

Submission Note: Feedback on the National Commitment

***(Point No. 3 of the 100-Point
Governance Reform Agenda)***

15 April 2026

1. Introduction

This submission offers a constructive, evidence-based review of the National Commitment draft, officially released by the Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers for feedback from the six nationally recognised political parties by Baisakh 10, 2083 BS. The document consolidates election manifestos, pledges, and commitments from the parties that secured national status following the Falgun 21, 2082 B.S. House of Representatives election. It represents a landmark step toward policy continuity, cross-party ownership, and translating electoral promises into a unified national roadmap, directly responding to the Gen-Z movement of Bhadra 23 - 24, 2082 B.S. demands for corruption control and good governance while aligning with Nepal's Constitution and democratic aspirations since 2007 BS.

The National Commitment identifies 18 priority areas from economic transformation and agriculture to good governance and digital reform and sets bold targets, such as 7% average growth, USD 3,000 per capita income, and USD 100 billion GDP within five years. However, Nepal's history of ambitious plans demonstrates that vision alone is insufficient, sustainable results require realistic prioritization, fiscal grounding, execution architecture, and political economic realism.

This note draws on Nepal-specific case studies, the latest official data from the Nepal Rastra Bank and project reports, transparency international's corruption perceptions index 2025, and international lessons to provide a deeper analysis of strengths, gaps, and actionable recommendations, especially an expanded examination of anti-corruption measures, CIAA reforms, and whistleblower protection, while integrating grassroots and Gen-Z perspectives for inclusive ownership.

2. Cross-Cutting Structural Gaps

The National Commitment is visionary but faces several recurring implementation challenges observed across past Nepali initiatives. Over-ambition without prioritization has repeatedly led to delays and eroded public trust. For instance, the Melamchi Water Supply Project, originally estimated at around USD 300 million, has encountered over 20 years of delays, multiple contractor changes, cost escalations exceeding USD 500 million, and ongoing stakeholder disputes, an agreement was reached only on 12 November 2025 to address local grievances related to water diversion and social upliftment, yet implementation uncertainties persist (Himal Press, 2025). The core lesson is that ambition must be phased through a prioritized 2-year implementation roadmap focusing initially on the top five sectors - digital economy and IT, hydropower exports, tourism connectivity (including hygiene standards), agriculture value chains, and anti-corruption digitization before scaling to others.

Weak fiscal grounding remains another persistent issue. Capital expenditure absorption stays chronically low, with only 18.59% of the allocated capital budget utilized after eight months of FY 2082/83 (Rato Pati, 2026). Remittances continue to drive a substantial portion of the economy, while productive investment lags. The Gautam Buddha International Airport illustrates this mismatch with significant investment resulting in persistent underutilization due to limited international flights and airline participation. Infrastructure projects without rigorous demand analysis or financial sustainability planning yield low returns. A Medium-Term Fiscal Framework (MTFF) with strict project viability screening, including private-sector co-financing where feasible, should therefore be mandated to align the National Commitment's targets with realistic resource availability.

Weak execution architecture further undermines outcomes. Project completion often fails to translate into successful results. The Pokhara International Airport, opened in 2023, remains predominantly domestic-focused with extremely limited international traffic, only 2,880 international passengers recorded in the full year 2025 due to regulatory, market, and diplomatic constraints. Completion does not equal success; execution must encompass market linkage, policy coordination, and operational readiness. Establishing a Central Delivery Unit under the Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers (OPMCM) to track outcomes rather than just outputs, supported by real-time dashboards and quarterly public reporting, is strongly recommended.

Political economic constraints add another layer of difficulty. Reforms frequently encounter resistance from vested interests. The 2018 transport syndicate reforms succeeded only through sustained political backing and enforcement. Policy reform is inherently politically negotiated. Every sector plan should therefore explicitly map stakeholder incentives, resistance points, and mitigation strategies to ensure the National Commitment moves beyond aspirational language.

