

# INDIAN NEPALIS

Issues and Perspectives

*Edited by*

**T.B. Subba, A.C. Sinha, G.S. Nepal & D.R. Nepal**

This compendium of twenty-five papers, presented at a national seminar, organized by the Indian Nepalis Study and Research Forum, addresses the problems of nationality of Indian Nepalis. Examining the conceptual and theoretical issues related to the identity of Indian Nepalis, the contributors deliberate on their search for Indian national identity without losing the regional and local perspectives that are equally important because Indian Nepalis live under different circumstances in different parts of India.

They also deal with the identity crisis of Indian Nepali youths, trafficking of Nepali women in India, herbal medicinal culture of Nepalis, and linkage between India and Nepal with special focus on history, literature and people.

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## Preface

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The editors of this volume endeavoured to assemble representative members of the intelligentsia, opinion leaders, young and senior academics, authors, and concerned citizens for a three-day academic treat at Gangtok. These participants, who travelled from near and far away places, either presented papers in the academic sessions, or took part in panel discussions, or deliberated on the presentations in the various academic sessions. The organizers had a sense of satisfaction that the concerned members of the community and their well-wishers came forward and appreciated the efforts made to raise the relevant issues confronting the community. The editors are convinced that the conference was a right step at right time and with all their inadequacies it was the first effort of its type.

One point must be made very clear at the very outset is that the editors had no individual agenda of their own. Neither did they have uniformity of views on many issues among themselves, not the least because of disrespect to one another but because of a healthy tradition of their professional commitment and a belief in academic freedom. This becomes clear when one looks at their professional background of the editorial team. Professor T.B. Subba is an anthropologist by training and profession and Professor A.C. Sinha is an anthropologist by training and a sociologist by vocation. Professor Ghanshyam Nepal is an expert in Nepali language and literature and is a creative writer himself and D.R. Nepal is a trained government functionary. Perhaps that is why, while Subba has suggested, "Sakhaa" as the new nomenclature of the community, Sinha proposed the term 'Nepamul'/INO' as if they do not bother whether others would approve or not. Professor Ghanshyam Nepal, despite the fact that he heads a university department named "Nepali", would like the present nomenclature to continue only till an appropriate alternative nomenclature is developed. Thus, there is unanimity among the editors

that the search for a nomenclature other than Nepali and Gorkha must be pursued vigorously. For the purpose of the present volume, however, the authors have used the nomenclature of their choice and the editors have only tried to make the scripts more readable, intelligible, logical and thematic in presentation.

The conference was an eye-opener to the editors in the sense that a number of revelations took place during the three days. For example, the opinion makers and intelligentsia among the Indian Nepalis appear to be closed minded. They shied away from the debates, and whenever they took part in it, it was more of an advocacy of their stand points. They also appeared to be afraid of taking public stand on the issues of significance, as if they were afraid of conducting experiments.

The editors of this volume have presented perhaps the best that could happen at this juncture of the history of the Indian Nepalis. As one expects of an edited volume, all the articles are not equally strong in argument, documentation, or substance, but they all have something important to say about the Indian Nepalis. Above all, they all reflect some important aspects of the Indian Nepalis, their vibrancy as well as frustration, hopes as well as creativity, and internal churning as well as dialogue with the outside world. We are thankful to all the contributors, and participants, for responding to our detailed queries and bearing with our demands, which were all done with the spirit to make the book truly worthy of the community it is written about.

The editors are particularly grateful to Dr. Pawan Chamling, Hon'ble Chief Minister of Sikkim, for taking a keen interest in the conference and its output in the form of the present book. The conference on "Identity and Nationality of the Indian Nepalis: Issues and Perspectives" was held on April 20-22, 2006 at Chintan Bhawan, Gangtok, Sikkim. We are beholden to the various functionaries of the Government of Sikkim for the support and the Indian Nepali Study and Research Forum, Gangtok, and its president, K.P. Adhikari for constituting the organizing committee for co-coordinating the event. We are grateful to the Indian Council of Social Science Research, North-Eastern Regional Centre, Shillong for funding the conference kits and to the Government of Sikkim for taking care of the remaining and more substantial expenses towards making the national conference possible. This book is based on the papers presented at the conference but includes, fortunately or unfortunately, less than one third of them. We could not publish all the papers because they either did not meet our expectations of quality and standard or we could not arrange to translate them into English. A few of them were left out during the



editing process. We are sorry for those participants whose articles did not find place in the volume. However, we do appreciate their efforts and contributions to the discussions during the various academic sessions. Similarly, we are sorry to the panelists of the two panels we had organised for not being able to include their contributions in the volume in spite of our best efforts. Among the Sikkimese intellectuals, we appreciate the valuable contributions made by Shri C.D. Rai and Padmashri Sanu Lama. Lastly, the authorities, faculty and students of Sikkim Government College, Tadong were of great help to us in bringing order in the conference halls and conducting the proceedings. We cannot thank them enough.

