

**PROMOTION OF SOFT POWER THROUGH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY:
A STUDY OF NEPAL**

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**By
MANI RAJ LAMICHHANE
Roll No: 33 / (2017-2019)
DIRD, TU
Kathmandu, Nepal**

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

I certify that this dissertation entitled “Promotion of Soft Power through Cultural Diplomacy: A Study of Nepal” was prepared by Mani Raj Lamichhane under my supervision. I hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee Master’s in International Relations and Diplomacy, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of MASTER’S IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY.

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Santosh Sharma Poudel

Supervisor

Date:

APPROVAL SHEET

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that it contains no materials previously published. I have not used its materials for the award of any kind and any other degree. Where other authors' sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

Signature:

Mani Raj Lamichhane

Date: July 20, 2020.

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ABSTRACT

This research paper attempts to explore the way through which cultural diplomacy of Nepal can promote its soft power in international ground. The paper begins with concise explanation of power and explains in detail various sources of soft power in relation to Nepal. This study further moves on to explain the value of cultural diplomacy by discussing it in relation with tourism and it also investigate on the way how tourism can enhance soft power of Nation. This paper has not only provided the detail account of soft power of Nepal but it has also investigated into the difference between hard and soft power by bringing the references of many scholarly view. While gathering the information and analysis of Nepal's soft power, the data collected from first-hand experience of Foreign Service personnel (via questionnaires) is tabulated and presented in charts and diagrams. Further, data collected from secondary sources of information is presented in chronological order to give coherent structure to the paper. While making the literature review and during the process of research this study finds that Nepal as a country has very limited soft power amenities and it has not been able to exercise those effectively in international ground. Some of the soft power amenities and possibilities of Nepal identified in this paper are Nepali cultural and religious richness, Bravery of Gurkha, Personalities like Araniko, Nepal's position as underdeveloped country and likes.

Key Words: *Diplomacy, Soft Power, Cultural diplomacy, Tourism, International relation, Power*

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Power in International Relations

According to Waltz, power is defined in terms of capabilities, which in turn consist of “size of population and territory, resource endowment, economic capability, etc (citation). Keohane and Nye (1989) have made cumbersome distinctions between the ideas and thoughts of Realists and neo-Realists on matters of power. Gallarotti has, however, demonstrated both the classical and more modern inspirations for contemporary Realists - Machiavelli, Hobbes, Thucydides, Carr and Morgenthau. In fact, these scholars (Realists and neo-Realists) in their visions of politics and society, military strength, political stability and competence.

One of the most influential definitions of power in the field of social science belongs to Max Weber (1947) who defined it as the probability of one actor within a social relationship to be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance. According to Weber, power is a zero-sum game and is an attribute that derives from the qualities, resources and capabilities of one subject. Furthermore, there are various conceptual understandings of power as some of them include: the ability or capability to do something; political, financial or social force or influence on other partner/s; ability to shape the preferences of others; ability to attract, leading to acquiescence; ability to get others to want the outcome you want because of one’s cultural or ideological appeal and so on.

A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries -admiring values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness -want to follow it.

Soft and hard are related because they are both aspects of the ability to achieve one’s purpose by affecting the behavior of others. The distinction between them is one

of degree (Nye, 2004b). Compared with military power, economic power is soft; but economic power (aid or sanction) is hard power compared with culture. Secondly, all power depends on context - who relates to whom under what circumstances - but soft power depends more than hard power upon the existence of a willing interpreter and receivers (Nye, 2004). A number of contextual variables affect the deployment of soft power by one country to another and the effect of such efforts on the latter, including geographic proximity, cultural similarity, and historical relations and economic ties. Soft power is context specific, i. e. a form of soft power is relevant to only one specific country or a specific group in that country.

Hard power is the use of coercion - economic sanctions, military force, or other threats. Hard power is the traditional “carrot and stick” of international diplomacy. While nations may use troop movements, currency devaluations or trade restrictions to make their point, individual delegates use their research, academic knowledge, or procedural prowess to influence or force the hands of others.

Hard power extracts compliance principally through reliance on tangible power policies of a soft power nation. But the preponderance of such “output” by soft power nations should endear those nations to other nations in some form however it is distributed among respect, admiration, and esteem. In Weberian charismatic authority, soft power differs significantly from charisma.

Soft power is diplomacy through co-option, rather than coercion - through attraction, rather than intimidation. Harvard Professor Joseph Nye coined the term in his book *Bound to Lead* in 1990, as the Cold War was winding down and many scholars and policymakers ruminated on a “new world order” to be dominated by the transforming role of the United States. Nye described soft power as “the ability to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than using the carrots and

sticks of payment or coercion” (2004, p. 12). States may use the power of their culture or their international perception to their advantage. Delegates can use their charisma, poise and courtesy to sway their peers.

Increasing role of Soft Power in Global Politics

Many scholars believe that the United Kingdom leads the world in soft power diplomacy. It is closely followed by France, Germany, United States, Japan, Canada, Switzerland, Sweden, Netherlands, and Australia in that order. The United Kingdom edged out France to reclaim the spot it lost in 2016 (Wang, 2006). The return of the UK to the top spot surprises many diplomats, commentators, and analysts considering the Brexit negotiations that have dominated headlines and the entire bandwidth of the United Kingdom's government have made very little progress. As a result, there are question marks over the country's relationship with the European Union, the long-time consequences of Brexit and the role of the United Kingdom in the global scene thereafter. The British Council has been influential in cultivating soft power through educational and cultural engagement while the BBC World Service remains a valuable soft power asset for the United Kingdom. After leaping from fifth to the first place in 2017, France slid to second place in 2018, but the margin between the United Kingdom and France is razor-thin. France derives soft power strength from vast diplomatic networks and unrivaled membership to international and multilateral organizations. The country has the highest number of the foreign cultural mission. France also performs excellently in art, film, food, tourism, and sports. In 2017, France's soft power received a boost after the election of the globally minded, energetic, and reforming president Emmanuel Macron (World Atlas, 1988).

The U.S. Africa Command can be seen as an unsuccessful soft power strategy. According to Morrison and Hicks (2007), it was initially set up for three reasons: oil,

terrorism and ungoverned spaces in Africa, and China's increased influence in Africa. Despite these hard power reasons, AFRICOM was sold as a soft power strategy which resulted in the perception of imperialist intentions the USA might pursue in Africa. Together with the isochronal Iraq invasion, this perception damaged the American soft power. Nevertheless, ineffective soft power strategies are usually the exception. The following examples show how soft power can be used effectively. The first example is the European Union and its ability to attract new members. The EU is a leading intergovernmental organization and its success generates among non-members states the desire to participate in the project of European integration. Based on this promising foundation, the EU's soft power derives from its readiness to offer a seat at the decision making table. This attractiveness assures peace and safety among European states and the process of EU enlargement further strengthens its position at the global level. Thus, the EU's soft power is beneficial for its member states as well as for the EU itself (Phillip and Wagner, 2014).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the age of globalization, information, people, technology, capital, services all are fragile and can be transferred from one country to another. Those who can generate and use the huge repertoire of information could prosper; those who deposit them and show their pomp and power could not.

In the 21st century many countries (even super powers) have focused on elements of soft power. It is because war between countries is less probable than during the Cold War.

So, the most feasible power utilized in diplomatic affairs is "soft power", not "hard power" in this century.

1.3 Research Questions

- 1) What are the primary landmarks of cultural diplomacy in Nepal?
- 2) What are the factors that influence the soft power of any country?
- 3) How has the cultural factors helped promote Nepali soft power?

1.4 Objective of the Study

The main objectives of this study are the following:

- To study the landmarks of cultural diplomacy of Nepal (since Bhrikuti to K. P. Oli's government) on the way to forge diplomatic ties with foreign countries and INGOs;
- To assess the factors that affect the soft power of a country;
- To identify the causes and consequences of cultural factors that promote soft power on Nepali diplomacy over historical epochs.

1.5 Limitation of the Study

Although the study was carefully prepared there were some unavoidable limitations. This study primarily depends on secondary data. Various reports and newspaper articles, journals, books have also been referred, for the necessary information. In regards to sources for basic ideas to this research, much attention will be put on secondary sources such as scholarly journals specifying the concept, prospect and importance of soft power. The paper has also used some interviews from very authentic sources and due to limitation of budgeted the data collection and interview was done among limited respondents.

1.6 Organization of the Study

Chapter one present the introduction of study that consists of background of study, statement of problem, objective of study and limitation of study. This chapter aims to give an introduction to the study so that a clear understanding can be made

further. Chapter two explores the relevant literatures. Different articles, journals, etc. were reviewed in order to make this research more understandable. It also discusses about the various aspects of soft power in relation with those countries who hands most of it. Chapter three and four focuses on the methodology and data collection respectively. Chapter four discuss about the source and effect of soft power and Chapter five focuses on use of soft power in Nepali history. Finally, chapter six attempts to draw the conclusion of the major findings of the research along with some recommendation regarding the researched issue.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Review of Literature

H. J. Morgenthau (1967) identifies nine elements of national power, among which national character, national morale, the quality of diplomacy and the quality of government are closely associated with intangible sources of power. Similarly, E. H. Carr (1964) writes that power over “opinion” is not less essential for political purposes than military and economic power, and has always been closely associated with them. These ideas have since been summarized and popularized in recent years by Nye (Gill and Huang, 2006). On the other hand, the management and psychology literature has long promoted the benefits of using referent (soft) power over coercive (hard) power (Cristo, 2005).

Soft power is a kind of referent power that is based on identification and attraction, and yields the greatest influence in relation to the other powers. The thinking behind the concept of soft power can be traced even back to more than two thousands of years.

Imani (2017) defines that cultural diplomacy is the exchange of ideas, information, art and business among nations and their peoples to enhance and improve mutual understanding. According to her, anyone can take part in this form of diplomacy and it does not require involvement by a state government.

According to Prokofieva (2017), cultural diplomacy is one of the major tools that a country can use to voice its interests and position to the world. Cultural diplomacy can include academic, professional, cultural and student exchange program, conferences and lectures on economic and social problems, literature, film industry, theatre art, art exhibitions and performances, as well as dance and music concerts. It is clear that a variety of platforms and opportunities exist that allow the

establishment of a constructive dialogue and the creation of a positive image of the country.

Various countries have been launching international exchange program, whether it is a trip or a conference. The Fulbright Program is an example of how a country invests in people and encourages them to study and travel to the USA. There comes a time when people want to give back to the program and begin to act as cultural relays. Further, every society has its specifics and cultural differences, values and taboos. To be a cultural diplomat, it is important to develop in yourself a certain degree of cultural empathy. When you travel to another country representing your organization or project, you are already a cultural diplomat. People will form an opinion of your country and draw conclusions based on your words and actions. This is precisely why the priority is to invest in people, as the work of the media cannot stand comparison with live contact, which is far more impactful.

