

**GURKHA DIASPORA CONTRIBUTION IN NEPAL-UK
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIP**

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ABSTRACT

The twentieth century experiences the tremendous wave of globalization where the free flow of trade, ideas, innovation and most importantly people is the major ongoing phenomenon which is why the roles of the domestic actors are moreover taken over by the transnational actors. This is why the importance of diaspora has grown over time. Diaspora, forming a complex overseas network with larger effects as sources of facilitators of trade and investment, purveyors of remittances and as brain banks has a substantial role in the international arena. The effects of international migration and diaspora of a country have abroad scope of study as it offers larger sphere of influence in the economical, political and socio-cultural aspects of both host and home countries. Many countries have realized and acknowledged the vitality of diaspora and made efficient policies in order to mobilize them as soft power of their respective countries. However, Nepal still lags behind in empowering and recognizing this powerful instrument of soft power. Hence, the research aims to shed lights on the importance of Nepalese diaspora particularly on the British Gurkhas diaspora residing in the United Kingdom. British Gurkhas are one of the pioneers to immigrate to foreign lands since 18th century. They possess very peculiar characteristics of diaspora which have their effects on the economical, political and socio-cultural scenario. Their activities and achievements are some of the areas that the study looks upon and refer to while examining their roles in the policies of both Nepal and the UK.

Key Words: diaspora, foreign policy, soft power, bilateral relationship

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFPS	:	Armed Forces Pension Scheme
BGD	:	British Gurkha Diaspora
BGESO	:	British Gurkha Ex-Servicemen's Organisation
BGWS	:	British Gurkha Welfare Society
CNSUK	:	Centre for Nepal Studies United Kingdom
DSP	:	Diplomatic Service Procedures
ECHR	:	European Convention on Human Rights
GAESO	:	Gurkha Army Ex-Servicemen's Organisation
GoN	:	Government of Nepal
GOTT	:	Gurkha Offer to Transfer
GPS	:	Gurkha Pay and Pension Scheme
IPC	:	Indian Pay Code
NESA	:	Nepal Ex-Servicemen's Association
NESO	:	Nepal Ex-Servicemen's Organization
TACOS	:	Gurkha Terms and Conditions of Service
TPA	:	Tripartite Agreement
WCB	:	Welfare Charity Benefit

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There are some conceptual conundrums for the conventional structure of international relations based on territory and the state system possessed by the global movement of people across border. The idea of national boundaries is left as to be far more challenging than it actually used to be. Therefore certain dichotomy about diaspora residing outside their kin state yet claiming a legitimate stake in it, intrinsically contests the traditional boundaries of nation states (Kapur, 2010, p. 186).

The twentieth century witnesses the tremendous wave of globalization where the free flow of trade, ideas, innovation and most importantly people is the major ongoing phenomenon which is why the roles of the domestic actors are moreover taken over by the transnational actors. Domestic actors most of the time stumble because of the challenges brought by the traditional boundaries of nation states can often look upon their diasporas who have ultimate fixation of the autonomous resources and values. The diasporas have very few hurdles to tackle with and more chances of interaction with other actors across state boundaries than the domestic actors. Thus, this in a way suggests that they have elemental characteristics that show how they can impact on a country's foreign policy.

However, the understanding on the impact of diaspora on a country's foreign policy is little vaguer. Their identity as independent actors or as an ordinary means used by other actors often becomes a debatable issue. Under what circumstances and by what means can they be mobilized, their special characteristics and their mechanisms of a country's soft power are some of the core ideas to explore upon. The understanding of diaspora as an autonomous actor that engage in long distance

nationalism which can be boon for both home and host country is to be clarified intensively.

The term soft power has become a buzzword since it was coined by Joseph Nye in the late 1980s. He explains how soft power could be an influential instrument of a state to shape its preferences of other states in accordance with its own (Nye, 2004). He further suggests how it flows from the ability of a state to attract others based on institutions, values, culture and policies in behavioral terms (it) is attractive power (p. 6). It is in this context to research on Nepalese diaspora, specifically British Gurkha about how they can be a tool of soft power and what really motivates them to leave an impact upon the foreign policy of both host and home countries. As they carry a long history of diaspora characteristics. There are numerous instances around the neighboring countries of Nepal like China, India and Sri Lanka that indicate how diaspora community has been active players in socio cultural, economical and political aspects of their country of origin and countries they are living in.

The emigration of Nepalese to their neighboring countries can be traced back from centuries. However, the Gurkha recruitment in the British Army that officially started in 24 April, 1815 after the Treaty of Sugauli between Nepal and the British India in 1814 shows the recorded movement of Nepali Nationals to the west in remarkable numbers (Embassy of Nepal, London, 2018). The post independence of India in 1947 led to the Tripartite Agreement of 1947 among Nepal, India and the United Kingdom regarding the recruitment of Gurkha Army paving ways for distribution of existing Gurkha brigades serving in the British India. The agreement decided that the 2nd, 6th, 7th and 10th Gurkha Rifles to be part of the British Army

after India gained independence while the rest were retained by independent India.

British Gurkhas is a fully integrated part of the British Armed Forces. According to the official site London, UK, Embassy of Nepal, about 150,000 Nepalese are living in UK and many Nepalese belong to Ex-Gurkha Servicemen and their families (Embassy of Nepal, London, 2018).

The core of the research revolves around on one aspect of influence: Diasporas as independent actors that actively influence homeland foreign policies. Particularly, the British Gurkha Diaspora (BGD), their roles in influencing the process and agendas for the promotion and implication of foreign policy of Nepal. The issues that have aroused in the BGD and their effort to bring about certain changes in the policy implementation are to be examined to explore the major changes brought in both Nepal- United Kingdom (UK) foreign policies. Most importantly, the aspects of BGD which reflects its soft power diplomacy is also a primary concern of the study as it helps to find out the ways to strengthen the relationship between the United Kingdom (UK) and Nepal.

The thesis has been divided into five chapters. Beginning with the Chapter I, this basically starts with the introduction of the overall research. Followed by Chapter II, where a thorough examination on the literature on Indian, Chinese and Sri Lankan diaspora has been included to make a comparative analysis of how these diaspora communities have played an influential role in shaping the policies of their country of origins and also the host countries. Meanwhile, the mainstream international theories and their concepts of diaspora are also discussed hand in hand. There are socio-cultural, economical and political influences of the diaspora communities, which are

examined in this chapter. The chapter aims to find the co-relation of this phenomenon with Nepalese diaspora, particularly British Gurkha Diaspora.

Similarly, Chapter IV attempts to analyze the activities of British Gurkha Diaspora in enhancing Nepalese soft power in the UK. Then the final Chapter V examines the British Gurkhas' struggle of equal rights to pay, pensions, permanent settlement and for other basic needs to live a quality of life in the UK. This chapter associates how the role of Gurkha diasporas in the UK has brought substantial changes in the policies of the UK regarding the immigration laws, pay and pensions and also every other rule that showed disparities between the Nepalese Gurkha diaspora and the British counterparts.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

The word diaspora is now a buzzword in international arena with its growing influence in the domestic as well as international affairs. However, Nepal still has its room to fill in regarding the importance of diaspora and their roles and impact on foreign policy. There are very few literature and study on the very topic which hinders in the in depth research and development. The question then arises whether Nepalese diaspora can be a viable strategic asset, an instrument of soft power, in a way they can lobby in favor of Nepalese state's interests and positions in their respective host countries.

British Gurkha Diaspora which has significant aspects in Nepal- UK relationship and has often seen as a major player while shaping the foreign policy of both UK and Nepal. This is to say because there are several issues related to the British Gurkhas' permanent settlement in the UK, pay and pensions related provisions, career prospects of the Gurkha soldiers and their children. The research

can be helpful in regard to comparative study of how Nepalese diaspora are actively participating in both formal and informal way of interaction in socio-cultural, economical and political sphere.

1.2. Research Questions

- a) How do they act as a soft power tool in strengthening and promoting Nepal-UK relationship?
- b) What are the roles and impacts of the British Gurkha Diaspora in foreign policy process and agendas in the UK and Nepal?

1.3. Objectives of the Study

- a) To access the way in which they are realized as a soft power of the country.
- b) To identify the main roles and impacts of the British Gurkha Diaspora in the foreign policy of Nepal and the UK referring to the achievements and challenges faced by them.

1.4. Delimitations

The research on this particular topic can be far stretched and have wide range of aspects to behold. Diasporas have influenced world affairs innumerable ways, passive and active, constructive and destructive. However, the study deals with the constructive sides with its prime focus on the roles and impacts of the British Gurkha diaspora in its foreign policy and specifically revolves around the aspects of diaspora to be employed as an instrument of soft power in fulfilling the national interest of Nepal. Large number of Nepalese population has been residing in the UK. The Nepalese overseas students, the professional, refugees and asylum seekers come under the categories of Nepalese diaspora in the UK. Nonetheless, the research limits its area of study within the British Gurkha diaspora in the UK and their activities that

have brought significant changes in the foreign policy of the UK. This is likely due to time constraint and lower accessibility of literature such as books, journals and papers online in research databases at the given period of time.

1.5. Significance of the study

The study of diaspora has an integral scope in analyzing the potential influences in a country of origin as well as the host country. There are instances where diaspora are only examined through anthropological lenses and the vitality of its role in international relations are somewhere hidden or missed out. Especially in the case of Nepal, it has been under shadowed. For a country like Nepal, whose large percentage of the population is emigrating to foreign lands and for the country whose economy massively depends upon remittance sent by this population, calls for an extensive study on diaspora in order to analyze its multi dimensional scopes.

Among the various diaspora residing in different parts of the world, this very research focuses on the British Gurkha diaspora who carries a long history of emigration and their role in country's political as well as socio-economical aspects. This particular group of diaspora has a very peculiar features and history which enabled the bilateral relationship between Nepal and Britain. This diplomatic relationship between the two countries has dynamic aspects and often viewed through different spectrum depending upon the circumstances. This particular subject has received generous media attention but rather surprisingly captured very little academic interest. That is why this research holds an optimum significance to draw an academic discourse to further enhance the bilateral relationship between the two countries, secure national interest of Nepal and also for betterment of British Gurkha diaspora in the UK.

1.6. The Definitions of the Core Concepts

This study subsumes the British Gurkha diasporas and their role in the foreign policy process and agendas. The bilateral relationship between Nepal and the UK is largely perked up by the British Gurkha Diaspora (BGD). There lie various core concepts in the understanding of the BGD and their impact upon both of the countries which needs a very clear knowledge about the very topic. Thus, the basic understandings of the core concept are conferred below;

Diaspora

Etymologically, the term “diaspora” comes from the Greek verb diasperien, which is a composite of dia meaning “across” and sperien meaning “to sow or scatter seeds” (Brazier & Mannur, 2003, p. 1). Tölölyan (1996) recognizes “an etymological relation between sperm and diaspora,” suggesting dispersal as a productive process. He clarifies, “For the Greeks, ‘diaspeirein’ was originally an abrupt but natural process, the fruitful scattering away of seeds from the parent body that both dispersed and reproduced the organism” (1996, p. 10). The terminology in this vein had a positive implication to power and proliferation. Initially, the word diaspora was used to signify the Jewish population located outside of Israel (Oxford Living Dictionary, 2017). It came to be used to refer to the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem and razing of the walls of its Temple in 586 BC by the Romans (Seltzer, 1980). Then it became a constant metaphor for people who suffered “loss of homeland and ethnocide violence” (Tölölyan, 1996, p. 12).

In recent times, scholars use the term to indicate the mass emigration of people beyond their homelands, whilst retaining their cultural identity in the foreign land (Ember, Ember, & Skoggard, 2005, p. 2). However the term is often found to be

the subject of contention among the scholars regarding the term to be used primarily to the group of communities that have undergone an exile, dispersal and promise of mutual return (much like the Jewish Diaspora) or whether it deserves to be broadened to include the immigrants, refugees, guest workers, expatriates and overseas ethnic communities (Varadarajan, 2015, p. 286). Yet there are some claims made by certain scholars regarding the inclusion of certain group of immigrants.

Safran (1991) pointed out that:

Diaspora functions as metaphoric designations for several categories of people – expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities tout court – in much the same way as ‘ghetto’ has come to designate all kinds of crowded, constricted, and unprivileged urban environments, and ‘holocaust’ has come to be applied to all kinds of mass murder (p. 83).

The definitions of the past seem to be confined with certain areas which Safran has stretched to broaden the meaning of diaspora. Basically, he focuses on these major characteristics to be a diaspora;

- They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original “center” to two or more “peripheral” or foreign regions.
- They retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland- its physical location, history, and achievements.
- They believe that they are not- and perhaps cannot be- fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it.

- They regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return- when conditions are appropriate.
- They believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity.
- They continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. (pp. 83-84).

