

**TRACK TWO DIPLOMACY: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT BETWEEN
PAKISTAN & INDIA**

(1996-2010)

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DEDICATION

To the person I love the most, my beloved Ami, my forever friend

DECLARATION

I Naseem Sehrai Ph. D Scholar at Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore hereby declare that the present thesis titled “Track Two Diplomacy: Conflict Management between Pakistan and India (1996-2010) has been written by me and is my original and personal work.

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Certificate of Approval

This is to certify that present thesis titled “Track Two Diplomacy: Conflict Management between Pakistan and India (1996-2010) has been written by Naseem Sehrai as the requirement for Ph. D degree in South Asian Studies from the University of the Punjab, Lahore. The research described in this thesis is original work of the author and has been carried out under my direct supervision. The thesis has been prepared according to the prescribed format for the award of the degree under codal procedure of the University. To the best of my knowledge the thesis is based on original research.

Prof. Dr. Umbreen Javed

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Abbreviation	Description
CBMs	Confidence and Security Building Measures
KSG	Kashmir Study Group
PIPPFD	Pakistan-India People's forum for Peace and Democracy
APA	Association of Peoples of Asia

SAFHR	South Asian Forum of Human Rights
WISCOMP	Women In Security Conflict Management and Peace
IPSI	India Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace
NI	Neemrana Initiative
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
SI	Shanghai Initiative
	India Pakistan Initiative for Peace
IPSI	Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy
PIPPFD	

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Finally I would like to state that I have conduct this research work with my full effort and tried to remain unbiased but if still there is any mistake or error in this work, I will be sole responsible for this error.

Abstract

Diplomacy has been used as an vital tool by states to resolve their issues and conflicts through negotiations and mediation. The word “diplomacy” as applied to the conduct of international affairs did not become current in the modern sense until 1796. when Admund Burke used it in this context. According to the Oxford Dictionary, “ Diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiations, the method by which relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys, the business or art of the diplomatist”

In modern days, diplomacy is classified into two terms, track one and track two. Track one diplomacy means interactions between states through formal, official and governmental channels, on the other hand, track two diplomacy is defined as contacts between states through informal, non official and non-governmental sources rather people to people, citizens to citizens interactions.

The term track two diplomacy was formally used in 1981 by Joseph Montville, referring to a broad range of unofficial contacts aimed at resolving conflicts, both internationally and within the states. Montville, then a U.S. diplomat, coined the term in contrast to track-one diplomacy, which means diplomatic efforts to or manage resolve conflicts through the official channels of government.

In the beginning, the term track two diplomacy, focused mainly on the work of diplomats in the developing field of conflict management. These professionals were brought together informally to generate innovative solutions to international conflicts that were simultaneously being worked on (proceeding without success) at the track-one or at the official governmental level.

INTRODUCTION

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In the beginning, the term track two diplomacy, focused mainly on the work of diplomats in the developing field of conflict management. These professionals were brought together informally to generate innovative solutions to international conflicts that were simultaneously being worked on (proceeding without success) at the track-one or at the official governmental level.

In the context of process of holding conflict management task, track two diplomacy enjoys a very specific position. It entrusts the non-state institutions to play an important role by

involving some interface with the government and the non-state players in a conflict management play. In the way, track two diplomacy is process of non-state actors rather un-official dialogue between disputing states initiated with the help of a third party of citizens having access to their governments who may influence public opinion. That kind of dialogue only can exist between two democratic states, parties to a dispute it is an attempt, which encompasses all the un-official efforts made outside the governments in order to help in resolving conflicts in the world.

Unofficial dialogue and People to people contacts are more necessary in conflict periods than in an era of peace. These exercises enable the participating parties to understand perceptions, ascertain facts and explore new ideas. Official diplomacy has limits of protocol and legality. Track two diplomacy can play supportive or preparatory role for the official diplomacy. But we neither should nor expect track two diplomacy to resolve conflicts without the involvement of masses and pressure groups that can influence the policy makers and decisive authorities.

The face of India and Pakistan today is the reflection of their mutual relationship than of any other factor. The fact of the matter is that the majority of Indians and Pakistanis remain on the margins, of situation able to get much of a look-in. Working class of both countries has much to contemplate. The realities of power politics are such that neither the Indian nor the Pakistani establishment has ever genuinely tried to resolve the conflict between the two states. Similarly, outside powers, including the US, are the least bit concerned about ordinary Indians and Pakistanis, and base their decisions to intervene in the region, in whatever form, on their own narrow self-interest. Little should be expected of those who perpetuate the conflicts and marginalization of far too many people.

Unofficial channels of communication have had multiple results in building confidence and creating greater mutual trust. Several of the ongoing track-two dialogues are restricted to selected retired civil and military officials or co-opted academics and merely serve as channels to exchange official perceptions and views. No real attempt is made to identify or suggest options that could reduce bilateral tensions. Nor do such dialogues foster a climate for peace among Indian and Pakistani people, since the public deliberately kept unaware of the results occur by these dialogues. Some track-two diplomatic activities limited to some segments of the Indian and the Pakistani opinion-making elite and have so far had little or no impact beyond that of pressure on governments. Track-two activities have helped to create links between segments of civil society in both states. Although track-two activities have created legitimacy for its participants and the acceptance of the role of unofficial dialogues between the people of Pakistan and India, governmental mistrust of these dialogues has limited their effectiveness in influencing policy makers of both sides.

Since the partition of the Indian sub-continent in August 1947 the majority of the people and leaders of Pakistan and India are very much consistent in adhering the irrational, emotional and illogical approach against each other. It is true that the trauma of partition was also responsible for giving some legitimacy to those elements which purpose and advocate the politics of hatred and confrontation. Although such a situation should not have prolonged so far but unfortunately it has lasted till today. The wars of 1948, 1965, 1971, mini war of Kargil and other proxy wars proved the fact that emotional rhetoric dominated the mindset of the people and leaders of the two countries. Only a handful of minority of Pakistan and India since 1947 had argued for a rational approval and positive thinking as the only way for the bettering relations between the two warring states. The reason why emotional rhetoric approach has dominated New Delhi and Islamabad is not difficult to gauge or measure. Not only the vested interest but also deep

animosity based on mutual rejection formed the basis of pursuing politics based on emotional than intellectual reasoning.

While the politicians, bureaucratic-military establishment and the different governments of Pakistan and India have been source of emotional rhetoric. Some non-official sects of masses also followed the thinking based on emotions and irrationally. The role of extremist religious forces and the vast section of vernacular press in Pakistan and India also justified the policy of non-cooperation and keeping relations consistently hostile, in consequence to such a situation, the outcome has been systematic poisoning of the minds of an ordinary the Pakistani and Indian and justifying the enemy image. The moment there was a hope for breaking ice in Indo-Pak relations, such as elements exploited historical, religious, territorial and political polemics and blocked any chance of a breakthrough. In recent past, emotional rhetoric has successfully spoiled the Lahore Process and the Agra Summit. If the civil societies of India and Pakistan are not a hostage to extremists elements, one can expect the replacement of emotional rhetoric with intellectual reasoning. Those who are pursuing an emotional rhetoric approach know very well that they lack rational arguments to justify the politics of hate and confrontation, but they have so far managed to sustain an upper hand because of the weaknesses of the civil society.

Pakistan and India have history of many unresolved conflicts, wars and successful and unsuccessful peace process. But unlike the Middle East where wars led to talks for the resolution of conflicts and peace building, wars between India and Pakistan did not lead in that direction instead, after each war there occurred some positive developments (i.e., the January 1966 Tashkent Agreement and the July 1972 Simla Accord but these were short termed and replaced with new tensions.

The present state of Pakistan-India relations are not that much disappointing. The two did manage to settle some of their conflicts, division of assets, evacuation of property, distribution of river water (the Indus Water Treaty of 1960), demarcation of the Rann of Kuch boundary in 1969, and Salal Dam agreement in 1978. But such achievements failed to reduce feelings of insecurity, fear and hostility. Other agreements reached in the 1980 and 1990. Such as the agreement of non-attach on each others nuclear installation in 1988, cultural and communication in 1989, air and space violation in 1991, notification of military exercises in 1991, chemical weapons in 1992, and the conduct of each others diplomats in 1992, were aimed to build confidence between two neighbors, but so far have failed to normalize India-pakistan ties to the level of mutual trust cordiality. The Kashmir dispute and to a lesser extent the other unresolved conflicts like the nuclear issue, Wuller Barrage and Sir Greek have derailed that Pakistan-India normalization process.

Although, the nuclear issue is another irritant in Pakistan-India relations and requires management, but from Pakistan's point of view, the Kashmir dispute is the major cause of tension in South Asia and the nuclear issue is an effect of that cause. The two wars fought between India and Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 produced to two accords, Tashkent in January 1966 and Simla in july 1972 and provided opportunities for conflicts management and resolution. In both cases, the Kashmir dispute was accepted as a more source of tension and both India and Pakistan pledged to seek a peaceful resolution on that conflict.

From 1971 to date, the longest spell of peace between India and Pakistan did not yield a cessation of hostilities. Infact, the absence of war in South Asia is like a no-war and no-peace situation. Their strategically fragile position has further and courage them to escalate their

hostility to dangerous proportions.

