Disaster Diplomacy : A case study of Pakistan and India

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ABSTRACT

Asia is the continent with the greatest share of disasters, hence increasing the vulnerability of the masses of the region. The vulnerability of these vulnerable masses is ought to be decreased, and one of the method which can be brought into the practice to decrease the vulnerability is cooperating in the disaster related activities. This very concept of cooperation in disaster related activities is termed "disaster diplomacy", this concept explores and explains; why and how the activities related to disaster; disaster risk reduction and disaster response do and have potential to resolve the difference between states. The main question examined in the research is: what are the prospects of disaster diplomacy between rival states, especially between Pakistan and India. India and Pakistan, both came into being in 1947, since that time the relation between these two states had been rough. On Kashmir alone, both states have fought 4 wars. Greece and Turkey had same issues among them over Cyprus. Back in 1999, both states were hit by earthquakes one after another, in the post disaster phase, both states who were rivals to each other, helped each other and minimized their differences. First part of the dissertation discusses and explains the case studies of Aceh and Sri Lanka in post-Tsunami scenario followed by theorization of the concept of disaster diplomacy. Two track diplomacy is the concept of which has mainstreamed both types of diplomacies, formal diplomacy, in which only civil servants/diplomats are involved in negotiations, but the modern concept includes and indulges celebrities, scientists, academicians, sportsmen etc. in the negotiations as well. In the lateral part of the research work, prospects of disaster diplomacy pertaining to climate change between Pakistan and

India has been discussed, and finally, the required cooperation in the counter terrorism activities have been discussed. Based on the successful case studies of cooperation in counter terrorism activities and climate change in the region of South Asia, it has been inferred that the cooperation is possible and is the need of the hour too, but at the same time, disaster diplomacy can only help to catalyze the improving relations, especially in the case of Pakistan and India.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DM   Disaster Management

DRM   Disaster Risk Management

DRR   Disaster Risk Reduction

NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

OIC   Organization of Islamic Cooperation

SAARC   South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

UN   United Nations

UNDP   United Nations Development Program

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Asia is the region that bears more share of disasters as compared to other continents, and again Asia is the region in which states have comparatively more unsettled disputes than other regions. Disasters though have devastating and destructing impacts, but at the same time, disasters may provide an opportunity. Disastrous events may play a positive role in bringing the states with chronic enmity together in different dimensions in order to mitigate, prevent or respond to a disaster. There are numerous examples, where the nations with hostile relations cooperated and came closer to each other, as a result of a disaster.

On the western side of the Hindu Kush Himalayan Mountain range, lies the region of greater Kashmir. The greater Kashmir region in present day expands into China, Pakistan, Afghanistan and India. Starting from 16th century, the region has been ruled by different ethnicities like Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs and before the partition in 1947, by Dogras. Under the rule of Dogras, the region of Jammu and Kashmir, for the first time got the status of a princely state in 1846. The princely state of Jammu and Kashmir had cooperative relations with the British Empire, in order to expand their avenue of trade.

The vacuum created by the retreat of the British Raj and the Partition of Greater India in 1947 created such a situation that Jammu and Kashmir had to accede to either of the two major states Pakistan or India. The then Maharaja, Maharaja Hari Singh wanted and wished to be independent, but later signed the Instrument of Accession to

India. The area of wider Jammu and Kashmir region still remains disputed, being ruled by Pakistan, China and India in parts. The border between China and India is called the Line of Actual Control (LAC), whereas the border line between Pakistan and India is known as Line of Control (LOC).

There had always been occurrence of environmental hazards in the region of Jammu and Kashmir, but what makes the case study worth researching is the ongoing conflict in the region between two regional powers, Pakistan and India. For both, environmental hazards, as well as manmade conflicts, there is a long list, which is still expanding because of the changing climate and transitioning conflict in the region.

Whilst discussing disaster diplomacy and environmental hazards in Jammu and Kashmir, the earthquake of 8th, October 2005, which occurred in northern part of South Asia cannot be neglected. The northern part of South Asia makes region of Kashmir, the occurred earthquake resulted in more than 78,000 casualties in Azad Kashmir and more than 1300 casualties in Indian occupied Kashmir. As an emergency response, India offered aid to Pakistan, which was accepted and soon Pakistan received 25 ton of supplies including medicines, blankets and food. All the relief material on first stance was sent through the land route. Mega corporations in India, like Infosys offered USD 226,000 as an aid. Cargo plane from Indian Air Force carried 50 tents, 15000 blankets and medicines to Pakistan. Second cargo flight could not be allowed, hence second consignment entered Pakistan through Wagah border via train. A third consignment also entered Pakistan through Wagah border, resultantly the then President, Pervez
Musharraf publically expressed his gratitude towards India for the provided aid (Kelman, Field, Suri, & Bhat, 2018).

Pakistan and India did not stop here, rather both countries worked together in order to enhance relief and response across the border between both states. After a week and a half, establishment of telephonic links were granted permission. After a month of the disastrous earthquake, masses were physically allowed to cross the line of control to search for the relatives lost during the dreadful event. The flexibility along the line of control was termed as "earthquake diplomacy" by media persons, commentators, politicians and general public (Keridis, 2006).

1.2. Literature Review

Disaster diplomacy is the linkage of disaster and diplomacy, or in other words, diplomacy as a result of a disaster. Major portion of the literature of disaster diplomacy has a share from the research of Dr. Ilan Kelman. The term "disaster diplomacy" was first used in a communication on disaster response, but was not offered any explanation, later, this term was used in an article of newspaper in Bangladesh. This article was referred in a purely academic paper for the very first time in 1995. The context used by Dove and Khan (1995) was basically, how the government of Bangladesh, presented the cyclone that had happened in Bangladesh in 1991 to the world.

According to Kelman and co-authors (2018) Jammu and Kashmir is a region with an extended history of wars, natural disasters and significant vulnerabilities resulting in the disasters with great impact. The paper has tried to explore the relationship between vulnerabilities, natural disasters and the ongoing violent conflict in Jammu and Kashmir in the present as well as historical perspective. According to the authors, violent conflict is least impacted by the environmental hazards, whereas environmental hazards put a short break to the ongoing conflict. Though, authors have

discussed in detail the environmental hazards and conflict side by side, but Azad Kashmir has not been discussed in the paper.

According to Koukis, Kelman, & Ganapati (2016), disaster diplomacy explores and explains how and why disaster-related actions and measures do or do not impact conflict and increase cooperation. The earthquakes in Turkey and Greece in 1999 became one of the standards for this particular field of research, with a few publications explaining and elaborating how disasters may influence conflict. The paper by the aforementioned authors presents a case study to explore diplomacy pertaining to disasters in pre and post-disaster activities in Greece and Turkey. According to authors, disaster diplomacy acts as a catalyst in resolving the conflicts among the rival states.

According to Kelman (2003), disaster diplomacy may have a catalytic effect for notable changes in global politics, but those disasters cannot create new results on their own and may, conclusively have very less to their credit. Going beyond the strict definition of disaster impacting development, according to the author, it can be deduced that vulnerabilities may very rarely generate significant political changes, rather they may catalyze the occurring changes in the political scenario.

In their research, Ganapati and co-authors (2010) have discussed the case study of collaboration among Turkey and Greece in 1999. According to them, disaster diplomacy can be a long term program, provided the one being helped, helps the helper in the time of need, i.e. tit for tat, moreover, realization plays a major role in making this type of diplomacy successful. Provided the tit for tat phenomenon and realization, there should be conducive environment, as in the case of Turkey and Greece.

According to Kelman (2010), the activities pertaining to disaster i.e. preparedness and response are kept separate from diplomacy. In this chapter of the book authored by

Kelman, he has established a connection between foreign policy and disaster diplomacy, and deduced that disaster diplomacy could never be a priority in the foreign policy of any state resulting in the failure or not so successful in most of the cases.

1.3.Rationale

Reason for choosing this topic is the significance of the peace between two regional powers of South Asia. Peace may help both states to improve and focus on many other avenues which are being ignored because of the focus on the regional arm race. Disaster management no more is limited to drawing plans of response, recovery, prevention or mitigation, because of the multi-disciplinary approach in the field researcher has chosen to work on amalgamation of disaster management and diplomacy.

This study has a major focus on disaster diplomacy between Pakistan and India. Rapprochement of India and Pakistan is focus in the research because the

rapprochement will not only result in regional stability but global stability. Both rivals are nuclear states and a potential nuclear war among these rival states will result in 'Mutually Assured Destruction" (Cohen, 2002), there are many potential repercussions which can happen because of a nuclear war among two rivals, "Global Winters" and famine are two out of hundreds to be mentioned.

Researcher has undertaken this topic for research in order to get something positive, if not beneficial, out of the disasters in the region that occur frequently in the

region. There are many other reasons behind choosing this very topic, one being the usage of soft power over hard power through diplomacy may make this world a better place to

live.

1.4. Objectives:

a. To explore, if natural disasters induce international cooperation among countries that have traditionally been enemies.

b. To observe the role of disaster-related activities, both pre-disaster and post-disaster, as an impact on relations among states.

c. To investigate the barriers pertaining to disaster diplomacy among India and Pakistan.

1.5. Research Questions:

1. What are the prospects of disaster diplomacy between rival states, especially

India and Pakistan?

2. How disaster diplomacy between India and Pakistan can prevent and reduce hazards of disaster?

3. How disaster diplomacy can bring two enemy states India and Pakistan closer to each other?

1.6. Organization of Thesis

1. Introduction

First chapter of the thesis has discussed the brief introduction of the beginning of the concept of disaster diplomacy. Objectives and research questions were also part of the first chapter.

2. Disaster Diplomacy

In this chapter, examples of disaster diplomacy have been described to explain the relevance of disaster diplomacy.

3. Theorizing Disaster Diplomacy

With the help of the book of Ilan Kelman, the researcher has theorized the concept of disaster diplomacy.

4. Climate Change Diplomacy between Pakistan and India

Climate change diplomacy is one of the sub-branches of the environmental diplomacy, which comes under the umbrella of disaster diplomacy. Pakistan and India, both are neighbouring states, and most of the environmental hazards are shared by both states. In order to curb these issues, both states are ought to work together, SAARC already is an intergovernmental body working in the region on many issues pertaining to the region, but the output is not as desired. In this chapter, the ways out and the fields in which cooperation is required and is achievable have been discussed.

5. Counterterrorism Cooperation between Pakistan and India: Hurdles and Prospects

Terrorism and counterterrorism as has been discussed in the chapter have same patterns in both countries, especially in the connotations of extremism. In this chapter, fields in the counterterrorism where cooperation is possible have been discussed.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter concludes the study and put forth the recommendations which may help both the countries to work together and address the issues which are ought to be addressed and become closer while working on the pointed out issues.

CHAPTER 2

DISASTER DIPLOMACY

2.1.   Introduction

The biggest earthquake in forty years had its worst effects on the coastline of Western Sumatra, Indonesia back in 2004 on December, 26th. The local time was 7:58:53 am, at the location of 3.316°N and 95.854°E with a reported depth of 30 kilometers. The trembling continued for a while, which was reportedly to be so intense that it caused a huge rupture with 100 kilometers width and with the length of 12001300km. This all lasted for 3 to 4 minutes. (Lay et al., 2005; Park et al., 2005; USGS, 2015).

The earthquake's tremors were so deep rooted that they were felt 1000 kilometers away in Bangkok. The earthquake had an effect on seafloor too, its waves caused motion in water which displaced huge amount of water and that ended up causing tsunami in the Indian Ocean.

The damage was heavy primarily due to the absence of caution-alarm system in place that is quite helpful in damage control, as in modern times sophisticated early warning system. For more than thirty years the funds had not been paid because of political decisions to make the warning alarms set for upcoming Tsunami at Indian Ocean (Kelman, 2006). Resultantly, the scientists working in the field of disaster management analyzed the seismic data in real-time and gave some pre-warnings during holidays period in many countries including the countries which got affected earlier.

Population inhabiting the area had no warnings regarding Tsunami. After thirty minutes of Tsunami, death tolls started getting precisely numerical in Indonesia.

More casualties occurred along Africa's east coast beginning from from South Africa to Somalia, located in the horn of the African region. Estimated number of deaths in more than a dozen countries were reported to be around 230,000 whereas the citizens of more than thirty countries were affected.

Meanwhile some natives of the coastal Myanmar, Simeulue natives of Indonesia, Indian coastal population and of the Andaman and Nicobar region detected threat by looking at the sea waves, which resulted in Tsunami (Bishop et al., 2005; Dybas, 2005; Gaillard et al., 2008). Many of them left the place and saved their lives. Moreover, tourists who were present in Thailand and Sri Lanka found out about upcoming Tsunami by looking around when people were evacuating the areas. The proactive strategy that led to early warning evacuation from these places, before Tsunami helped saving hundreds of lives (Cyranoski, 2005; Gregg et al., 2006).

The two most affected countries were Indonesia and Sri Lanka with the death toll of over 130,000 and over 35,000 respectively. Both of the affected countries had been in internal conflicts since last three decades. The number of violence was high among them too. Aceh in Indonesia was the most violated area because of an ongoing separatist movement. Due to Tsunami many separatist died along with the soldiers because they were in prisons and could not save their lives. Sri Lanka's north and east were embroiled in conflict with the separatists known as Tamils fighting against Sinhalese. Sri Lanka's eastern part was also hit badly by Tsunami.

The largest humanitarian help relief for both of the nations from world begun soon after the Tsunami neared its end. Plenty of useful goods were supplied to the people of affected areas. Aceh and Eastern Sri Lanka were helped so much by the world but they needed to open up more for the world and tourism. People around the globe were

expecting for their better relationship after being helped and receiving international aids.

A peace deal which arises from disaster is somehow known as disaster diplomacy which was being highly discussed by media, policy makers of different countries, humanitarians and practitioners. A rough idea was made that both the affected countries by Tsunami will be treated equally according to their needs that would potentially reduce human suffering, along with effective assistance however, little evidence was present to support this assumption. Hence it is human nature that in the time of disaster or any incidents, they strive for alienation and this is one of the examples of disaster diplomacy and it is significant to present evidence to support such a claim about human nature as it doesn't entail constant value (Kelman, 2016).