These basic attributes that suggest the sentimental values and attachment towards the country of origin plays a huge importance while regarding a person as a diaspora.

Basically, there are two schools of thoughts regarding the understanding of diaspora i.e. classical and modern school of thought. The classical school of thought which is discussed in the earlier part that involved the Jews exile and their movement to other countries which was limited in its basic attributes that made consideration on diaspora on very selective basis for dispersion that entailed forced expulsion, complete loss of homeland and long-term experience of trauma whereas the modern school of thought has widened its sense of understanding. The recent wave of labor migration to Europe, the Persian Gulf and North America, new diasporas are being formed like the Hispanics in the United States, the Pakistanis and Palestinians in the Gulf area , the Turks in Western Europe and the Israelis in the US and Canada are establishing themselves as new diasporas in these countries (Sheffer, 1986, pp. 3-4).

Sheffer defines modern diasporas as ethnic minority groups of migrants origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin –their homelands (p. 3).

Thus, with the changing passage of time the defining terms for diaspora has been updated and redefined.

Soft Power

History has substantiated number of wars most evidently, the First World War, the Second World War and the Cold War. The manifestation of supremacy by the powerful countries had reached its height at these war periods. There was an optimum use of hard power; the military might, coercion and every other tool for dominating the weaker countries were seen on the floor. However, the scenario after the Cold War looked quite different as the powerful ones are trying to shift their hard power showcasing to soft power diplomacy.

Soft Power which has now become a basic jargon in international relations was first coined by the American scholar Joseph Samuel Nye Jr. in 1990 in his book *Bound to Lead: the Changing Nature of American Power*. He defines soft power as:

‘Soft power’ is the ability to achieve desired outcomes in international affairs through attraction rather than coercion. Soft power can rest on the appeal of one's ideas or the ability to set the agenda in ways that shape the preferences of others. If a state can make its power legitimate in the perception of others and establish international institutions that encourage them to channel or limit their activities, it may not need to expend as many of its costly traditional economic or military resources. (Nye & Owens, 1996, p. 21).

In this way, the soft power is taken as a soft version of power that comprises the instruments which are more of enticement rather than duress to attain the interest of a state. A country's soft power lay on its resources of culture, values, and policies. The establishment of international institutions is believed to be more of a legitimate form to gain priority in the international power politics than employing expensive resources like military and armed forces.

Furthermore Nye examines how the conventional way of world dominance has changed in the contemporary situation as:

Traditionally the test of a great power was its strength in war. Today, however, the definition of power is losing its emphasis on military force and conquest that marked earlier eras. The factors of technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more significant in international power, while geography, population, and raw materials are becoming somewhat less important. (Jr., 1990, p. 154).

The above mentioned aspects which have gained more priority in the twentieth century international politics are more of the elements of soft power. Today the world experiences the power of information and technology, trade and businesses, education and others have brought significant changes in the world and the countries which have excelled in these fields have their strong hold in the world affairs.

According to Gupta (2013) soft power has emerged as a major tool for nation states to utilize to eventually ensure the enhancement of their intangible standing in world politics, besides strengthening their influence in a benign way (p. 38). However, it is to be understood that soft power is not merely influence even if it is counted as one. Nye examines it as an attractive power, resources that produce desired

policy outcomes (Nye, 2008, p. 95). A country's soft power lay on its resources of culture, values, and policies (p. 94). This is why the states are employing much of their resources in enhancing their culture, values and policies. In this regard, America, China and India are the prominent examples however the nature, intent, and fruition of soft power vary in each case.

The huge indulgence of Chinese government in enhancing its soft power has made it more popular in the world today. In the National People's Congress (N.P.C.) of China, too, it is now customarily visible that the speakers are ceaselessly indulged in articulating the importance of soft power (p. 39). According to Zheng (2009), "Wealth and the potential to be wealthy are attractive, and money confers normative power and provides the means to disseminate culture and ideas" (p. 3). The statement suggests the very notion of Nye which compiles that prosperity of a nation's economic system can attract other countries and cause them to adopt similar economic policies (Nye, 1990). The Chinese soft power tools are classified into five areas: investment, humanitarian aid, exchange programs, diplomacy and participation in multilateral institutions (Zheng, 2009, p. 3).

Thus, with the changing phase of time, all the great powers, emerging powers as well as the weaker countries have felt the massive importance of soft power implications in achieving its interest which costs comparatively very low price than that of the means of hard power.

Foreign Policy

Every state aims at securing its national interest from other countries. It is merely impossible for any country to stay in isolation. Thus this results in interaction among different countries. In the process of this contact, countries have to be very

cautious regarding the policy that they set in maintaining the relationship with other countries. For this, they formulate a very special set of plans and policies, commonly known as foreign policy. All of the policies (including economic policies) adopted by a state in relation to the outside world is foreign policy (Berridge & James, 2003, p. 107).

Foreign policy is a vital instrument with which the process of international politics operates. In fact foreign policy cannot be separated from national policy; instead it is a part of it. It consists of national interests that are to be furthered in relation to other states. Almost all the states determine the course of their foreign policies within the limits of their strengths and the realities of the external environment. The nonpolitical relations also fall in the scope of foreign policy. In the words of Padelford and Lincoln (*The Dynamics of International Politics*, 1977), “Foreign policy is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete courses of action to attain these objectives and pressure its interests” (p. 197).

On the basis of the aims and objectives of foreign policy Hugh Gibson (1944) has mentioned that,

A well rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation. This calls for a clear understanding of what, whose interests are and how far we can help to go with the means at our disposal. Anything less than this falls short of being a national foreign policy. (p. 9).

Foreign policy includes all competitive and cooperative strategies, measures, goals, guidelines, directives, understanding, agreements, etc., through which a state conducts its international relations. It can include economic, diplomatic, military, and social and cultural relation with other nations. Therefore, it is generally designed to protect a country's national interests, national security, ideological goals, and economic prosperity.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. A Comparative Study of Impact of Diasporas on Foreign Policy

In this age of globalization, people move from a country of origin to another destined country in a tremendous manner which results in exceeding the number of emigrants and dispersal of the population. This is why migration has become phenomenal, a main centrifugal force distributing and dispersing people all around the world whereas diaspora is the converging force, which is bringing people back for the development of the home country. The contribution of diaspora to their home country is commendable either in the form of finance or any other means. However, to study the effects of international migration and diaspora is indeed very complex matter.

Countries like India, China, Sri Lanka and others which have significant numbers of immigrants forming a strong diaspora community abroad are to be looked upon for examining their active roles in foreign policy implementations, amendments and promotions.

2.1.1. Indian Diaspora

After independence and specifically since the 1970s, and upsurge in migration from India, first to Gulf and later within the industrialized world to Anglo-Saxon countries and Singapore has created a diaspora of more recent vintage (Kapur, 2010, p. 185). Now the international community is experiencing the largest numbers of Indian skilled labor and is becoming one of the largest sources of emigrants in this era. According to the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), the Indian diaspora is approximately 31 million strong, and spread over all regions of the world,

ranging from a mere 10 in Liechtenstein to over 4.4 million in the United States (2017). This flow of Indian emigrants to foreign land has formed an influential diaspora community which has lot more to do in the policy making sectors.

India which is enriched with a diverse culture and tradition is able to leave its impressions worldwide. This is why Kapur (2010), explains how the idea of soft power has had considerable appeal policy circles, especially in India (p. 188). It is now pretty clear how India's rising 'soft power' is outstanding in the global arena.

Former UN Under-Secretary-General Shashi Tharoor has mentioned the advantages of soft power as India's presence on the contemporary global cultural scene,

When a bhangra beat is infused into a Western pop record or an Indian choreographer invents a fusion of kathak and ballet; when Indian women sweep the Miss World and Miss Universe contests, or when Monsoon Wedding wows the critics and Lagaan claims an Oscar nomination; when Indian writers win the Booker or Pulitzer Prizes, India's soft power is enhanced. (India's 'Bollywood' power, 2008, para.8).

Meanwhile, Raja Mohan opines that "the biggest instrument of our soft power is the Indian Diaspora (2003, para.4). This consideration is the special mechanism of India's soft power which is less of the export of its culture and more about the export of its people. Apart from the cultural influence, the stimulus on public policy of the Indian diaspora is something to look upon. Many Indian academics abroad have moderately easy access to policy makers and business groups. Personalities like Pranab Bardan, Jagdish Bhagwati, Vijay Joshi, Amartya Sen and others who have been living abroad yet have long been active participants and contributors to debates on

India's economic policies and a younger generation appears to be following the suits (Kapur, 2010, p. 153). Such phenomenon has made the Indian diaspora strong enough to challenge and change the deep rooted understanding of emigration from 'brain drain to brain gain'.

However, the solid recognition and importance of Indian diaspora was felt relatively late. The first four decades after independence were not after the issues of diaspora and were consciously sidelined from India's foreign policy agenda; and the past two decades which have seen both the official embrace of the diaspora by the Indian state, and the growing visibility of certain sections of diaspora (Varadarajan, 2015, pp. 285-286). Now, the importance of diaspora is realized and hugely celebrated which was clearly visible during the first ever 'Pravasi Bharatiya Divas' literally, the 'Day of the Indians Abroad', inaugurated by the then Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee on January 9, 2003 organized by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) (MEA, 2017). This event witnessed the largest number of Indians living abroad gathered together as an global India Family of which the whole Indian government and the policy makers became aware of their significance role in the overall development of the country.

One of the key strategies of Indian foreign policy under the Narendra Modi Government since his election has been invigorating ties between India and Indian communities abroad. Chaulia (2016) in his book *Modi Doctrine: The Foreign Policy of India's Prime Minister* adds

that Modi has utilized the "concept of 4Ds: Democracy, Demography, Demand and Diaspora". Since the diaspora of India is the largest at 16.6 million, Modi

understands that diaspora is a central instrument of soft power diplomacy. His foreign policy initiatives are directed towards improving India's image in the world and increasing India's bargaining power in multilateral forums (Chaulia, 2016).

There are ample instances where diaspora has formal access points to influence policy. In the year 2000 the Government of India formed a group with select Non Resident Indian (NRIs) to formulate a global strategy for promoting India as a prominent investment destination which was responsible to advise the ministry in formulating IT policies, strengthening telecommunications infrastructure, and providing guidelines on venture capital funds as well as issues related to IT education (Kapur, 2010, p. 154). M. Mahalingam (2013) states that, the considerable existence of diverse groups of Indian population around the world has led to far-reaching impact on India's diplomatic relationships with many countries (as cited in Kumari, 2013, p. 12).

Much has been done in the case of the United States and India's bilateral relationship. The United States which consists of the largest number of Indian diaspora has experienced substantial outcomes in their diplomatic relationship. The proliferation of Indian-American diaspora lobby groups like American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin, the Indian American Friendship Council, the Asian American Hotel Owners Association, and the the US-India Political Action Committee have been major contributors in the India related outcomes and developments in or relating to the United States in which President Bill Clinton's visit to India in 2000, the establishment of the ' Friends of India Caucus' in the US Senate, amendments to Pakistan's aid package in the aftermath of the attacks on Indian Parliament in 2001, and successful promotion of the US-India nuclear

agreement in Congress, 2005-8 are the most commendable roles played by the diaspora (Varadarajan, 2015, p. 295).

Thus, these kinds of outcomes in the policy making of both the host and the home countries help in proving diaspora as a viable strategic asset, an instrument of soft power in that they can lobby in favor of the home countries interest and positions in their respective host countries (Mohan, 2003). Indian diaspora has gained a very important role in shaping the foreign policy of India and the country they are living in.

2.1.2. Chinese Diaspora

The dispersion of Chinese diaspora is seen all over the globe, living almost in every corner of the world with the heavy concentration in the Asia. In 2011, there were over 40.3 million Chinese residing in 148 countries of the world which excluded the Chinese Population residing in People's Republic of China, including Hongkong, Macau and Taiwan, defining overseas Chinese person as a Chinese person who resides outside the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan excluding tourists, visitors and short-term residents (Poston & Wong, 2016, p. 349). According to the data by Poston and Wong; in the year 2010, China has the third highest number of diaspora with Germany at first and Ireland at the second position (p. 351).