Finally, we thank the Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, for publishing the book in record time and keeping the price within affordable limits for most Indian Nepalis.

**T.B. Subba**  
**A.C. Sinha**  
**G.S. Nepal**  
**D.R. Nepal**

*Prof. A. C. Sinha*

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## The Last Word So Far...

T.B. SUBBA

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### *In Retrospect*

I begin my search for the last word on Indian Nepalis with some retrospection on what happened at the national conference on Indian Nepalis that we organised in Gangtok in April 2006. The reason is simple: that occasion was a lot more representative of the views of Indian Nepalis than what is contained in our select list of 24 articles included in this volume. Further, the retrospection on the conference includes the papers contained in this volume although one of the contributors to this volume could not be present at the conference due to the extraordinarily violent situation then prevailing in Nepal. Out of 66 presentations made over three days with two or three simultaneous sessions 43 were in English and 23 in Nepali. This ratio is interesting in view of the fact that the invitees had the option to choose either English or Nepali as the medium of their papers and presentation. I may like to read the above statistics as indicative of the fact that Nepali intellectuals are deliberately using the English medium for reaching out to a larger audience. But in the process they seem to be losing their grip over their own language. The 23 presentations in Nepali were rarely without English words.

The papers presented in English not only appeared to address a wider audience than the papers presented in Nepali, but also looked at the issues of Nepali identity and nationality from cross-cultural perspective, keeping the community in question at some distance and looking at their trajectories a little critically. The papers presented in Nepali, on the other hand, were—barring a few—more inward-looking, introspective, and at times even self-eulogising. The presentations in English also indicated

that Indian Nepalis were passing through a crisis of national identity whereas a few Nepali presentations contested this position. Those who took such a position were from Sikkim and Nepal while those from Northeast India insisted that the crisis not only existed but was a grave one. This indicated that the crisis of Nepali national identity was not perceived as a major issue where they were numerically and politically dominant, although theoretically there is no reason why this should have been so. And this was confirmed during the recent Sony TV sponsored competition for Indian Idol in which the Nepalis in Darjeeling and Sikkim, who are in majority there, exhorted other Nepalis to vote in favour of Prashant Tamang for the sake of “national identity”.

Actually speaking, identity crises not only afflict minority communities but also follow numerically dominant communities. The minority communities use their identities to wrest away as much of privileges from the control of the majority as possible and the majority communities hang on to their identities to protect their powers and privileges. Further, identities are more often than not given by neighbouring communities or outsiders and are rarely self-given. The people either overgrow such identities or find such identities derogatory over a period of time. They start to strive for a new identity, an identity that suits them most in a given time and space, and they sometimes succeed in getting the acceptance of the neighbouring communities or the state as well. In Northeast India, tribes like Adi, Nishi, and Karbi have successfully abandoned their old identities like Abor, Dafla and Mikir respectively within a relatively short period of time. Other tribes like the Khasi and Garo of Meghalaya are not yet successful in their struggle to be renamed as Hynniewtrep and Achik respectively. No one knows how long they will need to continue the struggle for their desired change of identity and whether or not they will one day be successful. This also pertains to names of places and cities, which are being nativised.

Most presenters at the conference agreed that Indian Nepalis have a nomenclature crisis and they need to have a new name for their community and language other than Nepali and Gorkha because, while some of them argue in favour of Nepali or Gorkha or even both, they are aware of the fact that neither of the two names completely disconnect them from the neighbouring country called Nepal, which is religiously believed by other Indians to be the source of all Indian Nepalis and the country to which they belong. That is why the labels like “foreigners”, “migrants”, “aliens” and so on used liberally to refer to Indian Nepalis. They are not only labelled so but are even treated as such. Until some years ago they were

detained at the immigration check-posts in Assam and Meghalaya and allowed to enter these states only after some harassment and some bribe. They have sometimes been asked to “go back to Nepal” when they pleaded for some legitimate demands like primary education in their mother tongue. They have even been evicted from several parts of Northeast India where many of them continue to live as second class citizens of India. Their sense of belonging to India is doubted by the very people who do not allow themselves to feel as Indians. These predicaments of their life as Indian Nepalis may remain even if they succeed in finding a name that secures their national identity as Indian citizens. And there may immediately be no perceptible change in the perceptions and attitudes of other Indian communities towards them. However, it will begin to make them internally a lot more secure than they are today. Hence the need to secure them with an Indian identity is the uppermost need of them and has been rightly emphasized so by almost every Indian Nepali scholar.