As a result of international funding and help, as assumed that Aceh and Sri Lanka will reconcile with the rebels in these states, they did not meet the hopes of disaster diplomacy. They went extremely contrary of human nature and instead of alienation, the outcomes were immensely diverse. Almost after one month of Tsunami, 23, January 2005, Aceh was opened for outside world to a large extent. Indonesians fighters and soldiers went for peace talks in Helsinki. In August 15, 2005 the deal of peace was signed among both parties. However, problems did not vanished at once but continued with a low level of violence and discriminations. It has been more than a decade since the deal was signed. Aceh resides resolutely by post-tsunami and postconflict phase. It seems like triumphant disaster diplomacy.

Contrary to that, the Tsunami disaster in Sri Lanka was used to make the situation worse. The area of Sri Lanka which was under the Sri Lankan government was provided by assistance as well as outside aid whereas the part of Sri Lanka which was occupied by Tamils, fighters used their own understanding to respond to the

disaster and gave as much aid to their people as possible. On the contrary, humanitarian aid in Tamil controlled area was not distributed as efficiently and swiftly as it should have been because it was under the control of authorities who even blocked the internal border which was dividing both parts of Sri Lanka. Since the authorities wanted to propound their power over that part of Sri Lanka which was under Tamils. At last on

June 2005, agreement was declared regarding equal distribution among both sides of Sri Lanka. This agreement was challenged by Sinhalese Nationalists in courts on constitutional basis because according to them Tamil controlled areas consisted of terrorists and Sinhalese did not want them to take advantage of foreign aids. Sri Lankan courts accepted the case and reopened the file to ponder on it (Kelman, 2016).

Sri Lankan Foreign Minister was executed as soon as the matter of Aceh was solved which further lead to state of emergency. This ended up in the delay of further high profile peace talks regarding the warring parties. Sri Lankans voted for Mahinda Rajapaksa as President in majority on 17 November 2005 who was against the Tamils and was ready to take any stance against Tamil fighters, which was one of the reasons he was highly favored by the voters (Senanayake, 2016). Regardless of increment in violent activities during Rajapaksa's reign, he was re-elected in domestic elections held in April, 2006. The riots continued to happen for almost more than three years before government of Sri Lanka achieved military victory, which caused various deaths of Tamil leaders in mid of 2009. Rajapaksa got elected again in the elections which were held in January, 2010.

What is the difference between these two places, Ache and Sri Lanka? Aceh was under discussion ever since the devastation after Tsunami where as Sri Lanka was not taken under consideration even after destruction caused by waves. Hence a

question arises that do their exist any double standards? A disaster can cause peace but conflict cannot take place. The rebuttal is that conflicts existed since a very long time, while

Aceh reflected conflict transformation from violence to peace, Sri Lanka on the other hand, represented the status quo. Such types of statements are intensely simple on two levels.

Essentially, peace and conflict are not always clearly understandable. Conflicts in Aceh and Sri Lanka are since a very long time, they are not new and so does the efforts of making peace among two parties in these states which includes a ceasefire and agreements on peace. Throughout the pre-Tsunami scenario, it has not been clear that which location has to be labeled as a peaceful state or under conflict circumstances. Even though Aceh stimulated towards its resolution regarding conflict, it was still not sure that peace deal will stay intact after post-tsunami situation

2.2. Vulnerability and Hazard

"Disaster" primarily refers to when both hazards and being susceptible to a disaster; both intersect each other and the situation which is formed without any coping mechanisms and outside aid is known as disaster. (UNISDR, 2009). The situation is applied on all level, whether local or international or at national level. The main figures for disaster to happen are both, vulnerability as well as hazards.

On the other hand, the term hazard refers to events or processes leading to potential danger or harm. However when explaining disaster, hazards can only be elaborated through examples. Hazards which are formed because of technologies for example toxics, smoke, vehicles, and moving parts in heavy machineries. If it is aimed to get all the hazards disappear, that would not probably work too because hazards have some positive aspects too. Many hazards are banned in various regions and countries

for example, pesticides. Whereas some hazards are allowed under law and the usage of those hazards are not banned because they are useful, for example some are used to make nuclear power plants or few are used in the production of robots. Hence, it can be understandable which sorts of hazards are forbidden to use and which are allowed by law. Hazardousness can be disputed, such as whether or not electric power lines can cause leukemia in children in their childhood (Draper et al., 2005).

Hazards can emerge from nature too, just like tornados, avalanches, lava, fog, earthquakes and volcanoes etc. which are severely dangerous. Eradicating all these natural disasters from environment is not entirely possible as it also brings various opportunities for the growth of nature. For instance, floods since have so much of biodegradable material which is brought with water, it helps in getting the soil fertile (Wisner et al., 2004), volcanoes are helpful with regards to biogeochemical cycles (James, 2005) and the shaking caused by earth helps the fresh water to reach the arid land (Jackson, 2001). It is somehow really tricky to control such processes which are related to nature because they have their own cycles and periods. Cloud seeding was used to control precipitation (Bruintjes, 1999) and various ways had been used to manage earthquake related incidents (Mulargia and Bizzarri, 2014), but the results were negative and none of them helped control natural disasters was successful and instead caused various environmental triggers.

Sometimes hazards are not only related to environment or natural disasters but they are societal or related to the surroundings present in the society. For example riots, terrorism, economical fluctuations and stampedes etc. financial crises in stock exchange, damaging during riots and terrorism, economic ups and downs - are essential socio-economic elements to understand the concept of hazards and vulnerability.

Vulnerability is defined as an element that determines the possibility and chances to get harmed (UNISDR, 2009), it also recognizes the whole dilemma of making the things and the material which is used in the making of infrastructures, for elements of nature like water etc. (Lewis, 1999; Wisner et al., 2004, 2012). A building which is constructed of various materials and matters can collapse because of earthquake, thus the construction of building lacks the adequacy which counts as vulnerability of the building. Well the information exists which shows that buildings are built which are earthquake proof (Coburn and Spence, 2002) this implies that the aspects of vulnerability are quite more than often ignored when constructing the building. (Lewis, 2003).

It is imperative to understand that the authorization to build weaker structures vulnerable to earthquake, comes from the politicization of disaster management. Generally there is a lack of intent and supervision from the authorities that leads to unprecedented damage during such a natural disaster. Although, mechanism are in place, but to follow and to implement those regulations is mostly not followed up with.

Not efficient availability of codes and building material as well as planning codes was one of the main reasons that contributed to a large number of buildings collapses in Turkey during earthquake in August, 1999. (Spence, 2004). Similarly, Hurricane Andrew was significantly damaging owing to the lack of codes and the intent to implement those codes.

The people living in Aceh and Sri Lanka during the Tsumani in 2004 were facing conflicts since long time and hence were more vulnerable than others during the Tsunami. On a local level, those conflicts affected educational, political, ways of living and furthermore which included the ways of controlling the disasters formed

because of Tsunami. On international level, it was already being discusses not to allocate resources and it was completely political not to warn people beforehand of Tsunami hitting at Indian Ocean, occurring over the years after it was first proposed, with full technical knowledge that was ever existing or available during that time period but not used (Kelman, 2006). The level of vulnerability shows that the harm which stricken at Indian Ocean, was completely surprising for locals and they were not aware of it. The people of indigenous groups and tourist who were present at the location were less vulnerable because they sensed the disaster coming and were somehow aware of it so many of them survived as compared to the natives.

The definitions of hazards and vulnerabilities are not confined to one dimension only but it has various aspects. Natural disasters such as land sliding and avalanches are caused because of gravity but gravity cannot be evacuated because it is essential for human beings to live on earth. It's confusing whether to name it as sliding or gravity is it fine to name it as disaster or the people are vulnerable? Hence many questions arise regarding these few terms such as harm, hazards and vulnerability.

These questions are more philosophical than political. The understanding of these terminologies is being explained in a way that their relevance is not entirely lost. In Wyss and Peppoloni (2015) there is no explanation of these terms, instead, a universally accepted definition that makes sense to most people is being used to explain foreign policy implications of disaster diplomacy. Hence there are various definitions and theories regarding these terms, whereas hazard and vulnerability intersect each other at few points. The vocabulary has many different words, such as sustainability, resilience and exposure which are linked to different constructs of vulnerability.

Hazards and vulnerability are not independent whereas lean on each other on few events. For example fog does not alone causes accidents but it depends on the vehicle and the person who is driving that vehicle. Same is the case with flood and earthquakes, they alone do not damage the buildings but it depends on the infrastructure of the buildings and the material which is being used for the construction of it. Central California was rocked by an earthquake of magnitude of 6.5 and with the depth of 8 km on 22nd, December, 2013. That earthquake caused two deaths which occurred because of collapsing of a tower. Few days later another earthquake happened in the southeast of Iran with the magnitude of 6.6 and the depth of 10 km which caused the deaths up to 25,000.

In the city of Bam in Iran, several lives were lost as a result of the collapse of "Adobe Dwellings"- a housing society that was kept on danger-list for earthquake like disasters (Blondet et al., 2003). Many other parameters can be discussed on the topic of earthquake and collapsing of big infrastructures which include the soil and the matter used for the buildings and many more.

In December 2003, the number of lives lost and damage was considerably low because of the awareness and compliance to the warning signs put in place by the government hence, vulnerability was quite low. Hence due to this reason earthquake only collapsed a single building in California whereas in Iran the vulnerability was high which caused high number of death toll. Hence, vulnerability rather than hazards is main determinant of disaster.

2.3. Disaster Scales

Disasters are measured by various scales and levels. Some scales of disaster measurement are quantitative. In Belgium, the international disaster database (EMDAT, 2015) only add the disaster in their record if the death rate is ten or more

than ten, secondly hundred or more people get affected because of disaster or if there is need of international assistance or if the state of emergency gets declared. According to this definition, neither hazards nor any of its type is part of it. One of the approaches of EMDATS is that they are highlighting that the element of vulnerability determines the damage done by natural disasters.

Desinventer (2015), a scale to measure the level of disasters and vulnerability is another essential tool. The aforementioned database does not only record disaster but the events and then analyses the events and emphasizes more on the hazards (OSSO and La Red, 2009). Hence it grasps effects on all levels. For example if a hailstorm takes place in a village and cause injuries in 80 people with no fatalities, it will be dreadful for the villagers but that will not be added in the record by EM-DATS because the situation is not meeting the criteria which has been discussed above but Desinventer will completely analyze the situation and add it in its database.

Hence, if the larger area or more amounts of people get affected, the more importance it gets within a really quick time. However, eminence does not essentially associate with impacts, generally. A study of Desinventar's data for Colombia points towards total impact of disasters, which is small, but much larger if compared to the disasters which are known as mega or big disasters (Marulanda et al., 2010). Another theory (La Red et al., 2002; Lewis, 1984), confirms the Desinventar theory that implies usually the disasters which happen in local area are experienced locally even if the hazards are on larger scale. Sometime the disaster is not seen extended to a certain affected community. Disaster which gets more attention gets foreign aid and international help are exceptions. Vulnerability which is at small scale is often treated as in a small level which is the reason there is less improvement in livelihood and less

options of betterment. The less impactful disasters are often deemed as invisible disasters (La Red et al., 2002) unless the hazards appears to be physically severe. Hazard is less impactful if compared to vulnerability by generating circumstances that can be predicted earlier and effects the day-to-day basis of the population, both socially and economically. Various hazards are hard to predict or find before the time, they are rare or exceptional. Disasters cannot be described or explained but vulnerability is always describable and typical. The process of vulnerability causes disasters, despite the fact that the process of vulnerability is unveiled and recognized post-disaster.

Vulnerability process takes place over long time but contrary to that hazards are sudden, for example earthquakes can destroy a place within no time, a flash flood can take everything with it with one gust, even if the warnings are given before the time of one day, it will still be difficult to evacuate an area. Hence hazards can be sudden onset or they can be slow on-set. Despite of the hazard's time scale, the disaster is relatively lower whereas the vulnerability process requires longer scales to reach where disaster occurs.

For example, earthquake disasters, in 1993 Los Angles first published its first seismic building code (Levy and Salvadori, 1995), which helped Californians too to build buildings which can provide safety during earthquakes. Each coming earthquake came up with new dimensions and new lessons. Mostly buildings in California was made to resist the earthquake with horizontal shaking earthquakes, until earthquake of Northridge earthquake happened in 1994 which was with vertical shaking which caused so many destructions and which led to the revision of seismic building code was revised (Coch, 1995). All these efforts and learnt lessons from previous

earthquakes and destruction caused by them helped to revise security measures which caused very less deaths and destruction in the earthquake which occurred in 2003.

On the other hand, the circumstances in Bam, Iran had likewise developed by the instance. The Persian legacy was named as one of the world heritage sites under UNESCO World Heritage site. The government indeed had the knowledge of earthquake resilient codes and construction but were not applied while constructions (Nateghi-A, 1997), the knowledge was even promoted by Iranian scientists but it always had restrictions because of socio-political including American and British polices, oppression and dictatorships etc.

2.4. Political Factors Contributing of Vulnerability

Vulnerability is caused by many different factors and is rooted through different societal process and it is mostly political. Some people have choice to reduce their vulnerability by purchasing houses in expensive housing schemes instead of making a decision not to abandon the places even though several warnings have been made regarding a hurricane to hit the area. Others do not have a choice whether to leave or not who live in the unsettled housing schemes. Sometimes the level of choice of dealing with day by day hazards depends on individuals. Poor people die more in cities where temperature rises and its hot because they cannot afford the bills of electricity to turn the air-coolers or air-conditioners on (Klinenberg, 2002) similiarly when the weather is cold they cannot manage to pay electricity bills for turning the heaters on (Rudge and Gilchrist, 2005). For natural disasters just like storms, floods or earthquakes, without friends, family and acquaintances it is hard for them to move at new place after evacuating the current place where they are staying already. Therefore, the decision is perhaps not an easy one to make for poorer people to

deceive disasters. In Bangladesh people declined to vacate and leave after a cyclone because that place was the only source of their livelihood, but providing main livelihood source encouraged many people to leave that place and live in the shelters (Cash et al., 2013).

Sometimes dealing with hazards is gendered and there are some social barriers. For example a male and female has different ways of dealing with hazards according to their bodies and physicality. Neumayer and Plümper (2007) demonstrated how different it is among males and females by experimenting on around 141 countries during the time periods between 1981 till 2002. Hence highlighted socioeconomic statues and gender based stereotyping showed the rate of vulnerability increasing and decreasing. These are the factors that are not biological, but are social and political, making both disasters and vulnerability gendered (Enarson and Morrow, 1998). Hence saying that females are biologically more vulnerable to disasters, neglects the socially constructed causes of gender differentiated vulnerability.