As positive move in the mid 90s to continue hostile ties between Pakistan and India was the friendly gesture expressed by Islamabad to New Dehli in 1994 when Pakistan Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto said mangos to her Indian counterpart Narashimha Rao and 40 other prominent leaders, ministers and civil servants. Some elements in opposition parties of Pakistan raised a hue and cry when the “mango diplomacy” was reported in the press.

The official source justified that step by stating it a usual affair. The exchange of seasonal fruits and fruit juices between leaders of Pakistan and India is more or less routine. Once in the early 1980s, then president of Pakistan General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq sent mangoes to Indra Gandhi, she responded by sending him bottles of choice leechi juice. Ms. Bhutto’s friendly gesture came at a time when the two countries were making front-page news by manhandling and expelling each other’s diplomats, Be Nazir Bhutto in one of her interviews with the BBC claimed “when she was in power 4 years ago (1989), she helped the Indian government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in controlling the activities of Sikh separatists in East Punjab. She helped the Indian Government in this regard on the principle of non-interference in each other’s internal affairs. If Pakistan had not provided help to Mr. Gandhi then East Punjab would have become a separate land. But Benazir government gave them help on the principle that we will not interfere in the affairs of others. We made it clear at that time that Jammu and Kashmir is not an Indian territory and according to international law it is a disputed territory.”

There is a constant desire among the masses of Pakistan and India to resolve the pending conflicts and move into the 21st century as good neighbors rather partner, scholars, intellectuals, eminent citizens and businessmen have already invested efforts towards the same under the auspices of the SAARC but most effective one have been outside the official

umbrella. More than forty non-official interactions are estimated being operated in South Asia today. These efforts are simply included in the horizon of track-two diplomacy. State officials have always been suspicious about the efforts regarding track-two styles, but practically speaking, most of these attempts have assisted and contributed to the governmental proceedings by pointing out the more resolvable issues to identify policy options without committing their respective official authorities. The largest non-official effort, the Pakistan India Peoples Forum of Peace and Democracy has held a few number of successful meetings in both countries and got response by the media of each side. The “Neemrana Process” another, effective and well-known effort, sponsored by the Ford Foundation has also arranged a number of meetings to discuss various issues.

Different un-officials groups and organizations have applied various techniques to promote friendship between Pakistan and India. Some of them have used large high profile forums with vast media support and others have used a low-key approach. The Balusa Group, a small low-key effort, has been meeting regularly to discuss the intractable issues: has focused its efforts on influencing policy makers in both countries. The business communities of two sides have been more effective and more active as far as non-official efforts promoting peace and friendship are concerned, as these attempts came out of their self interest. The export of sugar by Pakistan in 1998 is an example of a successful deal that was beneficial for both countries. A Joint Pakistan-India Chamber of Commerce formulated by the business groups of two sides, is another useful attempt in this regard. Track-two activities need to be encouraged within Pakistan and India and also by world and regional powers of South Asia. There have been some suggestions from various channels and sections interested in un-official interactions to integrate and coordinate the efforts regarding track-two diplomacy by a

single organization. But individual and independent interventions deserve to be encouraged for two reasons. First, under one ambiguous umbrella bureaucracy, the personal motivation would be lost or lessened. Second, individual efforts touch the masses at multiple levels and have a greater in general impact.

Officially motivated and sponsored think-tanks in both countries have essentially been trumpeting the government policy and have invested very little to bring the two nations together. An independent joint Indo-Pak think- tank, especially in the area of security, is worth of consideration. For its neutrality and independence it will be more feasible to support it with nonofficial funding. The United Services Institute of India in New Delhi was formulated in 1871. It was renamed as the United Services Institute of Pakistan and India for a short period of time after the partition of the sub-continent in August 1947. it is still actively working as an important think-tank of India on national security issues. Being, to some extent utopian at this point in time, this institute could someday serve both the Pakistani and India security concerns.

A peace constituency already exists in Pakistan and India, among the masses of the two sides. Such as divided families, business people, the deprived inhabitants and the visionaries all are interested in the betterment of the relations between two countries. This simply needs are active support and encouragement from some effective channels of diplomacy either of track-one or track-two nature.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Since 1947, as the British dismantled their empire in the subcontinent, hatred and prolonging animosity have their roots in religion and history which recently has escalated into a dangerous arm race rather a nuclear one.

Being the two most important countries of South Asia, nature of bilateral relations of Pakistan and India and their internal political scenario disturb the socio-political environment of the whole region. After attaining nuclear power status, both countries are holding and enjoying a very vital and influential position at the global level as well. The continuing tension between these two neighboring states, is adversely affecting the human resource development and economic progress of the South Asian region. Moreover, the escalating danger of nuclear war is serving as a cause of tension among other states of the area and creating feelings of concern among the other members of international community; like USA, USSR and China.

The governments of Pakistan and India need to rethink reshape and reformulate their foreign policy options and initiatives with regard to their resource allocation. If they do not try to manage their conflicts and disputes through positive and constructive means and methods with the aim of mutual understanding, the future prospects of peace and progress in the region are going to be bleak. As official channels of diplomacy being restrained by some ideological and psychological barriers and hurdles created by history, culture, religion, specific geo-strategic location and-public opinion of the both sides, they are required to generate non-official tracks and tools to get the on going concerns diffused and to make the tensions reduced. The idea of permanent peace must be expanded by using the methods and techniques of track-two level of diplomacy. The people of two countries need to be motivated and public opinion of the both should be molded to accept and implement the new peace initiatives and conflict management strategies, as far as relations between Pakistan and India are concerned.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The relations between Pakistan and India have been continuously on fire. We must understand the factors that are obstructing the improvement of relations. India had her own long-term motives. India's changing strategic policies are decreasing the options for India to project itself as a friendly neighbor in the region.

The most important issue between India and Pakistan is that of Kashmir. With a view to finding a peaceful solution to the Kashmir problem, Pakistan accepted the principle of mediation more than once but India is obsessed with the notion of resolving it bilaterally. It is indeed most desirable if two nations can resolve their disputes through a dialogue between themselves but unfortunately bilateralism has failed in the context of the Kashmir dispute. India is persistent in following an intransigent attitude by refusing a bilateral dialogue as well as mediation by a third party. A vacuum created by the circumstances needs to be fulfilled through some channels other than track-one.

The resolution of the Kashmir conflict and restoration and development of mutual trust are interdependent processes. It is impossible to resolve the Kashmir conflict unless the two sides trust each other. It is impossible to restore trust unless India is committed to resolving the Kashmir conflict. It must also be kept in mind that the solution of Kashmir conflict must be based on the basis of peace, may be initiated by some efforts of track-two level.

We have entered the 21st century where states are trying to sort out their differences for the sake of human progress and regional cooperation. The first step in this regard is to shed away the past prejudices and create an environment of mutual trust. South Asia is one of the most deprived regions of the world where human security is grossly neglected. Both India and Pakistan are facing serious challenges of poverty, illiteracy and economic slow down. To

counter these problems there is a dire need for regional cooperation and understanding. We need to create opportunities for our countries in order to achieve the socio-economic development of the people. It is more than urgent to begin the future. India must accept the geographical realities and recognize its neighbors as independent sovereign countries irrespective of their size. It is possible, feasible and advisable to learn to live together without prejudices while retaining and practicing one's own faith, culture and values. Human security, dignity for human life and cooperation for socio-economic development should form the 21st century vision for the political leaders of South Asia. Track-two channels can initiate and then enhance the management process.

Resolving deep-rooted social conflicts requires change-change in attitudes, change in political and legal relationships. Change at the political level is for the most part the domain of track-one. True conflict management, however, is not sustainable through a single-track effort. Track-two diplomacy is a growing field, and with each new track-two initiative there is an opportunity for cooperation and collaboration with track-one efforts. In this context, it is important to affirm that track-two dialogue is not a mere "talk shop". A primary goal of track-two has been the fortification of channels for security dialogue in the region through the pursuit of Confidence Building Measures, of mutual good faith security agreements.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Track-two diplomacy can play a vital role in managing conflicts and resolving disputes among the states as it proved in Israel. Mid-East case and facilitated US-USSR and US-China to settle and smooth their tensions. So, there appears a probability of reducing level of grievances between India and Pakistan through track-two channels of diplomacy.

Initial study gives rise to some questions in this context which would have to be answered on

later stage of research while evaluating the findings and results. The questions are:

1. What is the relevancy of track-two channels in a civil society like Pakistan which is stunted and feudal in character and apparently not very fertile for people to people contacts as democratic structure and culture are looking for attaining their regular momentum and posture?
2. What kind of alternative forums of communication has been adopted for track-two when track-one efforts are mutilated while doing the task of confidence building-com-conflict management between Pakistan and India?
3. How much track-two may facilitate the governments of the both countries to mould the public opinion regarding the resolution of long pending issue of Kashmir?
4. Can track-two channels wash out the history of hatred, ideological differences and psychological grievances as far as political scenario of the sub-continent is concerned?
5. How much probabilities of peace process can be enlisted and prospected proving track-two diplomacy as peace initiator in South Asia can be defined as that facilitated in the cases like US- USSR, US-China and Israel Mid-East?
6. Can track-two diplomacy play or serve as a testing ground' for new foreign policy options or initiatives and can it help in creating a public peace constituency to manage the conflicts between Pakistan and India?
7. What type of most possible and more feasible methods, techniques, sub-tracks and funding net-works of track-two diplomacy may be applied and used as mechanisms and instruments to diffuse tension and manage conflicts which these regional giants of South Asia are facing so far?