Patricia M. Goff has opined that cultural diplomacy springs from two premises: (i) that good relations can take root in the fertile ground of understanding and respect; (ii) cultural diplomacy rests on the assumption that art, language, and education are among the most significant entry points into a culture (2015). Cultural diplomacy sits on a spectrum of ideational approaches to diplomacy. Alongside it on this spectrum one can locate soft power, branding, propaganda, and public diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is on the soft-power side of the hard power - soft power equation, since it functions by attraction and not coercion.

The Private Sector practices socially responsible business and gains momentum. They should have the ability to understand and embrace the different values and needs of diverse cultures and societies become ever more important. There are many reasons why corporations need to be aware of the differences between

cultures in their strategic decision-making process and adopt cultural diplomacy models into their agenda:

- In the era of growing social awareness, corporate with culturally sensitive marketing plans and campaigns will enjoy a positive public opinion and good image, thus financially perform better.
- Companies seeking to expand abroad, will encounter problems unless they conduct research into, and act according to the cultural differences with the host country.
- Companies with a national focus face a related challenge in ensuring that they are aware of and sensitive to national cultural minorities.

Today's public diplomacy has a few key features. First, there are diverse actors, not only state actors but also non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations. Second, the means of public diplomacy is public engagement, which has evolved from an actor-to-people approach (old public diplomacy) to a people-to-people approach with the actor playing the role of the facilitator (new public diplomacy). Third, in spite of its development, the end goal of public diplomacy remains managing the international environment for one's interests. Sport can play a part in soft power diplomacy, because it can be a source of cultural soft power. Sport can play a part in public diplomacy, because it works in line with two of the five core approaches of public diplomacy: cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy.

Though rarely itself a sufficient condition for diplomacy, sport can be effective in facilitating changes or increasing momentum in diplomatic practices (Cha, 2009).

Culture has the power to inspire, the power to unite people in a way that little else does.

The soft power assets of India were factored inaptly in foreign policymaking till 1990s. Not that the policymakers were not aware, rather the founding fathers of modern India were themselves ambassadors of soft power, but they displayed recalcitrance to use soft power tools to realize foreign policy goals. As early as 1948, Indian Foreign Secretary, K. P. S. Menon had written to Heads of Indian Missions and Posts Abroad, seeking reports on a regular basis on persons of Indian descent their number, employment, economic and political position, treatment, all relevant matters as well (Mahapatra: 2016). Those attempts were more aimed at tracking Indian origin population outside. Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and Indian Council for World Affairs (ICWA) played a role in cultural diplomacy. The objective of ICCR, founded in 1950, was to establish, revive and strengthen cultural relations and mutual understanding between India and other countries. At present, the ICCR has 35 cultural centers around the world, working under respective Indian Missions. It is planning to establish new centers in Dar-es-Salaam, Yangon, Paris, Washington, Hanoi, Lagos, Singapore, Rome and Kuwait. ICWA, established in 1943, aimed to promote India's relations with other countries through study, research, discussions, lectures, exchange of ideas and information with other organizations within and outside India engaged in similar activities • (ICWA, 2016). The historic Asian Relations Conference in April 1947 was organized by ICWA, in which Mahatma Gandhi had emphasized on Asian way. Indian Council on World Affairs (ICWA) was incorporated as a member of the United Nations Academic Impact in 2015. At present, it has partnerships with organizations in 38 countries (Mahapatra, 2016).

Nehru amply capitalized on Gandhian principles of non-violence, and translated it into foreign policy agendas such as Non-alignment or Principles of Peaceful Co-existence (or Panchsheel). According to Tharoor, the great flaw in Nehru

approach was that his soft power was unrelated to any acquisition of hard power, as was amply demonstrated during India's defeat in the 1962 war against China (Tharoor, 2008). Tharoor further argues soft power becomes credible when there is hard power behind it; that is why the U.S. has been able to make so much of its soft power. Soft power by itself is no guarantee of security. A balance of soft and hard power is the key but the Indian leadership of post-Independent India failed to evolve this balance. Besides its failure to emerge as a hard power, India also failed to adequately cultivate its soft power assets, in which it could claim advantage over many countries. The result was India emerged neither a soft nor a hard power for a long time. Even at the later stages, the balance continued to remain missing with India continuing to struggle to claim its due position at the global forums. India's soft power remained highly under-utilized till the end of the cold war. India's soft power assets remained under cultivated. India remained a latent soft power or a sleeping giant, till forces of globalization and information technology revolution awoke the sleeping giant from slumber. The moment arrived only in the 1990s, and was given a concrete shape in the 21st century (Mahapatra, 2016).

There was a significant shift in the 1990s in the policy emphasis to factor soft power towards realizing foreign policy goals. There were various factors responsible for this shift, the major ones being: India's economic crisis in 1991, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of bi-polarism and the advent of a liberalized and globalized world, India giving up of old foreign policy calculations guided by the cold war world order, the unpopularity of India among its neighbors, and rise of consciousness among the policymakers about the utility of soft power tools. In 1991, India faced a severe balance of payment crisis. The crisis propelled the Indian leaders to shun the old policy of license permit raj, and open India to the forces of liberalization, privatization and

globalization. Indian policymakers apparently realized that in order to harness its potential economically it will be useful to cultivate relations near and far. In early 1990s, the Indian government initiated the Look East • policy to revive relations with South East Asian countries, with which it had enjoyed long historical, cultural and economic relations, but which had received set back during colonial and cold war years (Haokip, 2015). Though the Indian subcontinent and the surrounding regions including the members of the regional cooperation bloc South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), share many cultural traits and legacies, India could not establish enduring relations with these countries. Indian leaders realized the significance of soft power to earn trust of these countries. Towards this end, one of the policies adopted by the Indian government in 1990s was establishing friendly relations, under the name of Gujral doctrine, with the SAARC countries. According to Murthy (1999) the Gujral Doctrine is considered to have made a substantial change in the manner in which India bilateral relations were conducted with its immediate neighbours, especially the smaller ones (Mahapatra,2016).

Narendra Modi came to power in May 2014. His policy to use soft power was different from his predecessors in various ways. Some of the major innovations distinguishing Modi from his predecessors include: addressing Indian diaspora during foreign visits, hosting foreign leaders in different locations of India, crafting policies such as Make in India, and frequently alluding to Indian culture and tradition in speeches. Modi appeared to be aware of the constraints against realizing India soft power potentials. He realized that unless India develops good relations with its neighbors, it will be difficult to emerge as a great power. Speaking at Nepali Parliament, he said, I hope my visit will open a new chapter in India-Nepal relations, characterized by more frequent political engagement and closer cooperation across the

full spectrum of our extraordinarily broad-based relations, which will serve as a model and catalyst for South Asian partnership for prosperity. He visited all the neighboring countries, including Pakistan, within the first two years of his office (Mahapatra, 2016).

In March 2016, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs organized along with Observer Research Foundation, a think-tank based in New Delhi, Raisina Dialogue, named after the Raisina Hill. The dialogue was mainly designed to explore prospects and opportunities for Asian integration as well as Asia integration with the larger world. It emphasized that for such an integration India needs to play a big role as the integration is predicated on India vital role in the Indian Ocean Region and how India along with its partners can build a stable regional and world order (Raisina Dialogue, 2016). The panel themes such as connecting a continent: an Asian Union, securing digital Asia: threats and opportunities for a smart realm, light of Asia: the future of energy, can SAARC get serious challenges and opportunities for regional cooperation on border management • reflected the interest of the Modi government to increase India role in immediate neighborhood and in Asia. The conference was attended by top ministers from Modi government. Besides playing a role in organizing such conferences, Modi government also used India cultural legacy to promote its policies. The government developed projects such as Operation Mausam and Spice Route the former aims at opening of traditional Indian route in Indian Ocean to revive India traditional connections with the Eastern Africa and to the South East Asia and the later aims at opening the Silk Road, the ancient trade route that spanned across Asian continent and parts of Europe. (Mahapatra, 2016).

Similarly, there are cultural elements common among them that emanate from a shared Arab heritage, and Saudi Arabia is the leading *entrepôt* for this ancient Arab

culture. Historically, with respect to religion, the Kaaba is believed to be the first house of worship to be built on Earth. Muslims believe that the Prophet Abraham and his son Ishmael later rebuilt the Kaaba. In the pre-Islamic era, starting as a monotheistic place of worship, the Kaaba was eventually converted to a destination of pilgrimage for the deities of Arabia's pagan tribes from all over the Arabian Peninsula. Some hundreds of idols representing many different tribes were placed in the Kaaba making its environs an inviolable sanctuary and Makkah became a center of pilgrimage. The pilgrimage traffic added considerably to the wealth of the merchants of Makkah, which also benefited from its position astride the caravan routes.

With regard to soft power and cultural diplomacy, the holy grail of a consistent and credible measurement framework for Soft Power remains out of reach, but there are vital clarifications and necessary early steps towards a more empirically robust engagement with the subject.

2.2 Public diplomacy in the Globe

Nye defines three dimensions of public diplomacy as the following: (i) daily communication explaining policy decisions; (ii) political campaigns built on a few strategic themes; and (iii) long-term relations with key individuals (Nye ,2004) These three dimensions, along with the idea of ‘wielding soft power’, are readily apparent in US public diplomacy. So far, US public diplomacy attempts to wield its soft power have proved frustrating, as public perception of the US remains overwhelmingly negative, particularly in the Arab and Islamic world - the primary target of US intensive public diplomacy efforts. As Professor Nye cautioned, sometimes dissemination of information can quickly produce or prevent a desired outcome, although generally soft-power resources are slower, more diffuse, and more

cumbersome to wield than hard-power resources (Nye, 2004). Information campaigns typically take time to yield results, and while intervening variables may have hindered US public diplomacy efforts, including the US-led Iraq War and ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict, such a concentrated and sustained public diplomacy effort over a five-year period should have at least stabilized, if not reversed, public sentiment. In contrast to the US's public diplomacy efforts to wield its soft power, non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) vigorous communication activities appear to be generating soft power. Traditionally, political scientists had tended to ignore these non-state actors because they were 'not "powerful" in the classic sense of the term'. Yet NGOs have recently demonstrated their power in setting political agendas (such as Jubilee 2000 and the G8-African debt of 2005), framing debates (global warming) and moving entrenched nation-states (such as the campaign to ban landmines). Four recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize in the past decade have come from the NGO community.