China carries a very long history of its emigration to foreign land. Wang(1991) points out the four principal patterns of Chinese emigration over the past two centuries. The first is the Huashang (Chinese trader) pattern; it is characterized by merchants and traders and eventually their families going abroad to establish businesses in the host countries typically comprising mainly males, after one or two generations many of these merchants 'settle down and bring up local families', which has been the dominant pattern of Chinese emigration to other Asian countries,

particularly to Southeast Asia before 1850 (Gungwu, 2003, p. 5). The second is the Huagong (Chinese coolie) pattern of migration, which existed from about the 1850s through the 1920s that involved the 'coolie trade', supplying labor for gold mining and railway building in North America and Australia (p. 6). The third is the Huaqiao (Chinese sojourner) pattern which included migrants of all social levels, but most were well-educated professionals. This pattern emerged after the downfall of Imperial China in 1911 and was strongly tied to feelings of nationalism. The pattern continued until the 1950s. The fourth is the Huayi (Chinese descent) pattern, a more recent phenomenon that has been prevalent since the 1950s which involves persons of Chinese descent, Huayi, in one foreign country migrating or re-migrating to another foreign country (pp. 6-7).

This huge wave of Chinese migration to foreign land leaves significant role in the foreign policy of China as well as the country of destination. The development of China has lot more to do with the Chinese diaspora. During the friendship conference of the association of Worldwide Chinese people abroad in 2007 Hu Jintao addressed on importance of Chinese diaspora in developing friendly relationship among China and other countries and the prior role of diaspora as a driving force to connect China and its party with the outerworld (Boldurukova, 2014, pp. 577-578). Similarly, Deng Xiaoping, the leading economic reformist remarked that there were many reasons of China's development, but the most influential one were the Chinese living abroad (p. 578). Therefore, the development of all the spheres from social to economic has larger contribution of the Chinese diaspora.

Overseas Chinese have their strong grip over the political as well as economical areas of their country as well the countries they are living. The

transnational networking which holds a rigid position in the overall influence of planning and decision making in various sectors of a country is led by the diaspora communities. 'Huaqiao' is a special term referring to Chinese diaspora who hold the 80% of the invested funds in China (p. 578). Boldurukova (2014) writes The Chinese government make the following tasks to huaqiaos: the unity of the nation, financial support to the economic projects in China, propagandizing the international credos of Beijing using informational, lobbying and other ways (pp. 578-579).

2.1.3. Sri Lankan Diaspora

The roles of Sri Lankan diaspora is highly concentrated on the political sphere of Srilanka. The Tamil diaspora of Srilanka has much to do with the political influence in the country. Diasporas such as the Tamil one exist largely because of ethnonationalist conflicts and persecution in the homeland (Gurr, 1993). The Tamil diaspora is comprised of refugees and exiles who were forced to leave their home country because of conflict rather than because of economic need or the wish to forge a new life abroad (Wayland, p. 408). This particular Tamil diaspora community in Srilanka exerts a rigid position in shaping the entire policy of the country. Examining the high political influence of Srilankan Tamil Diaspora, former Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene referred to expatriate Tamils living in Western states as the world's most powerful minority (Wilson, 1999, p. 123). According to the research of Wayland (2004), Srilankan Tamil mobilisation against the Sinhalese government, the resources for the collective action come largely from the Tamil diaspora, where the Tamil migrants in new states remain active in the homeland politics. Furthermore, the author explains how the diaspora constitute transnational ethnic networks which are then

mobilised to aid co-ethnics in the homeland, especially with financial resources (p. 417).

In the diaspora, it became possible to explore and express Tamil cultural, linguistic, and religious identity as never before and as a result associations were formed, both with an eye toward facilitating integration in the host country as well as toward maintaining ties with the homeland, namely through supporting the quest for Tamil independence (Coomaraswamy, 1987, pp. 77-78). This strong sentiment among the diaspora brought a tremendous change in the Sri Lankan politics.

There are many such examples of homeland influences and hostland pressures created by diaspora. When the World War I ended, the Czech and Polish diasporas acted as midwives for the reestablishment of the independence of their homelands. Similarly, after the end of World War II, the Jewish diaspora in the United States was a powerful force for the creation of the State of Israel, and it continues to act in behalf of its security and economic development. During the Cold War, various east-central European diasporas in the West pressured their hostland governments to take a tough stance in favor of their “enslaved” homelands and against any accommodation with the Soviet Union. Members of the Croatian diaspora in Germany lobbied with their hostland government to facilitate Croatia’s secession from Yugoslavia; and members of the Serbian diaspora protested against NATO bombing of Yugoslav targets. The Armenian diaspora succeeded in getting its hostlands in the West (most recently in France), to acknowledge the Ottoman genocide (Safran, 2007, para. 15).

Therefore, the presence of diaspora in the world is so massive and their connection to their homeland is moreover inseparable because of the sentiments, culture, values and the political affluence of the home country. This certainly results

in the diasporic activities that is prone to bring substantial influence in both the home and host countries which is clarified by the above mentioned instances to analyze the role of diaspora in foreign policy.

2.2. Diaspora and International Theories

According to contemporary theories of International Relations, the foreign policy of a country is fueled not only by the official state representatives but people who belong to a nation or a state acting without any official capacity. Realists have very rigorously argued in the past that a state was the sole actor in the inter-state relations. However, the notion has particularly changed in the recent years, and very much so in the case of the study of diaspora.

2.2.1. The Realist and States

Realism, as the theory of international politics has a prime concern with states as power and security maximizing actors. Realist as they perceive states as the fundamental units of organized, hierarchical power and their relations dominate the world politics (Devetak, Burke, & George, 2012, p. 43). The very basic key features of states as understood by realism are the sovereignty of a state providing it the supreme authority to make and enforce laws, states govern by exercising a monopoly over both internal and external instruments of legitimate violence and lastly the territorial, partitioning of the Earth by imposing both material and immaterial barriers between people (namely, borders and citizenship respectively) (p. 44). The notion of territory and the higher priority to borders and categorization of population as citizens make realism a very confined and a conventional theory in international relations.

Furthermore, Nielsen Ostergaard (as cited in Shain & Barth, 2003, p. 2), diasporas have been posited as challenging traditional state institutions of citizenship and loyalty. As a state is the major actor in international relations as per realists, other non state actors like diaspora are considered to be secondary or comparatively less important actors in domestic as well as international affairs. Thus, classical realism and neorealism with the basic idea of state-dominated international system, diasporas are not seen as significant political actors. However, certain realist theorists have attempted to place diaspora within a realist analytic framework by considering it an extension of the homeland state whose role is to promote the homeland's national interests (Karanou, 2015, para. 4).

2.2.2. The Liberal Assumptions and Constructivist View of Identity

Liberals contradict with the contemporary idea of statehood, territorial boundaries and state as the only unitary actor in international relations rather posit that the primary actors in international politics are individuals and private groups who struggle to promote different interests. The incessant movement of people from one country, region, or a continent to another country for various purposes has called into question the about the relevance of the ideal-type of nation-state, or, more exactly, of the congruence of nation and state, and has created a situation where the societies of most countries are becoming pluralistic with multiethnic, multicultural, and multiracial nations (Safran, 2007, para. 1).

The focus on transnational relations, i.e., relations between people, groups and organizations belonging to various countries in world is one of the major concerns of liberal assumptions. The act of cooperation bringing substantial peace and prosperity in the world is the basic understanding of liberalism whereby the role of diaspora has

lot to do in the international relations. As James Rosenau (as cited in Jackson & Sørensen, 2013, p. 103) defines transnationalism as the processes whereby international relations conducted by governments have been supplemented by relations among private individuals, groups and societies that can and do have important consequences for the course of events. Prioritizing on transnational relations, liberals in their opinion opine the notion that relations between people are more cooperative and more supportive of peace. The movement of people can thus leave a significant impressions in the both the host and home countries.

Robert Keohane in collaboration with Joseph Nye Jr. forwarded an important distinction between a 'state-centric' paradigm and a 'world politics' paradigm which opposes the former's idea about interstate interactions with transnational interactions in which non-governmental actors play a significant role (Keohane & Nye, 1973). It has a significance relevance with the basic notion of diaspora, where they are residing outside their kin-state but claim a legitimate stake in it, they disregard the conventional meaning of the state and hence defined as the paradigmatic other of the nation-state and the challengers of its traditional boundaries (Cohen, 1997).

The predictions of liberal as well as Marxist complement at the point of view that diasporas are only transitory stage of social and political development that will vanish either as a result of cultural, social and political tolerance, or due to the emergence of classless societies have proven far from correct (Sheffer, 1986, p. 4). Yet certain ethnic groups which were losing their ethnic identity and their inclination toward continuous and organized existence and action have revived their trans-state activities. The Polish Catholic community in the US case can be taken an instance here. The emergence of solidarity in Poland, economic difficulties in their homeland

and the visit of Pope to the US, has revived its active interest in the homeland activities with the reactivated dormant organizations and reestablishment of old networks for activities at the trans-state level (p. 5). The activities of diasporas like regular visits to homelands, remittances, lobbying and pressure groups are helping in maintaining permanent contact and developing trans-state connections.

Constructivism, on its take on identity is where the concept meets with liberalism, with its focus on domestic politics. Thomas Risse-Kappen (1996, p. 365) mentions that, the existence of this shared theoretical space should come as no surprise, since the two theoretical approaches share assumptions and claims. Both constructivism and liberalism acknowledge the impact of both identity and domestic interaction on international behavior. Constructivism seeks to account for actors' identities, motives, and preferences, while liberalism deals largely with explaining their actions once the preferences are settled. In this regard, diaspora for constructivist is an important actor in bridging the domestic and international spheres of politics. Their identity based motivation should therefore be an integral part of the constructivist effort to explain the construction of national identities. Meanwhile, diasporic activity and influence in the homeland, despite their international location, expand the meaning of the term 'domestic politics' to include not only politics inside the state but also inside the people.

The liberals assumption that state preferences are identity- based and the constructivists claim that these identities and their interests are determined by social interaction whereby the two theories share a common concern over states as embedded in a larger social context, and acknowledge the importance of a wide variety of nonstate actors (Finnemore, 1996, pp. 144-146). The basic perception of

state as a social actor, which are not merely goal-driven, rational actors, seeking utility maximization, and governed by the 'logic of consequences' rather they are rule-driven role-players, seeking identity expression and governed by the 'logic of appropriateness' (Checkel, 1998, pp. 326-327). Thus, constructivism opens up two main ideas that interests are not assumed to be exogenous and constant, but endogenous and varying; the national interest is a variable influenced mainly by national identity where identity is a variable shaped by international and domestic forces. As Alexander Wendt points out, it is a personal or a corporate identity: "a consciousness and memory of the self as a separate locus of thought and activity; a joint narrative of the self as a corporate actor (as cited in Yossi Shain & Aharon, 2003, p. 458). Besides, Roxanne Doty observes, the identity is actually not of the nation but of 'the people,' who constitute the inside of nations and to whom national identities are attached (1996). This idea posits diasporas as part of the people beyond the scope of the nation-state.

As Shain and Barth (2003) have mentioned in their writing about the national identity and the activities of diaspora as

Because national identity is both a variable and a resource (the authority to direct policy), it stands to reason that different groups attach varying importance to it. A resource is usually more valued by those lacking in it. In this case, diasporas outside the state but inside the people often attach more importance to national identity than those inside the state. While the insiders experience their national identity in their day-to-day lives, diasporic distinctiveness tends to be fluid and more tenuous. Diasporas thus engage in efforts to shape national identity not so much to gain through it leverage over

(material) interests, but mainly because it is their interest to insure and sustain an identity that perpetuates and nourishes their self-image. (p. 45).

With concern to foreign policy, the national identity dynamic can be triggered by international images manipulated by the government or by other actors (Bloom, 1990, pp. 79-81). And once this gets activated, it may be used to influence foreign policy decision making. Diasporas, as per their international location, are pertinent to become these other actors. Therefore, constructivism helps us to better understand identitybased diaspora and their international activities.

2.3. The British Gurkha: Roles in Nepal-Britain Relationships

The earlier British interest in Nepal between 1767 and 1816, was to protect and enhance the customary trade between Bengal and Tibet through Nepal and the means adopted by the British to achieve their object were military intervention to forestall the Gurkha conquest of the Nepal valley, the dispatch of various commercial missions to Kathmandu and the attempts at establishing British influence in the court of Nepal which unfortunately was unsuccessful (Rathaur, 2001, p. 19). During the Anglo-Saxon war, British were very much impressed by the bravery and brilliant fighting qualities of Gurkha thus wanted to enlarge their military power by enlisting them in their service while weakening the military power of Nepal by enlisting her brave fighting men into their own ranks.

Even though the recruitment of Gurkha had started during the war, the declaration of the formation of four different Gurkhas battalions namely first Nasiri, Second Nasiri, Sirmoor and Kumaon battalions were formed in 1815. By the time the war ended in the west in 1815, about 4,650 Gurkha soldiers were enlisted in the British Indian army. Each of the Gurkha battalion was to consist of 8 companies and

120 persons in each company (Pemble, 1971, p. 348). The second Nasiri battalion got merged with the first one by the year 1826 and the four Gurkha battalions was reduced to three. Between 1816 and 1846, there was no definite arrangement made for the Gurkha recruitment in British Indian army. Thus, no more Gurkha battalions could be raised because of which British military authorities had to adopt indirect means, sometimes smuggling of Gurkha recruits required for the then existing Gurkha battalions. Nepal Durbar did not show her co-operation in this regard. However the three battalions continued their existence (Rathaur, 2001). “These first Gurkhas were acquired in one of the two ways: they were either taken prisoners and subsequently offered employment or they deserted and came into the British camps seeking to take service with their erstwhile enemies” (Chene, 1991, p. 49).