HYPOTHESIS

After reviewing the literature on the topic, discussions with some resource persons and early findings of the research have convinced me to suppose that

- 1- 'Track-two diplomacy helps track-one to manage the conflicts'.
- 2- 'Track-two diplomacy can facilitate Pakistan and India to manage their conflicts in more effective and peaceful manner'.

OBJECTIVES

Main objectives of the proposed study are enlisted here as;

1. To understand the conceptual side of the foreign policy tool called diplomacy and to examine the origin of the issues, conflicts and disputes between Pakistan and India and present state and status of their mutual contacts and relations threatening or enhancing peace in the region.
2. To investigate and analyze the role of different levels diplomacy in managing conflicts and diffusing tensions between both countries with special reference to track-two efforts.
3. To focus the importance or practical application of non official track of diplomacy in the sphere of foreign policy implementation and to discuss the achievement acquired by track-two channels in restoring peace and resolving the conflicts prevailing among Pakistan and India.
4. To trace out the different methods and techniques of track-two level of diplomacy and to discover or create some new ones which can effectively be utilized in the process of conflict management between Pakistan and India.
5. To select and evaluate a set of issues and problems which Pakistan and India are

commonly suffering from including Kashmir; how it has been or to be addressed in track-two diplomacy.

6. To identify the various groups and non-governmental organizations activating in the region on track-two front, their specific goals, achievements net-working, funding channels etc.

TENTATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study under way, is tentatively classified into five chapters with an introduction and a conclusion. Here a brief view of this classification is given bellow:-

Introduction

1. *Theoretical Perspective of Diplomacy, Track II Diplomacy & Conflict Management*
2. *History of Diplomacy and Track II Diplomacy between Pakistan-India: Emotional and Irrational Legacy of Conflicts*
3. *Track II Diplomacy for Conflict Management between Pakistan & India (1996-2001)*
4. *Track II Diplomacy between Pakistan-India (2002-2010)*
5. *Options and Opportunities for Track-Two Diplomacy*

Conclusion

SOURCES

Although, a lot of printed material on diplomacy and conflict management is available in the libraries but specifically track-two level of diplomatic activities is not much focused by the scholars and academicians and no exclusive research work has so far been carried out on track-

two diplomacy with reference to conflict management between India and Pakistan. Special focus has been given to the efforts of some specialist of track-two diplomacy like Niaz A. Naik, Irshad Ahamd Haqani and a higher official of ISI who has been conducting the job for Pakistan, and found myself very comfortable to continue the research on this specific topic. I have visited Institute for Regional Studies, Institute for Strategic Studies and foreign office library in Islamabad which has facilitated my research with sufficient material in primary form like official reports and documents. Some activating groups supported by different governments like Neemrana Process and Balusa Group and some non-governmental organizations like; The Pakistan-India Peoples' Forum of Peace and Democracy, Women Initiative for Peace and South Asian Fraternity, from both sides are also playing very effective role on track-two level. I have planned to watch their activities more closely and for this I intend to go to India as well to consolidate my research.

Literature Review

The Book by G.R Berridge titled *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* gives a complete introduction of the concept diplomacy. The writer has discussed in detail about the procedures, structure, types, significance and history of diplomacy in international relations. While writing about the concept the writer has given a detailed picture of diplomatic norms, diplomats' immunities, and their functions which they carry in the host states. The book has discussed the evolution of diplomacy in different eras like Greeks, Romans and Middle Ages till the modern and contemporary times. The writer has also discussed about the importance of diplomacy in Islamic rules. The case studies in the book with special reference to Pakistan-India relations and conflicts have not been discussed in detail by the author.

The book *Diplomacy* written by seasoned diplomat and foreign secretary of US Henry Kissinger gives a theoretical and more importantly a practical outlook of diplomacy. The author has discussed the history of diplomacy in a brilliant way. The step by step evolution of the concept has been discussed in the book. Along with that the author has penned down his personal experiences in the field of history. He tells the reader about the diplomacy he conducted during Cold War era especially in the case of China. The writer discusses about the significance of diplomacy in contemporary international relations. He specially mentions that how US foreign policy and diplomacy tactics are better than other nations around the globe. The book seems to be specifically US oriented at few points.

The Book edited by G. R. Berridge, Sopher Keens *etal* under the title of *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli till Kissinger* gives a detailed picture of the important personalities involved in development of diplomacy. The formal diplomacy started from the Renaissance era from Italy and Machiavelli as the father of modern diplomacy has been discussed in the book. Over the years number of politicians, lawmakers, diplomats and historians who have played their part in reshaping and making it according to the needs of the time. The thoughts and writings of the famous scholars and diplomats like Machiavelli from 16th Century to Henry. Kissinger of 20th century has been included in the book. The book has European and West influence in it with completely ignoring the works of Muslim scholars in the field of diplomacy

The Book titled *Localizing Foreign Policy: Non-Central Governments and Multilayered Diplomacy* by Brain Hocking discusses about the gradual change in international relations and diplomacy during 1980s. The role of Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and non-central government organizations (NCGs) has started to make their impacts on foreign policy of the states. The case of US and Canada and role of their domestic constraints are the significant examples being discussed in the book. The policy makers had to look for domestic issues as

well as global constraints to form a foreign policy and trend of the diplomacy. The book significant for the Track II diplomacy has not discussed it's evolution of Track II diplomacy in the Southern part of the world.

The article by P. Jones under the title of *Track Two Diplomacy: Myths and Realities* has discussed the cores, assumptions and significance of Track II diplomacy. The writer looks into the developments and usage of Track II by different states of the world. The efficiency of this track of diplomacy has also been analyzed by the author. The expectations and the real outcome of the diplomacy especially the Track II is highly different in most cases. The author has given a deep insight of the procedure and how much states are affected by the efforts of Track II diplomats in resolving and negotiating the issues.

The book titled *India and Pakistan: On the Nuclear Threshold* by J. Battle significantly discussed about the diplomacy between Pakistan and India. The writer has mainly focused on the diplomacy importance after both states became nuclear in 1998. The importance of diplomacy according to the author has increased to new level between both states as the danger of crisis and conflict has reached to new level. Both states are nuclear and both cannot afford a war henceforth the tool of diplomacy is surely must be used by both states.

The article titled *Kinship Diplomacy in Ancient World* by J. Christopher gives a deep insight and study of the historical perspective of ancient diplomacy. The author has given the detailed description of the norms, customs and trends of ancient diplomacy in the eras of Greeks and Romans. These two civilizations have played a very vital role in developing the concept of diplomacy. Both entities designed specific norms for the diplomats. Although there were

number of differences in fundamentals of diplomacy in both civilizations but according to the author their role cannot be ignored in development of the concept diplomacy.

The book *The Life and Times of Muhammad* by J. Glubb is a deep and detailed study on Islamic diplomacy. The author while covering the life of Prophet (PBUH) has discussed the role of diplomacy during his life. The agreements like Sulah Hudabia , treaties with Jews of Medina, and the diplomatic envoys sent to the ruler of Rome, Persia and Syria are being discussed in the book. The book highlights the efforts of Muslims and their scholars in development and evolution of the diplomacy.

The article by P. Homans under the title of *Track II Diplomacy: A Short History* gives a detailed short history of Track II diplomacy. The discussed the emergence of concept in 1980s by a US statesmen. The author has also discussed the work of Track II diplomats during number of global issues like Israel-Palestine talks. This piece gives the reader a comprehensive and detailed history of Track II diplomacy.

The book by S. Riordan titled *The New Diplomacy* discussed the emergence of new trends and types of diplomacy. The writer has emphasized on the need of new tracks of diplomacy in international relations. Due to globalization the distances are shorter and communication among people of the world is very easy. Henceforth new methods like Track II diplomacy should be adopted by the states. The author writes about the emergence of non-governmental organizations, new actors, people to people contact and number of other elements which have played a vital role in emergence of new types and demands of diplomacy.

The article *Track Two Diplomacy in India and Pakistan: Initiatives, Impact, Challenges and Ways Forward* by P. Goldberg is a piece which discussed the importance of Track II diplomacy for conflict management between Pakistan and India. The author has emphasized on the point that the non state actors like NGOS, media houses, former diplomats can play a

highly important role in establishing close ties between both states. The writer has again discussed the role of different Track II group which have been working in Pakistan and India for better relations and a constant channel of communication between them.

The book by Bercovitch, Jacob and Rubin, Jeffrey Z under the title of *Mediation in international relations: Multiple approaches to conflict management* talks about the importance of conflict management and mediation in international relations. The book discusses that this approach has been adopted by many states but mainly by individuals, private groups, regional and international organizations and businessmen around the globe but this method has yet to been discussed in detail by the scholars. The book highlighted the importance of the conflict management in global politics and analyzed the new possible measures needed to be taken by the diplomats, states and other involving actors for the management of a clash among them.