Hence, vulnerability is more political instead of more socially constructed dilemmas. But it is better to say that groups with high financial statues and good options can be less vulnerable as compared to the people who have less authorities but whereas if men are imposing gender on both males and females can make them more vulnerable to the disasters.

Furthermore research can work as catalyst where they can bring the different groups which are differentiated through economical differences can bring on a same level, for example in Philippines, they use same collaborative measures for hazards like flood, earthquakes, tsunami etc to bring majority and minority close (Gaillard et al.,

2011).

2.5.   Addressing Political Causes through Disaster Risk Reduction

Lessening the political interference can yet reduce the risk of vulnerability but it is not the only step which can be taken. Disaster risk reduction refers to actions and polices which are used to find the main root cause of disaster (UNISDR, 2009). Vulnerability can be reduced by giving equal rights and equal education to boys and girls; it can further be reduced by building up a wall near the boundary of an area to save it from avalanches. Vulnerability and hazards can be analyzed together to lessen the rate of destruction.

A framework known as "Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction" (UNISDR, 2015) which is working with the coordination of UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) from 2015 and ends in 2030. The Sendai Framework came after the Hyogo Framework for Action (UNISDR, 2005) which also happened to be a volunteer project by UNISDR. Since this framework is volunteered many countries are opting to reduce the risk of disasters, for example South Africa has changed from military civil defence to disaster risk reduction legislation (Vermaak and van Niekerk, 2004). Mongolian law of defence shows the amalgamation of disaster risk reduction too (Jeggle, 2003), but still the countries remained vulnerable and remain behind in many indicators of the development (HDR, 2014). The Disaster Mitigation Act in USA was passed in 2002 and national disaster relief legislation is happening since 1974 but still the country got devastated at local, state and national levels for Hurricane Katrina in 2005 (Kelman, 2007).

All these processes of disaster management and risk reduction are more political than technical. There are many different things involved just like cultural norms (IFRC,

2014; Krüger et al., 2015), power politics (Wisner et al., 2004, 2012; Krüger et al., 2015), and inequalities (Wisner et al., 2004, 2012; Hewitt, 1983). Rather than using forces and imposing takeovers to achievements, it is better to introduce more opportunities among people to combat with disasters.

CHAPTER 3

THEORIZING DISASTER DIPLOMACY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter theorizes the diplomacy in the context of disaster related activities; disaster risk reduction and disaster response to understand the concept of disaster diplomacy. Basically, power politics and power results in vulnerability, specifically talking in the political connotation, such environment creates a power vacuum hence creating the security dilemma. One of the subset of power politics is interaction of government with another government. This interaction can be peaceful, neutral or full of hostility. In most of the cases, this interaction leads to the vulnerability of one nation.

The interaction, which is basing on peace, between two nations is termed as diplomacy (Bull, 1977). Many other definition of diplomacy have been proposed by the Political Scientists, like that of Nicolson (1939), the interaction of government official of one state with another, who negotiate on different issues to resolve them in a peaceful manner. The definition given by Nicolson (1939) is quite subjective, as there are many terms which are left to be defined in the definition itself, for example; what does peaceful mean? What does official mean? or what does a government mean?

Gunboat diplomacy is usage of threat through navy, which can eventually let other military forces join as well to achieve the goal of foreign policy (Cable, 1971). This type of diplomacy though starts as soft power, but may end up in a coercion or use of hard power. According to Nye (1990) this is a peaceful way to implement ones foreign policy.

Coming back on the definition of Nicolson, the political scenario since 1930 has changed so much that today non-governmental officials are made part of the negotiations as well, as it is possible that not all the groups in a state consider the govenrment as a legitimate government, as has been discussed in the case of Aceh, Indonesia and Sri Lanka, where non-government officials who did not consider government as a legitimate one, were also made part of the negotiations. Other examples are that of Houthi rebels in Yemen, the conflict among Somalia and Somaliland. Negotiations may coax the arbitrators to let the non-governmental and nonofficials involved in the process of negotiation and conflict resolution as well. While discussing the involvement of non-state actors in peace talks, prime example is of Talibans. Not only Afghanistan, where Talibans are most active, is negotiating with them, but China, Russia and USA along with Pakistan had been part of such talks.

Conventionally, diplomacy was dealing with the people who were trained to be diplomats and had then to negotiate on different political fronts with the diplomats of another state, but now the realm has expanded so much that there is a type of diplomacy called "Celebrity Diplomacy", in this kind of diplomacy, the faces, who are loved by many are used to achieve foreign policy goals (Cooper, 2008). In the recent past, Priyanka Chopra from the neighbouring India, was made the goodwill ambassador of

UNICEF. Usage of media to propagate something regarding one country's foreign policy also comes under the "Celebrity Diplomacy" (Olsen et al., 2003)

Montville and Davidson (1981) defined two tracks of diplomacy, track one is the track and aspirations which are realized through diplomats, civil servants and politicians, whereas track two diplomacy is different and informal, it is politically unstructured, for example, cultural and sports personalities, or scientists and celebrities sit together to share and discuss different possibilities of work in their realms.

The two track diplomacy was soon expanded into multi track diplomacy by Diamond and Macdonald (1993). They defined 9 different tracks; Private citizens, profession conflict resolution, government, business, religion, activism, funding, research training and education, and public opinion. Institution that are not listed in above could be non-governmental organization, intergovernmental organizations and media. All the mentioned tracks may or may not perform individually but perform together for better results.

Diplomacy in theory, research, policy, and practice has grown further. Diplomats of a state cannot symbolize or represent their country's national interests by compartmentalizing their activities into clearly bifurcated tracks. Many focus on certain areas such as security or environment. There still exists a need to work across and to bring together different domains while maintaining a level of generalization so that different fields and topics maybe united, even when being supported by specialists who might be experts in a geographic area such as Middle East or Southeast Asia or in a topic such as ecology or biodiversity. Kurbalija and Katrandjiev's (2006) explanation and analysis of multi-stakeholder diplomacy endow with the varied techniques and inventive methods characterizing modern diplomacy.

The creation of spaces for the purpose of negotiations and creation of information flows is important to expedite diplomacy rather than only involving the parties and development of networks. Moreover, Zaharna et al. (2014) and Fisher (2013) highlight the necessity of the flow of information especially when public diplomacy is intended, particularly in the case of public diplomacy, social media and migrants have been considered as pathways of information flow. Exactly like in may other instances, diplomats cannot pose themselves as an authoritative figure who can give the advice, which will be acted upon by the public, rather, public diplomacy is a procedure in which multi level conversation is involved, diplomats in public diplomacy have to listen to the public and learn and teach and provide the advise, side by side. Resultantly, such spaces are created where people can give and take the advices, such places may not only be limited to the local level, but may extend to the international level, where public and diplomats works side by side to learn and teach from each other.

European Union being a supranational entity has involved itself in informal and formal diplomacy, to add more to it, in some international organizations, such as the United Nations, European Union hold the status of member. In some of the cases, diplomatic power of the sovereign states is pooled in. While talking about para-diplomacy, especially in the case of private islands it seems to be making its place (Baldacchino and Milne, 2009) while there exist other examples, where Scotland, Quebec and Catalonia have weak power of the state for number of diplomatic experiences. In the case of disaster related activities, both disaster reduction and disaster risk response, para-diplomacy is endorsed (Kelman et al., 2006).

There are numerous international organizations that are involved in both pre and post disaster related activities. Such organizations do not happen to be reluctant to

interact with supranational, national or subnational levels (Hollis, 2015) or bringing diplomacy into use in different forms or conducts. While talking about the disaster response and the types of diplomacy involved, humanitarian diplomacy is also brought into the use or action when the last goal of the diplomacy is in the context of humanitarianism (Acuto, 2014; Minear and Smith, 2007). The international organizations like the Red Crescent and the International Federation of Red Cross frequently use humanitarian diplomacy to reach its humanitarian goals (IFRC, 2009).

In the framework of the United Nations, the set ups that oversee the disaster related activities are UNOCHA and UNISDR, even in the case of regional organizations, there are the focal set ups to oversee the disaster related activities, for example in the European Union, the office is called European Union's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Department. Another such office in the same supranational organization is the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community's Applied Geoscience and Technology Division. Climate change and disaster related activities have a clear bifurcation when the Caribbean and the Pacific regions are studied, in the region there are different supranational organization which are addressing both issues separately.

European Union's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Department works within the purview of the legal framework of the European Union. The department responds to the request of the member states for the help while balancing between the law of the state and the law of the European Union. European Union's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Department is also taken as a subsidiary of the European Union. The aforementioned subsidiary works with other governments as a collaboration. For instance, it is working with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which has in it Norway, Iceland, Russia and the European Union itself. Whilst talking

about the Pacific and the Carribean area, the regional organizations are working in collaboration with national and subnational organizations and in some cases, directly within the communities as well in the field of the disaster related activities. Since many of the states in the region are small in size, so the governemnts are convinced that they are not self sufficient to combat the disasters and fully participate in the disaster related activities. They habitually pool their expertise and monetary resources into the regional organizations who then get aid from international donors as well and work in the effected member state or states at all the levels.

All these interaction among the governments at different levels involve diplomacy in one or another form. The exchange of information and peaceful interaction in between the states is due to the diplomacy. Within the broad spectrum of politics, diplomacy is one of the minor part of the wider spectrum of politics.

The involvement of individuals in this wide arena of politics and then in the diplomacy makes us to see the overlapping situation. If the basics are seen, the major job of the politicians is to do politics, whereas the basic job of the diplomats is to do diplomacy, but in actuality, diplomacy is part and parcel of the politics, and both these fields cannot be separated from each other. The relativity has gone so far, that sometimes, it is observed that both jobs are being done by a single individual. It is quite a common phenomenon that ex diplomats become politicians or politicians become diplomats, as in the case of ex-Prime Minister of New Zealand becoming the administrator of United Nations Development Programme.

Though the theorisation of the concept of the diplomacy in the context of disaster related activities in the current world might not give a well articulated explanation according to Nicolson's (1939) explanation, it is in accordance with the

practical application of theories defining how diplomacy takes place in today's world along with all its complex ideas.

Now both the concepts, disaster related activities and diplomacy have been defined and explained, now both the concepts will be joined to elucidate the concept of disaster diplomacy. As has been mentioned in the same section, that disaster related activities, and disaster are political in nature, and diplomacy happens to be one of the subset of the politics. As in the case of humanitarian diplomacy, where diplomacy is used to achieve the humanitarian aims, similarly, disaster diplomacy is the diplomacy which aims to achieve the aim of disaster response and disaster risk reduction, diplomatically.

The important question here is, can disasters cause or achieve diplomacy, and this is the very question, which is addressed by disaster diplomacy. The forthcoming sections in the chapter discusses the previous examples of disaster diplomacy, which are considered worth of sharing as the cases of disaster diplomacy.

3.2. Examples of Previous Disaster Diplomacies

There are many studies which can be taken as prime examples of disaster diplomacy and which have been published in the context of disaster diplomacy, both individually and by certain group of people on the same topic, reaching far rear into history. (Nel, & Righarts, 2008) in their study discuss about the earthquake which shook Sparta in 465/464 BC which is accredited to being the generator of revolution regarding slaves. There exists the difference to be a trigger and to be a cause in any issue and while specifically talking about the issue of the conflict of Sparta and slaves, there is no observation been made that shows that the slave-Spartan clash was due to earthquake, as slavery on its own is or could be a major reason which happens to be sufficient for a revolt. As a matter of fact, (Urbainczyk, 2008) it is observed and

researched that several slave rebellions that have taken place among the slaves in the Spartas took benefit of the turmoil which was caused by earthquake' in Sparta in 464 BC to get rid of it and to live freely and liberally, so that they be lashed out by the Spartans who were trying to force them back into slavery. Numerous of the rebellions were caused throughout the war or a war like situation, with resulted in the slaves taking more benefit of the current conflict to accelerate the conflict which may help them to get free from slavery. Mostly earthquakes and state of wars provided chances to look for liberty and to get rid of imprisonment rather than being the cause of the revolutions and making one into a rebel. A few of the researched and case studies exhibit the complications in understanding of decisions which are related to disaster diplomacy. Segalla (2012) expalins about the American government's reaction to the paralyzed people amounting to 10,000 in Morocco which was the result of consumption of unhygienic cooking oil by Moroccans in 1959. The oil contamination took place when traders from Morocco bought engine oil from a base of United States Air Force in Morocco, and amalgamating it with the cooking oil to earn more profit form the mixture they created. A great number of the consumers got paralysed due to the consumption of the aforementioned amalgam of engine oil and the cooking oil, which was poisonous in nature. The sale of such a poisonous amalgam is illegal in Morocco. The government of America was vigilant in regard to acknowledge fault and provide with the aid. For the poisoning disaster, the provision of the aid was more complicated by the occurrence of floods before and the occurrences of earthquakes later on, for which the aid from America for the people of Morocco was consumed as amount of Cold War associated to public diplomacy (Segalla, 2012). (Lindsay, 2000) discussed the idea of the disasters resulting in the diplomacy, demonstrating that this kind of reconciliation based on disasters has its

roots in April 1999, when the destabilization of the Balkans were threatened by Kosovo conflict . Turkey and Greece had started to become silent regarding diplomacy just behind the scenes to avoid the war. This relation among the two foreign ministers including personal friendship had supplied a basis for the diplomacy after the earthquake has strike.

Kelman and Mavrogenis, (2013) explained the procedure few years ago in 1996 when political leaders of both of the countries determined that thinking about the upcoming time meant leading to ceasefire (Ker-Lindsay, 2007). This news after breaking out gave the citizens of both countries some actual reason to grapple and by giving hecklers clear targets almost destroyed the whole process. Only because of the very long periods of time of intensive work on either side, the reason was not only the earthquakes, the procedure went on for a longer period of time, it survived the government on either sides of the border; further storms, floods and earthquakes; the crises in Europe including the democratic crises in Turkey created a huge amount of refugee entering into Europe. However every state has so many things to worry about as compared to one another but if it gets visualized politically, it will not to be fair to label both states as foes. The earthquakes of 1999 in Turkey and Greece were one of the positive addition as one of the many steps towards Greece-Turkey diplomacy.