Furthermore, the macro targets in Section 1 lack credible fiscal grounding. The commitment to 7% average GDP growth, per capita income of USD 3,000, and GDP near USD 100 billion within five years is highly ambitious given that Nepal's current per capita income is around USD 1,300 and recent growth has averaged only 4 - 5%. The document presents no revenue model, debt sustainability analysis, external financing strategy, or macroeconomic modelling to support these goals, making the targets appear more like aspirational political rhetoric than evidence-based policy.

A clear internal policy contradiction also exists between Section 4 (Energy Development), which calls for generating 30,000 MW of installed electricity capacity and suggests relaxing land, forest, and environmental laws to achieve it, and Section 9 (Forests, Environment and Climate Change), which commits to strict protection of forests, biodiversity, and environmental balance. No sequencing, trade-off framework, revised Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) guidelines, or conflict resolution mechanism is provided to reconcile these opposing objectives.

Despite Nepal operating under a three-tier federal system, the document shows weak reflection of federalism. Most commitments are framed almost exclusively from a central government perspective, with the roles, funding responsibilities, and decision-making authority of provincial and local governments remaining vague throughout. Even Section 11 on administrative reform frames the proposed high-level review commission primarily as a central government instrument. A clear division-of-responsibilities matrix across the three tiers of government is missing for each sector.

Monitoring and independent oversight are also inadequately addressed. While the background section mentions that monitoring will be handled by the Prime Minister's Office, the document does not define specific performance indicators, regular review schedules, or independent verification mechanisms. In the critical area of anti-corruption (Section 10), reliance on the Prime Minister's Office, a political body for oversight, creates a fundamental institutional design flaw that undermines the credibility of commitments on asset disclosure, ending political interference, and whistleblower protection.

Finally, Section 12's commitments to developing a Sovereign Large Language Model (Sovereign LLM) and launching a national satellite are overly ambitious and disproportionate to Nepal's current R&D capacity, human capital base, and technology export levels. These initiatives typically require decades of sustained investment and international partnerships, yet the document provides no budget allocation, phased technical roadmap, or partnership framework.

3. Sector-Wise Feedback

In the area of economic stability and reform, the National Commitment's emphasis on private-sector leadership, digital economy development, and formalization is a clear strength. However, growth remains heavily remittance-driven rather than productivity-led, with real GDP growth estimated at only 4.61% in FY 2024/25, well below the 7% target (Nepal Rastra Bank, 2025). A positive example is Nepal's IT outsourcing sector, which has achieved service exports nearing or exceeding USD 1 billion in 2025, more than doubling in recent years despite limited policy support (Kathmandu Post, 2026). Targeted prioritization of IT services, hydropower exports, tourism, and agro-processing, along with the development of IT parks and export incentives plus an Economic Charter guaranteeing 10-year tax stability, would help bridge the gap between ambition and reality.

For agriculture, the focus on import substitution, farmer support mechanisms such as credit cards, insurance, pensions, and expansion of irrigation to an additional 300,000 hectares within five years is commendable. Yet, repeated fertilizer shortages have created leakages and informal markets, while small-scale cooperatives in districts like Chitwan demonstrate success in dairy value chains. Input-focused policies without strong market systems and value chains lead to inefficiency. Digitizing farmer identification to reduce subsidy leakage, strengthening market access, and establishing community seed banks should be prioritized.

In tourism and civil aviation, the promotion of high-value tourism, the 2027 National Wellness Year, and development of key hubs like Pashupatinath, Lumbini, Janakpur, and Muktinath, combined with adventure, eco-tourism, and homestay expansion, are positive steps. Despite global recognition of Nepal's natural and cultural assets, average tourist spending remains low due to infrastructure and service gaps, and underutilization of airports like Pokhara and Bhairahawa limits growth. A critical missing element is cleanliness and hygiene, poor waste management, littered tourist sites (including rising Himalayan waste from climbers), inconsistent sanitation at key attractions and airports, and general urban littering significantly undermine visitor experience, repeat visits, and Nepal's image as a premium destination, especially for high-value wellness and cultural tourists. Recent government directives on airport hygiene and a new 2082 - 2086 mountain cleanliness strategy highlight the urgency, yet broader enforcement at heritage sites, hotels, and trails is lacking (The Tourism Times, 2025). Tourism expansion depends on connectivity, service quality, and hygiene standards, not branding alone. Pairing promotion with robust destination management organizations, completing aviation reforms (including separation of regulatory and service functions plus expanded international connectivity), and launching a national "Clean Tourism Campaign" with strict hygiene protocols, waste segregation mandates, and community-led monitoring at all major sites and airports is essential.