The book *titled Contemporary Conflict Resolution* by the writers Oliver Ramsbotham , Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Mial discusses about the concept of conflict resolution in post cold war era. The writers are of the point that the conflict resolution and management policy has been adopted by the states since 1991 on a new high scale. This book points out the concept, basic ideas and charts of the concept, the challenges faced by it and the success and failures of the conflict resolution method in international relations. This book is one of the most important study material in this subject and has been updated according to contemporary needs and demands of world politics and have included the issues of environmental resolution, art and culture as conflict resolution.

The book by John Lederach named *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation* highlights the importance of conflict transformation in place of its resolution or management. The writer

discusses in detail about the all involving entities ranged from person to person, state to state, organization to organization and private groups to the private groups. The scholar is of the view that the transformation in the most important and vital step in conflict which leads to its management or resolution. He thinks that involving actors must emphasize that how a resolution can be transformed to less hostility and enmity by the states.

The book titled *International Conflict Resolution* by Charles Hauss highlights the newly emerged conflicts in 21st century. It shows how the modern emerging conflict is impacting the global politics in new aspects. The book discusses about the theory and practice of conflict resolution. The writer has divided the book into parts like the basic concepts, the case studies and the challenged this concept is facing in contemporary world. The book specifically focuses on the case studies of conflict resolution around the world in first decade of 21st century henceforth it gives a latest study to the students on conflict resolution to analyze the modern conflicts and basic theories of the approach.

The book by Michael J. Butler *International Conflict Management* talks about the basic ideas and theories of the concept in detail. The fundamental aspects like traditional peacekeeping, peace enforcement and support operations, negotiation and bargaining mediation and adjudication have been highlighted in this book. This book gives an insight of these concepts, their weaknesses and strong points especially with regard to the modern inter-state and intra-state conflicts in international relations. The piece gives a totally different point of view on the conflict management efforts during Cold War era and proves it through various theories, points and conceptual frameworks adopted that time period.

The research article by Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson under the title of *Negotiation or Mediation?: An Exploration of Factors Affecting the Choice of Conflict Management in*

International Conflict discusses about the condition under which the negotiations and mediation takes place. The writers are of the view the contextual condition aspect has been neglected by the scholars and have focused on the motivations and rational calculations of the conflict. Through various case studies the writers prove that the negotiation only takes place when the conflict is of low intensity and both sides shares equal power whereas the mediation takes place in high intensity conflicts. The article is well researched piece on the concept of conflict resolutions and its demands and challenges especially in the contemporary world politics.

The research article by Amritben Bagia under the title of Conflict Management Sows the Seeds of Future Conflict' A Case Study of the Kashmir Conflict discusses about the Kashmir Issue between Pakistan and India in detail. According to the writer the issue has been tried to resolve but it always proved to short termed and weak efforts. The detail study of conflict management and the involvement of third party mediation can resolve the issue on the permanent bases. The Kashmir issue once resolved can lead to the management and resolution of other major conflicts between both states. The writer is of the view that both states need to engage in constant negotiations and take the issue step by step according to the conflict management mode.

The research article titled *The Structure of International Conflict Management: An Analysis of the Effects of the Intractability and Mediation* by Jacob Bercovitch and Patrick M. Regan highlights the rapid changes in nature of conflicts in post Cold War era. The conflicts have been transformed from the power politics to the ethnic and religious have created new challenges for the conflict management studies. The article gives the idea of need of new ideas for conflict

resolution by involving new actors and individuals in the process. This will give new shape to the study of conflict resolution of global relations.

The research article by Akisato Suzuki under the title of *Partition and Conflict Transformation in India-Pakistan and Cyprus* discusses that the partition transforms the conflict in place of settling it. The writer is of the view that after the partition the conflict becomes inter-state from intra-state conflict. The example of India-Pakistan partition is the primary one as the issues and conflicts become between Pakistan and India in place of Indian internal conflicts. The conflict reached to new level between both states after they become the nuclear powers. The article highlights the issues and challenges two states face after the partition and how they can resolve or manage their conflicts as separate entities.

The book titled *Lessons from the Middle East* by Hussein Agha *et al* gives a deep insight of Track II diplomacy efforts in Middle East. The book focuses on the Israel-Arab conflict resolution through Track II diplomacy especially in case of Camp David Accord. The book although did not discuss about the track ii diplomacy in case of Pakistan and India but it gives a comprehensive model through which both states can resolve their issues. The model given in the book involves the third party involvement and the consent of both states to resolve the issue can applied on these two South Asian states and the conflicts between them can be resolved through this study.

The book written by Maureen Berman and Joseph Johnson under the title of *Unofficial Diplomats* discusses about the history, characteristics, development and basic structure of Track II diplomacy in international relations. The book highlights the important summits, conferences

and agreements regarding the Track II diplomacy in world politics. It focuses on the importance of unofficial channels for communication among states and how these entities can play a vital role in managing and resolving the issues among states through Track II diplomacy. The case studies included in this book are direct assertions of the families of the unofficial diplomats which make this work a highly significant source for the study of unofficial diplomacy.

The research article by Diana Chigas under the title of *Who are Track Two Intermediates and Diplomats?* It gives a detailed insight of role, nature, importance and significance of the Track II diplomats. The article discusses that the Track II diplomats are mostly unofficial representatives of the state who sometimes work on order of the state or act upon their personal interests and approaches which do not clash with the interests of the state. The latter are mainly businessmen, artists and cultural actors. The process of selection of these unofficial individuals and groups is being given in the article with different case studies around the globe. This research piece tells the student that how much these unofficial diplomats are important for conflict resolution among the states.

The report titles *Talking to the Enemy: Track II Diplomacy in the Middle East and South Asia* by RAND Corporation discusses the unofficial diplomatic efforts in both regions. The report has give detailed information of the actors, individuals, private groups, former diplomats and retired military men who have been involved in Track II diplomacy among the states in these two regions. The report also discussed the success stories and failures in this diplomacy. The Middle East Traci II diplomacy achieved more success as compared to South Asian efforts. This research piece focuses on the points which South Asian states especially Pakistan and India need to take from the Middle East model. The model can resolve the issues between these two states on permanent and long term grounds.

The research article by Dalia Dassa Kaye under the title of *Rethinking Track II Diplomacy: The Middle East and South Asia* discusses about the basic ideas of the concept and its importance for both regions. The writer tells that the conflicts in these regions are historical and unresolved but through Track II diplomacy they have sat on the negotiating table and have established a communication channel. The scholar is of the view that the Track II diplomats can discuss those issues and conflicts which cannot be discussed on the official platforms among the states of these regions. The issues these unofficial channels have discussed are ranged from security issues to environmental to economical issues.

The book by Michael Thomas Kunchinsky titled *Peace from Below: Recent Steps Taken along the Track-Two Diplomacy Path* gives the development and rapid increased significance of Track II diplomacy in international relations. The piece discusses about the efforts of people who initiated this track of diplomacy to resolve the issues through unofficial channels. The pioneers of Track II diplomacy saw the importance of unofficial diplomacy in contemporary because of its globalized nature hence they started to arrange the meetings and conferences regarding Track II diplomacy to show its importance to the states.

The research article by John W. McDonald under the title of *Citizen Diplomacy in a Changing World* tells about the rapid developments and changed in Track II diplomacy with accordance of modern demands of global politics. The writer is of the view that the international relations have changed immensely especially after Cold War and the traditional diplomacy cannot comprehend with these new needs henceforth the unofficial and Track II diplomacy has taken a vital role in resolving the issues among states. The interdependence and numerous communication channels available for Track II diplomats have made the diplomacy and

communication among states relatively easy which enhance the chance of resolving the conflicts.

The Book by writers Smitu Kothari and Zia Mian under the title of *Bridging Partition: People's Initiatives for Peace between India and Pakistan* discusses about the conflicts prevailing since 1947 between both states. According to the writers the Track I or official diplomacy has taken place on number of occasion and is well documented but these efforts have not proved to be fruitful. Henceforth the people to people contact or Track II diplomacy is need of the both states. Through mutual cultural values and traditional norms people can establish a friendly communication channel and this can lead to the resolution of the conflicts on strong bases which will last for very long time as compared to Track I diplomacy.

The article by Samir Ahmad under the title of *Track-Two Diplomacy between India and Pakistan: A Study in Diplomatic Overture* highlights the importance of Track II diplomacy for relations of Pakistan and India. The researcher writes that Track I diplomacy have been tried over and over again but the results are both satisfactory because of lack of communication between both states. The Track II diplomacy on the other hand is constant communication channel which has the ability to reduce the tension between both states. The writer also thinks that the Track II diplomacy is getting popularity between these states especially after the involvement of private groups in the process especially media houses and businessmen.

The book titled *Track Two Diplomacy in India-Pakistan Relations* by Showkat Ahmad Kumar discusses about the deep rooted conflicts between both states since 1947. The relations according to the writer have transformed to hostile to de-escalate to again hostility over the years. The book focuses on the case studies and efforts of Track II diplomacy which helped in managing and de-escalating the conflicts between Pakistan and India. The writer has given detailed information about these efforts, meetings and developments occurred due to the Track II diplomacy between Pakistan and India. The book is recent which can be very helpful for the students of Track II diplomacy between Pakistan and India in conflict management.