4 March 2016 marks as an important date in the history of modern Nepal as it called for the bicentenary celebrations of the establishment of Nepal-Britain diplomatic ties. The ratification of Treaty of Sugauli took place on 4 March 1816 between the then government of East India Company and the king of Nepal following the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16 also known as the Border Treaty is somewhat believed as the treaty that had ended the turmoil and turbulence in the hills and restored peace and tranquility in Nepal (Poudel, 2016). Another watershed moment in this diplomatic relationship was during the Nepal-Britain Treaty of 1923, whereby the British recognized Nepal as an independent nation which could full-fledgedly conduct its foreign policy in any way it seems which was then recorded in 1925 in the League of Nations (Hussain, 1970, p. 208). Thereafter, the status of British Representative in Kathmandu was upgraded to the level of an Envoy. In 1934 Nepal established a legation in London and the two countries exchanged Ministers Plenipotentiary and Envoys Extraordinary and in 1947, the status of these representatives was promoted to

the level of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary (MOFA, para.1). Nepal has been enjoying this beautiful ties ever since. For all these years, Nepalese Gurkhas have played a key role within the British armed forces.

The basic foundation that led to diplomatic relationship between Nepal-Britain is the recruitment of Gurkhas in the British Regiment. However, the dynamics of this ongoing bonding are complex in many ways and are characterised by multiple factors. Therefore, it carries an immense vitality while studying Nepal-Britain historical ties. The relationship has experienced numerous changes over the time but the honor of dignity has always prevailed in this precious ties. The standing instance for this case would be facilitating thirteen Gurkhas from the privilege of the highest British gallantry honor, the Victoria Cross which waves the glory of the brave Gurkhas in and around the world. This bilateral relationship has been adored by both of the parties which was clearly shown when the former British ambassador to Nepal mentioned in a talk program organized by the Institute of Foreign Affairs and Chevening Alumni Association of Nepal in 2013.

In his words,

The Treaty of Sugauli formalised in March 1816 established a full relationship with Britain as two independent nations. We chose not to try to colonise, but to partner and influence. We were Nepal's only such partner between 1816 and 1951. The underpinning the history, of course, was the arrangement whereby Gurkha soldiers were recruited into the British army. We owe them so much. Tens of thousands of them gave their lives for the British cause in two World Wars and they have won many of our highest decorations for bravery. They have in turn been given honour and recognition to Nepal, as

home of some of the world's best, most professional and dedicated soldiers. And the money they have earned has, over the years, done much for the prosperity of their communities, communities which we look after today through the work of the Gurkha Welfare Scheme. (Sparkes, 2014, pp. 8-9).

The British Gurkha Army has proved time and again their bravery, loyalty and as a very viable medium of alliance between the two countries. And it is their high spirit that has consequently led to large contribution to the British Army. The valiant Gurkha soldiers have never failed to amaze the world with their courageous attempt in many wars and any other national and international upheaval. The Indian Sepoy mutiny of 1857 which is also popular as the first war of independence in India was suppressed by the British forces and the Gurkha armies made a fine contribution in this phenomenon. Their story of glory in this particular event is narrated in Frederick P. Gibbon's *The Disputed VC: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*. The author describes the fierce character of the Gurkhas whereby dozens or so Wahabi fanatics were chased down by a single Gurkha 'highlander' during a rebellion rally and dismantled the rebels with their khukuri leaving them in the state of disarray (p. 67).

In return to this assistance, the East India Company handed over the region west of Rapti and east of Mahakali of Nepal which subsequently became 'Naya Muluk' (Acharya, 2014, p. 27). Both countries have been helping each other hand in hand. Similarly, the contribution of the Gurkhas in the First and Second World Wars can never be forgotten and in all the battles that the UK was involved in, including the on-going Afghan war. Around 55,000 recruits were supplied to British in First World War and about 1, 10,000 recruits in the Second World War (Banskota, 1994).

The British waged war, the First World War got huge number of participation by the Gurkha Army whose involvement became a decisive factor in the victory of the British. Likewise, in the Second World War, an internal treaty was signed between Nepal and Britain with regard to the mobilization of the Nepalese soldiers within the British Gurkha units and they fought courageously with distinction within the British Deployment during the Britain-Japan war in 1941, which eventually forced the Japanese to retreat (p. 28). Currently, about 250 Nepalis are recruited in the British Army every year who are deployed in different parts of the world for peace establishment under the command of NATO. The Gurkhas were deployed in Bosnia (1996), Kosovo (1998/2002), East Timor (1999) and currently they are deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Where ever may be the place and whenever may be the time, the Gurkhas have been keeping up the history of bravery (Gurung, 2011, p. 149).

Similarly, Britain has always prioritized its relationship with Nepal and maintains its cordiality of being a good ally. She acknowledges Nepal and the contribution of British Gurkha on securing its national interests and has always repayed back in various manners. The milestone in field of education was set due to the impact of British empire. The establishment of Durbar High School by Junga Bahadur Rana coming under the influence of his first visit to London and realized the importance of education and for strengthening the nation. Hence, the beginning of institutionalized English style education in Nepal was kicked off (p. 30). Apart from this, another landmark was the establishment of Tri-Chandra College by Chandra Shumsher which facilitated not only the members of palace but alsoto the general civilians. Number of opportunities like academic scholarships were given to the Nepalese people to fly Britain and obtain world class education and as a result Professor Yadunath Khanal, Dr. Mrigendra Raj Pandey, Dr. Upendra Devkota the

most notable cardiologist of Nepal and many other notable personalities have become learned men and served Nepal in their respective fields.

The assistance provided by the British government is visible not only in education but also in multiple sectors like infrastructure development, agriculture and so on. In terms of infrastructure, the Dharan-Dhankuta highway followed by many linking most of the eastern hill districts seem to be the most visible project completed with British assistance. The agricultural promotion activities run at the Pakhribas and Lumle agricultural research centres are most notable (pp. 30-31). And most importantly, the upliftment in the living standards of hilly people of Nepal who are associated with the British Gurkha Regiment is immense. A large chunk of remittance enters Nepal via the United Kingdom which has consequently led to the economic growth of the country.

The bilateral relationship has been growing stronger with a profound mutual understanding and the respect for each others culture, language and most notably a feeling of affinity between the countries. This has been clearly exhibited during the visits to Nepal by the British dignitaries and to the United Kingdom by the Nepalese dignitaries. The visit of Prime Minister Junga Bahadur Rana to Britain in 1850 as the first South Asian leader was the matter of celebration in Nepal-Britain relationship. His presence was considered to be very impressive as Queen Victoria acknowledged him so much that she met him several times during his stay in London through which he was able to strengthen the sovereign ties between Nepal and Great Britain which so strongly remains till today.

Likewise, the 1908 visit to Britain by Prime Minister Chandra Shamsheer also kept the momentum (Poudel, 2016, para.16) .Similarly the three day visit of King

Mahendra and Queen Ratna in 1960 where they were warm welcomed and received by the Royal family along with Queen Elizabeth and the Duke. The following year 1961, Queen Elizabeth II paid her historical visit to Nepal which reflected her generosity and deep respect towards Nepal which further consolidated the bilateral ties (Acharya, 2014, p. 32).

Therefore, the acknowledgement of this bilateral ties has been done by both countries and is more like a celebration. The amount of respect and recognition by one of the greatest state, the United Kingdom to Nepal is a matter of pride in itself and the effort of British Gurkha in fueling to strenghten the bond is immense.

2.4. The Gurkha Recruitment: A Diplomatic Currency

In 1923 ‘Treaty of Friendship’ between Nepal and British India was ratified where The India Office wanted to insert a clause establishing the British right to recruit Gurkhas because “it is after all, mainly because of the Gurkha element in the army that we value the friendship of Nepal (Hussain, 1970, p. 204).” The vitality of the Gurkhas for both states for maintaining the relationship can be clarified with the very clause. Mary Des Chene (1993) in her extensive study on Gurkhas explains about the historical conditions of the Gurkha recruitment that decisively makes Gurkha an instrument of a diplomatic currency which embeds a metaphoric meaning on its own.

According to the writer,

The history of Gorkha soldiery is, from this point of view, a striking instance of the use of a group of citizens to further states’ agendas. Gorkhas have been sold and bartered, and they have been the coin of international diplomacy at

key moments in Nepalese history. The point is that this group of citizens have played an important role in the fate of the country. (Chene, 1993, p. 67).

The Nepalese sovereignty was the matter of negotiation where British recruitment of Gurkhas became the key arena. However, the significance of recruitment did not remain constant in the view of Nepalese governments at that point of history. There are many erroneous statement made on the provision for recruitment that was included in the treaty of Sugauli at the end of the Anglo- Nepalese war, but this was not the case (Farwell, 1984). Until the British were leaving India in 1947, they did not obtain a formal agreement for their recruitment of Gurkhas. Even though Gurkha service was economically important to Nepal, the Nepalese government always continued to use the provision of recruits as a means to extract what they wanted from the British. The Nepalese rulers were willing to exchange hill peasants for things they wanted from the British which included assurances of Nepalese independence, restoration of territory, honors and titles, money, guns and ammunition, and aid in industrialization. (Chene, 1993, p. 68). This somewhere made Nepalese government massively dependent on both Gorkha recruitment and British favor.

Furthermore, Chene(1993) divides the history of recruitment based on the negotiations between Nepal and Britain into two phases. At first, from 1815 to 1885 Nepalese rulers saw recruitment as a threat to Nepalese sovereignty, while from 1914 to 1945, the recruitment was instead seen as a means of ensuring Nepalese sovereignty and the continuance of rule by (and largely for) the Rana family (p. 68). The Gurkhas as per the historical evidences shows it as a play card whoever could play it in the best possible way led to the optimum benefits. The Ranas continued the

recruitment for strengthening their power with the resources of wealth provided by the British in return of the young Gurkhalis while British wanted the soldiers for their victory in the great World Wars. For instance, after the Indian Mutiny 1857, when situation was under the control of British, Ranas got back most of the remaining Terai territory that had been ceded by the British in 1857 as a reward for the act of bravery of Gurkhas. In fact this was the first substantial exchange of commodity desired by Nepal's rulers in return for foreign military service by its citizens (p. 69). The importance of Gurkhas to the Ranas became even greater at the time of the two World Wars. According to the Resident to the Secretary, Government of India, Foreign and Political Department (1914), " The Ranas were very quick to declare that the whole military resources of Nepal are at His Majesty's disposal (as cited in Hussain, 1970).

Chene (1993) further describes the intentions of Nepalese government wishing to continue the recruitment since the surplus manpower is infact the major economic asset. However, the enlistment of Gurkhas could place Nepal in economic dependence on India for the employment of the so called surplus manpower (p. 73). These roles of Gurkhas that had both political as well as economical influences apprehend the metaphoric connotation of the brave Gurkhas as an coin of diplomacy.

2.5. The Start of Gurkha Families' Settlement in the UK

The former prime minister of the UK, Tony Blair on 30 Sep 2004 made an announcement that brought an immense joy to the British Gurkha armies and their families that the Gurkhas were to be allowed to apply to settle in the UK and gain British citizenship after leaving the army. However, the provision will apply only to those who were discharged from the forces after July 1 1997 and completed four years service can also apply to settle in the UK with their spouses and dependent children

(The Guardian, 2004, para. 1). The commencement of the provision by the UK Home Secretary was made on 21 May 2009 that all former Gurkhas who have served in the British Army for at least four years would be eligible for settlement in the United Kingdom (International Visa Assistance and News, 2009, para. 2). Liberal Democrat defence spokesman Paul Keetch made a precise statement that “Citizenship should not be something that former Gurkhas should have to apply for. It should be given as a right” (para. 14). Apparently, this provision is fully righteous to Gurkhas who have served the UK with great skill, courage and dignity during some of the most testing times in their history. They have made an enormous contribution to the British armed forces and it is of great importance to recognise their commitment and sacrifice.