Scholars have attributed the rise of non-state actors to technology, state sponsorship and political dynamics. US public diplomacy is relying predominantly on a mass communication approach to public diplomacy - the dominant or assumed mode. As Wang observed in conventional public diplomacy, the prevalent mode of communication is mass media-driven, one-way communication, supported by two-way communication such as cultural and educational exchanges (Wang, 2006). In contrast, non-state actors, which have traditionally lacked media control for economic as well as political reasons, have seized upon the interactive features of the new media to fashion a network communication approach. Study suggests that the network communication approach is more effective than the mass communication approach

because it is more attuned to the dynamics of the international political arena (Zaharna, 2007, pp. 214-5).

2.3 China's Soft Power

The Chinese economy has registered a slower but stable performance with good momentum for growth. GDP reached 74.4 trillion (2019) Yuan, representing 6.7 % growth, and seeing China outpace most other economies. China contributed more than 30 percent of global growth. A total of 13.14 million new urban jobs were added over the course of the year. The number of college graduates finding employment or starting businesses reached another record high. However, in 2016, China was confronted with an external environment in which the world saw the lowest economic and trade growth in seven years, growing volatility in global financial markets, and sudden and frequent regional and global challenges. Domestically, China faced multiple difficulties: major structural problems, prominent risks and dangers, and mounting downward pressure on the economy. China found itself in a complex environment as reform entered a critical stage, profound changes took place affecting interests, and factors impacting social stability grew. China will continue to pursue the Peaceful China initiative, improve the multidimensional, IT-based crime prevention and control system, crack down hard on violent terrorist activities, and punish organized crime, drug-related crime, and common crimes like theft, robbery, telecommunications and online fraud, and infringement of personal information, thus upholding China's national security and social stability. We will work to see that law is enforced in a strict, standardized, fair, and civil way, address prominent problems that endanger public security, and take comprehensive measures to ensure the security of our people (Keqiang, 2017).

China exercises “soft power” and uses public diplomacy to engage with the international community, and to compensate for the absence of formal diplomatic relations with major powers. PRC enjoys diplomatic relations with the major powers, international legitimacy and an enviable amount of media attention. Government agencies in China has a rich public diplomacy environment that is expanding beyond government and embraces not only the cultural industries, but also religious and humanitarian organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), student societies and other forms of activity extending from China’s civil society.

Public diplomacy from civil society and among NGOs can be considered a by-product of a nation’s soft power because their work reflects a democratic culture that encourages pluralism, diversity and charity. They are also largely immune from changes in ruling parties and their ideological positions. For this reason, Taiwan’s civil society offers soft power advantages over the PRC where the government manages the non-governmental sector, and therefore lacks the kind of credibility that would make it an agent of soft power. Moreover, the non-governmental sector is able to forge and sustain meaningful long-term relationships with groups and individuals overseas. Taiwan’s Youth Ambassador Programme has developed close personal relationships between the participants and their peers in Taiwan’s diplomatic allies. This initiative was launched in 2009 by the Ma Government, but the programme and its participants remain appropriately distant from government involvement: The state, as with most of the best public diplomacy that occurs in the non-governmental sector, is a facilitator rather than accomplice. The program dispatches teams of university students to those countries that still formally recognize Taiwan (22 countries at the time of writing) to meet and engage with young locals their own age. The participants in the programme do not consider their activities political, nor do they recognize the

label “public diplomacy” to describe their mission. Instead, they see their travel as an opportunity to make new friends and share cultural experiences. Not only is their autonomy from any political involvement the programme’s principal asset, but they also help breach the most significant “last three feet” of direct person-to-person communication, where trust and credibility can be generated (Rawnsley, 2014, p. 169).

In parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the so-called “Beijing consensus” on authoritarian government plus a market economy has become more popular than the previously dominant “Washington consensus” of liberal market economics with democratic government. China has reinforced this attraction by economic aid and access to its growing market. It is not surprising that Chinese leaders have begun to speak openly about their soft power.

2.4 USA’s Soft Power

Global and regional powers ever for continuing and increasing their power, try to control and manage global and regional evolutions. The Middle East as an important geopolitical and geostrategic region is possessed of particular importance in the global system equations. As far as transformations within this region considering the major powers, including America as a global military hegemony and Iran as counter-hegemony would possess as a regional power and counter-hegemony to itself. According to changes in the global system, in strategic opposition between Iran and the US in the Middle East, soft power is more important and differentia than hard power, as a result, both countries awareness of the equation try to increase and have greater efficiency of its soft power capacities in line with their strategic objectives. This research is a comparative analysis to identify potential soft power in both countries in the Middle East and thereby provide solutions to increase Iran’s soft

power in the Middle East. In the first part of the study compared to hard power, soft power is examined from different angles then in the next section soft war and its position in international system will be discussed. Continue on this study, the capacity of America and Iran's soft power can be evaluated in the Middle East and looking for solutions to increase and more efficiency of Islamic Republic of Iran, In order to increase its soft power in the Middle East is recommended.

Americans what goals Soft war against Iran in the Middle East can be enumerated as follows. Intimidate and demoralize the resistance of the Iranian nation and promote secularism, liberal democracy, Western values in the Middle East at odds with Islamic pattern Islamic Republic of Iran. It needs to make deal with Iran's religious culture and prevent it from spreading to other countries in the Middle East and religious. It should make secular regimes of the Middle East promoting religious pluralism and exacerbate religious and ethnic divisions in Iran as well as countries in the Middle East with Iran in the form of two peoples and two religions, Sunni and Shiite, Arab and Persian.

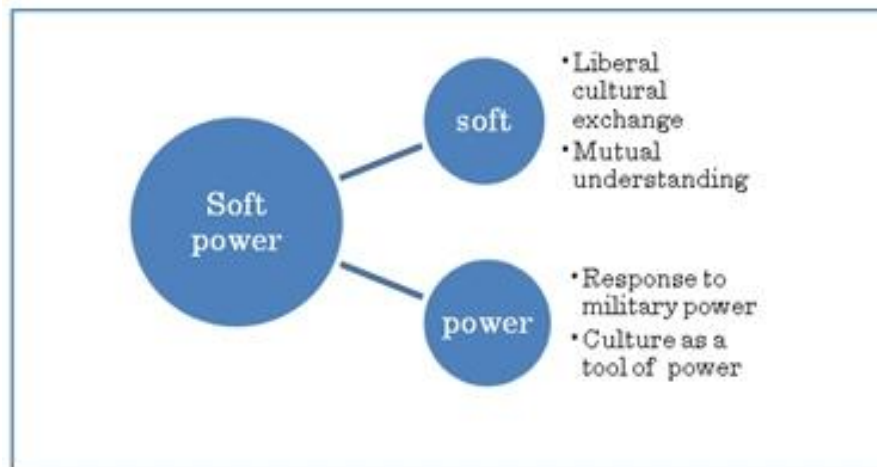
2.5 India's Soft Power

In recent years, India's leaders have increasingly focused on its diaspora, multicultural ethos, and its ancient practices like yoga, through official campaigns and foreign visits. Particularly since Narendra Modi came to power in 2014, there has been an increased activism to draw attention to and employ India's soft power. The focus on soft power, particularly cultural diplomacy, and its use in foreign policy, has become increasingly visible in recent years, especially during Modi government. India's traditions of non-violence and pluralism, diversity and tolerance, its yoga and Ayurveda, its Bollywood and classical dances, are well known but how far they help India realize its goals remains a subject for investigation. The Indian government

under Modi is apparently crafting a policy to capitalize on these assets to realize policy goals. Indian tradition identifies individual values with universal values, and does not differentiate individuals on the basis of religion, language, race or color. This trait is encapsulated in Sanskrit words “*vasudhaiva kutumbakam*” the whole world is one family. During his speech at the United Nations in September 2014, Prime Minister Modi referred to this message from Vedanta and argued that it encapsulates India’s culture (Mahapatra, 2016).

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Conceptual Framework



Power in international relations has traditionally been defined and assessed in easily quantifiable ‘hard’ terms, often understood in the context of military and economic might. Hard power is deployed in the form of coercion: using force, the threat of force, economic sanctions, or inducements of payment. In contrast to the coercive nature of hard power, soft power describes the use of positive attraction and persuasion to achieve foreign policy objectives. Soft power shuns the traditional foreign policy tools of carrot and stick, seeking instead to achieve influence by building networks, communicating compelling narratives, establishing international rules, and drawing on the resources that make a country naturally attractive to the world. This research is based on the given model of soft power which indirectly focus on Nye’s three pillars of soft power are: political values, culture, and foreign policy.

3.2 Research Design

The primary tool for the analysis of the present research paper is the available literatures from text books, research paper, online resources and other secondary materials. Under the qualitative research design, this study will use descriptive and analytic approach to frame the available data.

3.3 Method

This research has made use of survey and interview for getting data about the foreign policy and soft power of Nepal. Most of the interviewees and participants in data collection are directly or indirectly related to ministry of foreign affairs Nepal.

Selection of respondents

Thirty respondents will be selected via a stratified random sampling method.

Respondents of this research will be categorized into three groups as follows:

- Those working in Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nepal: 10
- Those working in one's own country's diplomatic mission in Kathmandu: 10
- Experts and interested people on foreign affairs: 10

Data collection

Data of this research was collected from first-hand experience (perceptions, opinions, thoughts) of Foreign Service experts and interested people in this field. For this a set of questionnaires was distributed and collected from 30 respondents of three categories (See questionnaire in Annex I)

Secondary sources of information will be collected from books, dissertations, journal articles, news and views.

Data analysis

Data collected from first-hand experience of Foreign Service personnel (via questionnaires) is tabulated and presented in charts and diagrams. Further, data collected from secondary sources of information is presented in chronological order so that diplomatic history could be reflected.

CHAPTER 4: SOFT POWER AND ITS EFFECT

4.1 Concept of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is an instrument by which government officials conduct negotiations and other relations between nations. Diplomacy can take place through various means including political negotiations, cultural events, trade and beyond. The primary actors in diplomacy are government representatives who look to shape international policy from the direction of their home government.

1. ***The activity of diplomats on behalf of governments.*** A diplomat was the messenger or spokesman of Heads of State or governments. The mission was to convince another government or group of governments on certain issues regarding territory, trade rights or other strong national interests. Diplomats were mainly “negotiators”. In parallel a rather strong “ceremonial” aspect of diplomacy and International relations developed.
2. ***The rights and duties for embassies and diplomatic missions.*** Since the Vienna Congress in 1815 there are clear Rules for diplomacy, its rights and duties, including rights and duties for embassies and diplomatic missions. These rules have been updated a few times in modern times, mainly in 1961 and particularly in the framework of the United Nations. (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. United Nations Treaty Collection, rev. 2010)
3. ***Relations between governments.*** Normally the concept “diplomacy” has been limited to the relations between governments, but in the last 50+ years a diplomat is supposed to broaden his/her target group to encompass public organizations and - to some extent - also media, private companies which are commercially interesting and the civil society in the host country.