Overall, agriculture, tourism, infrastructure, employment, education & health, disaster management sections contain useful directions, but would benefit from clearer institutional responsibility, funding sources, and federal-level coordination mechanisms.

Regarding energy development, the ambitious target of 30,000 MW generation in the next decade, prioritization of large hydropower, promotion of green hydrogen, and electricity trade with India and Bangladesh reflect strong vision. However it directly conflicts with strong environmental commitments in Section 9. Hence, a practical reconciliation framework is needed.

The Upper Tamakoshi Hydropower Project (456 MW), Nepal's largest, successfully resumed round-the-clock full-capacity operations in June/July 2025 after flood and landslide damage, demonstrating domestic implementation capacity (Kathmandu Post, 2025). However, seasonal surplus electricity and limited transmission and export infrastructure create inefficiencies. Generation must be paired with cross-border transmission lines and binding export agreements to maximize benefits.

Similar execution-focused approaches should apply to infrastructure development (upgrading the East-West Highway with reformed procurement and land acquisition systems), employment (targeting 1.5 million jobs via IT, remote work, and skills alignment), education and health (emphasizing quality alongside access, mother-tongue instruction, and progressive increase of health budget to 8%), and disaster management (institutionalizing early warning systems based on 2015 earthquake lessons).

The National Commitment's commitments under points 10–12 represent some of the most transformative pledges: transparent investigation of public officials' assets since 2046 BS (1989/90 AD), introduction of whistleblower protection laws, elimination of political interference in administration, limiting federal ministries to 17, restructuring to remove duplication, replacing paper-based processes with digital systems and time-bound service delivery, declaring IT a strategic sector, and building data centres, cloud services, AI capabilities, and a national digital ecosystem with mandatory digital literacy up to Grade 12. These align directly with the Gen-Z movement's core demands and could significantly enhance transparency, efficiency, and citizen trust. Recent actions, such as reducing federal ministries from 21 to 17 within the first months of 2082/83 BS and forming a lean cabinet demonstrate early momentum and cross-party feasibility (ekantipur, 2026; Rato Pati, 2026).

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A deeper focus on anti-corruption reveals both opportunity and critical risks. The pledge for a high-level asset investigation (covering officials since 2046 BS in two phases) is bold and directly addresses public anger over elite impunity, as highlighted in the September 2025 Gen-Z protests that contributed to the current government's formation. The government announced formation of a powerful asset investigation committee under OPMCM within 15 days of taking office on 27 March 2026, however, this deadline was missed by mid-April 2026, already signalling early implementation gaps and raising doubts about sustained political will (MyRepublica, 2026; Peoples Review, 2026). Nepal's Corruption Perceptions Index score remained stagnant at 34/100 in 2025 (ranking 109/182 countries), with no improvement from the previous year and a two-place drop in ranking as other countries advanced. Perceptions of corruption worsened specifically in political activities, government functioning, parliament, judiciary, and public institutions, while business-related bribery stayed unchanged (Transparency International, 2026).

The Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA), Nepal's constitutional anti-corruption body, faces profound structural and operational limitations that the National Commitment must urgently address through explicit reform mandates. In FY 2024/25, the CIAA processed a record 37,026 complaints (28,597 new + 8,429 carried over), resolving 29,703 cases (80.22%) through preliminary inquiry and investigation, forwarding 6,715 to other agencies, issuing 586 policy suggestions, and carrying over approximately 7,300 pending cases (Khabarhub, 2025; Nepal News, 2025). While the resolution rate appears impressive on paper, deeper scrutiny reveals systemic weaknesses: the Commission disproportionately targets low-level officials and local governments (53.84% of complaints against local bodies, with the highest volume in Madhesh Province), while high-level policy corruption and elite cases receive limited attention due to political interference and the appointment of commissioners with perceived loyalty to appointing governments (Rising Nepal Daily, 2026; Kathmandu Post, 2025). Court success rates have declined sharply following a Supreme Court ruling restricting trap operations: only 52% (full and partial convictions) in FY 2024/25, down from higher historical peaks, with many cases appealed to the Supreme Court due to evidentiary gaps and perceived leniency in the Special Court (Nepal News, 2026). The CIAA conducted just 22 sting operations in the year, catching 33 individuals red-handed and recovering Rs 5.51 million in bribes, but overall conviction outcomes remain constrained by the lack of independent prosecutorial powers (reliance on the Special Court) and chronic resource constraints, leading to prolonged backlogs and selective enforcement that erodes public trust. Gen-Z groups have explicitly demanded the resignation of Chief Commissioner Prem Kumar Rai and all other commissioners, citing failure to curb high-level corruption, persistent political influence, and arbitrary appointments bypassing due parliamentary procedures (Kathmandu Post, 2025; Nepal News, 2025). These structural flaws, politicized appointments, narrow focus on petty bribery, evidentiary limitations post-Supreme Court restrictions, and absence of prosecutorial autonomy, have turned the CIAA into a body that processes volume but fails to deliver systemic accountability, as evidenced by its historical pattern of registering over 3,622 cases from FY 1990/91 to 2024/25 yet struggling with policy-level graft. The proposed Sovereign LLM (Sovereign Large Language Model, a nationally developed or controlled AI system ensuring data sovereignty, Nepali-language support, and independence from foreign providers) could power a unified national digital portal for real-time asset tracking, service feedback, and independent audits, but only if paired with mandatory capacity building, cybersecurity safeguards, and depoliticization of the civil service. Overall, CIAA reforms strengthening independence through civil-society-inclusive appointments, restoring effective investigative tools (e.g., controlled trap operations with judicial oversight), granting limited prosecutorial authority, mandating performance-based accountability, and clarifying legal powers over Cabinet "policy decisions" must be operationalized explicitly within the National Commitment to prevent the "implementation gap" observed in past initiatives and fulfill Gen-Z demands for genuine accountability.

The explicit pledge to introduce dedicated whistleblower protection laws is one of the most critical and Gen-Z-driven commitments in the National Commitment. However, Nepal currently lacks a comprehensive, standalone whistleblower protection legislation. Protection relies on scattered, inadequate provisions across various acts, regulations, and directives that offer limited confidentiality, immunity from prosecution in some cases, and nominal remedies for retaliation (Transparency International Nepal/UNCAC Coalition, 2023; Rising Nepal Daily, 2024). In practice, these fragmented measures fail to create a safe enabling environment: whistleblowers frequently face retaliation, including threats, job loss, legal harassment, and social ostracism, with no robust mechanism for anonymity, financial incentives, psychological support, or swift legal redress. Civil society reports consistently highlight that the absence of strong safeguards discourages reporting of high-level corruption, perpetuating a culture of silence and impunity (UNCAC Coalition, 2023). Previous draft bills have been criticised as weak, lacking comprehensive definitions of retaliation, mandatory reversal of adverse actions against whistleblowers, independent oversight bodies, and meaningful rewards for disclosures leading to recovery of public funds. Gen-Z activists have repeatedly emphasised that without effective whistleblower protection, especially digital, anonymous, and independently monitored reporting channels, the asset investigation pledge and broader anti-corruption agenda will remain ineffective, as citizens and insiders will fear coming forward. The proposed Sovereign LLM could power a secure national digital portal for anonymous reporting, case tracking, and real-time protection monitoring, but only if paired with mandatory capacity building, cybersecurity safeguards, and depoliticization of the civil service.