Indian Nepalis know that there are many migrants among them. That is why they seek the state’s help to segregate them from those who cross the border everyday and melt into their society and suddenly leave leaving behind a mess for the Indian Nepalis to clean up. Indian Nepalis also argue that many among them are descendants of the original inhabitants of Indian territory, viz., Sikkim and Darjeeling, which is now a part of West Bengal. Further, most present generation Indian Nepalis have several generations of history in specific locales of Sikkim and Darjeeling or elsewhere in India like Meghalaya, Assam and Dehradun. Actually, Indian Nepalis are fighting against two kinds of labelling: one, the labels like “foreigners”, “migrants” and “aliens” that eat into their very claims of legitimacy as Indian nationals and at another level the labels like “Kancha” (read household servant), “Daju” (read porters), “Bahadur” and “Gorkha” (*chowkidar*). That such racist labels are not fictions was proved by a Radio Jockey of Red FM Radio in New Delhi who made racist remarks in late September 2007 that resulted in ethnic clash in Siliguri on 26th of that month between Nepalis and Bengalis forcing the administration to call army and Border Security Force to control the situation. Thus this fight is not easy and is not entirely up to them to win. They also need the support of other Indian communities in this fight against what may be called “double labelling”.

It is such a situation that is driving Indian Nepalis to search for a label that would be acceptable to all sections of them living in different parts of India. A word, a name for their community and language, which

would clearly segregate them from Nepal Nepalis who come and go and who have no roots in Indian soil, but who look no different from Indian Nepalis. They are not stake holders in India and allegedly commit crimes and just go back to Nepal leaving the Indian Nepalis to face the consequences. Indian Nepalis do realise the difficulty that other Indian communities face while trying to draw a distinction between Nepal Nepalis and themselves for the differences are rather difficult to be appreciated by others, as they have to do with dialectical and emotional differences both of which are not easily visible to an ordinary citizen of any country. Indian Nepalis are also aware of the fact that such a name must be acceptable to those living in villages, tea gardens and towns alike, to the semi-literate majority as well as the middle class. Such a name must clearly indicate their Indian-ness. Will someone be able to find or create such a name? Efforts made in the past in this direction have not met with any success. But the effort in this direction must be made for the effort is worth making. One of the editors of this volume has made such an effort, but has himself admitted that it has not been accepted by the target people. "Indians of Nepalese Origin" or INO, as he calls it, repeatedly reminds them of the most important thing they would like to erase from their memory, that is, they are of Nepalese origin. This is perhaps why his co-editors of this volume, while appreciating the effort made by him, have not been able to accept the nomenclature suggested by him.

When I was fine tuning this volume over the past several months I first toyed with several words that could replace, with some effort, Nepali and Gorkha but was enormously conscious of the grounds on which they would be rejected rather than the bases on which they could be accepted. An easy option at this juncture of our history is to endorse the hyphenated "Indian-Nepali" in English and "Bharatiya-Nepali" in Nepali for the community and "Nepali" for the language because while nationality and citizenship make sense only within nation-state boundaries, languages have no such boundaries. I also think that no matter how much we shout from the roof of our house we cannot completely stop others from calling us by the names they have been calling us for so long. Nor can we deny the historical, social, linguistic, religious and cultural linkages between Nepal Nepalis and Indian Nepalis. I further argue that the hyphenated identity is flexible enough to take care of the regional identities in both English and Nepali languages like "Assamese-Nepalis", "Sikkimese-Nepalis", "Bhagsu-Nepalis" and so on.