4. A “real diplomat” remains, by definition, only a person in the diplomatic service of a foreign ministry + a few persons with special competence (e. g. defense, tourism, foreign investment, foreign trade, social affairs or culture/science). Diplomatic functions like “ambassador” have been borrowed by some International organizations in order to give a celebrity a role in the fight e.g. for human rights, refugees or other issues, generally considered as “good causes”, a win-win-project for the celebrity, the organization and - hopefully - the noble cause.
5. ***Etiquettes of diplomats and diplomatic missions.*** In daily life jargon you may call a person “diplomatic”, because he/she is negotiating, discussing or simply behaving in a polite, tactful or respectful way. This, however, does not make the person “a diplomat”. Having said this, I am aware that nobody has taken the “copyright” for diplomats, so the use of the term can be much broader than described above.
6. ***Negotiations for peace building or developing one country’s soft power.*** Traditionally the role of a diplomat could be both peaceful and “hostile”. Diplomats were the messengers of governments. Depending on the agenda of the government the diplomat could try to prepare a war or avoid a war or - in case of ongoing war – negotiate peace or cease-fire conditions.
7. ***Promotion of “nation brand”.*** A diplomat always had the role of promoting his/her country, its image, its “nation brand”. Today many governments have coordinating organizations for this task. Each embassy has nation branding as a major task.

4.2 Hard Power vs. Soft Power

The concepts of soft, hard, and smart power don't just apply to states. "In individuals," Nye wrote for the Huffington Post, "soft power rests on the skills of emotional intelligence, vision, and communication that Barak Obama possesses in abundance. In nations, it rests upon culture (where it is attractive to others), values (when they are applied without hypocrisy), and policies (when they are inclusive and seen as legitimate in the eyes of others.)" (Nye, 2017, pp.6.)

Soft power generates endearment; these qualities are not necessarily consistent with Weber's vision of such authority, qua an authority founded on perceptions of possessing "extraordinary," "exceptional," or "supernatural" qualities. This recalls Lasswell and Kaplan's (1950, 156) process of "identification": where rank and file members of a group adopt the values of their leaders out of respect and admiration. Even Realists argue that such an identification process can manifest itself in the emulation of successful military strategies and preferences for certain hard power resources (Waltz, 1979) - more direct and often coercive methods (either their symbolic use through threat or actual use), soft power cultivates it through a variety of policies, qualities, and actions that endear nations to other nations - more indirect and non-coercive methods. In this respect, hard power exhibits a greater conflict of interests relative to soft power. Hard power contemplates nations compelling other nations to do what the latter would ordinarily not otherwise do (Dahl, 1957). Soft power, on the other hand, conditions the target nations to voluntarily do what (soft power) nations would like them to do, hence there is far less conflict of interests in the process of soft power.

Table 1: Comparison between Hard Power and Soft Power

<i>Topics</i>	<i>Hard Power</i>	<i>Soft Power</i>
Force or attraction	Ability to change others' position by force or inducement	Ability to shape the preferences of others by attraction
Military or cultural	Military and economic capabilities	Cultural capabilities and political values
Coercion or influence	Coercion, force	Co-option, influence, persuasion, seduction and engagement
Absolute or relative	Absolute	Relative, context-based
Tangible or intangible	Tangible, easy to measure, predictable to certain degree	Intangible, hard to measure, unpredictable
Ownership	Ownership specified	Unspecified, multiple sources
Controller	Controlled by State or organizations (e.g. INGOs)	Mostly non-state actors, uncontrollable
External or internal	External, action, push	Internal, reaction/response, pull
Direct or indirect	Direct, short term, immediate effect	Indirect, long-term, delayed effect
Manifested or communicated	Manifested in foreign policies	Communicated via nation branding

Source: Ying, 2008, p. 22

Smart power is the careful combination of hard and soft power based on a nation's resources. The idea has since caught on the diplomatic circles, particularly with liberal American policymakers. During her confirmation hearings, US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"We must use what has been called 'smart power,' the full range of tools at our disposal - diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural - picking the right tool, or combination of tools, for each situation. With smart power, diplomacy will be the vanguard of foreign policy.

4.2.1 Hard Power

Indeed, Waltz (1979) contends that “In international politics force serves, not only as the *ultima ratio*, but indeed as the first and constant one.” Similarly, in his **War and Change in World Politics**, Gilpin (1981, P.13) defines power as “the military, economic, and technological capabilities of states.” National influence in the final analysis is dependent on an industrial-military complex that can be used to threaten or marshal force. Ultimately it is this “muscle” that fundamentally determines a nation’s power. The emphasis falls on the tangible power lexicon that determines a nation’s capacities to employ force in pursuit of its goals.

For the Realists, armies and control over other tangible resources that have military applications serve an insurance function in that a response against some potentially disastrous outcome is guaranteed (i.e., one actor is not dependent on others, such that an actor is controlling his/her own fate). Hence, for the Realists, every nation that can indeed field an army should do so, even though reliance on soft power may reduce the probability of a military attack. Of course, a guaranteed response does not guarantee staving off disaster (e. g., your army might lose). But neither does the ownership of insurance always assure full compensation in the case of disaster vis-a-vis a pure military strategy. At least nations will have something to fight with in case good will fails to attract supporters. While Realists have traditionally looked at a nation’s influence in the world as a function of these tangible and coercive sources of power (threat and force), J. Nye has highlighted the influence that derives from a more intangible and enlightened source: a positive image in world affairs that endears nations to other nations in the world polity. This positive image derives from a number of sources: the domestic and foreign policies that nations follow, the actions they undertake, and/or national qualities that are independent of

specific policies or actions (e.g., such as culture). This positive image generates respect and admiration, which in turn render nations that have soft power more endearing in the eyes of other nations. The endearment can be so strong that other nations may even attempt to emulate the policies and/or actions of soft power nations, domestic and/or foreign. Endearment serves to enhance the influence of soft power. In some cases, the endearing qualities may emanate from hard power resources themselves: such as the admiration generated by great economic achievements or an extensive international presence. But the hard power would have to be used according to the liberal principles undergirding the process of soft power.

There is no single word that effectively describes the foundation of soft power. “Endearment” is used as a term that is most representative. The terms admiration and respect could be used instead, but they insufficiently capture the quality of being liked or esteemed (i.e., one can respect and admire a nation more than you esteem or like it); which are often foundations for soft power. This does not mean that all the actions, qualities, and policies of soft power nations are necessarily endearing. In fact, other nations may dislike a number of qualities, actions and nations as other nations will more readily defer to their wishes on international issues, and conversely avoid confrontations. Hence, decisions about issues affecting the soft power nations will be bounded within a somewhat favorable range of options for the soft power nations. In a similar vein, emulation creates a system of nations that are comporting themselves (actions, policies, goals) in a manner consistent with the interests of the role-model nations. In these ways, soft power ultimately configures the context within which other nations make decisions in ways that favor the interests soft power nations (i.e., meta-power).

Soft power represents a form of meta-power. Meta-power describes situations in which power relations themselves are embedded within some greater constellation of social relations that influence those relations and thereby influence final outcomes that derive from the interactions among actors. The structures of the bargaining boundaries are determined by the processes going on in the greater social relations within which they are embedded (i. e., endogenous rather than exogenous). To quote Hall (1997, p. 405) “Meta-power refers to the shaping of social relationships, social structures, and situations by altering the matrix of possibilities and orientations within which social action occurs (i.e., to remove certain actions from actors' repertoires and to create or facilitate others).” Under conditions of meta-power, little can be inferred about the balance of power in a bargaining process merely by simply looking at the equilibrium within the existing bargaining space. One actor may seem to be moving the other actor closer to his/her preferred position within the bargaining space without in fact enjoying much influence over the seemingly compliant actor. Since the preferences or objectives are endogenous, and therefore the result of some greater constellation of social relations, the bargaining space itself can be the outcome of some greater configuration of power that has set possible equilibrium in a range highly consistent with the interests or references of the seemingly compliant actor. Hence, even losing a struggle for immediate power within the prevailing bargaining space may in fact still be winning the bargaining game if some greater set of social relations can skew the bargaining space in favor of the compliant actor. This would be a case of losing a battle but winning the war. Meta-power is often equated with agenda control. J. Nye (2004, p. 9) himself refers to soft power as a control over the “political agenda” and attributes the origin of the concept to the work of Bachrach and Baratz (1962 and 1963). Agenda control, in its more precise context, would indeed

represent a subset of meta-power. Within some collective bargaining process that is guided by a formal agenda, outcomes are circumscribed by the range of issues and strategic possibilities configured by the agenda setter him/herself. The agenda defines what issues will be raised, and in doing so therefore sets the bargaining boundaries.

Soft Power is a new type and face of Power. That is based on persuasion, seduction and engages. If you want to affect foreign countries, you must have a good image in foreign audience. In this way you can get some economic and political interest on other countries.

The relevance of effectiveness of soft power depends on the perception of the target country audience on the host country; ultimately, they are the deciders of what is attractive to them and what is not. One reason behind the decline of American's soft power in Europe over the last decade is that since the end of Cold War, much of this soft power has lost its relevance as the old enemy of Soviet Union is no longer in existence. How can soft power be measured? A study by the Rand Corporation suggests that the best single indicator of a country's attractiveness (soft power) may be poll responses to the question "where would you like to live other than your own country" (Treverton and Jones, 2005, p.).

In the past, governments for obtaining foreign policy goals were relied on merely exercising hard power in the form of military and economic capabilities and the role of soft power was neglected, but today according to communications revolution and the importance of non-state actors and the role of public opinion in international politics, use of hard power would be too expensive for that country, so countries try to use their soft power in foreign policy for acceptance and further adoption as well as reducing the costs due to less resistance than others.

There is one view that only the West or the countries with democratic institutions can produce soft power. For example, Raman (2005) claims that communist countries like China, despite its rich culture, have not been able to develop soft power. This is not true. No country has a monopoly on soft power. Any organization, country and culture, can develop soft power - the question is not who can or cannot develop soft power but to *whom* it is soft power. To some, terrorist organizations such as the Taliban or Al-Qaeda have soft power. It is undeniable that whilst American has seen a decline in its soft power (Nye, 2004), China's soft power is now on the rise, primarily in Southeast Asia, but also in Africa and Latin America (Kurlantzick, 2006; Nye: 2005; *Business World*, 2005). China's nation image in developing countries, particularly in Africa, is much more positive than in the west. For example, the "Beijing Consensus", a term coined by Ramo (2006) to refer to China's economic development model, is seen by many developing countries as a viable alternative to the western model. There are many published examples of Chinese soft power in Africa (Thompson, 2005). However, it is important to note that the influence and good relationships China has enjoyed in Africa are not the result of China's charm and friendship policies (soft power), but the product of four decades of "hard" investment by the Chinese government to cultivate such goodwill, i. e. investment in reputational capital, through an intended strategy to build relations through aid, trade, medical teams and education program since 1960s. The Chinese government recently waived one billion dollars of debt from some of the poorest countries in the continent (Pan, 2006).