4. Incorporating Grassroots, Indigenous Knowledge, and Gen-Z Perspectives

The National Commitment advances inclusion through mother-tongue education at the primary level, integration of Ayurveda and yoga into health systems, community shares in mining benefits, and preservation of traditional skills via Guru-Chela scholarships. However, it lacks a formal mechanism for bottom-up co-creation, where grassroots communities and indigenous groups actively shape regulations rather than serving only as beneficiaries. Given that the government's legitimacy ties closely to the Gen-Z movement, accountability measures such as public asset audits and performance audits should explicitly incorporate youth oversight. Institutional spaces for continuous public consultation, social audits, and Gen-Z representation in the Delivery Unit and monitoring bodies are needed. A national digital portal, leveraging any proposed Sovereign LLM (Sovereign Large Language Model, a nationally developed or controlled AI system to ensure data sovereignty, local language support, and independence from foreign AI providers), should enable real-time tracking of the 18 goals, service-seeker feedback, and independent verification of audits to enhance transparency.

5. Additional Critical Gaps

Beyond the issues discussed above, the National Commitment has not sufficiently addressed several pressing national priorities, including comprehensive climate change adaptation, integrated water resource management, reversing brain drain, urban planning and affordable housing, mental health services, robust data privacy and cybersecurity frameworks, a clear financing strategy etc. Addressing these omissions will make the document more complete and responsive to Nepal's current realities.

Youth Unemployment, Brain Drain, and Safe Repatriation of Migrant Workers: The Commitment has a section on "Employment," but it does not adequately tackle the scale of the crisis: Nepal has South Asia's highest youth unemployment rate (around 20.6%), with 1,500 - 2,500 young people leaving daily for foreign work. There is no concrete strategy for repatriating and reintegrating the 1.7+ million Nepali migrants (especially from the Gulf amid regional conflicts), nor for converting remittances into productive domestic investment. This was a core driver of the Gen-Z movement.

Public Debt Sustainability and LDC Graduation Transition: No mention of managing rising public debt (currently ~47% of GDP), the shift from grants to loans post-LDC graduation (expected November 2026), or a clear strategy for the resulting fiscal pressure. Declining foreign aid and increasing debt-servicing costs are already straining the budget, yet the ambitious growth targets lack any debt-sustainability analysis.

Geopolitical Balancing and Economic Diplomacy in Practice: The "Foreign Policy" section is high-level and aspirational ("Nepal First"). It does not address the real challenge of navigating India-China-US tensions, protecting sovereignty while attracting investment, or avoiding being caught in great-power competition, a recurring issue highlighted in 2026 analyses of the new government.

Rural-Urban Divide and Deep Regional Inequality : While "balanced regional development" is mentioned in passing, there is no targeted strategy for the persistent rural-urban and hill-Tarai disparities, including the weakening of rural family structures due to male out-migration.

Judicial Reform and Access to Justice: Anti-corruption focuses heavily on CIAA and asset probes, but there is almost no mention of judicial independence, case backlogs in the Supreme and District Courts, or broader rule-of-law reforms needed to support anti-corruption efforts.

Mental Health, Social Impacts of Migration, and Family Resilience: Long-term out-migration has weakened family support systems, increased mental health burdens, and created social vulnerability issues increasingly recognized in 2026 reports but not reflected in the Commitment.

Cybersecurity, Data Privacy, and Ethical AI Governance: Section 12 promotes a Sovereign LLM and digital ecosystem, but there is no accompanying framework for cybersecurity, data protection laws, or ethical guidelines for AI critical gaps given Nepal's growing digital ambitions.

Capital Expenditure Execution Bottlenecks and Project Preparation: Low capital spending (repeatedly 15-18% utilization) is a structural problem, yet the Commitment does not propose systemic reforms to project preparation, land acquisition, or procurement beyond general infrastructure mentions.