Regardless of the citizenship provision for the British Gurkhas, the cut-off point about the rules which do not apply to those discharged from the armed forces before July 1997 could not bring cent percent rejoice among the British Gurkha armies. Former chairman of the Brigade of Gurkhas Welfare Society, Maj Tikendradal Dewan proclaimed, “It’s difficult to rejoice at the news when we know that something like a quarter of the guys will not benefit from it” (BBC News, 2004). The provision was not in favor of all the Gurkhas who had sacrificed their lives, fought with bravery and proven their loyalty whenever they had to. This became a huge issue of injustice which took a huge wave drawing the attention of many people including public figures like the British actress Joanna Lumley whose father had also served in the 6th Gurkha Rifles.

She became the public face of the campaign to provide all Gurkha veterans who served in the British Army before 1997 the right to settle in Britain and ran a highly publicised and successful campaign (The Telegraph, 2008). She led a large all

party group including Gurkhas starting from Parliament Square to 10 Downing Street with a petition signed by 250,000 people. The campaign turned out to be a huge success in spite of some criticisms faced by Lumley. Large number of Gurkha soldiers who have retired both after and before 1997 started moving to the United Kingdom. According to CNSUK (Center for Nepal Studies UK) (as cited in Gurung T, 2018, para. 15) , there were some 16,065 retired Gurkhas and 6,870 widows (total 22,935) in 2013 and around 22,000 pensioners at present.

CHAPTER-III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research has been structured according to qualitative methodology as the subject matter is very theoretical in itself. The qualitative methodology in the particular research topic is based on the International Diaspora phenomenon and its comparative analysis so as to study the British Gurkha Diaspora and their active influence in the foreign policy of Nepal and the United Kingdom. The emergence of diaspora dates back to the history of the civilization of mankind yet the core academic study in the field of International Relations began much later with elements borrowed from anthropology, sociology and comparative politics.

The first section of the study has been based on a comparative analysis of the impact of diasporas on foreign policy drawing examples of Indian, Chinese and Sri Lankan diaspora. The basic attributes, their activities and influences are the basis for comparative study while observing the Nepalese diaspora with a focus on British Gurkhas. Similarly, the second part makes analysis of Mainstream International Relations theories and their perspectives on diaspora, their categorization as well as their behavior in the international system. Through these perspectives, groundwork was laid to proceed to the literature produced so far in terms of diaspora, its anthropological and sociological basis and the conceptual framework of diaspora behavior and pattern provided by major proponents of these theories.

In the latter part of the research, a qualitative research has been utilized by looking at the British Gurkha activities and their initiation of changing the policies that reflected discrimination in the pay and benefits. It examines the issues, roles of state and non- state actors in the campaign. Furthermore, it has utilized various works

of authors who have produced literature on UK-Nepal relationship, Gurkha soldiers and their role in establishing and fostering the bilateral relationship, discrimination faced by Gurkhas in the UK, and the British Gurkha diaspora and their activities leading to the enhancement of Nepalese soft power. The research has been supported by data collected through government sources as well as literature produced by academic research institutes.

3.1. Conceptual Framework

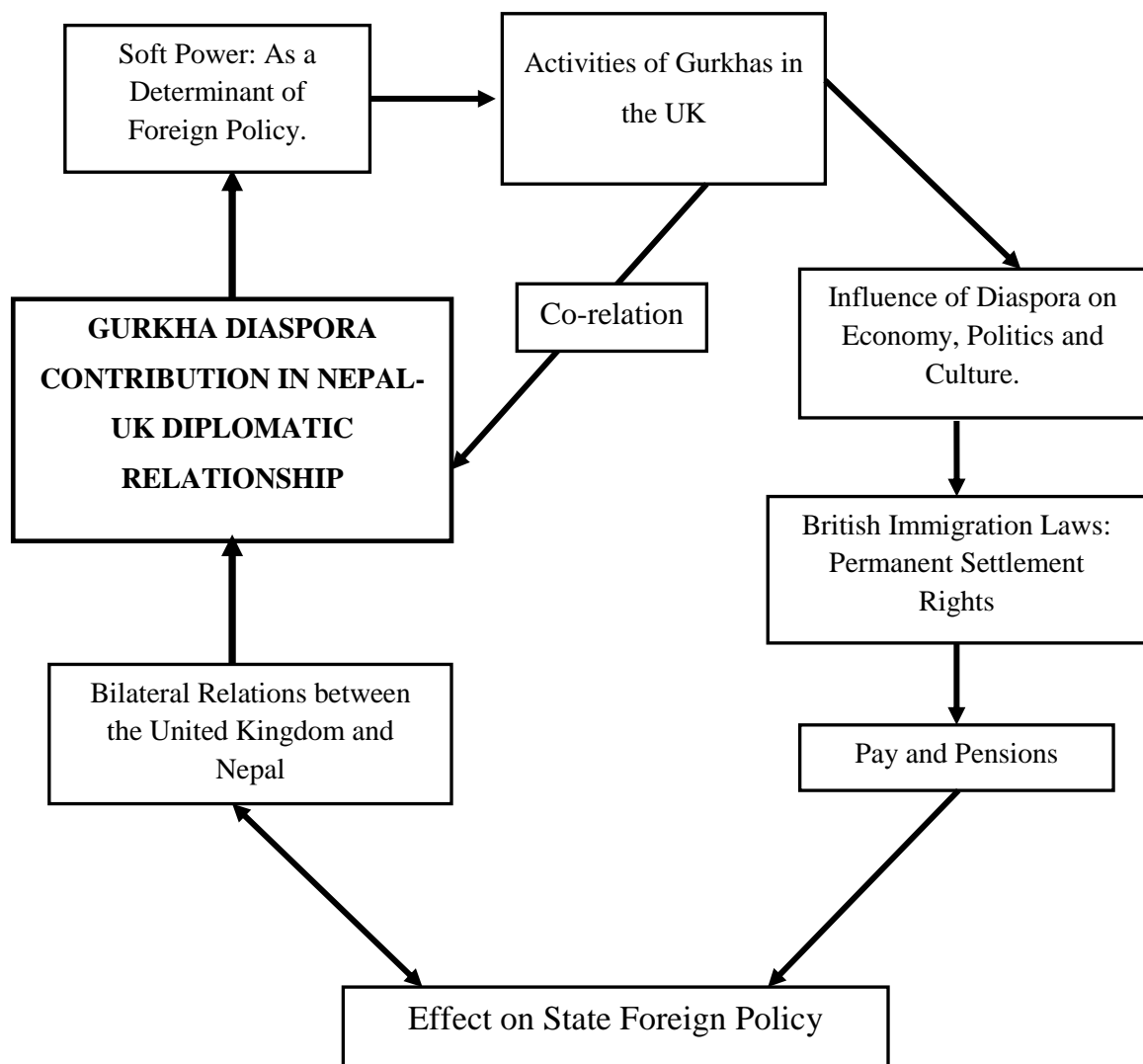


Fig (i) Conceptual Framework of the Research.

3.2. Data Collection and Processing

The information in the research is collected through qualitative process of content analysis. The relevant data has been collected through secondary sources such as government publications, peer reviewed journals as well as magazines, reports, books, online archived data and newspapers and various websites. As for the tables and graphs contained within the study, they have either been included as they were or were assembled through a thorough reading of a document and assessed according to the theoretical underpinnings.

CHAPTER IV

**ANALYZING THE ACTIONS OF BRITISH GURKHAS' STRUGGLE FOR
EQUAL RIGHTS: INFLUENCE IN FOREIGN POLICY**

Nepalese Gurkhas have a crucial role in the British Army with their everlasting service to the British crown. Their deployment in every major conflict can be seen since 1817. For their extra ordinary gallantry, they have honored while countless others are listed among the ever growing casualties of war. That is why they are one of the celebrated parts of British Army. However, this is not only the truth. There are several issues related to the discrimination against Gurkhas such as disparity in pay and pensions, mobility between the chain of command and restrictions on their settlement rights in the UK. In this scenario, Chapter V deals with the analysis of the actions and achievements of the British Gurkhas and their struggle for equal rights and changes in the policies.

It has been only a while that the Gurkhas have raised their voices against these disparities. And consequently, the British government has had made some attempts to tackle these issues of inequality. Recent policy changes have changed the employment conditions of the British Gurkhas. However, there are more rooms to fill in to fight back the rights of the Nepalese Gurkhas including the ex-Gurkha service men.

According to Kochhar-George (2010),

The changes in the policies by the British government have also been reactionary in nature, more the result of pressure from the media, the general public and to a lesser extent the courts, rather than proactive attempts on behalf of government to resolve longstanding issues of institutional discrimination. (p. 44).

Therefore, much of the actions are done by the public campaign and media rather than the government itself. This rather shows a very ambiguous side of the British government towards the Nepalese Gurkhas. The role of ex-Gurkhas activists can never be overshadowed. Their pursuit of equal treatment in recent years, through judicial, diplomatic, and other means, has been a driving force contributing to recent policy changes. Before examining other rights and provisions in military service of the British Gurkha Armies, it is important to study the Tri-partite Agreement (TPA) signed between the representatives of the United Kingdom, India and Nepal right after the independence of India in 1947 whereby the UK Government decided to take four Gurkha infantry regiments to Malaysia (Palit, 1997).

In order to continue the Gurkha recruitment into the British and Indian armies, the UK Government and the Government of the Dominion of India signed a Bipartite Agreement, which subsequently became the Tripartite Agreement (TPA) when Nepal was included as a party to it. The TPA incorporated observations and suggestions made by the Government of Nepal (GoN) and responses provided by the UK Government on the principle of equal pay and benefits for the Gurkhas. The UK followed the Indian Pay Code (IPC) for British Gurkha soldiers, who were entitled to benefits at least equivalent to those received by Indian Gurkhas (Laksamba, Adhikari, Dhakal, & Gellner, 2013, p. 1). However, the IPC rates applied to British Gurkhas are significantly inferior to those of regular British soldiers. The differences in benefits have led to demands in recent decades for equal pensions and benefits.

The purpose of the agreement that Gurkhas in British and Indian service should enjoy broadly the same conditions of service, to ensure that there was no unfair advantage to serving in one or other, thus maintaining economic stability and

social harmony in the Gurkha recruiting areas. And also the basic Gurkha pay and pensions remained linked to Indian Army terms and conditions of the service (TACOS) (Britain–India–Nepal Tripartite Agreement, 2018, para. 2).

The main principles noted in the agreement are:

- The Gurkha soldier must be recruited as a Nepali citizen, must serve as a Nepali citizen, and must be resettled as a Nepali citizen.
- All religious and cultural observances must be preserved in accordance with the demands of the Hindu faith.
- Gurkha soldiers in both the Indian and British Armies should receive the same basic rates of pay, although allowances may be paid to reflect differences in the costs of living between countries where Gurkha soldiers might serve outside Nepal.
- Subject to satisfactory performance and conduct, all soldiers should be allowed to serve for sufficient time in order to qualify for a pension.
- All Gurkha soldiers should be allowed an extended period of leave in Nepal every three years.
- Gurkha soldiers recruited into the respective armies are liable for service worldwide.
- Gurkhas are fully integrated into the Army to which they are recruited and under no circumstances are they to be considered mercenaries. (The Tripartite Agreement, 2018).

With these terms and conditions, the agreement laid the basic foundation without which the Brigade of Gurkhas would not exist (para. 4). Many ex-Gurkha activists claim is to move closer to the words and the spirit of the TPA, which

affirmed that the Gurkhas are an integral part of the parent (British) Army and, thus, should be treated equally in terms of promotion, welfare, and other terms of service. On this basis, most ex-Gurkhas believe that the TPA supports the idea of equal pay and pensions and that therefore – despite the fact that the Gurkhas have remained the most uncomplaining yet “the most faithful friend” of Britain for two centuries – the UK Government has been in breach of its treaty obligations for over 60 years.

Even after the TPA was signed in 1947, inequalities (discrimination) in both financial and non-financial terms have persisted. On this matter, anthropologist Mary Des Chene (1997) states:

During their 50 years of British Service, have the Gurkhas been treated ‘on the same footing’ as their British counterparts? They have been paid less. They have received far smaller pensions. Gurkha officer messes have been separate from those of British officers. Their promotional structure differs from that of British soldiers. They are rented out to the Sultan of Brunei. During ‘redundancies’ Gurkhas have been cut proportionately more than British units. These and other differences look more like signs of a segregated army, or the ‘Foreign Legion’ within the army that Auchinleck envisioned in the 1940s, [rather] than a situation in which Gurkhas are treated on ‘the same footing’ as British nationals. (p. 20).

Therefore, the agreement had a huge importance for setting almost all rights and provisions for the Gurkha regiments.

4.1. Pay and Pension Rights

There are several claims about the discriminatory act of the British Government towards the pay and pension rights of the Gurkhas serving in the British

Army. Many scholars in their articles mention about these differences which is also strongly brought by several British Gurkha pressured groups to advocate and amend such discrimination. Consequently, changes have been made to further the demands regarding equality in pay and pension rights. The amendments were successful after a severe legislation and social pressure. Nevertheless, the British Government strongly believes it has always been fair and justified in every case related to British Gurkha regiments whether that be pay and pension rights under the terms and conditions of service that were included in the Tri-Partite Agreement signed in 1947 (The Tripartite Agreement, 2018).