Chapter 1

1.1 Theoretical perspective of Diplomacy, Track Two Diplomacy and Conflict Management

Introduction to Diplomacy

Diplomacy as a tool of sustained communication primarily among states has become a vast field in contemporary world. Now not only it is used to make contact to resolve states' conflicts, issue and to conduct treaties among them but also it is now a mean for developing the ties among the non-state actors like institutes, businessmen, NGOs and above all masses of the different states. World after World War II had to become more communicative, the gaps were bridged up quite rapidly and the term of Globalization was coined. The diplomacy emerged as a significant and vital state policy to resolve the different issues. The means of communication increased and the distances got shortened, states became more connected (Kissenger, 1994; Watson, 1982)

The diplomacy might be was there since the establishment of City-Stat system in Greece, when these entities began to evolve their rules and regulations regarding wage of war and principals of war, the rulers begun to evolve the regulations regarding diplomacy. With passage of time the diplomacy certainly becomes a vast field (Fry, Goldstein, Langhorne, 2002; Hamilton, Langhorne, 1995; Lauren, 1976). From top governmental level it has reached to grass roots level. Number of actors, other than states started to play their role. The NGOs, business community, retired officials, students and common people arranged meetings, conferences, conventions and now social media connection has been developed among the citizens of states (Ball, 1976; Head, Lauren, 1976; Berridge, 2002)

Diplomacy and Conflict Management

Use of diplomacy for crisis management and resolution is its one of the top aspects. The states have been utilizing diplomacy for managing, reducing and resolving the conflicts among them. In modern history, world has faced two global wars, resulting in deaths of millions, destruction of infrastructures and devastation of global economy. Interestingly, most of the conflicts were resolved through diplomacy. The process of crisis management in diplomacy takes the issues from hostility to the negotiation table. Diplomacy not only presents the solution of the conflict but also sustained the stable relations for longer time of period among states. The process of negotiation is a long process, during which states sit, talk and analyze the matter in hand and gradually multiple solutions and results came into consideration (Calliers, 1983; Nicolson, 1950)

The politics of contemporary world was dominated by Cold War for almost half a century. The states were divided into a bipolar world. Most of the states were tend to be in the Capitalist or the Communist block; henceforth the international relations were a chapter of constant hostility. On number of occasions, both states came into situation of direct clash and war was inevitable. Keeping the knowledge of stockpiles of nuclear arms of both superpowers, the possible devastation can be imagined. The diplomacy once again played its role and helped to avoid the conflicts. The major example of success of diplomacy is the establishment of Hot-Line between Washington DC and Kremlin in 1963, after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. This diplomatic strategy not only established a direct communication line between head of both states but also played a major role in avoiding future armed clashes (Nicolson, 1998; Craig, George, 1995)

1.2 Post WWII Era

Above all, in contemporary world, the diplomacy was successful, when the hostile Cold War which was prolonging since end of WWII, ended peacefully. The realist assumptions which dominated the international relations were considered as failed as they remained unable to predict the amicable end of the Cold War. The diplomatic contacts between US and USSR and their efforts like Malta Conference, reduction in arms and USSR's decision to introduce new political and economic changes and its decision to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan makes the Cold War end without any major direct clash.

1.3 Diplomacy and Cold War Era

The global politics turned into liberal from realist. The basic ideas of power, self interest, balance of power and anarchical system were replaced by liberal ideas of democracy, soft power and diplomacy. Henceforth the global relations were initiated to be handled under these newly dominant ideas. The states started to look for more diplomatic outcomes of the issues, direct clashes and all out wars did not remain a foreign policy priority for the states. The steps of crisis managements of recognizing the issue, discussing it, managing it and in the end resolving it were started to being adopted by the states. The conflicts are started to be resolves through soft power, diplomacy and other amicable means (Braston, 1997; Eban, 1998; Freeman, 1997)

The change in International scenario, also affected the field of diplomacy. The diplomacy began to expand its sphere of influence. The different types increased rapidly. The non-state actors, specific sections f people and number of organizations became important sources for diplomacy. The top level and grass root level both types became and effective means for contacting and arranging diplomatic meetings among states. The states were pressurized by these non-state

actors to see into the demands of common masses and other communities living there in a state. The interdependency in the world was prevailed at every level and the case of diplomacy was not so different. The fast communication or more precisely the globalization of the world has made these actors to be in contact quite easy and approachable. The reliance on official sources now less (Lauren, 1979; Thompson, 1992)

1.4 Diplomacy's role between Pakistan and India Relationship

The case of Pakistan and India is not so different from other alike. The two neighboring states, being indulged in hostility and enmity since their inception has remained in number of direct clashes over the years. Both states have fought three wars and countless border clashes in their short span of history. The conflicts are always on high. The security dilemma constantly persists between them. The diplomacy is the only tool to resolve their issues through crisis management. The people of both states shares common history, culture and numerous values, henceforth the use of Track II diplomacy can play a vital role in toning down the enmity. Track II diplomacy can be a best available option for these neighbors for crisis handling and managing conflicts.

Pakistan and India are both nuclear powers, the direct war is non-option for both. Any war or armed clash will result in the total inhalation. Governments of on both sides need to use the tool of diplomacy and in context of their shared history; they must utilize the insights of Track II diplomacy for a stable and peaceful South Asian region.

1.5 Theoretical School of Thoughts of Diplomacy

a. Traditionalist Diplomacy Theory (TDT)

Traditionalists give a narrower definition of the diplomacy. The approach is called orthodoxy. It focused on the traditional actors, means and aspects of the international relations. The diplomacy

is called to be the work of official individuals, specific institutions and already framed processes. In realism the diplomacy is defined as the communications, negotiation and sharing of information among sovereign states (Langhorne, 1992). It gives a ‘bounded’ definition of the diplomacy. It opposes inclusion of any non-state actor as individual or organization. The diplomacy is business needs to be dealt in the closed doors, government buildings and official corridors. Outside these premises, there will or would not be any diplomacy (Bull, 1977; Anderson, 1993)

a. Major Scholars of Traditional Diplomacy

Historically the traditional diplomatic theory has many scholars and examples. Butterfield called it the ‘historical’ diplomacy which reached to its “Golden Age” in the 18th century in Europe. While Wight prefers the term “Classical Diplomacy” and wrote it as a “civilized and civilizing” procedure for the core of global politics consists of traditional diplomatic offices. Nicolson stated it as “old diplomacy” which has purely Europe centric roots which began to emerge after the Treaty of Westphalia. The modern scholars also focus on this school of thought and mentioned it in their works on number of occasions. Riorden in his book “*Diplomacy*” repeatedly mention the “traditional Diplomacy structure” which have roots in Westphalian order with holding a realistic and tight traditional policy formation system (Holsti, 2004; Camilleri, Falk, 1992). The father of modern diplomacy stated that “there is little evidence that this traditional mode of diplomacy has changed or is likely to change in coming years: The views of Kissinger proves that the traditionalists still focus on old basis and don’t believe in the process and basic elements of the diplomacy even in modern times. Therefore it can be said that traditionalist jurists want to maintain the continuity and old tradition in the study of international relations (Raymond, 2002; Butterfield, Wight, 2001).

b. State Centric and Power Politics

As discussed earlier, traditionalism is a state centric theory henceforth it will prioritize the national interest of the state. In this school of thought, the norms and values of powerful states are implemented in International relations. In a bipolar world the clash is inevitable between super powers. Same happened in the era of Cold War. The US and the USSR tried to implement their traditions, their own specific style of politics and ideologies. Morgenthau called it “Structural Universalism”. In mid twentieth century, he presented this idea. According to him, under this idea, “The structural universalism is the national claim of one state to impose its valuation and traditions on all other states of the world”. A brief look in the history can easily prove this idea of Morgenthau. During cold war, the global arena remained a hostile community due to clashes of ideas of two super powers. In post cold war era, in a uni-polar world, the ideas, norms and values of USA was being implemented under the New World Order (Muldoon *etal*, 1999)

In the field of diplomacy, the tradition of a super power is applied. In contemporary world, the ideas like Shuttle diplomacy was introduced by Henry Kissinger. This method was adopted for the resolution of the conflict on emergency footings. Likewise, USSR tried to implement their form of diplomacy in international community by spreading the idea of communism. Both states increased their allies through diplomacy by offering incentives, arm deals, financial aids and strategic benefits. The thing to be focused is that the national interest of these two powers remained on top during these diplomatic efforts (Kahler, 1997; Riorden, 2003).

c. Significance of National Power and Alliances

In traditionalism, the national power is one of the most core ideas. In realistic-diplomacy the major focus is on this aspect. The realist diplomats tried to gain more ground to enhance their national power. The idea of absolute gain is implemented. The realistic diplomacy tends to adopt any available mean to achieve their goal. The absolute gain means that the diplomat would consider and emphasize on the personal interest of his state. The national interests, national power and national gain are the main points of agendas of the realist diplomacy. The states seldom compromise on their stances in realism, especially when there is potential or actual threat to the state power (Lee, Hocking, 2011; Johnson, Hall, 2005).