4.2.2 Soft Power

Soft power" refers to a country's ability to obtain its desired outcome through attraction, particularly through the attraction of its culture, its political values/ideas

and its domestic and foreign policies and influence on other countries' behavior or the ability to shape what others want", without using hard or coercive power, which is "the ability to change what others do by conquering or coercing through military might" (Nye, 2004a). It rests on the ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preferences of others. Soft power encompasses nearly everything other than economic and military power. Soft power depends on the others' knowledge of one's attractiveness (Lee, 2011). In international relations, this co-optive power usually appears "elusive".

Soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others. In the business world, smart executives know that leadership is not just a matter of issuing commands, but also involves leading by example and attracting others to do what you want. Similarly, contemporary practices of community-based policing rely on making the police sufficiently friendly and attractive that a community wants to help them achieve shared objectives. Soft power is not merely the same as influence. After all, influence can also rest on the hard power of threats or payments. And soft power is more than just persuasion or the ability to move people by argument, though that is an important part of it. It is also the ability to attract, and attraction often leads to acquiescence. Simply put, in behavioral terms, soft power is attractive power. Soft power resources are the assets that produce such attraction (Ding and Sun, 2013). A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries - admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness - want to follow it (Nye, 2004, 4).

A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries - admiring values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness - want to follow it. A key element of soft power is leadership. The

power to attract – to get others to want you want, to frame the issues, to set the agenda (Nye, 2004b).

In fact, any soft power strategy benefits from distance from government in order to counter suspicions regarding motive, and is especially important in helping avoid the pejorative association of government communications with the (highly misunderstood) label “propaganda”. Taiwan has a rich public diplomacy environment that is expanding beyond government and embraces not only the cultural industries, but religious and humanitarian organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), student societies and other forms of activity extending from Taiwan’s civil society (Rawnsley, P. 162).

These days, soft power is the bright side of international relations, with a focus less on war, political maneuvering, or deceptive diplomacy but rather the power of cultural identity and ideals that either bind or separate countries and nations, said Kenneth Lee. “Accordingly, globalization makes soft power critical.”(Lee, P.137)

Although Nye coined the term in 1990, the concept of soft power has its origin in the works of Hans J. Morgenthau, Klaus Knorr and Ray Cline. For example, Morgenthau (1967) identifies nine elements of national power, among which national character, national morale, the quality of diplomacy and the quality of government are closely associated with intangible sources of power, i.e. soft power. Similarly Carr (1964) writes that power over opinion is not less essential for political purposes than military and economic power, and has always been closely associated with them. These ideas have since been summarized and popularized in recent years by Nye (Gill and Huang, 2006). On the other hand, the management and psychology literature has long promoted the benefits of using referent (soft) power over coercive (hard) power (Cristo, 2005). According to Raven and French (1959), there are five bases of power:

reward, coercive, legitimate, referent and expert. Soft power is a kind of referent power that is based on identification and attraction, and yields the greatest influence in relation to the other powers. The thinking behind the concept of soft power can be traced even back to more than two thousands of years. In ancient China, soft power was perceived stronger and more powerful than hard power, as suggested by proverbial wisdoms: to use soft and gentle means to overcome the hard and strong (以柔克刚 *yi rou ke gang*); and drips of water can penetrate a stone (滴水穿石 *di shui chuan shi*). Sun Tse (544-496 BC), a military strategist of 2500 years ago, advocates winning a battle without a fight. The Chinese philosopher Confucius (551 - 479 BC) believes that the ruler should win the allegiance of people with virtue (soft power) not by force (hard power). Similarly, Mencius (372-289 BC) advocates rule in kingly way (王道 *wang dao*) rather than the tyrant way (霸道 *ba dao*). The kingly way refers to governing by moral example whereas the tyrant way involves governing by brutal force (Wang, 2006). Lao Tze, a contemporary of Confucius, says in Tao Te Ching, “I know the benefit of wuwei (无为 do nothing); the softest can win the hardest. Invisible force can pass through the intangible.”

With enormous soft power in the form of global brands, multinational companies can play a key role in promoting a nation’s image. In the absence of a coherent nation branding campaign, corporate brands can in fact act as the ambassador for a country’s image in the world, and are a tangible manifestation of a country’s soft power. In many cases they are seen as the de facto brand of a nation, i.e. they are the nation’s brand. Japanese prime minister is quoted as saying that Sony and Matsushita (Panasonic) are the left and right faces of Japan. Such brands emerge from the stability and success of a country’s political and economic institutions - the foundation of its hard power - and consequently contribute to nation branding in

aggregate. A good cultural product and a number of successful global brands are vital in creating a long lasting impact in nation branding.

4.3 Value of Soft Power

It is a central paradox of American power, for example: The sheer might of the United States is unquestioned: U. S. troops are stationed in some 130 countries around the globe, and no opposing army would dare to challenge it on a level playing field. But as America's military superiority has increased, its ability to persuade is at low ebb in many parts of the world, even among its oldest allies.

The fundamental reliance on tangible power emanates from the purity of realist interpretations of anarchy, which in their most fundamental forms derive from the conventional Realist interpretations of Hobbes' account of the state of nature. The sacred catechism of Realist tenets about the behavior of nations that follow from the condition of anarchy, defined "as no common power above actors to keep them in awe," leads actors to optimize tangible power resources (i.e., hard power) only because such resources are more certain to provide protection (whether it be defensive or offensive in nature). For Realists, power also derives from some intangible sources: Waltz' competence (i.e., leadership, policy, decision-making). Hence it is not tangibility that determines the principal distinction between soft and hard power. Realists would also embrace the utility of threat or other types of coercive posturing. But ultimately, these intangible measures rely on actual material capabilities to be effective; hence muscle is the key to power for Realists.

For an alternative interpretation of Hobbes' state of nature, one that suggests that Hobbes' logic underscored the importance of soft power reduce the vulnerability of an actor, they are no guarantee against victimization by force, nor are they guaranteed to be able to deter and/or compel actors to behave in ways that make one

less vulnerable. Tangible power resources, both in their manifest and symbolic (i.e., threat) use, can be employed to repel acts of force, and they can be used to compel actors into submission. All intangible, good will (i.e., soft) sources of power carry no such guarantees. They carry no guarantees that an act of aggression can either be confronted or perpetrated to eliminate a menacing actor. The logic is akin to insurance protection in civil society where individuals often choose to purchase insurance against specific disasters to guarantee recovery. It is possible to be fully protected without such insurance by relying on sources of influence consistent with soft power, (i.e., relying on the goodwill of friends or relatives to protect against losses). But these are not guaranteed options like insurance compensation.

4.4 Political and Diplomatic Soft Power

At the most general level, power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants.

While Gramscian hegemony, or the radical conception of the third face of power, would represent meta-power for dominant nations. It would represent a kind of imposed control which manifests itself through a co-optive indoctrination. The radical vision is based on the idea of false consciousness, which suggests that the interests of subordinate nations have not really merged toward the interests of dominant nations, but that only a concerted effort to sell a universal ideology has inculcated a false sense of interests onto subordinate nations (Marx et.al, 1972). Hence, it would not qualify as soft power because in such hegemony there is an element of adversarial manipulation, which would be an illiberal means of generating compliance - i.e., fooling subordinate nations. Hence, there is most definitely a strong conflict of interests in this radical vision of power.

4.5 How States Exercise Power in International Politics

Under international sources, first, nations must demonstrate a pronounced respect for international law, norms, and institutions. This commitment to “the rules” exudes dependability, sensitivity, legitimacy, and disposition against violence. This general commitment is the principal source of international soft power, as the sources that follow are more specific elements of this more general orientation.

While discussing on Foucault’s vision of power, (Foucault, 1980) nations must embrace a multilateral disposition and eschew a overly unilateralist posture in the promotion of their foreign policies. Disregarding multilateralism can be costly. Nations relying decreasingly on multilateral fora to respond to threats or problems alienate regime members and consequently risk the possibility of marginalization in those regimes, which in turn diminishes such fora as viable options in attending to foreign objectives. At worst, the *fora* themselves could increasingly function in ways that are adversarial. Similarly, respect for alliance commitments and treaties are crucial to the creation of soft power. As with the above two sources of soft power, forsaking erstwhile allies and international commitments in favor of unilateral solutions produces a maverick image that comprises traditional sources of power embedded in multilateral support networks. Furthermore, nations must be willing to sacrifice short-run particularistic interests in order to contribute toward substantive collaborative schemes that address important multilateral problems. Consistent with international commitments and fair play, nations will garner considerable respect by foregoing short-run national objectives for the sake of the collective good. Finally, a nation must pursue policies of economic openness. This dictates a liberal foreign economic policy orientation. Free trade in goods and open capital markets represent a

commitment to maintaining opportunities for economic growth in other nations. The greater this commitment, the more elevated will be the national image.

With respect to domestic sources of soft power, J. Nye notes, “How [a nation] behaves at home can enhance its image and perceived legitimacy and that in turn can help advance its foreign policy objectives.” (P, 97) Domestic sources can be broadly categorized under two rubrics: the power inherent in culture and in political institutions. With respect to politics (See Gallarotti: 2011, P.21), institutions must be founded on strong principles of democratic agency. The political system must deliver democracy, pluralism, liberalism, and constitutionalism. Indeed, it will be oriented around the political empowerment of civil society and reducing political gaps (Huntington, 1971).

Culturally, soft power is created by social cohesion, an elevated quality of life, freedom, abundant opportunities for individuals, tolerance, and the alluring characteristics of a lifestyle that garners great admiration and even emulation. Numerous observers have underscored the power emanating from an admired culture, in these cases, that of the U.S. Both domestic and international sources of soft power reflect an emphasis on policies and actions that exude an orientation of justice, collective concern, and rules of fair play. In this respect we clearly see pervasive principles of political liberalism at work in both sources (Gallarotti, 2011, p.22).

4.6 Source of Soft Power

Sources of soft power can be traced to both domestic and international sources. It has been summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Foundations and Sources of Soft Power

International Sources	Domestic Sources
Respect for international laws, norms, and institutions	Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pronounced social cohesion • Elevated quality of life • Freedom • Sufficient opportunities • Tolerance • Alluring lifestyle
Fundamental reliance on multilateralism, and disposition against excessive unilateralism	Political institutions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democracy • Constitutionalism • Liberalism/Pluralism • A Well-functioning of government (Bureaucracy)
Respecting international treaties, alliances and commitments	Amending and incorporating national laws in accordance with international laws
Willingness to sacrifice short-run national interests in order to contribute toward the collective good	Harmonization of national laws
Liberal foreign economic policies	Liberal domestic policies that foster foreign investment, foreign trade, tourism, etc.

