
one part of the continuum to another matter of seconds (Police Executive Research Forum, 2016).

Figure 1: Standard Use- of- Force Model
Source: Dr. Franklin Graves, Federal Law Enforcement Training Center

On the bottom line of the (Figure One, Left), Subject Action Category represents the escalating
amount of resistance from the subject. On the right side, it is the officer’s response. The derivative of
the interaction of these two results the risk perception of the law enforcement officer.
The Standard of Force Model consists of five levels represented by three segments: subject action (the amount of resistance the subject is posing); law enforcement officer’s response (amount of force given based on the suspect’s action – officer’s perception of risk, or how the individual officer assess the situation based on the subject’s resistance); physical presence (an officer starts by utilizing physical presence and his/her verbal communication); followed by the physical contact and control (For example – arms-holding while the subject begins to show sign of passive resistance).

When Active resistance occurs (Level Three of Figure one), then increased level compliance technique are utilized. When the subject becomes assaultive, or the threat is imminent or bodily harm is perceived; or when physical injury is possible, then the officer uses defensive tactics with less lethal weapons. When all these fail, the highest of assaultive behavior is met by deadly force in the form of firearm as a last resort. The above Figure shows how some departments prefer to operate (Faircloth, 2017).

This model is more applicable in individual and isolated cases up to a small crowd. For mass demonstrations, riots and revolt it may largely depend upon the commander’s discretion and Risk Perception Category and training of the deployed law enforcement officer who plays a crucial and decisive role.

A further explanation of use-of-force continuum can be summed-up as: 1. Officers presence at the place of incidence; 2. Verbalization – physical force is not-physical, 3. Empty-Hand control – officers use bodily force to gain control of a situation, 4. Less-Lethal methods - Officers use less-lethal technologies to gain control of a situation, 5. Lethal Force – Officers use lethal weapons to gain control of a situation. Lethal use-of-force may be used only if the suspect category poses a serious threat to the officer category or another individual.

If we study and analyze the issue of the killings of Dinesh Adhikari alias ‘Chari’ and Kumar Shrestha alias ‘Gahite’; a well-grounded principle like “Use of Force Continuum” is totally missing in both incidents. Although both of them were notorious criminals on police wanted lists, the government and Nepal Police could not convince the people that it was not an extra-judicial killing.

Use of such a model could have helped justify such police operations. This continuum is most relevant and also effective in dealing with deranged, aggressive individuals and mentally deranged and dangerous persons.

**30 Guiding principles on Use of Force**

The clusters of these 30 Guiding Principles are major recent breakthrough in American policing (Critical Issues in Policing Series Guiding Principles on Use of Force, 2016). These principles are one of the most authoritative and time tested principles and practices of the use of arms for law enforcement officers and police executives. These principles are basically organized into four areas, i.e. – a) Policy, b) Training and Tactics c) Equipment, and, d) Information Exchange. Some of the relevant policies underlying these guidelines are quoted with commentary below:
POLICY 1

The Sanctity of human life should be at the heart of everything an agency does.

Police Agency’s mission statements, policies, and training curricula should emphasize the sanctity of all human life and the importance of treating all persons with dignity and respect.

POLICY 2

Agencies should continue to develop best policies, practices, and training on use-of-force issues that go beyond the minimum requirements.

POLICY 3

Police use of force must meet the test of proportionality.

A reviewing officer responsible must assess whether or not a police response was proportional to the threat faced. The review should consider the following:

• Was only the level of force necessary to mitigate the threat and safely achieve a lawful objective used?

• Was there another, less injurious option available that would have allowed the responding officer to achieve the same objective as effectively and safely?

• Will the actions taken be viewed as appropriate—by the agency and by the general public—given the severity of the threat and all circumstances?

Proportionality considers the nature and severity of the underlying events.

POLICY 4

Adopt de-escalation as formal agency policy

Agencies should adopt a general policy to prefer de-escalation as a tactically sound approach in many critical incidents. General Orders should require officers to receive training on key de-escalation principles. Many agencies already provide crisis intervention training as a key element of de-escalation. Crisis intervention policies and training may be combined or amalgamated. Officers must be trained in these principles, and their supervisors should hold them accountable for adhering to them.
POLICY 5

The Critical Decision-Making (CDM) Model provides a new way to approach critical incidents

The Critical Decision-Making (CDM) Model guides officers through a process of:

- Collecting information,
- Assessing the situation, threats, and risks,
- Considering police powers and agency policy,
- Identifying options and determining the best course of action, and
- Acting, reviewing, and re-assessing the situation.