Remittance-Driven Economy Vulnerabilities and Productive Use: Remittances (25-26% of GDP) provide stability but mask underlying weaknesses. There is no strategy to reduce over-reliance or channel them into domestic investment and entrepreneurship.

Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Resilience: Nepal is one of the most climate-vulnerable countries in the world. The document mentions climate change briefly in Section 9 but lacks concrete, funded strategies for adaptation, glacial lake outburst flood (GLOF) mitigation, resilient infrastructure standards, or community-based adaptation plans. No specific targets for carbon neutrality, renewable energy transition beyond hydropower, or integration of climate risk into all infrastructure projects.

Water Resource Management and Transboundary Rivers: Nepal has massive hydropower potential but faces serious issues around water security, irrigation, drinking water, and transboundary water diplomacy with India and China. The document barely touches on integrated water resource management, river basin planning, or Nepal's strategy for equitable water sharing.

Urbanization, Housing, and Smart Cities : Rapid and unplanned urbanization is a major challenge. The document does not adequately address affordable housing, urban planning, waste management in cities, or development of secondary cities to reduce pressure on Kathmandu.

Public Procurement Reform and Transparent Contracting : Corruption is heavily discussed, but there is no concrete commitment to fully transparent, competitive, and digital public procurement systems (e.g., mandatory e-bidding for all projects above a certain threshold and blacklisting of corrupt contractors).

Private Sector and Labour Law Reforms : While private sector leadership is promoted, there is little on labour law modernization, ease of doing business reforms, or creating a predictable regulatory environment that encourages long-term investment.

Financing Strategy and Development Cooperation : No clear strategy on how these ambitious goals will be financed, domestic revenue mobilization, foreign aid effectiveness, public-private partnerships (PPP) framework, or green/climate finance.

Cultural Heritage Preservation vs. Tourism Development : Tourism is prioritized, but there is insufficient emphasis on protecting tangible and intangible cultural heritage from overtourism and climate damage.

Caste-Based Discrimination and Full Reparative Justice Mechanisms: Section 13 includes a state apology, but lacks timelines, legal instruments or measurable reparative actions, a point repeatedly raised in 2026 human rights reviews.

Gender-Based Violence, Women's Economic Empowerment, and Social Protection : Section 13 on Social Justice mentions inclusion but remains general. There is no specific focus on ending gender-based violence, increasing women's workforce participation, or strengthening social protection systems (especially for single women, elderly, and persons with disabilities).

Education Quality and Learning Outcomes : The document talks about access and mother-tongue education but is weak on actual learning outcomes, teacher accountability, curriculum reform for 21st-century skills, and addressing the huge public-private education divide.

Accountability for Past Mega Project Failures : Strong on future anti-corruption but no mechanism for independent review or accountability for major past project failures (e.g., Melamchi, various airports, highways) to learn institutional lessons.

6. Key Recommendations

- **Develop a Prioritized 2-Year Implementation Roadmap:** Focus immediately on the top five sectors - digital economy/IT, hydropower exports with transmission infrastructure, tourism (including cleanliness and hygiene), agriculture value chains, and anti-corruption digitization before scaling others. Include clear timelines, responsible institutions, and measurable milestones for each.
- **Establish Credible Fiscal Grounding for Macro Targets:** Commission an independent macroeconomic modelling exercise for the 7% growth, USD 3,000 per capita income, and USD 100 billion GDP targets. Present a detailed revenue strategy, debt sustainability analysis, external financing plan, and Medium-Term Fiscal Framework (MTFF) with strict project viability screening.
- **Resolve Major Policy Contradictions:** Create an explicit trade-off and sequencing framework to reconcile the 30,000 MW energy target (Section 4) with strong environmental and biodiversity commitments (Section 9). This must include reformed EIA guidelines, environmental safeguards, and community compensation mechanisms.
- **Strengthen Federal Coordination:** Prepare and include a clear Division of Responsibilities Matrix across federal, provincial, and local governments for all 18 sectors, specifying roles, funding sources, and decision-making authority to reflect Nepal's three-tier federal structure.