Source: Gallarotti, 2011, p.23

4.7 Cultural Diplomacy (CD)

Cultural Diplomacy is a course of actions, which is based on and utilize the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation, promote national interests and beyond; Cultural diplomacy can be practiced by either the public sector, private sector or civil society.

The principles of cultural diplomacy are respect and recognition of cultural diversity and heritage; global intercultural dialogue; justice, equality and interdependence; protection of international human rights; and global peace and stability.

Cultural diplomacy is a type of public diplomacy and soft power that includes the exchange of ideas, information, art, language and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding. The purpose of cultural diplomacy is for the people of a foreign nation to develop an understanding of the nation's ideals and institutions in an effort to build broad support for economic and political goals. In essence cultural diplomacy reveals the soul of a nation, this in turn creates influence. Though often overlooked, cultural diplomacy can and does play an important role in achieving national security efforts.

The goal of cultural diplomacy is to influence a foreign audience and use that influence, which is built up over the long term, as a sort of good will reserve to win support for policies. It seeks to harness the elements of culture to induce foreigners to have a positive view of the country's people, culture and policies; induce greater cooperation between the two nations, aid in changing the policies or political environment of the target nation, prevent, manage and mitigate conflict with the target nation.

Culture is a set of values and practices that create meaning for society. This includes both high culture (literature, art, and education, which appeals to elites) and popular culture (appeals to the masses).

Cultural diplomacy is the important “soft” alternative to a more “belligerent” type of diplomacy. And CD utilizes the many instruments of cultural and artistic life in a way which may make “hearts and souls” meet across borders.

Most cultural counselors, cultural attachés or directors in embassies or cultural institutes around the world are probably not (yet) aware that they are doing “cultural diplomacy”. They have a job description asking them to promote arts, artists and the “cultural scene” of their home country, through exhibitions, concerts, lectures and other means of “cultural exchange”. Their success or failure is measured in the response from authorities and media and in number of visitors at the events. Some few, mainly European, diplomats may also have a word about “intercultural dialogue” in their job description. This advice is usually interpreted in the following way: We should be open for a dialogue or an exchange of experiences with the host country and various communities of the host country on issues regarding multiculturalism or integration of immigrants. European countries / EU-members obviously have much to discuss and compare and will benefit from such discussions.

The ICD ultimate goal - peace and stability - is a very ambitious goal. But it could be seen as a continuation of an old diplomatic tradition. The role of a diplomat was often to prevent war and try to preserve peace. The challenges in this role remain the same. There will always be conflicts between nations, regions or groups and they can be solved either peacefully or violently. Europeans (EU) have succeeded since 1945 to live in peace and cooperation and could therefore be called pioneers in soft politics. In 2012 the EU was awarded the Nobel Prize in Peace.

4.8 Tourism

Importance of Tourism

Along with fast expansion of tourism, a large number of economic benefits are flowing from the tourism industry. As a sector of the source of foreign currency (for economic growth) for the poor and as a development strategy for developing countries, tourism has several comparative advantages as the following:

- a. ***Tourism is a part and parcel of international trade in services, in fact occupying the top position.*** Most developing countries suffer from a more or less acute shortage of foreign currency. As a result, they have difficulties in obtaining the goods and services essential for development. In this situation, in the world's developing countries (and particularly the LDCs) tourism is almost universally the ladder in economic growth, foreign exchange, investment and job creating sectors. As a white industry, tourism has been considered a economic panacea and alternative agent of development.
- b. ***Tourism is a viable means of earning foreign exchange.*** Tourism is an extremely important component for many governments' reserve fund of foreign exchange for balance of payments. It is a very important industry which can earn a lot of foreign currency which is necessary for the economic development of a country.

For a country like Nepal, which does not have abundant resources, the tourism sector is expected to continue to play an important role for the development of nation. Tourism stands as a major economic activity of the nation with the planned approach since 1956. It contributes to the GDP (2.9 % to 3 %), foreign exchange earnings (10.4 % to 12 %) and government revenue (Economic Survey of the Fiscal Year 2000/01).

CHAPTER 5: FOREIGN POLICY OF NEPAL

5.1 Nepali Foreign Policy

Nepal, as a landlocked country, is strategically located between two very strong and powerful countries of Asia, China and India. Due to the unique geographical location of the country, the rulers have remained cautious from the very beginning regarding relations with foreigners particularly the two immediate neighbors. This fact is reflected very well in Prithvi Narayan Shah's teaching (Divya Upadesh, 2006) It was during the second half of eighteenth century that, the brave, visionary and nationalist king Prithvi Narayan Shah provided not only the basis for modern Nepal's foreign and security policies but has also contributed in shaping its worldview (Khanal, 2009). He stated that Nepal is yam between two boulders.

After the Sugauli Treaty of 1816 BS, Nepal's foreign policy seems to have taken a new direction. During the Rana period, only India and Britain seemed to have relations with the two countries. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Solomon Islands and Nepal on December 15, 2011, the number of countries establishing diplomatic relations with Nepal has reached 133. The formal beginning of Nepal's foreign relations dates back to 1850, when Jung Bahadur Rana visited the United Kingdom. Similarly, a peace and friendship treaty was signed between the British government and Nepal in 1923 during the Chandrashamser era. Nepal has entered the international arena after the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, the Soviet Union and France after the political changes of 2007.

On 14 December 1955, Nepal became a member of the United Nations and in the same year participated in the Bandung Conference of the Afro-Asian Organization. As an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) since 1961, Nepal has been participating in various forums around the world. At the Non-

Aligned Summit, Nepal has been putting forward its views on colonialism, casteism, apartheid policy, transit rights of landlocked nations, etc.

According to the UN Declaration, Nepal has from time to time held the view that disarmament, anti-apartheid policy and opposition to colonialism. As a result, Nepal has twice been elected a member of the Security Council. Nepal has also been involved in the committees formed by the United Nations from time to time. Nepal's non-aligned foreign policy has had a positive impact on the world community. Nepal is also a member of UNESCO and WHO. As a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Nepal wishes for world peace. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 2047 BS, which came after the restoration of democracy, stated that international relations would be guided by maintaining the sovereignty, integrity and independence of the country. Nepal's foreign policy has been conducted on the basis of the United Nations Charter, Non-Alignment, Principles of Panchsheel, international law and recognition of world peace. It is clear that Nepal is committed to advancing the country's foreign policy and international relations by maintaining cooperative good relations with neighbouring friendly countries and all other countries on the basis of equality in economic, social and other fields.

5.2 Foreign Policy Dynamics of Nepal

The fundamental objective of Nepal's foreign policy is to enhance the dignity of the nation by safeguarding sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, and promoting economic wellbeing and prosperity of Nepal. It is also aimed at contributing to global peace, harmony and security. Nepal's foreign policy is guided by the following basic principles: Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, Non-interference in each other's internal affairs, Respect for mutual equality, Non-aggression and the peaceful settlement of disputes, Cooperation for

mutual benefit, Abiding faith in the Charter of the United Nations and Value of world peace. (MOFA, 2020)

Constitution of Nepal and Nepali Foreign Policy

Safeguarding of the freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity, nationality, independence and dignity of Nepal, the rights of the Nepali people, border security, economic wellbeing and prosperity shall be the basic elements of the national interest of Nepal. The State shall direct its international relations towards enhancing the dignity of the nation in the world community by maintaining international relations on the basis of sovereign equality, while safeguarding the freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence and national interest of Nepal. To conduct an independent foreign policy based on the Charter of the United Nations, non-alignment, principles of *Panchasheel*, international law and the norms of world peace, taking into consideration of the overall interest of the nation, while remaining active in safeguarding the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and national interest of Nepal, To review treaties concluded in the past, and make treaties, agreements based on equality and mutual interest. (MOFA, 2020)

5.3 Soft Power of Nepal

The time of Araniko's arrival in Tibet is considered to be 1260 AD. After the construction of the Golden Chaitya was completed in two years, the proprietor of Gumba, who was very much impressed by the unique artistry of the artist Araniko, brought him to the palace of emperor Kublai Khan. After hearing the description of the unique hand skills and talents of the Nepali artist Araniko, the emperor tested his work by asking him to repair an old broken statue. Araniko satisfied the emperor with everything. The emperor then ordered him to build of a Buddhist monastery at present

day Beijing. Araniko started the construction of the White Temple in 1271 in collaboration with Chinese artists and completed the construction in eight years.

While being impressed by the skill and versatility of the Nepali artist Araniko, Emperor Kublai Khan appointed him head of the Department of Architecture, conferring the title of "Kwanglu Ta Fu Tash Thu", which respectable honour is given my government. Araniko spent the rest of his life in China, perpetuating the tradition of Nepali architecture and 1306 at the age of sixty-two. At that time, he had trained a number of Chinese artists in Nepali tradition and style of architecture and sculpture. His most famous disciple was named "Tue Yunan". After his death, it was his sons who took over the reins of the Department of Architecture. On the occasion of the New Year of 2026 (April 13, 1672), His Majesty's Government made an artistic monument carving a detailed description of his biography and work. According to another account, Nepali architect Araniko has been respected in the history of China and in the hearts of the vast majority of the Chinese people, a glorious achievement in the development of traditional Nepali and Chinese cultural ties. In fact, Araniko was Nepal's first cultural envoy to China. For Nepalis, artist Araniko has become national icon of soft power exercised towards China.

Similarly, the religious sites like Lumbini and Pashupatinath temple are also the potential soft power of Nepal that are attracting both Indian and Chinese tourist to Nepal. Through its religious values and beliefs, Nepal can exercise its influence over other countries in cultural ground. Every year thousands of Indian tourist visit make pilgrimage visit in Nepal and pay tribute to our religious possessions and while returning they take positive image of Nepal. Furthermore in case of the developing countries Nepal, tourism can play a vital role as a form of economic, public and soft power. Nepal is rich in natural gifts, resources and wonders with our own diverse

cultural, historical and religious heritage. As a form of soft power, tourism can play an active role in promoting people-to-people contact within the Asian region and globe and thereby promote peace, friendship, cooperation and economic growth.