A similar perceptive case study was done by (Holloway, 2000) explaining about the 1991-1993 dearth emergency all over southern Africa. This emergency regarding famine surprisingly did not come up to be a disaster since the states which were being affected by famine collaborated to import food in spite of brutal clashes which happened in past were just in the last stage. Holloway, (2000) in his work summarized that the disaster diplomacy occurred. The countries in that region

precisely worked together through which they defeated the bits and pieces of the brutal conflicts to succeed in a enormous food importation. All those countries worked together on the humanitarian operation but the reason was not only famine, but due to the team they had made to alteration to Southern Africa and post-apartheid South Africa.

The similar incident happened in Pakistan and India. Since the day one after getting independent in 1947, both countries were indulged in military and political friction among each other, which included a competition for nuclear warheads as well. Calamities and disasters one way or another affecting both of the countries, and sometimes both got affected at the same time. It had very less effect on the modus operandi of the government of either side, even after both countries cooperated with each other during the disasters, for example in May 1999 when an Indian fishermen from Gujrat which is one of famous cities of Pakistan, was rescued by Pakistani authorities, following a   storm. One more incident like the previous one happened when an earthquake took place in western India on 26 January 2001, in which 20,000 people were dead. Almost without any delay, Pakistan offered monetary aid which lead to a successful summit of Pakistan's and India's leaders from 14th July till 16th July 2001. In spite of, or because of, deep analysis and high hopes for the disaster of earthquake to craft peace among the two rival states, a concluding resolution on the summit to be signed by the representatives of both the south asian states could not be signed or materialized. In next months, the heads from both the states swapped insults as well as exchanged allegations too.

As both countries i.e. Pakistan and India faced so many terrorist attacks, they both kept on blaming each other for those attacks, the world that was looking closely to their accusations on each other though that they might end up on having a nuclear

war. On the 8th October, 2005, after an earthquake happened in the northern part of Pakistan, which killed more than 70,0000 people, hopes for earthquake diplomacy were revitalized. The 'Line of Control', was opened for a very limited time which allowed supplies and people to cross freely. Before this step of opening up of Line of Control, one more step have had been taken before, which was staring of a bus service between the two sides of the Line of Control. During the post earthquake activities, political skirmishes among both countries barred the use of Indian helicopters in Pakistan for the purpose of aid. (Gaillard, Clavé, & Kelman. 2008).

3.3. Success in Disaster Diplomacy

However the term 'disaster diplomacy' had been discussed but not in detail in previous research (Dove, 1998), first thorough study of this terms' meaning and its practice was prepared by (Koukis and Kelman, 2000). As (Mislan and Streich, 2014) explained, this literature did not have concurrence with the existing literature. Through these case studies of the United States of America and Cuba (Glantz, 2000), Southern Africa (Holloway, 2000) and Greece-Turkey (Ker-Lindsay, J. 2000) and in addition with a comparative study by (Comfort, 2000). The researchers Kelman, & Koukis, (2000), pose a question 'Do the disasters that happen naturally have any influence on international cooperation between the countries that have usually been considered as "enemies". Kelman, & Koukis, (2000) deconstructs that question, five ways are being told through which it could get better.

Foremost, he clarifies how the term 'natural disasters' is misunderstood. Secondly, the focal point on 'disaster' might be forming certain restrictions because disaster risks dwindling and actions could also happen to be valid for leaving impact on diplomacy.

Thirdly, considerable focus on 'international cooperation' is significant and key ingredient of diplomacy and should to be considered, but other looms for diplomacy, are element of the connection between disasters and politics. Fourthly, it would be quite easy to misunderstand and could be quite harsh to explain the term "enemy". At last, the question is about yes or no, whereas briefing and elucidation to the extent of sheer absence or presence of disaster diplomacy is essential for foreign policy and research. Kelman, (2012), talked again about the disaster diplomacy questioning, why and how the activities related to the disaster do or do not give peace a chance and inhibit the conflict or friction, moreover, further question is raised, why and how activities related to disaster do not or do encourage cooperation between adversaries'. Hence the two questioning statements endow with an insight, formatting the methods to them through which disaster diplomacy is observed or neglected (Comfort, 2000). Descriptions and definitions are extremely necessary for 'cooperation' and 'peace', and their connections.

Disaster diplomacy interweave with these procedures and move towards a broader spectrum and casing a wide series of case studies in detailed discussions, various forms of disaster and ways of lessening the risk of disaster, and many other actions by different stakeholders within diplomacy. The disaster diplomacy hypothesis confirms that the activities that are disaster-related, can work as a medium, but not as a reason of the whole mechanism of diplomacy. As a result of a deeper and in detail research, (Streich, & Mislan, 2014) reached to a result that disasters generally do not happen to be the cause of the conflict, secondly, disasters broadly do not make the states or communities to tread on the path of peace and cooperation and third that a disaster can act as a catalyst in an ongoing process or attempts of rapprochement or reconciliation.

If disaster diplomacy is studied in order to establish its relationship with the foreign policy, in the purview of the chances of making it successful or unsuccessful, the already carried out work is to be applied on the foreign policy. The answer to this question will open up the possibility of successful disaster diplomacy in disaster related activities.

In order to determine the success of disaster diplomacy, success needs to be defined first. Relying upon the definition provided by (Streich, & Mislan, 2014) and (Kelman, 2012), success in the context of disaster diplomacy means that disaster-related activities which are, disaster risk reduction and disaster response have a catalytic effect on the diplomacy and has brought about some positive outcome which has resulted into some kind of peace deal among the rivals, be them the rival states or groups within the same country or community, or has improved the diplomatic interaction among the two or has lead to a positive dialogue among the two.

Positive effects for disaster-related activities may also be seen in the context of better disaster response, increased disaster risk reduction efforts or effective emergency management could also be placed in the success. Streich, & Mislan, (2014) and Kelman, (2012) explain that the diplomacy often gets catalysed by disaster related activities, but for the shorter period of time, but do not affect the diplomacy in the longer run or for the longer period of time. The researchers add that, even in the shorter period of time, the diplomacy is only successfully catalysed if there exists an ongoing progress before the disaster strikes, examples of such ongoing process or progress could be trade links, dialogues, etc. especially while discussing the case of Pakistan and India, there was an ongoing dialogue process going on, when Gujarat was shook by and earthquake, or whilst talking about Greek and Turkish

rapprochement, towards the end of the 20th century, there was an ongoing trust building move between the two.

(Kelman, 2012) goes on to prove that the catalytic activity is for a very short span of time, because there are a lot of elements which influence the time period, those elements could be the change of the government, who thinks that the older enmity should not be let gone that easily, or another disaster can come, which will wipe away all the hard work done, which was short lived. If viewed from a broader perspective, the kind of analysis, the researchers have done consider the stakeholders as the passive participants, in the context, how do disaster related activities can or will affect the diplomacy.

Direct disaster diplomacy has been analysed by (Kelman, 2012) with case studies, but as far as most of the part was concerned, disaster diplomacy was viewed with a speculation was not analysed in the detail. The main thing that was observed then was whether to study disaster diplomacy or not, rather than studying the case studies under this theoretical framework of disaster diplomacy. like (Mislan and Streich, 2014) analyse that the way disaster diplomacy is defined, is not clear, the definition is vague with blurry descriptions. The authorities that are involved, need to know not only what and how does disaster diplomacy happens, but should try to shape the events accordingly in order to see the positive impacts which can be brought about by the disaster diplomacy. This adds to the definition of the success in the context of disaster diplomacy's success. This proclamation clues to a advance investigation regarding how to define the term success. Anticipated result of a stakeholder keenly involved in disaster diplomacy is limited diplomacy or augmented disaster risk, then the consequence can be considered successful and this stakeholder could claim success. Additional stakeholders may not claim to be successful because

they perceived a dissimilar result. Even if the anticipated result for one stakeholder is disaster diplomacy and that stakeholder works enthusiastically towards it, then other stakeholders might go against that result and might work against it. Success as it has been said (Kelman,2017) is in the eye of the beholder.

In spite of recognition that these varying opinions and objectives do subsist, a hypothesis has been made here which is quite ideological that reduced disaster risk, fewer disasters and amplified diplomacy are preferred results and, if connected, are the gauges for the success of disaster diplomacy. Hence direct and the single causation of diplomacy or clash due to disaster response or disaster risk reduction have not yet been revealed.

3.4. Intentionality and Predictability: Theoretical Notions

The writings on the disaster diplomacy, as one segment of the crossing point of crisis and governmental issues, finishes up from contextual investigations and hypothetical advancements that calamity reaction and disaster decrease can possibly catalyze political procedures for the time being, yet it isn't for long haul, if a previous premise exists for such kind of diplomacy. However, it is not necessary that debacle related exercises consistently lead to more strategy. They can be unbiased and innocuous or they can catalyze struggle. According to Kelman (2016) two hypothetical notions connected to disaster diplomacy are: intentionality and predictability.

One of the key hypothetical inquiries not investigated broadly is intentionality. In settling on choices not to make help accessible to, or not to acknowledge help from, another gathering (with whom one may have a contention), is the aim to slaughter more individuals, regardless of whether the individuals are from other gathering or of

one's own natives? To express the goal in these obvious terms is not run of the mill in any way, however it is not excessively a long way from what has occurred.

Americans of Cuban descent in Florida and some American government services trusted that a disaster in Cuba may compromise the system of Fidel Castro (Glantz, 2000). Deliberateness was available regarding going for more sufferings of Cubans with the goal that the individuals would ascend and respond and oust the administration.

The Nicaraguan head in 1972 had realized that filling his and friends of him pockets with disaster aid would further increase aguish of the people of Nicaragua. Predictability did exist as far as the pioneers being not worried about the residents of their area. With intentionality looking to cause hurt, disaster discretion is not relied upon to succeed because the objective is to maintain a strategic distance from the procedure. Where disaster diplomacy is not deliberately restricted, is it purposefully advanced, for Greece and Turkey, the earthquakes catalyzed the rapprochement, altogether driving it along— which, thus, raised ruckus accidentally by driving it out into the spotlight and giving spoilers an objective. The catalysis itself got Greek and Turkish pioneers off guard (Lindsay, 2000, 2007), because they had not been meaning to gain their strategic ground so open unexpectedly early. The pioneers were made up for the lost time in the grassroots and media wave of positive sentiments and needed to scramble to recapture control of the procedure. Their people reacted naturally with aims and desires for seismic earthquake diplomacy, while the leaders liked to push ahead with strategy at their own, which resulted in nothing.

Specifically, the predictability of results from purposeful disaster diplomacy endeavors should be measured. Glantz, (2003) relates this idea of predictability to the

setting of atmosphere related risks. He further features the lawful description that 'Predictability includes what the litigant anticipated as well as that which the respondent should have anticipated', as a result portraying responsibility for choices and activities.

The second primary inference of Pelling and Dill, (2010) is that their hypothetical ideas put nearby others in a flowchart where it is supporting a "cycle of disaster and political change". As is obvious from the exchange of strategy's importance, political cooperation is occasionally a solitary, associated line. Rather, numerous collaborations are going on at various levels, some of the time associated and occasionally not. Segalla's, (2012) takes a shot at calamity discretion in Morocco plainly distinguishes an enormous number of gatherings associated with various interests working crosswise over at any rate three unmistakable disasters which are floods, the harming, and the seismic tremor. The Americans had some synchronous however not basically perfect targets of supporting Moroccans, diminishing the guide spending plan, having Morocco as a Virus War partner, and after that deciding the helpfulness of an airbase in the nation as did the Moroccans (lessening debacle impacts, stating their new freedom, considering expansionism and post-imperialism responsible or utilizing them as a substitute, securing help, and deciding with which Cold War forces to partner). Pelling and Dill, (2010) recognize 'different scales' however don't completely connect with or apply them, for example, through growing the flowchart or showing the potential outcomes for numerous, cooperating flowcharts.

3.5. Ethical Implications

Policymakers and specialists for strategy can plan to accomplish explicit goals (deliberateness), can assemble and break down data and guidance to decide potential results of activities (predictability), and can settle on dynamic choices, for example, regardless of whether endeavors ought to be made for successful disaster diplomacy (or come up short). Indeed, even where the unequivocally expressed target is to help disaster diplomacy, including through lessening adverse debacle impacts and through expanding discretion—moral inquiries emerge enveloping the predictability of those destinations causing a greater number of issues than they understand. When the disaster related and political exercises are associated, a worry rises that the disappointment of one procedure could prompt disappointment in different procedures thus they are legitimately corresponding to one another. Similarly, as with the United States of America and Iran after the 2003 earthquake, the vitality brought into the practice resulting into disappointment of disaster diplomacy could meddle with powerful compassionate guide and quick recuperation. While that explanation is theoretical for Iran and the United States of America connections, it was inferred because of Iran's refusal to acknowledge Israeli assistance, notwithstanding Israel having eminent disaster rescue and calamity drug groups (Bar-Dayan et al., 2000). Israel is additionally similarly close-by, so is in a solid position to spare lives quickly in Iran.

With Israel, Iran legitimately associated calamity related exercises and discretion, declining both pair. With the U.S.A., Iran isolated calamity related exercises and strategy, tolerating the guide yet declining to utilize it as an influence for higher-level contact. Had the U.S.A. demanded from the earliest starting point that fruitful

calamity strategy is a post-quake result, at that point Iran may have denied the American guide.

At the point when calamity help is acknowledged, numerous circumstances exist where the guide declines the conditions or, at the very least, do not play their part substantively (Anderson, 1999). Impending effects of help are simply not political, for example, upgrading segregation, making reliance, offering the capacity to those controlling the guide, advancing relocation away from networks towards help focuses, and sustaining the vulnerabilities or potentially clashes which caused the debacle in any case. Post-disaster help can likewise present major calculated troubles, for example, the need to allot cash, hardware, and workforce for accepting and conveying help; deciding fair circulation, for example, surveying needs or giving equivalent guide; and managing improper gifts which regularly incorporate socially incongruent sustenance, dress not fit to the nearby atmosphere, or futile things which have included obsolete therapeutic medications and in-line skates in an area without cleared streets.

3.6. Disease Diplomacy: A case study

Much universal participation exists for the points which are identified with wellbeing themes, which incorporate general wellbeing strategy, utilizing wellbeing mediations for international strategy results, and looking for network collaboration through wellbeing activities.