The Terms and Conditions of Services (TACOS) were set out by the British Government within the 1947 TPA (part one section J). Paragraph 11 of the Memorandum of Agreement dated 7 November 1947 between the United Kingdom and India states that: “the basic rates of pay admissible to Gurkha officers and soldiers serving HM Government shall approximate to those laid down in the present Indian Pay Code”. However, the Memorandum of Agreement also allowed: “that a special allowance, to compensate for permanent services overseas and high cost of living, shall in addition be admissible to Gurkha officers and soldiers serving HM Government overseas” (Gurkha Terms and Conditions of the Service, 2018, para. 2). The British Government were confident enough about their payment to the Gurkhas military service laying the 1947 TPA as the major base for their treatment to the Gurkhas. But it is the time that matters, and changes are must with the flow of time. The Gurkhas could not be exceptional to this factor. So the discrimination was obviously felt and so were the amendements made.

Until very recently, Gurkhas received substantially lower pay than their British counterparts and continue (depending on their date of discharge) to receive substantially smaller pensions (EWHC, 2008, para. 12). In comparison of the British counterparts, the potential Gurkhas need to undergo an excessively competitive and gruelling recruitment procedure. This includes the notorious doko race in which each candidate must complete a time pressured 5 kilometre route across steep mountain terrain while carrying a 25kilogram basket of rocks on his back (Fitness training – a sensible guide to prepare for selection in the Gurkhas, 2018, p. (Gurung P. , 2016) (Gurung P. , 2016)1). Under the current practice in the British army recruitment, Gurkhas are recruited exclusively as soldiers and in most cases it is compulsory for them to retire after fifteen years’ service, compared to twenty-two years for other British soldiers. This time tenure for the Gurkhas’ service holds a disparity among the soldiers.

Table1: Comparative Pension Scales in 1989.

Rank	British Pension per Annum	Gurkha Pension per Annum	Difference%
Warrant Officer Class I (WOI)	£5,269	£498	958%
Captain	£6348	£606	948%

Source:House of Common, 1989. The Defence Committee’s First Report, On the Future of the Brigade of Gurkhas- Comparative Pension Scales.

The Gurkhas have extremely felt the discrimination that they face on every aspects of their army life and also the the post service issues like pensions. Mary Des Chene (1993), considers that even if Gurkha recruitment has a huge diplomatic utility,

Gurkhas themselves are deprived of their voices in the negotiations that have affected their fate (p. 68). Keeping these in minds, several organization Gurkha organizations have emerged and raised their voices against the treatment of inequality challenging the *status quo* and even established their claims on discrimination into the English court where they have encountered several difficulties. From around 2001, they shifted to the UK where they tried, with some success, various strategies ranging from the submission of complaints to the UK Parliament and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to filing about a dozen legal cases at the UK's High Courts. The case might sound very straight forward as keeping it within the human rights framework. However, this was not as simple as it sounded. They have been discriminated against for so long but has been paid with very negligible regard by successive British governments, and it is only in the past few years that Gurkha veterans have started bringing discrimination claims before the courts. Before putting their claims before the court, several other quieter campaign strategies like writing to politicians and organising awareness raising events were done which could not help in achieving the desired results (Kochhar-George, 2010, p. 51).

Gurkha Justice Campaign, a movement launched in the early 1990s with the support of many Gurkha ex-servicemens' organizations started their struggle for equal right. GAESO (Gurkha Army Ex-Servicemen's Organization, founded in 1990) was the first organization to initiate this reform. Similarly, NESA (Nepal Ex-Servicemen's Association-founded in 1990), NESO (Nepal Ex-Servicemen Organization, founded in the 1990s) and UBGEA (United British Gurkha Ex-Servicemen's Association, founded in 2001) (Gurung, 2018, para. 3). Initially, the campaign was started from the Gurkha homeland of Nepal which was led by GAESO which was headed by its Chairman Padam Bahadur Gurung, assisted by Chandra

Bahadur Gurung, and supported by left-wing political parties. Dr. Om Gurung head of the Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology of the Tribhuvan University of Nepal, had a significant contribution in providing GAESO with the international platform that it needed which resulted to organize national and international seminars and conferences, liaise with human rights organizations, and gain global exposure (para.4-5). In 1996, GAESO presented four demands to the prime ministers of Nepal and Great Britain: 1) Pensions for those made “redundant” during the reductions of the army and sent home pensionless; 2) Gurkhas pensions equal to those of British soldier of the same rank and length of the service; 3) Assistance to establish educational and training centre for Gurkhas’ children; and 4) Right to work permits in Great Britain after retirement (Chene, 1997, p. 15). GAESO first and former Chairman Padam Bahadur Gurung, on his last speech as Gaeso Chairman (2016), mentions about the hardship that he had experienced during the establishment of the organization and throughout the battle for Gurkhas’ equal rights. He talks about how the very own ex-Gurkha armies distrusted his campaign and even regarded him to be lunatic and showed very sceptical gesture towards the movement that subsequently led to their own benefits.

He further mentions about the sacrifices and the struggle of the GAESO movement and the unimaginable achievements from it as

- Currently, the monthly pension of a sepoy has increased to NRs. 40,000 and an officer gets amount equivalent to NRs. 1.5 lakh. And the Gurkhas residing in the UK are enjoying an unbelievable quality of life.
- Gurkha children below 18 years have already arrived the UK. Meanwhile, 70% of the children above 18 years have also got into the UK.
- Thousands of ex-armies’ children have attained Hongkong ID.

- The movement was successful to provide British Gurkhas who were unequally treated for last 200 years with an accreditation equivalent to British Army.
 - The British treasury gained by the toil and moil of Gurkhas was brought to Nepal after winning the case from the English court itself.
 - Protection and promotion of Nepalese sovereignty in the international arena.
 - In commemoration of the Gurkhas and for the recognition of Nepalese history, Gurkha memorial park has been built and is in the phase of completion.
- (Gurung P , 2016, para. 11).

Eventually, the Gurkha Pension Scheme which was based on the Indian scheme which was believed by the British Government as well suited to Gurkhas who would retire back to Nepal was then amended in 2007 as British TACOS. The GPS was closed as a scheme in 2007, and all serving Gurkhas and those who retired after 1 July 1997 were given the option to transfer to the Armed Forces Pension Scheme (AFPS) (Gurkha Pension Scheme, 2018, para.3) .

However, Gurkha Pensions, like basic pay, remained linked with that of the Indian Army and have special features to reflect the unique nature of Gurkha service . In particular, the immediate payment of pensions on discharge in Nepal at the 15 year point and, in the event of the death of a Gurkha pensioner, the ability to transfer the pension not just to the surviving spouse and children, but to parents and dependant siblings (para. 4). According to a report by Centre for Nepalese Studies UK (2013), 16,065 retired Gurkhas and 6,870 widows (total 22,935) are receiving a pension under the IPC. In this scheme, which is known as the Gurkha Pension Scheme (GPS), Gurkhas qualify for an Immediate Pension (IP) on completion of 15 years of service.

Even though a British soldier receives an IP only after 22 years of service, a Gurkha soldier's pension for the same length of service is only a fraction of what the former receives, and his other benefits are also very different, even considering the difference in the qualifying length of service. In addition 7,076 ex-Gurkha veterans without an Army pension; the majority of these were made redundant after the Borneo Confrontation in the late 1960s. 2,161 Gurkha pensioners, who were enlisted in the Army before 1 October 1993 and retired between 1 July 1997 and 6 April 2005, were given an opportunity to transfer their GPS to the Armed Forces Pension Scheme 1975 (AFPS 75). However, in contrast to their British counterparts, whose service is calculated on a year-for-year basis for the AFPS irrespective of where they served, the Gurkhas' service prior to 1 July 1997 was actuarially valued at only 23 to 36 per cent for pension purposes. Only Gurkhas who enlisted on or after 1 October 1993 (thus still serving) qualify for a pension equal to their British counterparts under the Armed Forces Pension Scheme 2005 (AFPS 05) (Laksamba, Adhikari, Dhakal, & Gellner, 2013).

Looking at the historical background on amendments of the policies regarding Gurkhas rights on equality, two important decisions have been made in the past decade. First, in 2004 and 2009, changes in immigration rules allowed both pensioned and non-pensioned Gurkhas (with a minimum 4 years of service) to settle in the UK. As a result, most of pension-aged Gurkha veterans have moved to the UK, where they are living on pension credit and housing support. Second, all serving Gurkhas started to receive equal pay, pension and terms of service on 8 March 2007. These new policies divided Gurkhas into two groups and, as a result, those who enlisted in the British Army before 1 October 1993 do not get an equal pension for their service before 1997 (p. 3).

According to the analysis made by CNSUK's pensions report showed that in 1989, on average, British pensioners with the same length of service in the same rank received pensions about 950% larger than those of the Gurkha pensioners. Over the years there have been some improvements in the pensions and other benefits, thanks to the rise in Gurkha rights campaigns during the 1990s and 2000s. By 2013, the differences in the pensions narrowed down to 300%. This is mainly possible due to the introduction of a scheme under which Gurkhas were allowed to move their service for pension purposes from the GPS to the Armed Forces Pension Scheme (AFPS) 1975. However, the length of service before 1997 was only valued at 23% to 36%. On 8 March 2007 a radical initiative was taken by the British government going beyond their previous narrow and self-serving interpretation of the Tripartite 5 Agreement of 1947. As far as the serving Gurkhas are concerned, Gurkha service has been mainstreamed equalizing pay and pensions and making it mandatory to work for 22 years to qualify for pensions (Adhikari, 2015, p. 4).

Table 2: Gurkhas by Pension Status and Type

	Types	Number	Pensions	Remarks
Non-pensioners	Pre-1948 retirees	Unknown (about 5,000 in GWT)	Welfare Charity Benefit (WCB) of £40 month (Selected, needsbased).	Not allowed to come to the UK.
	Retired between 1948 and 1975	6,534	WCB of £40/month (Selected, needs- based).	Allowed to settle in the UK with 4 years' service.
	Retired between 1 April 1975 and 1 July 1997 (with no service pension)	542	WCB of £40/month (Selected, needs-based, total 3,438 people receive WCB)	Not qualified for Preserved Pension that British get with at least 2 years' service. Allowed to settle in the UK with 4 years' service.
Pensioners	Enlisted before 1 October, 1993 and retired before 1 July 1997	20,774*(incl. 6,870 widows)*	GPS (Around £223/month for Riflemen with 15 years' service)	Not allowed to transfer to AFPS. Allowed to settle in the UK
	Enlisted before 1 October, 1993 and retired after 1 July 1997 with less than 22 years of service	2,161 (incl. 38 widows)	Stay in GPS until 60 and then switch to a mixed regime of GPS and AFPS 75.	For the purpose of after 60 pensions, service until 1 July 1997 (actuarial) is counted 23-36% only.
Serving	Enlisted before 1 Oct. 1993 and retired after 1 July 1997 with 22 or more years of service	280 (incl. 10 widows)	Allowed to transfer from the GPS to AFPS 75 (mixed regime).	Service until 1 July 1997 (actuarial) is counted 23-36% only
	Enlisted since 1 October 1993	3,500	AFPS 05	Full and equal pension and pay (since 8 March 2007).

Source: Army HQ/Sec (2012 and 2013) (as cited in Laksamba, Adhikari, Dhakal, & Gellner, 2013, p. 18).

In a nutshell, Gurkhas who are known for their loyalty and bravery towards the UK fought for their rights and equality. The mass peaceful protests and the movements led by the Nepalese Gurkha diaspora community has successfully pushed government of the UK to make necessary amendments in policy regarding their rights to equal pay, pensions and every other fundamental right and live as proud British Gurkhas in the UK.

4.2. Right for Permanent Settlement in the UK

In May 2009, the Home Secretary announced to Parliament that any former Gurkha with more than 4 years' continuous service who had been discharged from the Brigade of Gurkhas prior to 1 July 1997 would be eligible for settlement in the UK (Office, 2018, p. 6). However, situation and provisions for permanent settlement in the UK to Gurkhas before this declaration were very different and largely discriminated from their fellow British counterparts. Gurkhas popularly recognized for their bravery and loyalty towards the crown and their 200 years long service which was then acknowledged with comparatively very less amount of payment and benefits.