Amid the wake of Visit Nepal 2020, Nepal holds the ability to influence the perception of international actors and affect foreign policy outcome by allowing more people to engage with the culture and values of Nepal. It can also mitigate the cultural gap between Nepal-China by welcoming Chinese tourists to enjoy Nepal culture and also enhance the brotherhood relation with culturally linked Indian tourists. Over these years, the tourism industry has been broadly recognized as an organized agent for international cooperation, as tourism offers a platform to enhance people-to-people relation. The notion behind this recognition is that contacts among citizens from different lands pave the way for mutual relation, acceptance and understanding between foreign nationalities. The interaction with diverse nationalities will provide a chance to revisit preconceived ideas and stereotypes, and in due course implant mutually positive perceptions of one another. But tourism itself neither leads to automatic cooperation nor improves bilateral relations; it just works as a catalyst, and the rest depends on how the nation or its citizens respond to this opportunity. Tourism these days has become a social force for promoting peace and understanding. As people travel across different civilizations to understand each other's way of life and learn to assimilate amid diversity, it automatically connects individual dots to create a global human network. With tourism, people not only build relation, they embody it. Such cross border relationship between people will automatically facilitate the use citizen-initiative soft power at national level.

5.3.1 Amenities of Soft Power

Some of the inherent soft power amenities of Nepal related to tourism is religious spots, natural beauties and the image of Gurkha soldiers. The details about amenities of Nepali soft power are discussed below:

Mount Everest: Mount Everest known as ‘Sagarmatha’ in Nepali is Earth's highest mountain above sea level, located in the Mahalangur Himal sub-range of the Himalayas. The China–Nepal border runs across its summit point. The current official elevation of 8,848 m (29,029 ft), recognized by China and Nepal, was established by a 1955 Indian survey and subsequently confirmed by a Chinese survey in 1975. In 1865, Everest was given its official English name by the Royal Geographical Society, as recommended by Andrew Waugh, the British Surveyor General of India, who chose the name of his predecessor in the post, Sir George Everest, despite Everest's objections. Mount Everest attracts many climbers; some of them highly experienced mountaineers. There are two main climbing routes, one approaching the summit from the southeast in Nepal and the other from the north in Tibet. While not posing substantial technical climbing challenges on the standard route, Everest presents dangers such as altitude sickness, weather, and wind, as well as significant hazards from avalanches and the Khumbu Icefall (NTB, 2020). The glory of Mount Everest have made Nepal popular among international societies and in many parts of the world the name of country Nepal is known for having the highest peak of the world. Mount Everest is one of the pioneer possession that has glorified the Nepal of Nepal in international arena otherwise many countries would never have heard the name of Nepal.

Pashupatinath Temple and Lumbini

The Pashupatinath Temple is a famous and sacred Hindu temple complex that is located on the banks of the Bagmati River, approximately 5 km north-east of Kathmandu in the eastern part of Kathmandu Valley, the capital of Nepal. The temple serves as the seat of Pashupatinath. This temple complex was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage Sites's list in 1979. This "extensive Hindu temple precinct" is a "sprawling collection of temples, ashrams, images and inscriptions raised over the centuries along the banks of the sacred Bagmati river" and is included as one of the seven monument groups in UNESCO's designation of Kathmandu Valley as visit here. Similarly, Lumbini is a Buddhist pilgrimage site in the Rupandehi District of Province No. 5 in Nepal. It is the place where, according to Buddhist tradition, Queen Mahamayadevi gave birth to Siddhartha Gautama in 563 BCE. Gautama, who achieved Enlightenment sometime around 528 BCE, became the Buddha and founded Buddhism. Lumbini is one of many magnets for pilgrimage that sprang up in places pivotal to the life of the Buddha. Lumbini has a number of older temples, including the Mayadevi Temple, and various new temples, funded by Buddhist organisations from various countries, have been completed or are still under construction. Many monuments, monasteries and a museum, and the Lumbini International Research Institute are also within the holy site. Lumbini was made a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1997. (NTB, 2020)

The soft power of these temples is visible in the enthusiasm of tourist representation various counters who arrive Nepal to just visit this religious destination and those people carry good image of Nepal because of same holy places. Particularly the Pashupatinath and Lumbini is important because both place are like holy shrine for our immediate neighbour India and China. While talking about Lumbini, more than

25 nations have made their monasteries inside the premises of Lumbini, from China, Japan, Cambodia, and Germany to Burma, Thailand, and Sri Lanka, Philippines etc. So these two religious destinations have enhanced the international image of Nepal in a sustainable way as the spiritual inclination of neighboring nations towards Nepal will always remain strong.

Gurkha Soldiers:

The Gurkhas or Gorkhas with endonym *Gorkhali* are soldiers native to the Indian subcontinent of Nepali nationality and ethnic Nepalis of Indian nationality recruited for the British Army, Nepali Army, Indian Army, Gurkha Contingent Singapore, Gurkha Reserve Unit Brunei, UN peacekeeping force and war zones around the world. The Gurkha soldiers have directly contributed to establish the image of Nepalis as brave and Nepal as the country ready to protect and defend itself in hard time. The Gurkhas have a fearsome reputation built over the last two centuries and exemplified by their motto "it is better to die than being a coward". In World War II they fought the Germans in Italy and the Japanese in Burma. Twenty-six Victoria Crosses, the ultimate award for gallantry in the British and Commonwealth forces, have been awarded to members of Gurkha regiments. In 2018, during the summit between Donald Trump and Kim Jong-un in Singapore, the Gurkha soldiers from Nepal were deployed as part of the security force protecting the leader. Since many years the bravery of Gurkhas have acted like international branding of Nepal as the country that homes brave soldiers and due to same image Nepali soldiers are respected in other parts of world.

Apart from this Nepal became a member of the United Nations (UN) in 1955 and first contributed military peacekeepers in 1958, sending five observers in the UN Military Observation Group in Lebanon. As of April 2013, Nepal had contributed

94,000 peacekeepers to 43 UN missions overall (see Table 1). Since late 2006 it has consistently provided at least 3,000 or more peacekeepers, making it one of the UN's largest Troop-Contributing Countries (TCC). In recent years Nepal's participation has declined almost 20 percent from its 2010 peak of nearly 5,500. In February 2013, the Nepal Army deployed to two new missions, bringing its total to 11 operations, most of which are in Africa. Such UN peace keeping force representation Nepal has also branded the soft power of Nepal as the country of brave people.

Manjushree and Bhrikuti

China and Nepal are close neighbors on the two sides of the Himalayan Mountains and have a long history of friendly ties. It is said that more than two thousand years ago, Manjushri came all the way from the Wutai Mountains in China to Nepal. He cut open the mountain with his sword and drained the water from the lake, thus creating the Kathmandu Valley. This beautiful legend gives vivid expression to the ardent desire of our two peoples for friendship. A Nepali Princess Bhrikuti (Khrizun) was given in marriage to Tibetan King Songtsan Gampo in 639. It is said that she significantly contributed to introducing Buddhism in Tibet.. She is also remembered for the construction of the first ancient temples in Tibet including Potala Palace and Jhokang temple. She brought artistic images of Arya Tara, Avalokiteshwara and Akshothya Buddha in Tibet from Nepal. Bhrikuti is usually represented as Harit Tara (Green Star) in Tibet. Potala Palace and Jokang temple, which bear the images of Bhrikuti, speaks of the greatness of our cultural and spiritual ties (Davis, 2003).

Nepali Diaspora

The enormous international goodwill towards Nepal and Nepali people, ever expanding Nepali diaspora, our culture, civilizational heritage make our soft power.

Today million of Nepalis have settled abroad in more than 78 countries and they have earned names in international politics for example Harry Bhandari of Nepali origin wins the Senate in US' mid-term election. Amid such international context Nepal's vibrant diaspora could become a core component of foreign policy initiatives and it could be a vehicle of our soft power. During the periods of foreign exchange crisis, policy managers have invariably turned to the NRN community to enhance capital flows and secure national economics. These remittances have shored up our reserves and supported incomes of intended beneficiaries. Subsequently, we have sought these flows as investment vehicles. State governments have competed to attract NRN investments to meet capital shortage, finance projects and generate employment.

The Nepali diaspora from the very beginning were conscious about their rich cultural heritage, knowing the fact that they are the inheritors of the world's oldest civilization. Therefore, they are naturally keen to maintain their cultural prestige as being part of such a rich legacy. This deep commitment to their cultural prestige has shown in numerous ways, and in every aspect of the Nepali diaspora. Probably there is no other diaspora across the globe, having such an extra-ordinary diversity. This diversity is visible in terms of linguistic, ethnic and religious groups. Therefore, the first generation diaspora always carries with them the rich traditions of harmonizing different values, beliefs, customs and practices.

Promotion of Nepali Cuisine

Since many years Nepal tourism board has been promoting Nepali culture and foods among larger international population and following the same initiative the government too have launched many programs to promote Nepali Cuisine. IN 2018, amid a special program including cuisine display and tasting in Kathmandu, Nepali Minister for Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation Rabindra Adhikari launched the

book and videos that feature Nepali food recipe including information on all ingredients and cooking methods. The move is a joint initiation of Nepal Tourism Board, Hotel Association Nepal, Chefs Association of Nepal and Restaurant and Bar Association of Nepal. With the help of the booklet and videos, Nepal also aims to position itself in the international market as a global food and gastronomy destination. "We need to promote Nepali food within the country first so that the foreign tourists visiting Nepal will taste it and later promote in their respective countries. It's all about mixing food and tourism together," Rabindra Adhikari said in the event. In the first phase, the campaign has highlighted 30 heritage dishes representing region, culture, festivals and ethnic diversity of the country. (Experiencing Nepal, 2018)

Student Exchange Programs

To enhance one's soft power it is necessary to share experiences with those whom you wish to co-opt to your way of doing things. Joseph Nye (2004) has argued that hosting educational exchanges is one way of socializing others to your own norms, ideas, and procedures; and in the process builds soft power. Historically, statesmen have advocated educational exchange programs as a way to gain influence and shape international political behaviour (Weily, 2001). In same regard, Nepal too is practicing student exchange program many countries, for example every year many students from Department of International Relation and Diplomacy visit Sichuan University of Chian under student exchange program. And during such program the students from Nepal visit other countries as a National representative who promote their culture and brand their nation.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

This study has analyzed the views from questionnaire of thirty respondents and the analysis of each respondent are compartmentalized in paragraph form without mentioning their profile for sake of privacy. Many of the respondent's views culture as a positive force for expanding soft power and it can also be linked with awareness of one's political class to use the resources to realize foreign policy goals. Creating soft power draws upon culture as a positive force. Network connections serve as boundary spanners across cultures. From the perspective of wielding soft power, culture acts primarily as a challenge or obstacle to be overcome. As the earlier situation illustrated, messages delivered over mass media are particularly vulnerable to distortions that rebound off the cultural barrier. Finally, creating soft power can generate its own campaign momentum. That is, audience is active and participatory and the heightened degree of cultural diversity also adds its own synergy. In contrast, wielding soft power requires the sustained efforts of the source to try actively to control or maintain campaign momentum. On rare and fortunate occasions, a campaign can generate a 'buzz' in the audience that accelerates the communication mileage of the campaign. However, most campaigns require the source to keep the campaign going and audiences engaged.