"Journal of Health Diplomacy" got established in 2013 and the start of "Health Diplomacy" activities have prompted assessments of health diplomacy (Kevany, 2014). The two bearings are inspected as far as how international strategy can affect health (Kickbusch, 2011) and how wellbeing mediations can control international

peace (Licina, 2011). The UN office managing international health is the World Health Organization (WHO), with 'Health as basis for Peace' (Garber, 2002) being one of their health discretion developers. Another notable universal organization is the US Communities for the control of the sicknesses and Counteractive action, pursues Health Diplomacy as a team with different US government establishments.

The emphasis on the ailment instead of on other medical issues, for example, unending conditions and ways of life, is to ensure that the exchange here sits inside calamity discretion. A pandemic is all around characterized as 'The event in a network or locale of instances of an ailment, explicit wellbeing related conduct, or other wellbeing related occasions plainly in overabundance of ordinary hope' (WHO, 2007) while a harmful malady is an enormous scale scourge (Kelly, 2011). Pestilences and pandemics are debacles, with required connections occasionally to make to disaster reactions and calamity chance decrease regarding examination, strategy, and practice (Aitsi-Selmi et al., 2015). Although there is still no obvious portrayal between wellbeing concerns which are, and are not a disaster—eyewitness, for example, heftiness ceaselessly being marked as a plague and the more extensive ground of non-transferable maladies— the models here help with featuring parallels with different calamities disaster diplomacy investigations.

3.6.1. Disease Eradication

Worldwide collaboration has put a stop to many a diseases. Following a strengthening in 1967 of the program kept running by the UN's "World Health Organization" (WHO) to dispose of smallpox, it got officially proclaimed fruitful. The destruction extraordinary global collaboration, crosswise over many nations tolerating conventions for inoculating against and checking for the ailment. Collaboration inside

nations was likewise expected to defeat hindrances raised by common wars, oppression certain gatherings, and doubt of pariahs. Jermiah (1982) portrays that the hindrances were defeated in Ethiopia and India, incorporating the savage clash in the last mentioned, basically through family unit by-family reconnaissance and, when tainted individuals were discovered, separation. No implication is made that any contentions could or ought to have been tackled, or were explained, by the annihilation program. Rather, the depiction is of restorative faculty entering networks and connecting with individuals in a topdown way to inspire participation, concentrating on just smallpox without proposals of more extensive contemplations. This methodology was successful. The last known casualty from smallpox happened in 1978 in the U.K. through an unplanned discharge in a restorative research facility (Cooper, 2006). Tests of the infection are held in government research centres in the U.S.A. what's more, Russia and the genome have been sequenced. Arranging proceeds for conceivable smallpox flare-ups (Ferguson et al., 2004) through a purposeful discharge, maybe of an orchestrated organism, with the no doubt cause more often than not professed to be psychological warfare.

Biswas et al., (2013) recognize clashes as limiting access for wellbeing laborers tending to dracunculiasis and constraining individuals to escape the battling, possibly carrying dracunculiasis to different areas and crosswise over global fringes. They further feature the significance of a truce in Sudan, marked as both, just like a defining moment for distinguishing cases in that nation. However regardless of the accentuation on social and political intercessions making the crusade's prosperity (Biswas et al., 2013), the writing avoids talking about the potential outcomes for utilizing dracunculiasis destruction as a contention decrease or compromise measure

or as an instrument for uniting parties in struggle. Comparable perceptions, as talked about under continuous antibody strategy in the following segment.

3.7. Vaccine Diplomacy

Since the very beginning point of measles eradication endeavours, which would be founded altogether on immunization, was based on monetary foundations (Foege, 1982). Strategic difficulties and conciliatory results, for example, prospects for measles annihilation to be a force towards struggle decrease or compromise, were not talked about. Measles was acknowledged, in 2010, as being eradicable with a deadline of 2020, a program which in 2012 transformed into the Measles and Rubella Initiative. The spotlight kept on being on the clinical viewpoints and expected the achievement of the immunization crusades without connections to more extensive improvement issues. For polio annihilation, which began in 1988, concentrating on disaster as a restorative test while recognizing that disaster has not been fruitful because of legislative issues, in particular, clash. Subtleties killings and ejections of polio inoculation labourers so as to clarify that 'polio annihilation requires a political, not only a specialized, arrangement. In spite of the fact that we have the logical skill to kill strategy and the open acknowledgement of mass immunization projects'. Garon and Orenstein, (2015) consider the procedure of setting less spotlight on a solitary ailment inoculation battle so as to support by and large youngster medicinal services so as to improve therapeutic access to strife zones. The two residual nations where polio is endemic, Afghanistan and Pakistan, are wracked by struggle. A few populaces in those nations keep up solid doubt against inoculation crusades, remarkably because hepatitis B immunization was as a spread for gathering DNA tests as a feature as an arrangement to murder Osama bin Laden.

Similarly, like measles, polio eradication battle is equipped for carrying harmony to strife zones nor are more extensive components of discretion examined as potential results from the endeavours. As a matter of truth, immunization was created and circulated globally through American-Soviet joint effort (Hotez, 2001) with no hint that it could or ought to have added to comprehending the Cold War or even to decrease the differences or tensions. However, ceasefires were brought into action in order to allow UN immunization campaigns in a few states, for instance, the third world countires which were prone to the war back in the days (Hotez, 2001). In each occurrence, as substantiated by Hotez (2001), the campaign to accomplish an immunization itself did not reduce the tensions. Rather, the battling proceeded once each ceasefire had finished. It appeared that no state involved in such ceasefires was genuinely looking for harmony, so they were subjective to allow the therapeutic intercession realizing that influence their military strategy. It is possible that specific groups respected the break in the battling to rest, regroup, and restock—or much more terrible than they trusted the inoculations would furnish them with more beneficial officers, although there is no proof in support of this conflict.

Vaccine diplomacy has been marked and executed as a functioning calamity strategy measure, although without progress up until now. Hotez, (2001) accepts after an vaccine diplomacy, giving these wellbeing intercessions as a component of international strategy. It has been endeavoured with North Korea. In 2009, South Korea sent swine flu vaccine to North Korea which was a traditional enemy of South Korea, with no practical discretionary outcome, negative or positive

3.8. Health Interventions as Foreign Policy

Neither sickness annihilation nor immunization discretion has prompted obvious debacle strategy victories. Nor has it appeared that broad endeavours have

been made to utilize infection for dynamic disaster diplomacy, in spite of various calls to do as such, particularly in the domains of 'worldwide wellbeing discretion' and 'worldwide wellbeing as international strategy' (Kevany, 2014); basically, utilizing wellbeing points for open discretion. By and large, deliberateness to help illness strategy is missing. Then again, the detachment of universal illness-related projects from conciliatory endeavours, particularly in strife zones, may be a factor in projects' prosperity. Maybe it is predictable that to succeed, sickness-related projects ought not to be connected to struggle decrease or compromise. Maybe, the gatherings are effectively seeking after their methodology dependent on that predictability as opposed to on obliviousness. Truly, wellbeing discretion was connected yet with minimal long haul achievement. Edward Jenner, the English designer of the smallpox immunization, turned out to be worshipped to such an extent that he interceded detainee trades among (Hotez, 2001), however further results identified with discretion. Standard universal philanthropic law situated, and numerous nations' truces to allow the expulsion from the front line and care of injured fighters.

In any case, Yim, Callaway, and Ciottone, (2009) contend that wellbeing strategy has been the best way. drawing in populace endure starvation to get authorization work. So also, Hotez, and Thompson, (2009) contend that a solid method for making abroad populaces all the more inviting towards the U.S.A. would be an immunization and more extensive wellbeing discretion, so it ought to be a piece of the American international strategy. An additional bit of leeway they raise is the cost-adequacy, as far as counteractive action instead of reaction and as far as positive effects contrasted with other remote guide intercessions.

One perception is that most of the writing supporting for dynamic utilization of wellbeing discretion as an international strategy device originates from American

authors advancing international strategy. real wellbeing and wellbeing frameworks issues. Nation requires huge intercessions to have its very personal general public to a sound state. In spite of an enactment as of late, the U.S.A. still has far to go before the whole populace approaches great quality and reasonable social insurance (if that is the ideal objective). Degree, in this way, started on behalf of different nations for the United States of America if different nations go for open diplomacy towards American nationals or citizens. After Katrina Hurricane, the generous offer from Cuba included in excess of 1,000 specialists and a few tons of medical and therapeutic supplies; China offered restorative specialists; India included medication, a therapeutic group and water purging frameworks in their offer; Mexico sent restorative supplies conveyed by Mexican armed force vehicles crossing the fringe; and Russia proposed providing prescriptions and drinking water (Kelman, 2007). Taking into account, acknowledged and that the U.S.A's. relations with different nations did not alter or went better because of the disaster diplomacy because of the Katrina Hurricane (Kelman, 2007),

vaccine diplomacy flopped for this particular case study.

CLIMATE CHANGE DIPLOMACY BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA

4.1. Introduction

There are numerous treaties, covenants, and memoranda to deal with and understand climate change multilaterally and bilaterally. These treaties, covenants, and memoranda are acted upon in many ways, for instance, diplomatic negotiations by diplomats or collaboration of states upon these treaties scientifically and technically. These activities of negotiations and collaborations are considered as climate change diplomacy.

Looking at the theoretical framework of disaster diplomacy, this chapter investigates how climate change diplomacy does affect peace and conflict or does not do so among the states. Generally, there are two activities that are relevant to disaster and can be undertaken in the case of changing climate, mitigating the impending climate change and adapting in accordance with the changing climate. Lastly, the option of migration has been discussed in the chapter. Aforementioned disaster-related activities have been discussed first as case studies of different states and laterally discussed in the context of Pakistan and India.

4.2.   Change in the Environment as a result of Climate Change

Creeping environmental changes or other similar expressions like creeping environmental problems or creeping environmental phenomenon are the expressions used to explain the small changes in the environment, which accumulate with the passage of time to create bigger problems or crisis after crossing a certain limit (Glantz, 1994). Exactly like salinization and desertification, climate change is also a

creeping environmental change, which occurs with quite a slow pace and does not only stay in one state but travels across the borders. Such environmental changes as travel across the borders hence may provide a chance for the successful cases of disaster diplomacy. There exist numerous real world such creeping environmental changes, for example, that of the Aral Sea, which was once in USSR and is now being shared among three Central Asian countries, Iran and Russia. Same happened in the case of the

Caspian Sea, which has shrunk because of the same human-induced changes as of Aral Sea. Along with the changes that are brought about with human induction, there is another issue, that is of change in the pattern of rains or precipitation. Fouta Djalon is the source of three rivers Gambia, Niger, and Senegal in the West African country of Guinea. The lessons from these case studies, which can be learned are; that for such long term threats early warning system may not be of great help in the diplomatic situation between countries and that how technological and scientific cooperation may positively impact to harness these creeping environmental issues (Kelman, 2016). Moreover, international management of such creeping environmental issues can hold an important position even when multilateral or bilateral issues are not highly influencing environmental or political scenario.

The climate change in the present stage is of global nature or keeping in view the debate about creeping environmental issues in the previous paragraph, it can be said that the current climatic change is the environmental issue that globally creeps. Climate change is the statistical presentation of average weather which ranges to millions of years from months , but classically the average weather happens to be of 30 years in any given place (IPCC, 2014). Therefore, probing the changes in climate pattern include baseline shifts, trends, and cycles.

Whilst explaining change in climate, it is worth mentioning two important definitions which exist. The United Nations body that is responsible for politically overseeing climate change is the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2014). The job of this body is to facilitate the member states to reach the political consensus about climate change. The first report by Intergovernmental Panel on

Climate Change was published in 1990 and the most recent one was published 2014. The panel introduces the changes in climate as identifiable change in the main properties of climate, with a prolonged period, in most of the cases a decade or over a decade. The definition further expands as to what are the causes of such changes in the climate, which according to the definition could be volcanic eruptions, anthropogenic changes or land use IPCC (2015).

In addition to the definition by the intergovernmental panel on climate change, the most important treaty of United Nations i.e. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) also introduces the climate change in a different manner. The treaty puts human activities as the main culprit behind the climate change (UNFCCC, 1992), additionally, this definition adds that the change in the climate is the change that can be observed over the periods of time. The crux of the causes behind the changes draws back its roots to human activities.

The climate change due to human beings is twofold, first is the greenhouse gases emission in the atmosphere and second is the reduction of the rate of absorption of greenhouse gases from the atmosphere. (IPCC, 2014). Most notable gas emitted in the atmosphere by the activities of the humans is carbon dioxide along with other gases caused by fossil fuels burning, which results in the production of energy. Raising of livestock also adds to the greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. These gases do not let the reflected solar rays to go back hence trapping them in the atmosphere, causing a

rise in temperature, which results in climate change. All the countries have their share in the emission of greenhouse gases but China, India, USA, UK, Russia, and Australia have a larger share (Kelman, 2016).

As have been mentioned earlier, that the climate change caused by human activities is twofold, the second one is a reduction in absorption of the emitted greenhouse gases (Butler and Laurance, 2008). Increasing Carbon Dioxide in the air means more dangers for marine life, as Carbon Dioxide makes combination with seawater to give an acidic product (Kelman, 2016). Despite all this varying opinion, science is convinced that temperature is raising annually hence enabling water vapors to be absorbed resulting in heavy downpours and heavy winds (Knutson et al., 2010; Mohapatra et al., 2015). Heavy downpours result in flooding and flood-like situation.

4.3. Climate Change in South Asia

Environmental change is all inclusive all around reported, and this again is a verifiable truth that South Asian nations are the nations which are taking an extraordinary blow of this fast change in atmosphere. Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India are the nations in South Asia which are being affected by this change the most. About 1.5 billion individuals live in South Asia. This is additionally one of the most unfortunate districts of the globe. A large portion of South Asians is as yet drawn in with agribusiness and unified parts. In spite of the fact that per capita GDP crosswise over South Asia has raised well inside the most recent decades by and by the significant impoverishment and minimization have not declined bounteous rather monetary benefit contrast is expanding.