According to this ideology one of the major aspects of diplomacy is to make alliances. Through diplomacy the states or super powers more precisely makes alliances to increase their range of national power sphere. Interestingly, beside the diplomatic efforts, realist policy makers and diplomats do not believe on their alliances. The alliances are source of national power and influence but they are not trust worthy. So, the diplomatic missions make alliances and give them the benefits but on the other hand keep a close eye on them. It is because, like realism's core assumptions, the realist-diplomacy is revolves around the state, its interests, power and priorities (Berridge, 2001; Hudson, 2004)

d. Balance of Power in Traditional School of Thought

The maintaining of Balance of Power is one of the vital aspects of traditionalist/realist-diplomacy. The diplomats of the both powerful and developing states try to keep the balance of power at regional and global level. This balancing of power is sought to be in their favor. The states put their efforts to keep their national interest as top priority, for instance of the Cold War

is significant in the Balance of Power factor. Both the US and USSR tried to keep the balance of power at global arena. This was the reason they made alliances, fought proxy wars and initiated an endless arms and nuclear proliferation. Almost for the half of the century in post World War II era, the game of balance of power was played between the diplomats of these super powers. The small states were used as weights by their policy makers (Bull, 1977; Wight, Butterfield, 1982).

The phenomenon of balance of power is constantly prevailing between Pakistan and India. A study of the history of both neighbors will certainly reveal that they have been making, developing and implementing the policies for sustaining the balance of power. In this regard major example is of the nuclear capability. India established it in 1970s and to maintain the power balance; Pakistan has to start its nuclear program. In 1998, India tested their nuclear weapons and gained an upper hand in the region. Pakistan was massively pressurized from inside to score a greater response. International community was specifically holding the opinion that the state should not reciprocate in the same manner. The threat of sanctions was luring upon Pakistan. On the contrary, the government was facing immense pressure from domestic front. It was not because of the old rivalry but to maintain the equal power standard against India. Pakistan chose to show its nuclear capability and tested its nuclear bomb. Although this led to economic sanctions on Pakistan, but the state remained successful in re-instigating the balance of power in South Asian region.

e. Track Two Diplomacy in Traditionalism

Track II diplomacy in realism is not practiced approach. As discussed earlier, the realism is the state focused school of thought. That is why, the advocates of this approach don't believe on any

role of public, businessmen, NGOs and other non-state actors in diplomacy. In short it can be said that the realists do not believe in Track II or any other Track, except Track I diplomacy. For realism it is an official state business and need to dealt among the states by the states for the states (Sharp, 2003)

1.6 Nascent Diplomatic Theory (NDT)

Nascent Diplomatic Theory explains diplomacy in a broader sense. It includes the non-state actors and do not consider state as central entity of international relations. Liberalists believe that global politics is the melting pot of both official and non-official factors of diplomacy. Henceforth it focuses more on the individuals, regional and international organizations, values, traditions, international law and private groups within states. According to this school of thought the role of these actors is not only theoretically believed in this school of thought but also operationally, they are also adopted. This ideology tends to focus on the non-official issues (Constantinou, 1996; Kurbaliga, 1999;Kappen, 1995).

a. Expansion of NDT

The non-orthodox or non-traditional scholars and practitioners adopt the means and sources to talk on the issues which cannot or could not be settled down at official level of the states. These issues can range from border clashes to cultural, religious, ethnic and economic sort of clashes. It pushes the diplomacy out from the limits of foreign ministries, overseas missions and state delegations. On the contrary, it tends to discuss the matters in hand, in non-official meetings which further can put pressure on the state authorities for the resolution. Under this theory the conflicts can be resolved on mutual cultural and identity grounds. Nascent theory has brought

down the diplomacy to grass root level from the high state circles (Evan *etal*, 1993; Riordan, 2003)

b. Development of Nascent School of Thought

The ingredients of this type of diplomacy can be traced back to the inter war period. During that time the states were willing to share common interests, mutual peace initiatives, collective security and practice of international law through organizations like the League of Nations. By these ideas of harmony, universalism was developed. These idealistic views perished at the verge of World War II. In post WWII era the realism and the realistic-diplomacy was the core practice of policy makers and scholars of international relations. The peaceful end of the Cold War diminished the dominance of the realism. The liberals once again took the centre stage at global community (Kennedy, 1922; Murray, Mayer, 1969; Kung, 2002; Bull, 1977)

The new ideas and issues were emerging at global level. New World order was focusing on the new issues like environment, diseases, education and poverty. Same was start happening with the diplomacy. The state diplomats were not the only entities to handle the diplomacy. The Diaspora of diplomatic fronts enhanced and so did the actors of diplomacy. The introduction of the new trends in diplomacy like multilateral diplomacy, public diplomacy and cricket diplomacy changed the traditional definition of the diplomacy. The states have to adopt the speedily changing trends of diplomacy. The merging of interests specifically for economic ends forces official to look for the other actors for diplomatic purposes (Hoffman, 2003; Langhorne, 1997).

c. Contemporary Politics and Nascent Theory

The modern scholars used to support this school of thought. Hocking, for instance, says that the emergence of nascent diplomacy “shows the expansion of the agenda to embrace the human

rights and environmental issues, the strengthening of civil society and the growing capacity, particularly NGOs, to operate alongside governments in the international arena and to challenge their (states) authorities". The main difference between Traditionalist and Nascent diplomatic school of thoughts is that Traditional a realistic-approach consider state as a centric tenant whereas nascent diplomacy is an ideal and moral ideology that propagates global community (Adam, 1991Langhorne, 1998).

d. Role of Globalization and unofficial Groups

The new phenomena of globalization played a vital role in changing the traditional form of the diplomacy. The invention and rapid development in technology, transport means, communication sources makes the world a small community. The immense flow of informational, circumstances changing on the verge of moments and emergence of numerous new issues affected the diplomacy immensely. The connection did not only increase at states' level but also people to people contact increased rapidly. The businessmen, students, artists and number of other social groups, NGOs, MNCs and individuals established the contact among them. These all are the end results of liberalism. Henceforth the liberalist-diplomacy started to become a significant tool in international relations (Hocking, 1999; Macdonald, Diamond, 1999).

e. Role of Individuals and Private Groups

Nascent-diplomacy seeks specific groups or individuals for the specific issues. The businessmen play a vital role in shaping the economic foreign policy of the states. They have their own interests and power full groups influence the policy makers. They developed communication at different levels started to be developed. These groups not only communicate with each other with the consent of the states but also arrange meeting on their own. These non-state actors

further can pressurize states to meet the outcomes of their meetings. These people to people contacts are mainly for mutual social benefit of the concerned states. These non-state or sometimes non-officials settlements are mostly initiated by some private group or group of individuals. The consent of the state is not necessary. In some situations states do indulge themselves in these activities (Goddis, John, 1987; Hunt, 1992).

f. NDT School of Thought: Implication of Pakistan and India

Pakistan and India, two immediate neighbors never enjoy cordial relations on long term bases. The major reason is the rivalry since inception of both states. During much of the course of mutual history, both have the stances which remained at daggers drawn stance. Their old cultural, religious and historical rivalries are the basic cause of the constant hostile relations. On the contrary, it is interesting to note that both states also enjoy numerous mutual cultural, social and economic similarities. There are still family connections, religious affiliations and cultural relations on both sides of the border. It creates people to people contact at regular bases. Although there is more of hostility at grass level too, but there are also strong signs of non-hostile connection through above mentioned means.

g. Nascent Theory and Pakistan-India Ties

The liberalist kind of diplomacy has been tried to carry out between Pakistan and India on number of occasions. *Amman kid Asha* is one the notable efforts. Some vital initiatives started by two private like Aman ki Asha by media groups of both states were initiated to increase the people to people contact. The effort not appreciated by number of social entities in nonetheless an effort. The shared stories from the both sides of the borders, positive sentiments and cultural exchanges are being conducted under the banner. Along with that number of business groups,

retired officials, student organizations and cultural groups has arranged the meetings, some official and most non-official. These meetings are the part of Track Two diplomacy, which is an aspect of Liberalist-diplomacy.

As discussed earlier both sides share many mutual social and cultural values, henceforth the diplomacy including all tracks from officials to retired officials from business groups to the students can play a vital role in settling the enmity down. This liberalist grass root level diplomacy will most certainly will bridge up the relationship vacuums present between these two neighbors. It would not only be beneficial for them but also for the South Asian Region. The liberalist-diplomacy has more chances to succeed because the official diplomacy between them is often are in crisis, halted or postponed. Hence the role of non-state actors, private groups and individuals can play vital and probably ensure the long lasting stable mutual relations.