Similarly some of the respondents focused on mass communication approach - diplomacy via mass media journey from information production to information exchange and detailed how media creates a buzz of diplomacy. Who master the exchange of information will command power in the global communications' era.

Mass communication approach is the dominant approach in public diplomacy used by nation-states. A large part of creating soft power is achieved through the

different view of 'messaging'. That is, mass communication, information-centered approach of wielding soft power relies on predefined, static messages that are crafted by the source and delivered to a passive receiver. That is source tries its best to anticipate and respond to the audience's reaction to the message but, once the message leaves its source, the creator has very little, if any, control over how it is received. In contrast, the network communication, relations-centered approach views 'messaging' as a creative, participatory process that blurs the distinction between sender and receiver, source and audience, i.e., message is co-created and dynamic. Because the message is not tied specifically to any one source, message credibility can span across sources. Mass communication messages, in contrast, tend to be tied to the sponsor. Coalition-building helps to build diversity in networks, the combination of 'local roots' with 'global links' serves as the most obvious source of diversity in transnational networks.

Culture - rather than being an impediment or liability as in the case of mass media - is an asset for transnational networks. By incorporating culture into the dynamics of the network, the network itself gains an additional supply of synergy. That is, third dimension of the network communication approach rests on how networks use and exchange information, rather than simply disseminate it. Transnational advocacy networks strategically use information to co-create credibility, identity and master narratives. Information is the lifeblood of networks. Members circulate information and those that hoard it are bypassed in a network. Information-sharing is a key component of 'information politics' in transnational advocacy networks. Information politics is defined as the ability quickly and credibly to generate politically useable information and move it to where it will have the most impact. Information also serves as a tool to establish credibility. That is, quantity and

quality of credible information that a source can supply is directly related to its value and persuasiveness. Information is also used to create a coherent storyline or master narrative. That is, storyline defines the problem, villain, victim and solution. Keck and Sikkink speak of this in terms of the strategic portrayal of a 'causal story'. Arquilla and Ronfeldt called it the narrative function of networks.¹² In social movement literature, it is often referred to as 'framing'. The storyline is important for creating a sense of shared purpose and identity.

As Martin Kearns explains in his discussion of network-centric advocacy. A nation-state cannot stand alone in the globalized world. Recently, regional blocs have been rising to function to cope with regional issues and concerns. OPEC lobbies for oil supply in the world; ASEAN lobbies for trade partnership and economic integration in the east-Asian region. Speaking of an initiative that spanned from the Philippines to Chile, Nicaragua and Mexico, Arturo Santa Cruz observed: 'It was precisely the synergy created by domestic and transnational actors that made the rapid consolidation of the international election-monitoring transnational advocacy network possible'.¹⁰ Diversity in transnational networks can be particularly valuable for generating novel solutions to complex or long-standing problems. That is, a story perpetuates attraction to the network and bolsters commitment of workers and volunteers. Unifying the common national agendas adds strength to the social ties reinforces participation and helps individuals and governments to create additional message in global issues.

While going through the response of respondent one thing was very common that many respondents viewed that Nepal lacks the amenities of soft power and the existing soft power of Nepal is also not exercised properly in international ground. One of the respondent claims that "Nepal being a third world country or a least

developed country can also be counted as soft power because on the same ground it is receiving aids from foreign nation”. This argument seems very relevant as of Nepal was not a least developed country then it would never have enjoyed the privilege of easy aids from developed countries in time of need. For example, even in global crises situation of Corona lockdown Nepal has received aids and assistance from international organizations as well as other developed countries.

Similarly, another respondent representing ministry of foreign affairs Nepal said that “Nepal has not been able to use its historical ties with China as a soft power to mitigate the cultural gaps”. The researcher agrees on this point because Nepal as a country have huge cultural gap with China despite having history of international relation maintained since the period of Araniko and it was continued further by Nepali traders who often used to travel China. Formulating and enacting a soft power strategy, therefore, can be a practical option for Nepal to convey its national identity to the international community. Nepal’s unique socio-cultural diversity, vibrant tourist destinations and geography are already acknowledged by visitors. Besides the usual platitudes of Nepal as the land of Mt Everest, the birthplace of Lord Buddha, the ancestral holy land of the Hindus’ Lord Shiva as symbolized by the Pashupatinath temple and eight of the highest peaks in the world, Nepal has been largely incapable of introducing a distinct identity to international audiences.

One of the foreign policy scholar views that Nepal could focus on the growth of its tourism industry to exercise its soft power. He further mentioned that compatible trade and investment policies should be framed to attract a significant amount of foreign direct investment from the overseas market, rebranding Nepal’s identity as a ‘zone of investment’. But during the research this paper finds that creating and maintaining niches in this competitive world requires persuasion and

influential international marketing. This will require active support from the government, political leaders, diplomats and concerned stakeholders, who must handle international public relations with external actors.

One of the IR scholar's views that although some scholars argue that soft power may not always yield the desired outcome and is much slower and indirect, hard and soft power can supplement each other. Therefore, a recently introduced form of power usually known as smart power, which originates from the effective melding of hard and soft power, is considered significant in achieving desired outcomes. In Nepal's case, considering her constraints and resource potentials, soft power diplomacy in general and tourism diplomacy as a form of niche diplomacy in particular would be the best instrument to pursue national interest in the international sphere.

Conclusion

To transform soft power from a potential source into real power, a number of issues need to be addressed. The competitiveness of cultural industry and necessary media infrastructure provide the stage for the nation branding show. China is a case in point. With almost everything made in China, the country has huge trade surplus with many countries. However, China suffers a big cultural deficit in terms of cultural exports. "While we are great in cultural resources, we are not strong in cultural industries", says an article in the influential People's Daily (2005). Secondly, whether a unique cultural product from a country can serve as a form of soft power depends on how to internationalize the product. Shaolin Kungfu is a case in point. While Tae kwon Do from Korea has become one of the most widely practiced martial arts in the world and an Olympic event, Shaolin remains still largely unknown outside China.

The political game in a global information age suggests that the relative role of soft power to hard power will likely increase. The most likely gainers in the 21st century information age will have the following:

- multiple channels of communication that help to frame issues in international politics,
- cultural customs and ideas that are close to prevailing global norms, and
- credibility that is enhanced by human values and global policies (e.g., climate change, threat of global terrorism, environmental pollution) .

Soft power and nation branding are two closely linked concepts. Nation branding concerns how a nation *as a whole* presents and represents itself to other nations (Anholt, 2006), whereas public diplomacy is a subset of nation branding that focuses on the political brand of a nation. Compared with Nye's notion of soft power through public diplomacy, nation branding (competitive country brand) provides a more focused, culturally unbiased and more useful approach to creating international influence in the world. Nation branding can be an important tool in the development of a nation's soft power. A successful nation branding campaign will help create a more favorable image among the international audience thus further enhancing a country's soft power.

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ANNEX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

Personal information

Name (Optional):

Post:

Age:

Sex:

Subject of study (major):

Maximum Degree:

Some subjective questions on soft power and cultural diplomacy

1. What are the primary motivations that guide Nepal's foreign policies since past to the present?
2. How is Nepal changing its foreign policy initiatives in various historical epochs?
3. How does Nepal pursue its strategic mechanisms in order to achieve its soft power diplomatic objectives?
4. What are the strategic mechanisms employed in foreign policies, especially in exercising soft power?
5. What type of foreign policy initiatives is instrumental in fostering democratic governance in Nepal and other small states, if any?
6. What are the differences between Nepal and its neighbors in pursuing distinct diplomatic objectives, especially in pursuing soft power in foreign affairs?
7. What are the differences between small states' and superpowers in pursuing separate diplomatic objectives?
8. What should be done to promote soft power and cultural diplomacy from the sides of the actors of development - the state, the private sector and the civil society?
9. In your opinion, which are the factors that affect the soft power of a country?
Please mention them in the order of importance.

ANNEX 2: GLOBAL SOFT POWER CAPABILITY INDEX

1. Economic soft power

- Foreign Aid and investment
- Growth and development
- Gross national income

2. Innovation and Internet Presence

- Number of international patents
- Number of software patents
- National internet usage
- Ideology that promotes universal brotherhood, tolerance and mutual sharing

3. Education

- Number of Universities
- Number of Academic Publications
- Number of Professors in Higher Education
- Think Tank Presence: [McGann, J. (2009) “The Global Go-To Think Tanks”]
- Quality of Universities: Global Universities Top 200
- Foreign Students: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

4. Culture and Tourism

- Number of people speaking two or more languages
- Number of World Known Tourist Attractions
- Tourism: UN World Tourism Organization

- Reach of State Sponsored Media Outlet: Monocle research, various sources
- Foreign Correspondents: Press Association and other sources
- Language [George Weber, “The World’s Ten Most Influential Languages”, Language Monthly, 3: 12-18, 1997]
- Sporting Success Number of Olympic Gold Medals won in last Summer and Winter Games: International Olympic Committee Database
- Culture as it is pleasing to others, culture as a positive force (for example, network connections serve as boundary spanners across cultures)
- Policies (when they are seen as inclusive and legitimate) to shape the preferences of other countries

5. Diplomacy

- Number of Embassies abroad
- Number of Cultural Missions
- Number of Labour Missions
- Number of Cultural Institutions Abroad
- Number of Cultural Institutions at Home
- Foreign Aid Overseas: OECD and UN Development Statistics
- Languages Spoken by Leader: (no central database)
- Visa Freedom: The Henley Visa Restrictions Index
- Strength of National Brand: Anholt-GFK Nation Brand Index
- Number of Cultural Missions-Direct government or embassy contacts

6. Governance

- UN HDI Score Index: United Nations Human Development Index
- Good Governance Index: World Bank Good Governance Index
- Freedom Score Index of political freedom and personal liberty:
Freedom House Index
- Trust in Government: World Economic Forum Trust in Government Index
- Life Satisfaction: [White, A. (2007) "A Global Projection of Subjective Well-being: A Challenge To Positive Psychology?"]

7. Business/Innovation:

- International Patents; World Intellectual Property Organization
- Business competitiveness corruption: [Schwab, K. (2010) Global Competitiveness Report 2010-11, World Economic Forum]
- Level of Corruption: Transparency International Corruption Perception Index
- Innovation: BCG and NAM Innovation Index
- Foreign Investment: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Statistic

(Sources: Trunkos: 2013; McClory Int. Soft Power Index 2010)