But the above option does not take Indian Nepalis any further from where they are standing for the past couple of centuries. Hence, an effort

must be made to try and push their cart a little ahead. Whoever makes this effort, however, must first consider the bewildering variation in the history, culture, language, religion, and social ecology of Indian Nepalis. The effort must make sense to the Nepali youths in particular for it is they who are most concerned about their national identity today. While they vie for every opportunity with other Indian youths they are burdened with the extra responsibility of defending themselves as Indian citizens wherever they go and whoever they meet. With Prashant Tamang winning the race for Indian Idol it might have appeared easier for them to do so for a day or two but soon the situation was same for them as before.

The Gangtok conference also indicated that both "Nepali" and "Gorkha" have strong constituencies of supporters and they do not seem willing to give up calling themselves and their language by the names they consider to be appropriate. There are merits and demerits in both the nomenclatures and their ardent followers may continue to use them, but if the issue is to seek solution to the crisis of national identity of Indian Nepalis neither of the word fits the bill. A third name must emerge, sooner or later, which can accommodate the aspirations of about five million Indian Nepalis. The past failures and the present fight between followers of the above two constituencies should not deter one from the option to find or create a third nomenclature that will unite the two warring groups rather than divide them.

To find or create such a word is not difficult, but for such a word to be accepted by majority of Indian Nepalis is extremely difficult. Some will oppose a proposed name on political grounds, others will oppose it on caste or religious grounds, and still others will oppose a word on regional grounds. Most people in Sikkim do not think that the word "Nepali" needs to be replaced and many in Darjeeling and Mizoram think that "Gorkha" is the most appropriate name for them. If Assamese-Nepalis suggest a third name it may not be acceptable to the Nepalis of Sikkim and Darjeeling and vice versa on regional grounds and their own sense of who are more advanced or backward. Even within Assam the Upper Assam Nepalis and Lower Assam Nepalis may not agree on the same terminology although they would certainly agree on the need for one. The simple reason for this is the enormous variation of all sorts within Indian Nepalis.

It must be further remembered by one who is proposing a new name that the currency of a name in a given locality, region, or country for whatever historical or political reasons cannot be wished away easily. Nor is it always easy to replace one word with another, especially in

government records. The place names like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Bangalore continue to be used despite the fact these names have been changed through the due process of legislation. After all every community has to negotiate its identity in a given time and space in order to maximise its chances of survival and development. Only members of a community living in a particular locale know what is in their best interest to call themselves at a given point of time. It is not proper for the Nepalis of Sikkim or Gorkhas of Darjeeling to tell the Nepalis of Manipur or the Gorkhas of Mizoram what name they should call themselves by unless the former are ready to shoulder the consequences, if any, of such an action. Similarly, Nepal Nepalis should have no objection if Indian Nepalis would not like to call themselves "Nepalis" and would like to change the name of their community and language.

Between local compulsions and national aspirations I would opt for the former. The Nepalis of Darjeeling and Sikkim, leave alone the Nepal Nepalis, can do precious little if a Nepali village in Meghalaya or Arunachal Pradesh is set on fire by a group of angry youths belonging to a locally dominant community. Requests from Pawan Chamling to protect "his" people may be replied by his counterparts with assurances, deployment of security personnel, and setting up of relief camps if things go out of control, which they often do. The Nepalis living in a particular place must sort out their differences with other local people and find solutions at the local level. If that fails the Nepalis living there will have to suffer and the Nepalis living elsewhere can do very little about it. Nobody knows that better than Indian Nepalis living in Northeast India in general and the Nepalis living in Meghalaya in particular, where the communal tension following the Sony TV sponsored Indian Idol programme in September 2007 gave them sleepless nights. Like elsewhere they were a divided community with one section supporting Prashant Tamang from Darjeeling and another supporting Amit Paul of their own Shillong until they were forced to realise that they were all believed to be voting for the former because they belonged to his community. That many among them appreciated the beautiful voice of the latter and actually voted for him was rubbished. Some ruffians closed the PCOs in Nepali-dominated localities and even pulled out a few landlines so that they would not be able to vote for Prashant Tamang. The threat to send them back to Nepal or Darjeeling in case Prashant Tamang won was also circulated across the state of Meghalaya.