The British Gurkha Armies who retired before 1975 returned back to their place of origin that is the hilly region of Nepal and continued to live their life as primitive villagers whereas the Gurkhas who retired after 1975 started residing at the urban cities of Nepal. However, life was not as easy and well facilitated by the pensions that they had received after their retirement (Gurung P , 2016, para.12). This continued for sometime which ultimately led to wave of protests and Gurkha movements drawing attention of the mass media and people across the country. The regiment moved its main base from Hong Kong to the UK in 1997 and the government had argued that Gurkhas discharged before that date were unlikely to have strong residential ties with the UK (BBC News, 2008, para. 5). That meant those

who wanted to settle in the UK had to apply for British residence and could be refused and deported.

The peaceful protests and campaigns led by GAESO and other other organizations formed by a group of retired British Gurkhas in 2004 like BGWS (British Gurkha Welfare Society), succeeded in gaining UK settlement rights for former Gurkhas and their dependents. Several cases filed in the English court brought a huge change in the policy regarding the permanent settlement of the Gurkhas and their families. To be more particular, the Limbu case succeeded in its challenge against the UK government's settlement policy on grounds of irrationality, but, like the cases that went before, was unsuccessful on its Article 14 of ECHR arguments (Kochhar-George, 2010, p. 53). The impugned settlement policy contained within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Diplomatic Service Procedures (DSP), deliberately applied more stringent settlement criteria on Gurkhas who retired before 1 July 1997 than those who retired at a later date. In addition to the four years army service required under the relevant immigration rule (Immigration Rules, 2004, para. 276F) applications for settlement from Gurkhas who retired before this cut-off date were required to prove that they had 'strong reasons why settlement in the UK is appropriate'. In practice this test could only be met if they fell within the discretionary factors set out in chapter 29.4 of the Diplomatic Service Procedures (DSP), as given below:

- Strength of ties with the UK- have they spent a significant amount of time living in the UK, such as a three year tour of duty pre-discharge or 3 years living in the UK after discharge?
- Do they have any close family living in the UK? What proportion of their close family are in the UK as opposed to living in Nepal?
- Do they have children being educated in the UK?

- Do they have a chronic/long-term medical condition where treatment in the UK would significantly improve quality of life? (EWHC, 2008, para. 3).

The above mentioned discretionary criteria of the restrictive application implies that very few Gurkhas who retired before 1 July 1997 actually qualified for settlement, with the underlying and unspoken rationale that of limiting the retrospective effect of Gurkha settlement rights. In March 2008, 50 soldiers handed their medals to Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg in protest at the unfair treatment, and have argued that the policy represents a breach in their human rights as outlined in the European Convention on Human Rights, on the grounds of unlawful discrimination (Sims, 2008, p. 10). In this regard, GAESO the leading organization filed a settlement case on 30 September 2008 for Gurkhas retired before 1 July 1997 at the High Court where the UK Government was defeated in court and subsequently in voting for an opposition (Liberal Democrats) motion in the House of Commons as a result on 21 May 2009, the UK Government announced that all Gurkhas who have served 4 years and more in the British Army since the partition of Britain and India 1948 to 1997 were also allowed to settle in the UK (Laksamba, Adhikari, Dhakal, & Gellner, 2013, p. 34).

The three decades long struggle by the Gurkha Justice Campaign with the consistent support of the non state actors like the ex-Gurkha Armies' organizations, media and other individuals, resulted in UK settlement rights and equal pay for Gurkhas. The table below denotes various Gurkha organizations and their agendas regarding different issues and the demands with the UK government to resolve these issues. With the very logical arguments regarding the equal rights of Gurkhas, the Gurkha organizations raised their voice against the strong British governments.

Table 3: Gurkha Organizations and their Agendas

Issues	Problems	Demands
<p>Immigration and citizenship (First in 2004 and later in 2009 Gurkhas with 4 years' service are allowed to come and settle in the UK, but many problems remain)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family disintegration. • Legal Aid removed. • Costly family visa fee. • Effectively excluded from inclusion due to 'Life in the UK Test' barrier. • No proper support for integration. 	<p>To allow adult dependent children to enter UK.</p> <p>To continue Legal Aid in immigration cases.</p> <p>To abolish (family) entry clearance fee (of about £2,000).</p> <p>To remove barriers to life in the UK, and to allow exGurkhas to become citizens.</p> <p>To look after the settlement and integration of the migrants systematically</p>
<p>Pay and pensions GPS holders are allowed to transfer to AFPS, and serving Gurkhas receive equal pay and pension since 2007. But the majority live with unequal pension.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unequal pension rate (discriminatory) (those on GPS). • Year for year service not recognised for AFPS (those allowed to transfer). • Non-pensioners with more than two years' service discriminated against. • Gurkhas received unequal pay, redundancies, pensions and benefits until 2007. 	<p>To equalise pension to those on GPS to put them on a par the parent army.</p> <p>To remove 23-36% counting of Gurkhas services before 1 July 1997 to AFPS.</p> <p>To provide Preserved Pension to non-pensioners with two years of service. Compensation for unequal pay, perks, pensions, and benefits on redundancy, disablement, disappearance and death during service.</p>
<p>Care and welfare GWT provides some welfare charity services.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-pensioned veterans and families have a low quality of life. • Elderly Gurkhas in the UK face several problems 	<p>To provide quality health care in Nepal and subsistence allowance to improve quality of life.</p> <p>To provide systematic care and services in the UK.</p>

Source: Centre for Nepal Studies UK (CNSUK), 2013. British Gurkha Pension Policies and Ex-Gurkha Campaigns: A Review, p. 7.

4.3. Other Rights and Benefits

Besides pay, pensions and permanent settlement of Gurkhas in the UK, there are other several non-financial aspects that are subject to discrimination or unfair treatments. To be more precise, researcher Krishna Adhikari has mentioned these discriminations categorizing as non financial aspects of unequal behavior towards Gurkhas as:

(a) Limited opportunity to career progression, and capping of ranks beyond the Gurkha Major position; (b) non-payment of full salaries while on long-home leave; (c) punishment for marriage between Gurkhas and foreigners, (d) unfair dismissal of Gurkhas without any opportunity to defend themselves (for example mass sacking of Gurkhas in Hawaii), (e) withholding of compensation received from Japan for War Prisoners (finally, distributed with the order form the court), and (f) retaining huge margin of the payment received from the Sultan of Brunei in hiring Gurkha soldiers.

Other issues of concerns today are related to immigration, citizenship and integration. (2015, p. 5, para. 12).

The retired Gurkhas especially the elderly ones are having a problem regarding their stay and separation from their family members, their children who have crossed 18 years of age. These elderly Gurkhas face family disintegration because their children are already over 18, disqualifying them for immigration. Similarly, visa fees for family reunions are too high, and legal aids are removed. The waiver of the 'life in the UK test' for obtaining permanent residence is not available while obtaining British citizenship. As a result, elderly Gurkhas have little prospect to become a citizen and, thus, cannot enjoy citizen rights of voting and standing in

elections (pp. 5-6). The grant of permanent settlement in the UK to Gurkhas could not be fully celebrated because moving to the UK with very poor living standard and benefits is something that a retired soldier would never imagined of. Even if the Gurkhas who qualified for settlement, their major challenge was adjusting to civilian life. Rather end up lamenting about their whole sacrifice and decisions to move to the UK leaving their families and relatives back in their home country. Even with having a 'good orientation' about British society through language, living in the UK, and serving alongside british nationals in the armed forces, once returning to the UK as civilians they end up in a situation such as any other migrant registering for a National Insurance number, finding school places for their children, finding affordable housing, etc (Sims, 2008, p. 10). In this context, an article published in Independent, writes about how the British Gurkha Welfare Society views how Joanna Lumley's campaign resulted in thousands of elderly and infirm Gurkha pensioners living in poor accommodation on paltry incomes and how better it would be if retired Gurkhas had been paid better pensions and encouraged to stay at home in Nepal (Vallely, 2011, para. 5-6).

After the successful campaign waged by Joanna Lumley which was victorious at a point but many criticisms were laid on her floor. Many reports regarding the problem after the influx of Gurkha had taken place. For instance, the news report on The Telegraph (2011), writes that one in ten of the population of Aldershot is Nepalese since rules were changed allowing all those with more than four years service to have UK residency which had affected the public services like health services, housing services, educational and other basic services because of the crowded population (Roberts, 2011).

As earlier mentioned about how the Gurkhas have to undergo a severe and extremely competitive recruitment procedure in comparison to their British counterparts which results in selecting the most enduring and high spirited candidates. However, once enlisted Gurkhas have extremely limited mobility within the army's chain of command (Kochhar-George, 2010, p. 48,). This certainly limits in the development of the Gurkhas and narrow downs their career prospects.

4.4. Roles of State and Non-State Actors in Policy Amendments Regarding Gurkha Rights

4.4.1. Nepal Government and Parliament

According to the report by CNSUK, many Gurkha Organizations opine that the GoN has failed in its duty to pressurize the UK Government to live up to its treaty obligations, as embodied in the TPA of 1947. The clear reason could be the differences in the political clout and influence that Nepal and the UK have in the international arena. But it would be unfair to conclude that GoN has not made any effort regarding the Gurkha pay and pensions concern.

Two initiatives have taken place by the Parliamentary Committees of Nepal as recorded by CNSUK. In early 1998, the Parliamentary Subcommittee for Foreign Affairs and Human Rights of GoN, under the coordination of Rt. Hon. Jaya Prakash Gupta MP, conducted an investigation into Gurkhas' pension issues. The Subcommittee submitted the report to the GoN for further action (Laksamba, Adhikari, Dhakal, & Gellner, 2013, p. 38). The process had chain of actors involved. The government to government relations, people to government and people to people relationship were maintained as to lobby the demands and agendas related to Gurkha campaign. Until today, it is continued. On 1 November 2018, GAESO urged Nepali

and British governments to address its demands by forming a panel to sort out the servicemen's long-standing demands such as pension .

4.4.2. British Political Parties and Local Government

“It is an outrage they are being treated this way. If any group of people qualifies for citizenship it is surely the Gurkhas and their families” (Carroll, 2004, para. 3).

British Political parties have viewed the Gurkha Justice Campaign in a very optimistic perspective. The campaign was successful and the credit also goes to the political parties especially, the Liberal Democrats (Lib Dem) supported by the Conservative parties. Peter Carroll, who was Liberal Democrat candidate in Folkestone and Hythe, where the Gurkhas have their base and was approached by four retired Gurkhas who suggested that they and their fellows should have the right to stay in the UK and Nick Clegg came on board, having succeeded as Lib Dem leader, and took part in the dramatic gesture in 2008 (Silvester, 2012, para. 2).

The local political parties were found to be quite supportive and positive of justice and equality for Gurkhas in which they were more focused on local level Gurkha issues, such as social integration and cohesion, and less so on the pension issue, which is seen as a national level issue (Laksamba, Adhikari, Dhakal, & Gellner, 2013, p. 48, para. 1). Local authorities, such as Rushmoor Borough Council (RBC) in 2005 and Reading Borough Council in 2008, unanimously voted for the motions of the Gurkhas' equal pension campaign (para. 2).

4.4.3. Ex-Gurkha Organizations and Individual Initiatives

Ex-Gurkha Organizations are the driving force to lead the campaign for equal rights, pay and pensions of Gurkhas in the UK. They have developed into an institutional pressure group which has an ultimate tactics and strategies for establishing a domain in the civil society. Their effective involvement and roles have been discussed in the earlier chapters which have largely explained their struggle for the rights of Gurkhas. According to the CNSUK (2013), there are currently six Gurkha organisations lobbying and advocating for Gurkha rights: GAESO, NESA and NESO46, UBGA, BGWS, BGESO, and BCG (p. 45).

These organizations have objections on the UK Government for its ‘mis-interpretation’ of TPA and the GoN for its inability to act in the interest of its subjects serving in British Army. And also they wholly reject the UK Government’s view that GPS is a fairer system and that Gurkhas have been treated equally and court verdicts that support this view. Organized in different groups for various reasons (such as personality and ideology), they are persistent in getting ‘wrongs’ righted and seek support from the British public, civil society and Parliament and have succeeded to some extent in winning some concessions from the UK Government (para. 2).

4.4.4. Media

In this modern era, where media actions have greater potentialities in creating verdicts in any issue and problems, influenced in larger sphere in the case of British Gurkhas’ Justice Campaign. People mostly relies for their information and news upon the sources of media like dailies, Television programs, news reports, news sources in internet and other forms of media. Similarly, the trust built by public figures on the general people has huge count on the perspective of people and their opinions towards

any subject. In this regard, from the very beginning of the justice campaign, the Nepalese as well as the British media were found covering almost all activities of the Gurkha veterans with due importance. Nepali media played a revolutionary role in the 1990s, when the Gurkha campaign had just started. The Kathmandu-based campaign had slowly spread east, west, north and south of Nepal by means of television, print media and the radio news (Laksamba, Adhikari, Dhakal, & Gellner, 2013, p. 49).