Notwithstanding a few strategies, plans and activities by a few governments, NGOs and universal bodies/associations, a touch of the world's remarkably unfortunate people are in any case found in South Asia. Other than impoverishment, the

distinction of assets and monetary benefit the area is also in threat of disaster and cataclysms. Violent winds, tremors, floods, storms, arsenic harming, disintegration of soil, avalanches are some of the basic disasters which are faced by South Asia regularly. Temperature change and warming are another genuine danger which cannot exclusively harm the abundant peoples' interests of the area anyway also place them into genuine dangers. As these economies swear plentiful on horticulture, regular assets, science, and fisheries divisions, raised the danger of dry spells and floods would decrease creation in these segments and intensify the condition of poor people.

Environmental change has officially influenced South Asian nations and there is a requirement for potential activities to limit negative impacts. As per Stern (2006),

"from the Himalayas, which feed water to a billion people, to the seaside territories of Bangladesh, South Asian nations must plan for the impacts of a dangerous atmospheric deviation even as they work to battle the human reasons for environmental change". As the greater part of the general population of South Asia still relies upon horticulture and rustic based monetary exercises for their living any adjustments in the arable land, profitability and instability will push millions more into intense destitution. Agribusiness may not contribute a bigger offer in South Asia's GDP development yet it is a huge division which utilizes the greater part of its huge populace and their destinies are intently connected with horticulture. The asset needy individuals do not have much choice for their livings (Stern, 2006).

Despite several international environmental conventions, treaties, agreements, protocols and legislation - just like the United Nations Conference on human rights (1972), Our Common Future (1987), the city Protocol (1992), the World Summit (1992), Johannesburg Summit (2002), Bali Conference (2007) and Poznan Conference

(December, 2008), among others, the human society remains facing severe environmental degradations. One such environmental downside is that the planet has been facing from the last over fifteen years is global warming and temperature change (Jayant, 2007).

Climate Change is being considered very deadly for the people on earth due to its intense impacts (Stern, 2006). There is an estimation that the global temperature has risen 1.5 Celsius during last two hundred years (Rabindra, 2001). If this pattern of climate change continues, the quantity of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere may double as compared to pre-industrial period by 2035. It can be said that this may lead to an addition in temperature up to 5 degree Celsius. Scientists believe that in 55 Celsius temperature life is nearly impossible. The standard concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere should be between 450 to 550 ppm CO_2. Moreover, experts are of the view point that if necessary steps are taken from now the consequences of what has been done in past would continue in shape of rising temperature of earth and melting ice-bergs. Sea-level rise would not end till 2200 due to warming of oceans. Earth needs an appropriate strategy to cope with the situation on emergency basis (Jayant, 2007).

Flood is not a new thing for the people of South Asia but still extreme and unpredictable incidences are happening due to flooding in these regions. In the past few years, it has an alarming situation of the natives'. Bangladesh alone has faced the flood situation many times, which were quite destructive in nature. Back in 1988, Bangladesh had to experience a flood in 50 districts out of its 64 districts causing huge destruction. More than 2000 human lives were lost. On the other hand, economic losses were in billions. After ten years in 1998, another devastating flood killed 1050 people approximately and even in 2004 it took 747 people (Nazrul, 2008). In the

floods of 2008 in Bangladesh, many were dead and millions suffered and some are still in that suffering. Bombay in 2005 faced a devastating flood that left millions homeless. a part of Haryana and Old Delhi in 2008 long-faced a similar fate once the water level from Yamuna watercourse grew higher than the danger level. Untimely prevalence of floods is not solely destroying the value of the millions of properties, crops, and animals however additionally taking an enormous toll of human lives. Flood in Rajasthan, several deadliest floods in Bangladesh, the intensity of those floods were severe. Additionally, thanks to the amendment within the patterns of precipitation and differences due to the season several areas of South Asia are more and more returning underneath devastating floods (Robert, 2005).

People in one a part of South Asia face floods and water storms and inhabitants of the other part face droughts and dryness. Go away areas like Rajasthan and dry areas of Pakistan, newer areas from South Asia are falling under arid zones. 1/3rd of India's cultivable areas is beneath rain-fed agriculture and modifications in climatic condition may additionally increase the proportion in the near destiny. Many Indian states like

(Northern) Andhra Pradesh, (Southern) Gujarat, Maharashtra, (Southern) Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, (Northern) Karnataka, besides (Western) Rajasthan and a part of Haryana now often face droughts and dryness. They are distinctly susceptible to droughts. Adjustments in the charge of precipitations throughout regions and dryness the arid & semi-arid regions will face a lot of losses of economic activities and livelihood (Suruchi, Ulka and Preety, 2007).

Every other worrisome indicator of weather change can be every day and increasing incidences of excessive activities which include storms, cyclones, landslides, and so forth. South Asia is a favorite destination of many such excessive

occasions however during the recent years these are becoming a lot normal and highly extensive. Nations like Bangladesh ought to face many such intense occasions and lots casualty in each year. In the recent past like on 15 November 2007, the famous SIDR Cyclone hit greater than 22 south and south-western districts of Bangladesh. It killed over three thousand harmless human-beings, besides hundreds of animals, livestock, cattle and intense damages to coastal ecosystems. In step with a UN estimation, nine million people were affected by this powerful cyclone. The government of Bangladesh suggested that the heavy hurricane of about a hundred and fifty km/h with a 20 feet tidal wave affected approximately 6,851,147 people from 1,611,139 households in 2 hundred sub-districts, 292 humans; 467,469 cattle had been killed and greater than 35,000 people had been injured. It additionally absolutely damaged about 461,819 acres and in part damaged 1,027,399 acres of crops, 365,670 houses were fully damaged and 842,657 houses were partly damaged. The people of Orissa can by no means forget the famous outstanding cyclone of 1999 which took a massive toll of approximately 10,000 human lives (Ahluwalia and Malhotra, 2006), residences and crops worth of billions and also destroyed an awful lot wanted ecological balance of the coastal regions by destroying mangroves (Das, 2007). Even cyclone Nargis in 2008 additionally killed over a hundred, human beings in Myanmar, besides destroying the lives and livelihoods of tens of millions of people. (Nazrul, 2008).

Situation can be very adverse in South Asia in near future because of melting of glaciers and snows from the Himalayan region (Ratna, Kumar and Raj, 2007). Maximum supply of water to South Asian Rivers comes from Himalayan region and it has the greatest concentration outside the polar caps. Around 33000 sq. km. area is covered by these glaciers and 86,000,000 cubic meter of water is supplied annually

from here. Seven of the largest rivers of Asia: the Ganga/ Padma, the Brahmaputra, the Indus, the Salween, the Mekong, the Yangtze and the Huang Ho, Himalayan glaciers provide them with billions of cubic of water. Almost a billion of South Asian people are dependent on water supply by these rivers (Prakash, 2007). Experts are predicting very tough time ahead for the region of South Asia. The stock of fresh water supply for South Asia will face a serious threat in near future as the Himalayan glaciers are melting very rapidly (Ratna and co-authors, 2007). Studies state that Gongotri Glacier which is 30 km. long has shown considerable amount of recession. Satellite data has indicated that the ratio of melting of Himalayan glaciers is three times more than the ratio in last two hundred years (Prakash, 2007).

Keeping aside agriculture, fisheries and other means of livelihood, in India, Nepal and Pakistan many hydropower plants would be under serious threat because of the low flow of water in rivers. This would force these countries to use other conventional ways to produce electricity like fossil fuels which will increase quantity of carbon in the air. Many parts of South Asia have already seen a slow but distinctive change in the rate of precipitation and in near future this will increase many folds. Areas which were very rainy are becoming dry due to the pattern changes in the climate. Be it Cherapunji or other North-Eastern areas, which were traditionally considered as areas receiving maximum rainfalls in the world, are under changes due to global warming.

Many regions of South Asia are facing pattern changes in the rainy season. The monsoon, sometimes, delays or comes earlier and leaves adverse effects on agriculture and other means of livelihoods of millions of people. Untimely rains cause floods in many parts of South Asia. There are areas which were famous for heavy rainfalls, they are facing dryness and some areas frequently subjected to dryness and

droughts are getting heavy rainfalls. Due to changes in the rate of precipitation groundwater levels in many areas of South Asia will be depleted while other parts will be over-flooded. It will leave a negative effect on agriculture in both the areas. People will be left with no other option except to pump more groundwater for agriculture and other means of life.

This over-pumping of groundwater and more dependency over it will affect the situation from another perspective (Robert, 2005). Approximately 70% of people live in rural areas in South Asia and it amounts to 75% of its total population. GDP's 22% is gained from agriculture and around 60% people are linked with this. In the year 1999-

2000 agriculture contributed about 27% of India's GDP and 13-18 percent of its exports (Ahluwalia and Malhotra, 2006) and currently agriculture sector of India gives 19% of the country's GDP and about 60% of its inhabitants are dependent upon it. The 68% agriculture area in India is sown on rainfalls. Any change in agriculture sector will automatically affect a large part of the inhabitants. A rise in temperature by 1.5°C and

2 mm increase in precipitation may lead to a reduction of rice yield by 3-15% for India (Ahluwalia and Malhotra, 2006).

Because of the climate change, rivers' flow will decrease and it will leave a bad impact on the agriculture sector. Unusual increase in rainfall and temperature may affect the crop yield up to 30% reduction in India and Bangladesh.

4.4   Coping with Disasters in South Asia.

In 2004 a serious question was raised with regards to preparedness and postdisaster rehabilitation after Indian Ocean tsunami. The response of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation came in the form of a "Comprehensive

Framework on Disaster Management" (CFDM) for the region in 2007. It was based on the report of the "World Conference on Disaster Reduction" or the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA), which promoted "a strategic and systematic approach to reducing vulnerabilities and risks to hazards" (United Nations 2007) CFDM's main purposes are to form and strengthen the disaster management system on the regional level so to improve relief and decrease the chances of risks. DRR was to be a part of mainstream national policies, cooperation and coordination at all levels by reporting, information and warning system. Some goals were set like professionalism in tackling with disasters, training centers at community level so to cope with emergency situations, empowering women and creating a connected regional and national cooperation at every level (SAARC, 2007).

To make the disaster management strategies more effective at the regional level, CFDM suggested standardized hazard and vulnerability assessment, obtaining the suitable balance in PPRR (prevention, preparedness, response and recovery) programming, standardized evaluation of loss and impacts, procedures for relief management and training for disaster management personnel. These were about establishing common practices across the region and ensuring compliance. The way how would they work was not clearly mentioned. The SAARC Disaster Management Center (SDMC) suggested a Rapid Response Mechanism to respond to disaster emergencies in the region using the available facilities, material and expertise.

By using a cooperative method with experts with some input from State Disaster Management Authority (SDMA) has formulated many protocols on different issue regarding environment and strategies for CCA. A SAARC agreement incorporated a range of pre-, midst-and post-disaster activities that would form a regional "disaster management" cooperation as to avoid natural disasters, lessen their

effects and restore areas affected by them. It emphasized joint response "to disaster emergencies through concerted national efforts and intensified regional cooperation" SDMC works on the basis of this resolution and a number of key relevant projects that, to some extent, serve its purpose. One has been the creation of the "South Asian Disaster Knowledge Network" and the other the "South Asia Digital Vulnerability Atlas" (SADVA). It is a platform for many stakeholders with the purpose to share information with regard to risk and prevention of natural disasters, also to provide relief, recovery and remedy

(White, 2015). SADVA has been an information desk for hazards and vulnerabilities with assessments to cope with the emergency situations and analysis to help decision makers in South Asia (Johari, 2015).

4.5. Climate Change Diplomacy

It is argued that in the South Asian region, "adaptation to current climate change and climate variability is weak and many communities are highly vulnerable" and therefore it is important to adopt "locally appropriate methodologies for analyzing these effects and in increasing understanding of current interactions of climate and environmental and socioeconomic effects and changes" (Ahmed. and Suphachalasai, 2014). As the effects of the climate change are of transboundary nature, cooperation and collaboration become more critical especially in emergency situations (Ahmed and Suphachalasai, 2014). The SAARC Expert Group indicated seven areas which need attention: adaptation to climate change; policies and actions for climate change mitigation; policies and actions for technology transfer; finance and investment; education and awareness; management of impacts and risks; and capacity building for international negotiations. In order to prevent issues regarding environment, countries in South Asia should be willing to share great practices that have been applied by

them to tackle with the situations presented by the climate change issues. Experts also pointed out the need for "assessing barriers to technology development for adaptation and mitigation options". At the national level, it was expected that the focus would be object-oriented.

However, needed steps have not been taken in this regard. The three-year action plan endorsed in 2011 has not been acted upon at the regional level as anticipated. Specific actions on climate change has been observed long before the SAARC initiatives. As an example, Bangladesh has offices for climate change issues since 2004 as government departments relevant to climate issues to incorporate protective measures in future projects. This was adopted by the National Adaptation Programs of Action in 2005 and 2009. In 2008, the government followed the Bangladesh model to cope with the issues created by climate change. A fund was made for this purpose and the government has the control over it though it is a multi-donor trust fund. Other countries have also adopted national adaptation action programs (Bhutan and Maldives in 2006, India in 2008, Nepal in 2010). The key thrust in climate change was proposed post-Hyogo Framework of Action, SAARC DDR framework 2015 as a part of regional sustainable development framework. It prioritizes the development of regional principles and policy guidelines, appropriate financial allocations for implementing policies, integration of local and technical knowledge, utilization of best practices, information-sharing across the region, reinforcing hazard monitoring and climate monitoring systems, and building institutional capacity.

However, there are some barriers to implementing this roadmap, such as lack of climatic information required in the design of local level adaptation measures, flawed policy guidelines and institutional incapacity, dearth of community

participation and absence of sub-national, sub-regional and regional cooperation mechanisms. Most importantly, a lack of political will and disinterest on the part of policymakers offset initiatives in DRR and Climate Change Adaptation (CCA). Mainstreaming adaptation and mitigation strategies into sustainable development planning thus become difficult.

CHAPTER 5

COUNTERTERROR COOPERATION BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA: HURDLES AND PROSPECTS

5.1. Introduction

Terrorism is a global issue of today's world and South Asia stands as no exception to this. In fact, terrorism as a political strategy existed well before the creation of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh as independent states. The chapter briefly discusses the past of terrorism in South Asia, highlighting previous efforts for counterterrorism cooperation, and current challenges that are hurdle in increasing such cooperation.