POLICY 6

Duty to intervene: Officers need to prevent other officers from using excessive force.

Officers should be obligated to intervene when they believe another officer is about to use excessive or unnecessary force, or when they witness colleagues using excessive or unnecessary force, or engaging in other misconduct.

POLICY 7

Respect the sanctity of life promptly rendering first aid.

Officers should render first aid to subjects who have been injured as a result of police actions and should promptly request medical assistance.

| With Better Policies, Training, and Equipment, police can reduce police shooting and also keep police personnel safe. |

POLICY 8

Shooting at vehicles must be prohibited.

Not yet practiced in Nepal

POLICY 9

Prohibit use of deadly force against individuals who pose danger only to themselves.

Agencies should prohibit the use of deadly force, and carefully consider the use of many less-lethal options, against individuals who pose a danger only to themselves; and not to other members of the public or to officers.
POLICY 10

**Document use-of-force incidents, and review data and enforcement practices to ensure that they are fair and non-discriminatory.**

Agencies should document all types of use of force, the use of a deadly weapon, less-lethal weapon, or weapon of opportunity; or any instance where injury is observed or alleged by the subject. This is critical for both external reporting and internal improvements to policy and training. Ensure that use-of-force and enforcement practices are not discriminatory.

POLICY 11

**To build understanding and trust, agencies should issue regular reports to the public on use of force.**

Agencies should publish regular reports on their officers’ use of force, including officer-involved in shooting, deployment of less-lethal options, and use of canines. These reports should be published annually at the minimum, and should be widely available through the agency’s website and in hard copy if possible.

POLICY 12

**All critical police incidents resulting in death or serious bodily injury should be reviewed by specially trained personnel.**

Incidents that involve death or serious injury as a result of a police action should be reviewed by a team of specially trained personnel. This can be done either within the agency through a separate “force investigation unit” that has appropriate resources, expertise, and community trust, or by another law enforcement agency that has the resources, expertise, and credibility to conduct the investigation.

POLICY 13

**Agencies need be transparent in providing information following use-of-force incidents.**

Agencies that experience an officer-involved shooting or other serious use-of-force incident should release as much information as possible to the public, as quickly as possible, acknowledging that the information is preliminary and may change as more details unfold. At a minimum, agencies should release basic, preliminary information about an incident within hours of its occurrence, and should provide regular updates as new information becomes available.
Guiding Principles – Training and Tactics

POLICY 14

Training academy content and culture must reflect agency’s values. The content of police training and the training academy culture should reflect the core values, attributes, and skills of the agency. Values-based training culture must extend to the agency’s field training and in-service training programs as well.

POLICY 15

Officers should be trained to use a Critical Decision-Making Model

Agencies should train officers to use a decision-making framework during critical incidents and other tactical situations.

POLICY 16

Use Distance, Cover, and Time to replace outdated concepts

Agencies should train their officers on the principles of using distance, cover, and time when approaching and managing certain critical incidents.

POLICY 17

De-escalation should be the core theme of an agency’s training program

Agencies should train their officers on a comprehensive program of de-escalation strategies and tactics designed to defuse tense encounters. De-escalation strategies should be based on the following key principles:

• Effective communication should be the first option and officers should maintain communication throughout any encounter.

• If an encounter requires a use of force, officers should start from the level of force that is necessary to mitigate the threat. Officers should not unnecessarily escalate a situation themselves.

POLICY 18

De-escalation starts with effective communications

As a point of an agency's de-escalation strategy, all officers should receive rigorous and ongoing training on communications skills. All officers should also receive training on basic negotiation techniques.
POLICY 19

Mental Illness: Implement a comprehensive agency training program on dealing with people with mental health issues

Officers must be trained in how to recognize people with mental health issues and deal with them in a safe and humane manner.

POLICY 20

Tactical training and mental health training need to be interwoven to improve response to critical incident

Officers should be trained to work as a team, and not as individual actors, when responding to tense situations involving persons with mental illness.

POLICY 21

Community-based outreach teams can be a valuable component to agencies' mental health response

POLICY 22

Provide prompt supervisory response to critical incidents to reduce the likelihood of unnecessary force.

POLICY 23

Training as teams can improve performance in the field

Agencies should provide in-service training on critical decision-making, de-escalation, and use of force. Agencies should at least ensure standardization in their policies and training so that all officers are receiving the same information.

POLICY 24

Scenario-Based training should be prevalent, challenging, and realistic.

In both recruit and in-service programs, agencies should provide use-of-force training that utilizes realistic and challenging scenarios that officers are likely to encounter in the field.
Guiding Principles – Equipment

POLICY 25-30.