- **Establish Independent Monitoring and Oversight:** Create a Central Delivery Unit under OPMCM supported by an independent oversight body (with civil society and Gen-Z representation) for monitoring. Define clear performance indicators, quarterly public dashboards, annual parliamentary reviews, and independent verification mechanisms instead of relying solely on the Prime Minister's Office.
- **Deepen CIAA and Anti-Corruption Reforms:** Undertake comprehensive reform of the CIAA including civil-society-inclusive commissioner appointments, granting limited prosecutorial authority, restoring effective investigative tools (trap operations with judicial oversight), and performance-based accountability. Clarify legal powers over high-level "policy decisions".
- **Enact a Robust Standalone Whistleblower Protection Act:** Introduce a comprehensive law with strong anonymity protections, retaliation remedies, financial incentives, psychological support, and an independent oversight body. Integrate this with a Sovereign LLM-powered secure digital reporting portal.
- **Provide Realistic Roadmaps for Technology Ambitions:** Scale back or present detailed phased implementation plans, budget allocations, human capital development strategies, and international partnership frameworks for the Sovereign LLM and national satellite initiatives in Section 12 to ensure they are achievable rather than aspirational.
- **Ensure Cross-Cutting Implementation Architecture:** Mandate stakeholder mapping and political economy analysis for every major reform, reform procurement and land acquisition processes, launch a national "Clean Tourism Campaign", digitize farmer identification nationwide, and integrate lessons from past projects (Melamchi, Pokhara Airport, Upper Tamakoshi) into all sectoral plans.
- **Institutionalize Gen-Z and Grassroots Participation:** Create formal mechanisms for continuous public consultation, social audits, and meaningful Gen-Z/youth representation in the Delivery Unit and monitoring bodies to maintain the spirit of the Bhadra 23-24, 2082 movement.
- **Tackle Rural-Urban Divide and Regional Inequality:** Introduce targeted programs and resource allocation mechanisms to reduce persistent disparities between hills and Tarai, and rural and urban areas, including strengthened local economic development plans.
- **Incorporate Mental Health and Social Impacts of Migration:** Integrate mental health support, family resilience programs, and social protection measures to address the long-term human costs of large-scale out-migration.
- **Operationalize Reparative Justice in Social Justice Section:** Convert the symbolic state apology (Section 13) into concrete mechanisms by establishing timelines, a dedicated independent commission, legal instruments, and measurable reparative actions for historical discrimination against Dalits and marginalized communities.
- **Strengthen Judicial Reform and Rule of Law:** Include concrete commitments for judicial independence, reduction of case backlogs, and broader access to justice reforms to complement anti-corruption efforts.
- **Improve Capital Expenditure Execution and Project Preparation:** Introduce systemic reforms in project preparation, land acquisition, procurement, and contract management to address chronically low capital spending absorption.

- **Operationalize Reparative Justice:** Convert the symbolic state apology in Section 13 into concrete, time-bound mechanisms through an independent commission, legal instruments, and measurable reparative actions for historical discrimination against Dalits and other marginalized communities.
- **Enhance Geopolitical Balancing and Practical Economic Diplomacy:** Move beyond general statements to articulate clear strategies for protecting sovereignty while navigating relations with India, China, and other major partners, with a strong focus on attracting quality foreign investment and technology transfer.
- **Monitoring framework:** Introduce clear performance indicators, annual independent reviews, and civil society oversight in the monitoring framework.

7. Conclusion

The National Commitment offers a historic opportunity to convert political consensus into a transformative roadmap for prosperity, dignity, and self-reliance. Nepal's experience demonstrates that the core challenge lies not in vision but in execution capacity, fiscal realism, institutional accountability, and political ownership, particularly in anti-corruption reforms, CIAA strengthening, and robust whistleblower protection where stagnant CPI scores, missed deadlines, low conviction rates, and structural limitations threaten progress. With realistic prioritization, strong delivery architecture, digital transparency, and genuine inclusion of grassroots and Gen-Z voices, this document can deliver measurable results starting from FY 2083/84.

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