1.7 Innovative Diplomatic Theory (IDT)

Innovative is not considered as the major change in the diplomatic environment and studies rather it was emerged as the combination of numerous theoretical ideas and perceptions inside the diplomatic studies. During the Cold War it was Traditionalists who dominated the scholarly field of IR where as Post Cold War era belongs to the nascent diplomats. Like O'Hare (1995) wrote "The End of the State", Dunn (1995) stated "Contemporary Crisis of the State" and Wolf questioned if the "State would survive". The state centric and non-state centric are miles apart from each other. They are most likely not to change their stances in foreseen future. Both have their basic ideas and are stick to them with core. Both schools of thoughts are like two poles of the globe. Henceforth because of their rigidity a vacuum created in the diplomatic studies. The

middle way was necessity to draw out some idea, consists of the moderate diplomatic ideas (Derian, 1987, Hocking, 1999; Hocking, 1993).

a. Origin and Development of Innovators

The term “Innovators” was first coined by Melissan (1999) in his book *Innovation in the diplomatic Practice*. He wrote that the purpose of the efforts of Innovators “Intended to supplement the analysis of more familiar topics” in the literature of diplomatic studies. The familiar topics here are obviously state and non-state debate. While studying the diplomacy it is impossible to ignore these topics. Innovators not only discuss these ideas but also propagate to create a relationship between both schools of thoughts like realignment. IDT is the first one to mention the gap in studies of diplomacy. They are of the view that the diplomatic studies have been polarized. NDT is of the view that it has created an “agnostic environment” in the diplomacy ranging from the traditional states to the newly emerging entities in diplomacy. In other words both ideas exist but in solitude with no interaction between them (Melissan, 1999; Cooper, 1997; Melissan, 2003).

b. Academic Vacuum and role of Innovation Diplomatic Theory

Innovators consider this gap between state and non-state diplomacy as major debate of “newness and decline”. The former relegates to the vastly growing non-state actors in IR and decline points out the mixture of “unofficial” and “official” actors. The NDT literature major focus on this phenomenon as Langhorne (1997, 1998, 2000) and Rechlyer (1996) points out the emergence of new actors like NGOs and IGOs among the global community. Innovators think that this debate of choosing “either” forces the diplomacy student to choose one of them. For example Sharp, Hocking and Cooper persists on “traditional diplomacy” and “no change” on the diplomatic

studies. This “confused and unfocused” emphasize has drawn “two lines of divergent argument” which further widened the gap in diplomatic scholarly work. IDT school of thought is persistent on mergence of both IDT and NDT. They give equal weightage to both “state and non-state actors (Sharp, 1999; Sharp, 1997(a); Ball, 1976).

c. Innovators Core of Merging TDT and NDT

Likewise the Innovators think that both schools of thoughts can be neutral and impartial. They advocate the contemporary diplomacy cannot be studied without the knowledge of traditional and non-traditional ideas. Hence the blend of both ideologies is the best method to study the global diplomacy. This is the main point or hallmark of the Innovation Diplomatic Theory. They not only acknowledge both ideas but also emphasize on the understanding of both TDT and NDT basic ideas for a better and considerable knowledge of the diplomacy. This theoretical approach introduces a new “strong demonstration of renewed theoretical innovation in the field, innovation that avoids oil and patterns and old labels” (Strange, 1997)

Lee, Sharp and Hockings although focused on the traditional aspects of diplomacy but they are the advocates of creating of a balance in the diplomacy study. The innovators are the balancers. They present their ideas, extract the merits from TDT and NDT and demolish the literary limits, boundaries and side stripping debates completely. The end result is an neutral diplomatic theory which emphasizes on the mutually beneficial nature of the traditional and non-traditional diplomatic relationship. Innovators can be called as the critiques of the already existing theories, identifies the loopholes and conduct considerable study of the different faction of the theorists of both schools of thoughts (Wesson, 1990).

The Innovators in major, believe that there is a relation between different actors and elements of diplomacy. It gives an environment of cooperation between these above mentioned actors. They are of the view that relationship between state/non-state actors is not only necessary but also complementary for the diplomatic studies. However they insist that TDTs have to accept the role of non-state diplomatic actors as an integral element of the modern diplomatic environment. Lee and Hudson give a scenario in case of ignoring of the non-state actors, by stating that:

“Most diplomatic theorists would have us believe that diplomacy is the stuff of high politics, yet we know this position obscures the practice of a diplomacy that is far more complex and multifaceted. Not only do we know this intuitively, diplomats and official government records tell us that this is so. This blindness produces nothing more than a partial disclosure of what constitutes diplomatic practice” (Caparo, 2000)

d. IDT and Post Cold War Era

The innovators consider the Post Cold War era as the major development in the studies of the diplomacy. This change in the International Relations provides a room and space for the scholars to ponder, work and establish new ideas and traditions in the diplomacy. Melissan express his “relief” and stat that since then the “Intellectual Shackles of the Cold War preoccupations and excessive emphasize on aspects military” have slowly evaporated. This scenario has allowed the Innovators to give more focus on the rephrasing the traditional ideas of diplomacy and its role in contemporary politics (Hocking, 2000).

Summarizing the Innovator Diplomatic Theory it can be said that both schools of thoughts are essential but their difference has created a huge vacuum in the diplomatic studies which is need to be filled. Applying this ideas to the present Pakistan and India relations it can be advocated that both states also need to change their stances and by taking the role of both state and non-

state actors and their merits, these neighboring states can resolve their issues and conflicts. Like Innovators, Pakistan and India can sacrifice a bit from their point of views and construct a middle road of relationship for the stable bilateral relations.

1.8 Definitions of the Diplomacy

Different scholars of diplomacy and literature have defined the diplomacy according to their own interests and understandings. Diplomacy being a central tool for maintaining the states and organizations has number of aspects, elements and angles. Following are the some detentions given b different scholars, diplomats and practitioners.

- "The word Diplomacy has its roots in Greek and was later used by the French (*diplomatie*) to refer to the work of negotiator on behalf of a sovereign (*Robert, 2006*)
- “States use diplomacy to resolve disputes, form alliances, negotiate treaties, strengthen economic relations, promote cultural and military exchanges, and for a variety of other purposes. Diplomacy encapsulates a broad arrangement of shifting rules, etiquette, goals, procedures, and agreements. There are international laws that govern some aspects of diplomacy, while other elements are based on tradition, pragmatism, and expediency. Non-state actors—including but not limited to nongovernmental organizations and multinational corporations—play an increasingly important role in diplomatic relations as the tides of globalization shift the international landscape. Yet, no matter how much the international arena changes, diplomacy will always play a central role in dictating how states and other entities interact” (*Seely, 2011*)

- “Diplomacy is the management of international relations by means of negotiations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys the business or art of the diplomats” Nicholson (Your Article Library)
- “Diplomacy is the inevitable outcome of the coexistence of separate political units (states) with any degree of contact.” (Frankel)
- “A diplomat’s words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.” Another statesman has also observed, “When a diplomat says yes, he means perhaps; when he says perhaps, it means no; and when he says no, he is not a diplomat.” (Stalin, 1945)
- “Diplomacy is the process of representation and negotiation by which states customarily deal with one another in times of peace.” (Padelford ; Lincoln, 1999)
- “Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states.” (Sir Ernest Satow, 1934)
- “Diplomacy is “the art of forwarding one’s interests in relation to other countries.”(Panikar, 1945)
- “Diplomacy is the management of international relations by means of negotiations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys the business or art of the diplomats.” (Nicholson, 1963)
- “Diplomacy is the promotion of the national interest by peaceful means.”(Morgenthau; Bongeye, 2000)
- “Diplomacy has three elements. First, it emphasizes the use of law by states, suggesting that international law is a set of resources with which states construct the explanations for

their behavior. This view is an alternative to conventional philosophical positions on international law from the Hobbesian, positivist, and Kantian traditions. Second, it suggests that controversy over distinguishing compliance from noncompliance is inherent in the concept of international law, so that diplomacy is by nature a contest among competing claims about rule-following. This contradicts some common approaches to diplomacy and law that suggest that deliberation, argumentation, and diplomacy lead to greater consensus over the meaning of particular laws. Instead, I suggest that diplomacy complicates rather than simplifies the notion of compliance. Finally, it presents diplomacy as the medium of exchange between agents and structures in international relations. Studying the practice of diplomacy therefore provides an example of how the interactive process between agents and structures can be modelled for international relations theory” (Hurd, 2011)

- **“Diplomacy is a central concept in the study of international relations,** although scholars often disagree about its function. There is a general distinction in the social science literature between diplomacy as foreign policy and diplomacy as the process of negotiation and deliberation that promotes peace and cooperation among nations”. (Diplomacy in Social Sciences)
- “The war we are fighting today against terrorism is a multifaceted fight. We have to use every tool in our toolkit to wage this war - diplomacy, finance, intelligence, law enforcement, and of course, military power - and we are developing new tools as we go along”. (Richard Armitage, 2004)
- “Diplomacy as simply foreign policy captures only a superficial element of the workings of international relations. Diplomacy encompasses a great number of international

activities that do not include processes of cooperation. As Jose Calvet de Magalhaes points out in states can engage in unilateral contact such as propaganda, espionage, and political or economic intervention. They can also engage in violent contact such as threat, deterrence, and economic war. Thus, the definition of diplomacy as a dialogue among nations is very broad". (The Pure Concept of Diplomacy, 1988)

- "Diplomacy is more than saying or doing the right things at the right time, it is avoiding saying or doing the wrong things at any time". (Bo Bennett, 2000)