While Guiding Principles on Equipment (Policy No. 25 to 30) are more technical than a country like Nepal can afford at the present, it is still critical that the culture presented by the first 24 Guiding Principles be developed along with efforts to improve equipment. (40 -77)

PERF’s Critical Decision-Making Model (CDM)

As law enforcement leaders, we make crucial operational decisions every day (Powsalie, 2016, p. 3). The Critical Decision-Making Model consists of five-steps of critical thinking process. These five steps are built around the core values of the department and policing profession. A credible professional like Nepal Police and Armed Police Force, Nepal must have police ethics and agency values. As far as the grounding principles are concerned, it must have a concept of proportionality (Guiding Principle # 3) and sanctity of human life. (Guiding Principle # 1)

Everything an officer does within the CDM must support the ideals in the center, and no action can go against those standards.

Based on ethical core there are five steps in CDM as given below

Step 1

Collect Information

At first, the officer must head visit the incident site and gather/collect information / intelligence (this can be done more than once)

This will enable officer to understand:

— Circumstances that prompted the call

![Critical Decision Making Model](https://www.policeforum.org/assets/30%20guiding%20principles.pdf)
Thapa: The Guiding Principles of Police: Use of Force

- Individuals on the scene, the physical environment
- Presence of weapons
- Presence of bystanders, including children,
- Mental health/substance abuse issues

There can be some background information/intelligence about previous incident/s involving this location or the person or persons who were involved?

Step 2
Assess situation Threat and Risks

Respond to incident after evaluating, comparing the findings from Step One (any escalation of de-escalation of the incident?). If there an escalation, the Shifts onto the high gear proportionately – visually gauging the threat and risk.

During this step: Ask yourself -

What immediate actions do I need to take? What are the threat and risk; if any? What additional information do I need? What could go wrong and how serious could the harm be? Am I trained and equipped to handle this situation by myself? Does this situation require a supervisory response to provide additional planning and co-ordination etc.?

During this step: Ask yourself:

Do I need additional police resources (e.g., other less-lethal weaponry, specialized equipment, other units, officers specially trained in (mental) health issues)? Is this a situation for the police to handle alone, or should other agencies/ resources be involved? And so on. Then decide on to go to the Third Step.

Step 3
Consider Police Power and Agency Policy

Does the officer have authority to take action – Think about agencies’ policies over and about the situation.

During this step: ask yourself: -

Do I have the legal power to take action? What agency policies control my response? Are there other issues I should think about? (e.g., jurisdictional or mutual aid considerations and am I authorized to take action here?) Then you can shift to Step Four.

Step 4
Identify Options and Determine the Best Course of Action

Using the information and assessment from earlier steps, narrow the options and determine the best course of action.
Determine if the officers have enough information and resources, and a compelling interest, to act right away. Or should they hold off? Is it possibly to get more information and resources? During this step:

Officers should ask themselves …

What am I trying to achieve? What options are open to me? What contingencies must I consider if I choose a particular option? How might the subject respond if I choose a particular option? Is there a compelling reason to act now, or can I wait? Do I have the information and resources I need to act now?

Step 5

Act, Review and Re-assess

Execute the plan, evaluate the impact, and determine what more, if anything, they need to do. Officers should execute the plan; then ask themselves …Did I achieve the desired outcome? - Is there anything more I need to consider? - What lessons did I learn?

Protecting officers’ physical and emotional well-being

Finally, officers’ emotional well-being as well as their physical safety is a must in any police agency. Police leaders who have themselves used deadly force at some point in their careers said it is not something they ever forget. Even in situations where no one questions an officer’s use of deadly force, the officer may experience feelings of anxiety, isolation, and even depression, not only in the immediate aftermath of the incident, but sometimes for the rest of their careers.

Police agencies increasingly recognize the emotional toll of police work in general, and use-of-force incidents specifically. Forward-thinking agencies have created robust employee assistance and wellness programs. Training and equipping officers in how to manage certain types of situations so that the use of deadly force does not become necessary will reduce the use-of-force.

Conclusion

Currently, there is a dearth of literature in Nepal to guide agencies interested in adopting a de-escalation principle in the use of force policy. De-escalation of the use of force requires at least two things: shifting the mentality of law enforcement personnel and providing skills based training. De-escalation can be an alternative to the use of force. Arbitrary use of force is an outdated concept. PERF repeatedly encountered examples of outdated concepts that are pervasive in police training and police culture. In some instances, officials say that the concepts described were no longer taught or practiced, only to find that they continue to be publicly cited in the defense of controversial uses of force.

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