Several scholars at the Gangtok conference emphasized on re-writing the history of Indian Nepalis and making that history part of the school

curriculum so that their children as well as other Indian children know the facts about Indian Nepalis. Apparently the participation of Gorkha soldiers in the massacre of Jalianawala Bagh is not erased from the memory of Indians whereas they have forgotten the role of the same Gorkhas in saving the lives of thousands of people during the Calcutta famine in 1940s and the partition of India in 1947, leave alone their role in protecting the international border or fighting against armed insurgents after India's independence. Therefore, as some scholars at the conference mentioned above rightly argued, writing their own history may erase some misconceptions of their neighbouring communities about Indian Nepalis. Both Darjeeling and Sikkim being favourite tourist destinations, the people there could use the advantage of their locations to rectify the notions of other Indian communities about their history, culture, religion and so on. The tourist brochures are in fact the first texts that need to be rectified in this regard.

To some other participants at the conference, rather than history Indian Nepalis should harp on their language and literature in order to find a less controversial space and voice for themselves within India. Their language and literature, especially their fiction and poetry, have such substantial Indian roots and flavour that they could as well consider this as the basis of their national identity. Like history, literature could of course be one other front rather than an alternative front that Indian Nepalis could open in order to achieve their ultimate goal of establishing themselves as bonafide Indians.

Some presenters reported that Indian Nepalis suffer in many ways in various parts of India, especially in Northeast India, mainly due to the fact that people from Nepal continue to come and settle there under the provisions of the 1950 Treaty. According to them, the solution to this problem lies in segregating the "Treaty-Nepalis" from "Indian-Nepalis", which they say can be achieved by abrogating the treaty and introducing the passport system for those who come from Nepal. But abrogation of this treaty needs to be debated from a holistic point of view and by Indian Nepalis as well as Nepalese Indians for the treaty concerns both these categories of people who A.C. Sinha calls INOs and NIOs in the previous chapter. The abrogation of the treaty must also ensure that the crisis of national identity suffered by Indian Nepalis and Nepalese Indians is taken care of, which it is not very likely to happen because national identity is a lot more complex construction than what most Indian Nepalis think it is.

The various presentations at the conference also indicated that the Indian Nepalis, especially those living in small minorities in different



parts of India, share a common complex, which I might like to call, for lack of a better expression, “victim syndrome”: victim of Indian ignorance about them, victim of print and electronic media, victim of regional and national politics, victim of the Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950, victim of increasingly hostile dominant neighbours, victim of history, and so on. To be recognised as Indian Nepalis and given equal opportunities in the fields of education, employment, and ownership of property without the fear of having to comply with “quit notices” of some local youth or underground organisations is their ultimate wish. Such a wish, however, is increasingly being difficult to fulfil in some parts of Northeast India and is apprehended to be more difficult in future.

We are all aware of the tension within Indian Nepali community—tensions arising from their racial, linguistic, religious, and political diversity, from different constitutional identities like Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes accorded to the various constituents of this community, and other such sources. However, the presentations showed that the internal tensions are not important or not important enough to write about, or to share them with everyone. This was also confirmed by the voting behaviour in Darjeeling, Sikkim and elsewhere during the recent Indian Idol competition. The internal differences based on caste, religion, language, and political affiliation seemed to have been ignored by all of them. But once this euphoria was over the ugly realities began to resurface. Hence, it is perhaps not quite all right to downplay internal tensions. They actually need to be addressed, debated and fatigued not hidden or suppressed. Only from such an engagement may emerge a stronger, more integrated Indian Nepali community. I am happy that there is such an engagement going on and there is at least one article by Shrawan Acharya addressing this problem in this volume.

Furthermore, some of the presentations conceived of identity in a monolithic sense. Its multiplicity, resilience and adaptability have however been attended to some extent in the articles finally included in this volume. Similarly, the fact that ethnic boundaries are ever evolving and they are always blurred and overlapping has received more attention in the volume than they did at the time of conference. Identities are always negotiated differently in different situations and times, which is a grim reminder to those who seek, rather innocently, to have a non-ambivalent identity for a large and heterogeneous population called Indian Nepalis. Their economic, vocational, religious, linguistic, cultural, educational, political diversities have increased so much over the past 200 years or so that it is

indeed very difficult to find a single name that subsumes all of them to their satisfaction.

It is true that Indian Nepalis began to experience the crisis of their national identity only after they became literate and began to look out for white-collar jobs. So long as they were pastorals, miners, soldiers, agriculturists, tea-labourers or household servants, there was little opposition to their existence anywhere in India and there was limited spread of identity consciousness among them. Such consciousness came with education, with the emergence of the middle class in the Nepali society and with increased competition for various resources with other Indian communities. This aspect of their identity issue somehow has not received adequate space in this volume.