5.2. History of Terrorism in the South Asian Region

5.2.1. India

From the start of the twentieth century, a cult of the Indian Nationalist Movement turned towards the use of terrorism in the connotation of political extremism

(Argov, 1967). Terrorism in political aspect was first time practiced in the State of West Bengal by the Maoist Naxalite Movement in the Post-Colonial era of subcontinent. This movement received significant support, publicity and material

assistance from the Maoist Regime. The Indian state successfully and brutally crushed the Maoist terrorist movement (Gupta, 2004). Resultantly, the most important terrorist movement got eradicated on the Indian border in state of the Punjab in the initial years of 1980. The origin of this very movement was acutely entrenched in the crises of Indian local politics (Jeffrey, 1994). According to the "patterns of global terrorism, Asian overview" (1995) It is alleged that Pakistan took the advantage of this conflict by supporting and encouraging the Sikh separatist, and in the opinion of some, extremist movement helped to extend and expand the movement's scope and lifespan.

Along with this India was facing another challenge at another front, and that was of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), the members of which desired to create an independent state in the North Eastern part of India (Upadhyay, 2005). After the aforementioned challenges India faced, another challenge awaited yet in 1989, when an ethno-religious insurgency started to show its existence in the Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), this was a local organization, which was and even now is at the forefront of this movement of freedom

(Ganguly, 1997). It is alleged that due to Pakistan's involvement with the insurgents, the movement rapidly adopted terroristic strategies and it expanded into a movement which was motivated on religious grounds and was supported by external actors (Jamal, 2009). India has observed a reactivation of Maoist terrorism due to different reasons and it has affected 14 states and 165 Indian districts (Chopra, 2008).

5.2.2. Sri Lanka

With the start of 1980, the Tamil Separatist Movement in Colombo, which was just a simple movement turned towards extremist strategy, when the strategy changed, the movement got lead by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (DeVotta, 2004).

In the fifth month of 2009, a militarized civil war took place in Sri Lanka, which resulted in a great loss of lives and property, according to an estimate, 90,000 lives were lost in that war. Ultimately, LTTE bore the defeat in its fight with the government (Chamberlain, 2009). After this defeat of the LTTE, Sri Lanka started to tread with a great pace towards development, but a terrorist activity does not come as a surprise to many, who are living in Sri Lanka (Schaffer and Laferriere, 2009).

5.2.3. Pakistan

Pakistan is a country which is a key combatant and a partner in the war against terror. This war against terror has made Pakistan to suffer in so many ways; economically, socially, educationally, and in many other countless ways. The terrorism in itself is a disaster, which makes its victims vulnerable to many other natural or manmade disasters. In the world we live, terrorism has started making so much difference in political streams that even the relations of states are changed on its basis.

Terrorism in Pakistan has also contributed to two major recent crises between India Pakistan foreign relations.

This undoubtedly has become the attitude of India to allege Pakistan with any terrorist act in India, whereas Pakistan itself is a country which is suffering in the hands of terrorism. To counter this menace of terrorism, Pakistan has lost both civilians and army personnel. Internal displacement is another social issue that has been caused by this disaster.

5.2.4. Nepal

Terrorism, like LTTE and North Eastern Indian region, was also one of the chosen political strategy by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Nepal was suffering from the insurgency in the 1990s. Though the Maoists of Nepal had link with their Indian counterpart, which was there to support them morally only, but had nothing to

do with giving them any support from India to Nepal (Hutt, 2004). After the terrorism in Nepal got eradicated, Maoists joined the electoral process and eventually won the elections to come into power in 2008, which resulted in exiling the Nepalese monarchy (Ramesh,

2008).

5.2.5 Bangladesh

Bangladesh has and is still being targeted by the domestic terrorism. The majority of terrorism that has been witnessed in Bangladesh has involved the targeted killing of the Bangladeshi Hindu residents. Harassment of fellow Muslims whom are considered being inadequately sincere, and believed to have built ties with transnational terrorist organizations. Between 2002 and 2006, a coalition government under the support of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), erased such religiously motivated terrorism in Bangladesh (Ganguly, 2006). The subsequent ruling party, Awami League, which is being headed by Sheikh Hasina Wajid has also adopted a non-resilient stance towards such groups which propagate terrorism and extremism.

5.2.6. Afghanistan

Afghanistan witnessed the triumphant victory of Taliban after the withdrawal of Soviet power from Afghanistan. Though, there were other minor militia groups, who waited for their power share, but Talibans were the ultimate victors. After the withdrawal of Soviet, peace was meant to arrive, but power vacuum created by this withdrawal gave Taliban to practice whatsoever they wanted to practice on their own wish and whim. Their will and whim further deteriorated the peace, which was desperately awaited by Afghans. Talibans are still united in Afghans and it is important to mention that International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), has suffered badly at the hands of Taliban (Jones, 2009). In order to curb the attacks by

Taliban against the newly elected government, United States of America has adopted a new, broader counterinsurgency strategy (Bakers and Filkins, 2009).

5.3. Terrorism and Its Regional Trends

In the previous paragraphs, terrorism in countries of South Asia has been discussed. More or less, there is same type of terrorism which has effected the respective countries. This similarity in pattern of terrorism creates the trend, which is visible in all of the states in the region of South Asia, with a few exceptions maybe. Two common forms of terrorism are visible in all the cases of terrorism in the region of South Asia. Firstly, in all the cases discussed in the chapter, local uprisings are involved, who have benefited by using the terrorism in order to accomplish their mission, in one way or another, it was believed by them, that normal politics might not benefit them, the way terrorism or use of violence can.

Secondly, in all the aforementioned cases of all the South Asian States, external involvement from the actors outside their own vicinity has worsened the matters. External involvement results in extension of the time and scope of the conflict and eventually brings about more destruction. For example, India's basic support for various Tamil (Terrorist) organizations increased and enhanced the capabilities and abilities of such groups. On the other hand, it is inferred that these entities still have different organizational imperatives and political objectives. Furthermore, it has been observed that decision of termination of support of terrorism have been linked with the interest of civilian and political leadership in a state (Perlez and Masood, 2007).

5.4. Limited Counterterrorism Cooperation

Counterterrorism's history is limited in South Asia. Very few examples of Counterterrorism are available in the history of this region. States in the region have been vulnerable to the use of terrorist proxies to achieve foreign and security policy

goals. This vulnerability is a hurdle in manifesting any willingness to engage in any effort which leads to counterterrorism cooperation. The upcoming section will discuss the few examples of cooperation.

5.4.1. Regional Cooperation between India and Sri Lanka

After the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of 1987, India ended concealed support for the LTTE and other Tamil terrorist organizations. In fact, for the better implementation of the accord and disarmament of LTTE, India deployed Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF). IPKF's role was changed from being a peace keeping body to being a peace enforcement entity. This change in the role of IPKF was mainly due to the LTTE's unwillingness to adhere to the terms of the accord. IPKF in the subsequent two years encountered the LTTE. This encounter was an effort to protect the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and restoration of political order in the country. In September 1989, India removed IPKF from Sri Lanka at the request of the then president Ranasinghe Premadasa (Mehta, 2009). Subsequently, India exhibited a minimal interest in supporting any terrorist group within Sri Lanka and steadfastly refused to be part of any civil war within Sri Lanka.

5.4.2. Regional Cooperation between Bhutan and India

The counterterrorism cooperation examples include the cooperation between Bhutan and India. A penetrable border between India and Bhutan was utilized by the ULFA for many years. The aim was to establish hide ways in Bhutan and obtain food supplies. The Bhutanese regime showed willingness to act against ULFA hide ways in

Bhutan. The Royal Bhutanese Army initiated operation against ULFA terrorists in late 2003. This was due to some pressure from the government of India and also the Royal

Bhutanese Army has concerned about the troublesome potential of the ULFA to Bhutan's stability. Along with this operation the army arrested many Bhutanese for assisting the ULFA. This action was backed by the Country's National Security Act (Times of India, 2009).

5.4.3. Regional Cooperation between Bangladesh and India

Another example which can be discussed is the cooperation between Bangladesh and India. India had fiercely expressed its concern regarding the possible sanctuaries of UFLA in Bangladesh. India has also shown its concern about the growth of anti-Indian radical Islamist movement within Bangladesh. The relationship between India and Bangladesh were not much friendly due to the stance of India that the coalition regime put little effort in supressing the activities of various extremist Islamist organizations. In fact India claimed that such organizations are secretly supported by the government. However, during the Awami League regime, who formed the

government after winning the 2008 elections, actual joint counterterrorism exercise was held by India and Bangladesh in February 2009 (Karlekar, 2009).

5.5. Regional Cooperation against terrorism of Pakistan with South Asian States

Pakistan has signed the United Nations Anti-Terrorist Conventions on the containment of terrorist attacks (Ihsanoglu, 2010). Pakistan is signatory to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation's Convention on combating terrorism (Alfitri, 2006). Pakistan has extended its support to the resolutions of the United Nations which focus on prevent global terrorism (Ucko, 2018). For the destruction of the mobility of militants based in and operating from Pakistan, the state had to take extensive immigration and control measures. Through these extensive measures, the

security forces of Pakistan were able to kill and capture many key leaders of Al-Qaeda, Taliban,

Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, East Turkestan Islamic Movement and Punjabi Taliban.

After the horrific incident of 9/11, Pakistan took an active part in the fight against terrorism. That was the regime of President Musharraf in which Pakistan's Counter Terrorism Strategy was formulated. Pakistan had to operate against the terrorists who after the US attack on Afghanistan, entered Pakistan. These terrorists were linked with Taliban, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and Al-Qaeda (Hasnat,

2011).

5.6. Background of cooperation against terrorism of Pakistan

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation's (SAARC) Convention on Suppression of Terrorism and its additional protocols represent legal efforts to strengthen regional counter-terrorism cooperation by SAARC's member states, which include India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. This convention signifies the efforts carried out for suppressing the transnational terrorism. The India-Pakistan Joint Anti-Terror Mechanism of 2006 and the SAARC Terrorist Offences Monitoring Desk of 1990 are examples of diplomatic counter-terrorism initiatives by South Asian states.

In 2016 there was an attempt between India and Pakistan to share information and also to investigate collectively a militant attack in the Indian city of Pathankot. Continued diplomatic engagement between the civilian administrations of both countries, even when attacks take place, would help to counter a longstanding pattern of terrorist attacks disrupting attempts to resume the peace process. It would also side-line the forces that benefit from the ongoing conflict.

International efforts, including the US, China and Russia, to negotiate with the Afghan

Taliban are also evidence of a broad attempt to bring stability to Afghanistan. Willingness on the part of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India to participate in these diplomatic overtures underscores all three states' efforts to engage with the institutions of diplomacy and great power management in order to stabilise the wider region.

Thus, Pakistan, India and Afghanistan have repeatedly turned to the shared rules, norms and institutions of international society to work out their problems. There is sufficient shared ground on which to build mutual understandings on contentious issues. Regional cooperation is in the interest of all three states and would weaken the actors who benefit from conflict.

India's and Pakistan's admission to, and Afghanistan's observer status in, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (an Asian security cooperation organisation led by China and Russia) are cause for hope. The rising clout of China and Russia in the international order may provide the necessary pressure for all three South Asian states to engage more constructively in regional security cooperation in the medium to long term.

5.7. Pakistan and Afghanistan

Divergent interests of the regional countries of South Asia are indicated by the presence of multiple terrorist organisations in Afghanistan that are posing threat to Pakistan and Afghanistan. In 1990s Iran was not pleased with Pakistan over the formation of Taliban government in Afghanistan. Russia, China and India are considered important players for regional security and investment in Afghanistan in the aftermath of 9/11. South Asia is facing unrest in the region due to the clash of interest between the countries of the region. This unrest is coupled with serious blow

back effects on Pakistan's internal security. The new regime in Afghanistan which is installed by US not only lacks legitimacy but also public support to create national harmony for lasting peace in Afghanistan (Mahmood and Akhtar, 2018).

5.8. The Hindrances and Prospects of Counterterrorism Cooperation The discussion so far shows that that the prospects of counterterrorism cooperation in South Asia are mixed. Pakistan and Pakistani military and security establishment has an ambiguous attitude towards counterterrorism. This ambivalent position is held by Pakistan despite its being one of the principal states in the region. After the tragic events of September 11, Pakistan and its security forces made a partial commitment to counterterrorism (Fair, 2004). This commitment was perhaps due to the considerable diplomatic pressure and substantial economic incentives by the United States. The United States was given some invaluable intelligence by Pakistan and a handful of key individuals connected to al Qaeda were turned over to United States. Due to the mentioned facts there are very limited possibility of Indo-Pakistani counterterrorism cooperation in the near future. Interests may have been shown in jointly combating terrorism but in the given state of affair it may not result into any successful attempt (Lakshmi, 2009).

Despite the minimum prospects of Indo-Pakistani counterterrorism cooperation, the possibility of considering greater cooperation between other states of South Asia remains there. The catastrophic experience of India with the LTTE suggests that India will not extend any support for any extremist movement in Sri Lanka. India will use diplomatic relations to safeguard the rights of Sri Lankan Tamil community in the wake of Sri Lankan military victory against the LTTE. India will also carefully observe the political developments within Sri Lanka due to its own substantial Tamil population. Likewise, it can be concluded that India and Bangladesh will make

modest progress on counterterrorism cooperation under the government of Awami league. India is concerned about the expansion and growth of violent Islamist organizations within Bangladesh during last decade (Ganguly, 2006). But it is not only India but also within Bangladesh concerns are shown about the influence and strength of these groups. As a result, it is important to consider seriously the possibility of jointly curbing the activities of indigenous organizations. Such joint efforts should also be considered in denying ULFA terrorists sanctuaries within Bangladesh.

Limited possibility of counterterrorism cooperation exists between Nepal and India to deal with the resurgent Indian Naxalite movement. Such cooperation would result in denying the Maoists safe havens in either countries, intelligence-sharing, and better management and surveillance of a highly penetrable border.

5.9. Objections to Effective Regional Counterterrorism Cooperation

The reason that has been discussed earlier in this chapter; the support of another state in the region for insurgents in the suffering state is the possibility which bars the success of bilateral counterterrorism. Could a regional approach to counterterrorism cooperation work well? What are the principal obstacles to responding cooperation? To ease such kind of cooperation, what possible institutional mechanism should be adopted or brought into practice?