Many scholars like Mary Des Chene, Pratyoush Onta, Deepak Thapa have published their articles related to the British Gurkha and the discrimination regarding equal rights. This had really set a new horizon for peoples' understanding upon who the Gurkhas actually are and has broken the stereotype idea about the brave Gurkhalis and their relationship with the British government.

Similarly, the Media in the UK also had prominent role in the justice campaign as they covered each and every action and news related to Gurkhas campaign for equal rights. BBC News, Daily Telegraph, Daily Express and others have huge coverage of every news and information that has helped the public to get informed about the discriminated state of Gurkhas and helped in advocating policy changes. For instance, BBC published a news piece on 15 February 2002 stating "MOD delays Gurkha's 'race' pension case - Lance Corporal Hari Thapa claims a monthly pension imbalance - just £58 against Army veterans' £450 payment - amounts to racial discrimination" (BBC News, 2002, para. 2). Daily Express launched a support campaign publishing a 'voting chit' in September 2004 requesting British people to sign and to send it to BGWS to show their support for the Gurkhas' UK settlement campaign (CNSUK, 2013, p. 50).

Thus, the role of media in Gurkha campaign for equal rights was immense which had a decisive impact upon the successful result in the immigration as well as pay and pensions policies. Likewise, the information and the news had really helped to draw British public opinions and understanding of who actually were Gurkhas, their contribution towards Britain and how they were discriminated by the British Government. Media has really helped by creating support and empathy from the British public that ultimately helped British Gurkha Diasporas to integrate and live a peaceful life in the UK.

CHAPTER V

**BRITISH GURKHA REGIMENT AS AN APPARATUS OF
NEPALESE SOFT POWER: THEIR ROLE AS DIASPORA**

5.1. Contribution of British Gurkha in Enhancing Nepalese Soft Power (Their Role as Diaspora)

For comparatively small states like Nepal which has very less to offer in terms of economy, politics and other sphere of influences to the world affairs, the instruments of soft power could relatively play a part in the international relations. Soft power as earlier discussed in the introductory chapter is the ability to achieve desired outcomes in international affairs through attraction rather than coercion (Nye & Owens, 1996, p. 21). The cultural, linguistic and other non-coercive means create breakthroughs in many ways and impose significance influences. Among few aspects of Nepal, British Gurkha regiment is one of the tools of soft power that carries a long history of influence in Nepalese socio-economical, political aspects as well as upon the foreign affairs.

British Gurkha recruitment has social, political and economic implications on the recruiting communities (Chene, 1991). The British Gurkha diaspora community is recognized and respected for its work ethos, discipline, non-interference and for successfully living in harmony with the local community. This chapter aims to examine these aspects as a Nepalese soft power.

5.1.1. Socio-Cultural Impacts

Nepal situated in between the two largest countries in the world is comparatively very small and has very little to offer in the international arena which

makes it less known to the world. So, it is only the salient features of Nepal that can help to stand out in the world. In this context, British Gurkha in the UK has been a prime source of recognition in the British society. The official website of Embassy of Nepal, London mentions under the title as Nepal-UK Relations that the Gurkha soldiers are the most visible bridge between Nepal and the United Kingdom which has laid a solid foundation of the relationship resulted by the history of service, sacrifice and bravery of these Gurkha soldiers (para. 4).

Diaspora as earlier discussed in the former chapters reflects how they are emotionally connected to the country of origin. Even though they live outside their kin-state but believe to have legitimate stake in it, they challenge the conventional meaning of the state and are best known as transnational transporters of cultures (Smith, 1994). In this context, the British Gurkha diasporas residing in the UK have a strong sentiment towards Nepal and its socio-cultural aspects. They have been acting as transnational transporters of culture of their home country to the host country and vice versa. Ample of examples can be drawn in this regard. They are naturally keen to maintain their cultural prestige as being part of their identity. A deep form of commitment to their culture has been shown in numerous ways. No matter whether they reside miles away from Nepal, they have been keeping up with the culture and tradition of their homeland. Promoting their linguistic values, celebration of different festivals and rituals and other cultural values can be clearly reflected in their day to day lives in the UK.

In the same way, people to people relations between the Gurkha families and the local people of the UK have been strengthened because of the kind and generous nature of Gurkhas. A report by an online news of the UK, 'Wales Online' writes with

a headline ‘Nepalese people living in a Welsh town have been recognized for their community work’. This report mentions how Nepalese Gurkhas who restored a national park footpath to thank people from a Welsh town who donated items after an earthquake in their homeland have been recognized for their voluntary work (Wales Online, 2017). This path was officially renamed as Gurkha Path in order to honor the contribution of Gurkha (para. 3). This reflects the higher degree of co-operation and mutual understanding between the people of Nepal and Britain. The other news report by Forces TV regarding the Gurkha integration in the UK covers a story on how the Gurkha children are integrating with their other British school friends in Aldershot, the UK. Cheriton Primary School where more than quarter of the students is Nepalese enjoys the amalgamation of the culture i.e. Nepalese, British and others (Forces TV, 2011).

Similarly, they have been transporting their ideas and knowledge that they have gained from one of the most civilized nation, the UK. These have helped a lot in development of innovation and creativity in Nepal. The youths who are the children of the British Gurkha armies as well as the British Gurkhas themselves are very enthusiastic about helping the home country in every possible manner. The establishment of different organization led by the ex-British Gurkha armies and their effective functions in enhancing Nepalese soft power in the form of culture and other ways are effectively carried out by these organizations. Different charity works are carried out by the British Gurkhas and their families. Gau Maya Gurung, an optometrist in the UK who belongs to the British Gurkha Family has been actively involved in volunteering tasks to help Nepalese society. Particularly, she has started a project called ‘Glasses to Gorkha’ which is focused to reach out to villagers and children whose independence and development is hindered due to poor sight by

conducting free eye tests and providing free spectacles for children and disadvantaged families (Gurung G. M., n.d.). Likewise, there are many efforts done by the British Gurkha youths to reconnect with their homeland. For instance, a blogger named Lex Limbu who also belongs to a British Gurkha Family has initiated a project called 'Tracing Nepal' which basically aims to reconnect with Nepal. It is because most of the children of British Gurkhas spend their life away from Nepal and it is certain that they are disconnected from what it actually is like to be a Nepali. Therefore, he seeks to facilitate a unique travel experience where selected volunteers will be able to immerse themselves in the daily lives of those living in rural communities of Nepal whilst having the opportunity to form friendships with people from a similar background to them. In that way, there is a sense of connection as well as the rural community of Nepal is assisted in many ways (The Nepali Man, 2014).

5.1.2. Economical Implications

Gurkha recruitment in British army has huge economic influence. A British Gurkha army is paid comparatively higher than the average income of Nepalese people which subsequently helps in raising the standard of living the army and also his family in the UK and back in Nepal. According to Caplan (2003), Gurkha service has large economic implication as the Gurkhas use their income for repaying old debts, purchase land, build fine houses and provide loans in the local community. Similarly, the pension recipient that is a retired British Gurkha army who now receives a handsome pension throughout his life and in case of death of a pensioner, his wife can receive it which helps them to be independent throughout their life (Gurung , 2011, p. 151).

Initially, remittance in Nepal was introduced with Gurkha remittances (Gaudel, 2006, p. 11). Estimation was made in the mid-1980s; Nepal was gaining nearly \$47 million annually as foreign exchange from British Gurkhas as salary, remittances and pensions (Seddon, Gurung, & Adhikari, 1998, p. 4). By the middle of the 1990s the value of officially recorded remittances from abroad was around Rs 2.9 billion-well over half the value of tourist receipts and a fifth of total exports. Of this, ‘Gorkha remittances’ accounted for between a quarter and a third (para. 7). The western and eastern hilly region of Nepal where the sizeable number of British Gurkha recruitment is concentrated is comparatively economically sound and prosperous. The places like Pokhara, Dharan, Butwal and some others where the families of British Gurkha are living have relatively maintained the standard of living. With the help of the income earned by the British Gurkhas, several investments are made.

Many criticize that regular and unhindered recruitment by the British and Indian armies is stripping Nepal of some of its brightest young men, whose talents might be used in building up the homeland (Rathaur, 2001, p. 24). However, providing valuable foreign exchange to the nation is not only the economic aspect of Gurkha recruitment but also helps as the lifeline for many Nepalese hill tribes for whom, joining foreign army is the major way out to make a better living for themselves and their families.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

Diaspora has connected the world like never before. Today the measurement of power in this world is connectedness and the network world seeks to build a global connection. The research has focused entirely upon the constructive aspects of the diaspora particularly on British Gurkha diaspora residing in the UK. This particular Nepalese diaspora is the pioneer emigrants moving to foreign countries. Holding a very special historical importance, British Gurkha diaspora has always contributed in maintaining the pride and recognition of Nepal in the international arena. Similarly, their roles in establishing as well enhancing the bilateral diplomatic relationship between Nepal and the UK is something that can never be forgotten.

There are quite a few scholarly articles that write about the historical background about Gurkha recruitment in the British army and the discrimination faced by the British Gurkha armies regarding their pay, pensions, permanent settlement and in other aspects of day to day life. However, little has been done and discussed about how this distinct group of Nepalese diaspora could be used as a tool of soft power. The study has focused on the role of soft power in the promotion and sometimes in the creation of the bilateral relationship among the countries, and the special focus is on the British Gurkha diaspora as soft power and its role in the promotion of the bilateral relationship between Nepal and the UK. This study seeks to conclude that soft power is an effective tool and it can be very well utilized or channelized in the image making, promotion of bilateral as well as multilateral relations, seeking of public opinion and formulation of a global civil society. Diaspora is a significant player who can very well play the game of soft power for foreign

policy outcomes which is clearly discussed and assessed in the earlier chapters of the research where British Gurkha armies have lobbied the British government to make necessary changes in the policies regarding the Gurkhas.

The comparative study made on the influence of Indian, Chinese and Sri Lankan diaspora results on conclusion that diaspora as a soft power asset which has uplifted the country's economical, socio-cultural and political aspects. The world now understands the growing economic importance of diasporas and the contribution they can make to a country's economic growth. There are more Chinese people living outside China than there are French people in France and in the same way around 22million Indians are scattered all over the globe forming networks of kinship and language which makes it easier to do business across borders. For instance a Chinese trader in Indonesia who finds a gap in the market for cheap umbrellas will immediately informs his cousin in Shenzhen who knows someone who runs an umbrella factory (The Magic of Diasporas, 2011, para. 3-4). This proves how fast and easily information can flow resulting in effective outcomes of the roles of diaspora. That is why so much foreign direct investment in China still passes through the Chinese diaspora. Similarly, the transfer of ideas through diaspora is their most important contribution to their country of origin as well as the host country. In this regard, Indian computer scientists in Bangalore bounce ideas constantly off their Indian friends in Silicon Valley and China's technology industry is dominated by "sea turtles" (para. 5).

So the reference to the Indian, Chinese and Sri Lankan diaspora suggests how the Government of Nepal (GON) should pay a significant attention to its diaspora as soft power source and mobilize them constructively. And as the research is focused on

the British Gurkha diaspora, necessary study should be carried out for their mobilization in economic sectors via Foreign Direct Investment. Remittance has been Nepal's one of the largest foreign currency income source. A recent study by the World Bank has ranked Nepal in third position in the world in terms of the contribution of remittances to the GDP (Global Times, 2014). However, this prime source of income is not utilized in the productive sectors that can actually help to boost Nepal's economy. Similarly, education sector is one of the important sectors where the British Gurkha diaspora can contribute in. The spread of ideas as one of the functions of diaspora can be fulfilled as Britain a hub for outstanding teaching learning experiences. The Britain's world class education system can be transferred to Nepal through the British Gurkha Diaspora. A solid planning and effective implementation on these sectors can definitely lead Nepal to an optimum level of development.

With all the research on the role of British Gurkha on changing the British policies regarding pay, pensions and permanent settlement that clearly reflected disparities between Gurkha and British soldiers. The effort of British Gurkha diaspora in the UK surged over all scenarios that discriminated Gurkhas and eventually succeeded for equal pay and pensions and right for permanent settlement without any restrictions. This gave a meaning and recognition to their 200 years of service and sacrifice. Now, British Gurkhas in the UK live this life with every facility and comfort that the British citizens enjoy. The Gurkha diaspora community in the UK is so powerful which was showcased in the Gurkha Justice Movement drawing the global attention, British people, political parties and media was totally massive.

Moreover, with these events and the efforts of British Gurkha diaspora as one particular group of Nepalese diaspora, we can understand how they stand as significant body of soft power for foreign policy outcomes. If diasporic community of a country has a strong position in terms of wealth, knowledge and political participation or influence in the host country, it can play a very proactive role in influencing various issues concerning the interest of the home country.

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