Allow me to dwell briefly on surnames as expressions of identity adaptation that was highly evident at the conference. The Brahmin participants from Northeast India spelt their surnames as "Sarma" or "Sarmah", whereas those from Darjeeling and Sikkim spelt it as "Sharma". The reason is obvious: the Bahuns in Assam in particular have adapted their surnames to suit the local environment, thereby showing the inclination to assimilate themselves with the Assamese Brahmins rather than identify themselves as Nepali Bahuns. Several presentations also indicated how well-versed the Indian Nepalis were in the languages and literatures of their neighbouring communities and how deeply steeped they were in local cultures without forgetting their own. The Assamese Nepalis have, for instance, added "Bihu" to the list of their festivals and Assamese cuisine to their cuisine, and contributed a lot to Assamese literature. Some of them have even held the highest post of the highest literary organisation of the Assamese, viz., Assam Sahitya Sabha.

The various issues dealt in this volume—be they abrogation of the Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950, inclusion of the Nepali language in the VIII Schedule to the Constitution of India, the demand for a separate state called Gorkhaland within the Union of India, or use of local surnames—indicated that unlike many communities in Northeast India or elsewhere, Indian Nepalis seek acceptance of and integration with the great Indian nationhood and not secession from the same. Their orientation is integrative, which should be welcome and celebrated by any nation-state and certainly by India. This is also a conclusion arrived at by various contributors to this volume.

I would also like to state that in this vast country called India each community has to discover itself differently. Once a community is born in India the space must exist for it somewhere. It need not be as big as

one wishes or where one wishes, but it does exist nonetheless. This space needs to be discovered and negotiated. However, this space will be visible only when the people attain a certain height, a certain depth of insight, and a certain broadness of mind, which may come (not necessarily it does) only with higher, technical and professional education. Even if some communities have been lucky to get such space on a platter they constantly need to struggle for protecting the same. Those who have been denied such space need to struggle for it, rather than expect it to be given on a platter or complain about why the more fortunate Indian communities have got it so easily. Those who have arrived in India earlier would certainly be luckier than those who arrived late. This principle works even at the village and clan levels. Let Indian Nepalis accept this fact and move on.

#### *A Plea for a New Name*

Finally, as someone who has engaged himself with the issue of identity of Indian Nepalis for several years now allow me to suggest a new nomenclature for them. And that is "Sakhaa", which means "friend" in a large number of Indo-Aryan languages including Nepali. Let me make a few points in its defence. First, it is free from any geographical, cultural and territorial identities like Pahadi, Madhesi, Nepali, Gorkha, Manipuri, Mizo, Bengali, Marathi, etc. and that is, to my mind, its biggest strength. Truly speaking, Indian Nepalis need a de-territorialised (see Bidhan Golay's article in this volume) and de-ethnicised identity for they are not only themselves de-territorialised in India but also have frequently experienced ethnic anger of the locally dominant communities. Second, they live in towns as well as villages, hills as well as plains, speak their language as well as those of their neighbouring communities, celebrate their festivals as well as those of their fellow Indian communities, and are found in almost every state of India. A Sakhaa has no nation and has no territory. He is neither a hillman nor a plainsman. He is not a Hindu, or a Buddhist or a Christian. He can be anywhere and from anywhere— Manipur, Mizoram, Darjeeling, Sikkim, Dehradun, Bhagsu, Mumbai, Delhi, or Karnataka. A Sakhaa does have a history, a religion, a language, a culture, a custom, and a ritual but he is a Sakhaa in spite of all this. He cannot do harm to anyone and no one would like to do any harm to him. A Sakhaa will be there whenever he is needed and will stand by one even when one is found to be wrong.

If the English language, with few dialectical variations, can be called American in America, or the Swedish language called Norwegian in Norway, there is no reason why the Nepali language, which is dialectically different from the Nepali language written and spoken in Nepal, cannot be called Sakhaa Bhasa. The word Sakhaa needs to be used voluntarily for symbolising all Indian Nepalis. The formula "Indian Nepalis+Gorkhas = Sakhaa" needs to be memorised. Initially, such symbolising process will appear awkward, but with a little voluntary effort on the part of all it is possible to adopt the new name by them and for them. May be they will, may be they will need to, may be they will have to sooner or later. There is no great haste. Let the new name be tossed around in the fields and forests, tea gardens and towns, cowsheds and coalmines, towns and metros, or wherever they live, but let something decisive emerge one day. I for one look forward to see that day.