Not less than three obvious barriers to regional counterterrorism cooperation can be observed. They are; normative, organizational and institutional barriers. First, South Asia is the region with very less institutional structures. There is no working or in action region wide structure of organization which can support or curb any issue which has regional outreach, the organization of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) do exist, but it cannot perform the way it is expected

to perform due to irregularities in the organization. SAARC still is institutionally restricted from undertaking the duty of counterterrorism cooperation, which involves regional states. In fact, this very question of importance, that how can the terrorism be curbed in the region does not come under the purview of the organization, as such questions which permit involvement of one state into another and the questions of contentious nature are forbidden to be officially discussed in the sessions of SAARC. SAARC's charter officially forbids the debate of "bilateral and contentious" problems to be discussed.

The regional Convention on the suppression of Terrorism (1987) is a convention that was signed by the member states of the SAARC, which deems hijacking as a criminal act of terrorism. In addition to the existing hostile political conditions in the region and the hostile state of Indo-Pakistani relations, saying that this convention might be meaningfully enlarged to surround authentic counterterrorism cooperation is still hard to achieve. These kinds of cooperation usually requires the states that have gotten into a cooperation or contract to share the intelligence pertaining to different terrorist organizations, endeavour to assiduously defeat terrorist occupation on national soil, and especially eschew the use of terrorism as a tool of state policy.

Next is the normative ambiance of regional cooperation; it does not emphasize the belief in the ability and willingness of the region's leaders to cast a multilateral mechanism for cooperating in the field of counterterrorism, whether under the protection of SAARC or in a different way. Few states within the region, particularly India, still needs to completely eschew their link with different terrorist organizations. Rest of the states such as Bangladesh, have a lengthy history of allowing substantial freedom to terrorist organizations controlling from their soil. Therefore, until all the

states in a region reveal a firm preparedness to clear their land from all the organizations that are linked with terrorism, the expectations for counterterrorism cooperation will resume to stumble. In these circumstances it should be emphasized that gaining a freetrade agreement, at comparatively affectionate and functional level, inside the SAARC region demonstrated to be a considerable attempt, and the full execution of the agreement's terms may still be in suspension. The long history of friction and enmity, among the states of South Asia has repressed the advancement of certain standard propensities collaboration regardless of the material advantages that such participation could have brought (Axelrod, 1985).

Third, the hierarchical shortcoming that exist are impressive. Regardless of whether all states in the region of South Asia were to invest in counterterrorism collaboration, it is not obvious that they have the imperative legal, insight, and coercive capacities and essential legitimate systems to execute such venture or a synergy. For instance, in the consequence of the Mumbai attacks in November 2008, the hierarchical and physical constraints of India's counterterrorism abilities were revealed. Consequently, India has now chosen to find units of the first-class national security protection in each of the four noteworthy metropolitan focuses (Mumbai, Delhi, Madras and Calcutta, Chennai), to enact new and increasingly stringent law to arraign the terrorists and to make an across the country, national examine office. Given that India had such frail capacities preceding the unprecedented arrangement of psychological threats in Mumbai, it is not nonsensical to presume that none of the other, smaller states in the country have the imperative, hierarchical and physical foundation to handle the terrorists on a war footing.

5.10. The Future of Regional Counterterrorism Cooperation

Experts believe that international terrorism cannot be curbed without bilateral cooperation between the states which are or are not suffering from the terrorism. Especially in the case of South Asian region, where the intended bilateral cooperation face numerous challenges while cooperating against terrorism. There are number of agreements among the nations that are part of SAARC to fight against terrorism. As a matter of fact, there existed an agreement well before 9/11 happened in USA i.e. "Regional Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism". SAARC also established SAARC Terrorist Offences Monitoring Desk (STOMD). After the Mumbai attacks also, Pakistan and India agreed to share the intelligence regarding the attack, but due to complex networks of terrorism in the region, there always existed the threat of the misuse of the information. There had been talks on such cooperation several times, but there is very less action that is done.

5.11 Domestic and Foreign Policy Shift Required in India

In order to curb the terrorism, a noteworthy action is ought to be taken from inside the states of the region of South Asia, especially India and Pakistan. The first and most troublesome task is to get both the rivals convinced to end its help for such organizations and individuals who in any way have got to do something with supporting terrorism. For a long-time, Indian politicians have dodged about their contribution with and support for terrorism. Except if India surrenders the help of different terrorist organizations, no advancement on counterterrorism collaboration can be made. Fear mongers will proceed to flourish and unleash destruction in the region if such support keeps jumping in for the terrorist organizations (Tellis, 2009).

Another solution to end this state sponsored terrorism by India is to involve EU and Russia with India, who are main allies of India to convince her to curb this sponsored

terrorism within and outside of India. Alone EU, cannot succeed in convincing India to curb this issue, but Russia will have to play a leading role, so that Indian elite and military realize the fact that terrorism is ought to be stopped.

India's usage of RSS to propagate the very ideology of Hindutva through use of force and extremist strategy inside India, forceful conversions of other religious groups into Hindu and cow vigilantes are the common types of extremist shows in India, which are effecting the region and India. Coming to Pakistan, the issues are different, factors such as poor governance and low per capita income gets young people to do the things, otherwise not allowed by the religion or state. Secondly, Politicians in Pakistan need to understand the week fabric of the government, who sometimes fail to control the terror attacks. The policy of zero tolerance towards the perpetrators should be introduced.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The chapter discusses the conclusion based on the discussions in the previous chapters, and based on the chapters, the researcher has presented the recommendations.

6.1. CONCLUSION

There are times, when the differences between states, especially when both the states are nuclear powers and are neighbouring each other as well. When this happens to be the situation, hard power is not a solution. The solution to avoid such a havoc is to resolve the differences or at least build the confidence through usage of soft power. In the case of this study, the researcher has focused on the utility diplomacy.

Pakistan and India have a chronic enmity between them since the time of partition in 1947. The differences between both the rival states have seen climax four times, which resulted in war between both of the states. Due to the rough history of relationship between India and Pakistan, both countries have suffered in one or other way, only the prevalent threat is enough to give the setback to both the states. Before the partition, it was decided that the princely states of subcontinent are free to join either of the newly created states, Pakistan or India, whereas it was recorded that India using its might annexed many a princely states without the will of the masses or sometimes rulers of those states, for example Deccan and Hyderabad. Same happened with Kashmir as well, India annexed Kashmir into it, without the will off the masses of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir, in all the aspects was meant to be part of Pakistan, be it culture, language, landscape or religion.

The struggle of Kashmiris is real, and eventually the case of freedom of Kashmir was taken to the United Nations Organization, which has passed numerous resolutions in order to resolve the issue diplomatically. Both Pakistan and India are signatories to those resolutions, which signifies that both the countries believe in peaceful and diplomatic resolution of this case of freedom of occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Traditional diplomacy is the negotiation by the diplomats, who happen to be diplomatically trained representatives of states, but now diplomacy has turned out to be multi track diplomacy, where not only officials negotiate on the issues, but people from different walks of life are given chance to lobby in favour of the country they belong to. For example, celebrities are made part of the advertisements to endorse vaccinations, hence this type of diplomacy is called vaccine diplomacy.

As has been mentioned earlier, Pakistan and India are neighbouring states, and share a long stretched border with each other, this geographical proximity makes both these

states vulnerable to same kind of disasters. For example, Both Pakistan and India suffer destruction when flood comes, or both states suffer when earthquake shakes the land. Similarly, both states suffer from terrorism. These common common threats leading to common vulnerability, make both the states stakeholders.

The collaboration and cooperation in the field of disaster related activities by both the rival states can bring both the states closer to each other, helping both countries to build the confidence among themselves. This mechanism of collaboration has a practical example of Greece and Turkey, who had a conflict on Cyprus, came closer to each other after both countries got hit by earthquake one after another. Both these states supported each other at the hour of need, hence coming close to each other. Climate change is a real threat, and Pakistan is one of the countries, which is feeling the brunt of climate change more than many other states in the world. India and Pakistan can both work in the field of climate change together, in order to reverse or at least delay the climate change. Both, Pakistan and India are agrarian countries, climate change is resulting in changing pattern of rainfalls, which either results in drought or a flood. Both countries can together devise a plan to curb the climate change and work in the field of science to devise hybrids of seeds, who can easily adapt to the changing climate.

It is a sad state of affairs that terrorism has always been present in South Asia, and again South Asia is the region, which has suffered a lot because of terrorism. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, trend of terrorism is same throughout the region in all the states. Together all the states, especially Pakistan and India cooperate in collaborate in the field of counterterrorism to bring about peace in the region. Combined training, intelligence sharing and across the border vigilance can give peace a chance.

It can be inferred, that in the case of Pakistan and India, complete resolution of the conflict is not possible, but such cooperation through disaster diplomacy can help to build confidence in between each other.

6.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

6.2.1. Recommendations on Climate Change Diplomacy

The subsequent sections focus on the recommendation on Climate Change Diplomacy; what are the relevant measures that can be brought into the practice in both states who have chronic hostility among themselves to bring them closer while working together on the climate change.

6.2.1.1. Sharing of Information

Information sharing is a necessary action to be taken by both of the states to avoid any kind of enmity that can take place because of the changing climate. Indian government is ought to show the responsibility by sharing the necessary information well before time so that Pakistan may get ready to prevent or mitigate the upcoming disaster due to the changing climate. For example, as a responsible state in the region, India should provide the information to Pakistan about the monsoon system entering in India, so that Pakistan may prepare accordingly and within time. This type of information sharing, based on facts can increase the confidence of Pakistan on India.

6.2.1.2. Opening up of Crossing Points at the Hour of Need

This has had been happening in the past as well, when Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan met an earthquake back in 2005, the crossing points in Azad Jammu and Kashmir were opened, and aid was accepted from India, which poured in from the crossing points in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The result was very positive, though the relations could not turn out to be very friendly, but hostility saw a depression in those days.

6.2.1.3. No Surprise inflow of Water towards Pakistan

The surprise inflow of water from India to Pakistan, especially in the days of monsoon season, disturb government of Pakistan, as well as the common man. Pakistan, being an agrarian country, has many lands which are plane, this plane landscape gets filled with water damaging houses and crops, even if the level of water rises a few feet above the normal level of water in the rivers.

6.2.1.4. Sophisticated Warning System

Warning system should be advance in nature, and warning should be shared across the border, which will help both states to mitigate or prevent the anticipated disaster. This helping gesture from each of the state will help in building the confidence, reducing the costs and bridging the gap that has always existed between Pakistan and India.

6.3. Recommendations on Counterterrorism Cooperation

This section focuses on the recommendation on counterterrorism cooperation, which can lead to lessening of terrorism in the region generally and in Pakistan and India particularly. Terrorism as has been mentioned earlier is the problem being faced by Pakistan and India alike, and the trend of terrorism is also same in the region generally and in Pakistan and India particularly. The recommendations in this section have been based on the chapter as how can both, Pakistan and India fight terrorism together, and look for opportunity to be less hostile towards each other.

6.3.1. Enhance Security Infrastructure Capabilities

The terror attack in Mumbai in 2008, and the terror attack on Karachi Airport in 2014 have made the researcher to believe that the security infrastructure is neither sufficient, nor efficient. In both the cases, it was revealed that the responsible forces to counter the strike from enemy were incapable to meet and retaliate to counterattack. The responsible forces in both the cases required to have enough

standing security and better electronic aide which had helped the force to stay vigilant. These difficulties exist in all over India but anomaly is quite visible over the states due to the formation of Indian federalism (Arvind Verma). Indian states with less power have police forces that are in much worse state than that of the cities which are well developed like Mumbai or Delhi, and same is the case with Pakistan, the police in far flung areas or villages is less sophisticated than that of big cities.

The researcher recommends that South Asian governments should upgrade physical capacity of their police forces/civil defence. Sophisticated weapons, which terrorist organizations are using will make it hard for the department of civil defence of any South Asian state to bear the brunt, if such measurements are not made. There is a need to improve the potential of police forces to eradicate terrorism. Police forces lack skills and capability therefore that alone will not be enough. Limited pay and insufficient training are also the reason for police not being able to cope with terrorism.

Due to these reasons, most of the citizens of South Asian countries have an outlook that their police do not have the ability to cope with counterterrorism and everyday crimes. Therefore, all the governments in the region must uplift and help to boost the training of their police forces.

6.3.2. Create Joint South Asian Counterterrorism and Policy Centres

There exists scepticism whenever there is a proposal for combine training of police forces or civil defence forces, it is seen doubtfully by the governments. Improving facilities and training is viewed as an essential element for this issue to be solved. Proposals such as forming a Joint South Asian Counterterrorism Policy can be seen as useful to an extent, although it is seen as very unlikely for some governments to participate. However, the intergovernmental institution, SAARC, The South Asian

Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) could be helpful in being able to resolve this through its proposals and create seriousness on policing and counterterrorism. Through expressing concern and dangers of terrorism, national leaders and governments could be influenced to perform necessary actions (Ganguly 1995).

6.3.3. Limit Cross-border Small Arms Transfers

In addition to the earlier mentioned recommendations, South Asian states should work in consensus with each other in order to prevent the secretive transport of small and light arms across the borders. Terrorist organisations have been doubted of being able to develop and grow their ability due to the sneaking of an immense amount of small arms across boarders (Daily star, 2007). Such borders lack security and are poorly managed. Therefore, governments need to act in strengthening their borders. This could prevent such terrorist organisations from expanding.

The United States and the EU excel in border management. Their experience with identifying any illegal transhipment is a tactic that makes them excel in border management. If there is any issue with management in the customs or border protection authorities can make available extra support such as training, better geared equipment or simply advice on skills that could be practiced in order to improve border management.

As important personnel and organisation build a better trusting bond the easier it is for the region to tackle the issues that may be out breaking. For better border management, information is to be passed within the states of region, this may also include sharing important information, and so in order to hope for a safer and better region the authorities must share data, some of which may be about potential

terrorists, in such case plans would need to be introduced and executed in order to reduce the

threat.

6.3.4. Cooperation in Intelligence Sharing

This is the most pivotal stage, where by basic interaction of relevant individuals and organizations have happened to an extent where basic trust level has reached a phase, where major intelligence can be shared with each other. Intelligence sharing in the region of South Asia, especially in between Pakistan and India will give more chance to the governments to play role instead of the non-state actors, who have otherwise played their role in damaging the already damaged relationship among the two. Timely and accurate information sharing can help to defer many terrorist attacks hence making the region more peaceful.

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