1.9 Major Tracks of Diplomacy

Over the course of history like other disciplines have developed in number of aspects, diplomacy is not an exception. The diplomacy the art of government has not remained confined to the official meetings. The discipline has established its footholds in the social, economic and numerous other circles of the international relations. The diplomats are not the only channel to carry out the responsibilities of the diplomacy. The other social actors, private groups and nonprofit organizations are playing significant role in developing the diplomatic ties among states. This distribution or levels of the developed shape of diplomacy are being categorized in tracks. Given below are the Tracks of Diplomacy.

a. Track One Diplomacy

This track is the traditional aspect of the diplomacy, the diplomatic efforts being conducted solely at state level. The only role in this track is of the government officials, Diplomats, head of the states and military leadership. All in all it can be summarized that the Track I diplomacy remains in the official circle. The reach of other social actors like businessmen or common

citizens is out of the question. The high-level politicians and military authorities met in Track I to negotiate, transfer of the information, peace talks, agreements, treaties and cease-fire. This kind of diplomacy is conducted under full official protocol and a process of developing the negotiation process. The place, agenda and issues in hand are pre-decided by the states.

b. Track Two Diplomacy

This is a more un-official track. The prominent members of the societies met to discuss the issues and to resolve the conflicts among the states. Mostly the role of state is minimal or non-existent in this type of diplomacy. The Track II diplomacy although un-official can make an impact on government decisions and policy making. These meetings are arranged to talk about and move towards resolution of the issues which are on a halt at state level. The high class academics, religious entities, business groups and Non-Government organizations are the main bodies in this process. The arrangements are mostly non-processed and options are open to talk on the different issues from different perspectives. The main factor of Track II diplomacy is that is more open and the involving actors can interact more freely than the officials. Some jurist called it Track 1.5 diplomacy which means the officials and non-official actors work together to sort out the management and resolutions of the prevailing conflicts (MacDonald, 1991).

c. Track Three Diplomacy

It can be called grass roots diplomacy. The people to people contact is arranged by the individuals and private groups. Mostly the purpose of this diplomacy is to defuse the critical tension among the hostile nations. These actors arrange meetings not only to reduce the enmity but also to further enhance the chances of cooperation. The understanding of others' perspective

is the main agenda. In numerous cases the tension is developed because of the lack of communication among the states. Henceforth the contact at grass roots level helps to develop a communication channel. This not only impacts the ties among states but also minimize the misunderstandings among the masses. This Track heavily relies on the mutual cultural values, social norms and traditional customs. These aspects play a vital role in developing the close ties. This diplomacy is conducted through the conferences, seminars, video linked meetings among the marginalized people of the community. The role of media is critical in this aspect. Positive reporting and exposure by the hostile states' media play a important role in developing the understanding about the other society among peoples (MacDonald, 1991).

d. Track Four Diplomacy

This type of diplomacy consists of exchange programs. The states send groups of students and academics to the other state to get the informative knowledge of their society. In the process a specific quota and scholarships are allocated to the states. These students study in the academic centers, colleges and universities for specific time period. This approach not only closes up the ties but a long lasting affect is left on the relations of the hostile states. These groups give a insight of the other society hence develop a positive vibe and ties among states.

e. Track Five Diplomacy

The media channels and outlets are the main actors in this track. The prominent media houses of the hostile states initiate the programs to report the stories of other side. The stories are social and related to the normal lives of the people but with a positive message. These stories when published or broadcast leave a strong affect. The masses of both states become to understand the

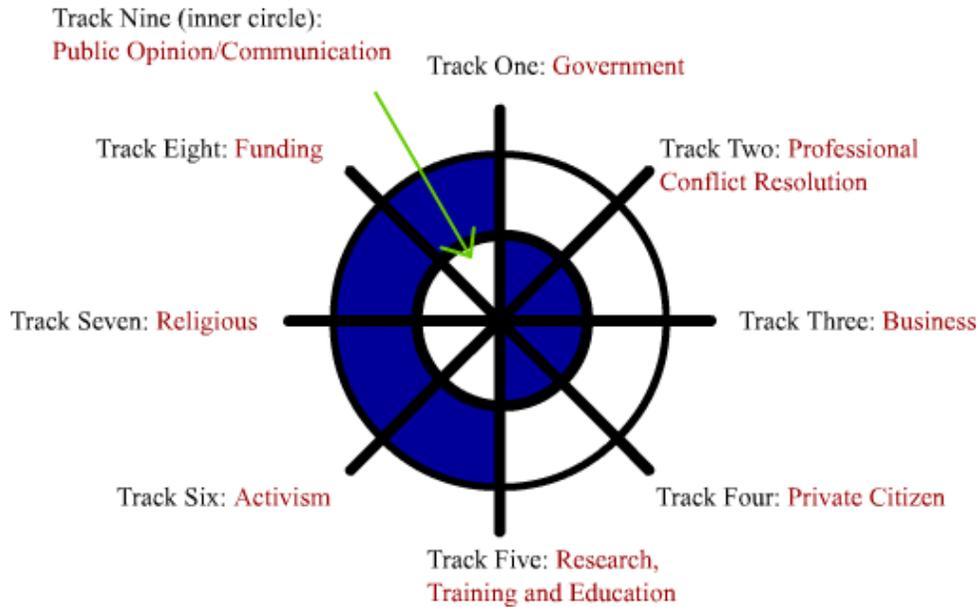
people cross borders. The major example of this Track is the *Amman ki Asha* initiated by the two prominent media house of Pakistan and India. Under this program both sides shares their storis across the border. The seminars, talk shows and media links are developed under this program to reduce the hostility among both neighbors (Quizlet, 2015)

f. Back Door Diplomacy

This diplomacy is hugely vital for resolving the issues specifically during the high tenses times. The state authorities communicate through the un-official channels. This communication is mostly remains secret from the masses and media reporting. It works significantly at the times when state officials are stuck on their hard stances. The other designated officials and individuals met behind closed doors. The states often do not disclose the interaction during the ongoing crisis. A third party can also play a important role but only in the case of consent of concerning states.

<http://glossary.usip.org/resource/tracks-diplomacy>

Given Below is the detailed figure of the Tracks of Diplomacy.



Source: The Institute of Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD)

1.10 Definitions of Track Two Diplomacy

Track II diplomacy a liberal ideology has been defined by the number of scholars over the years.

Given below are some of the prominent definitions

- “Unofficial, non-structured interaction. It is always open-minded; often altruistic...strategically optimistic, based on best case analysis. Its underlying assumption is that actual or potential conflict can be resolved or eased by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to good will and reasonableness” (Freud, 1981)
- “Track Two diplomacy is a process designed to assist official leaders...by exploring possible solutions out of the public view and without the requirements of formal negotiation or bargaining for advantage. Track two diplomacy seeks political formulas or scenarios that might satisfy the basic security and esteem needs of the parties to a particular dispute. On its more general level, it seeks to promote an environment in a

political community, through the education of public opinion, that would make it safer for political leaders to take risks for peace” (Montville, 1987)

- “Unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations that aim to develop strategies, to influence public opinion, organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict” (Montville, 1991)
- “Track two diplomacy refers to private citizens negotiating topics that are usually reserved for official negotiations—the formal resolution of an ongoing conflict or arms reductions”. (Colorado University)
- “Track Two diplomacy refers to "non-governmental, informal and unofficial contacts and activities between private citizens or groups of individuals, sometimes called 'non-state actors” (Davidson, 1981)
- "Track Two: Unofficial, non-governmental, analytical, policy-oriented, problem-solving efforts by skilled, educated, experienced and informed private citizens interacting with other private citizens” (McDonald, 1991)
- “The non-officials involved usually include scholars, senior journalists, former government officials, and former military officers. Government and other officials, acting in an informal capacity, sometimes also participate in such talks alongside the non-officials involved” (Agha, Khalidi, Cheriff, 2003)
- Track Two diplomacy is a loosely defined which can be applicable to number of situations and can evolve quickly to meet the needs of different parties in different circumstances (Jones, 2011)
- The broadest definition of ‘track two diplomacy’ refers to interactions among individual or groups that take place outside an official negotiation process. Therefore, it can be

states that while ‘track one’ refers to all official, governmental diplomacy, track two describes all other activities that occur outside official government channels (Snow, 2012)

1.11 Track Two Diplomacy Actors and Functions

Actors/ Entities	Functions	Examples in Pakistan/India
Individuals	People to People Interaction mostly without official or government intervention	Cross Border Friends Organization
Private Groups	Arrange meetings, conferences and workshops to talk on the conflicts. Governments’ involvement partially	Balusa Group Neemrana Initiative Kashmir Study Group
Former Diplomats	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Arrange meetings to discuss conflicts with their professional experiences. 2. Mostly with the consent of governments. 3. Prepare proposals for 	Jinnah Institute IPCS Niaz A. Naik R. K Mishra

	<p>their states regarding conflict resolution</p> <p>4. Discuss the issues which cannot be discussed on official platforms</p>	
Retired Military Officers	<p>1. Meet to discuss mostly the border conflicts and issues</p> <p>2. Assist the states to reduce and establish possible resolutions for border clashes under their professional experiences</p>	<p>Former Military men group of Pakistan and India</p> <p>General Jahangir Karamat</p> <p>General Assad Durrani</p>
Media Houses	<p>1. Media interactions and share the cross border stories</p> <p>2. Increase the understanding of culture, norms and society to the other state</p>	Aman Ki Asha

	3. Enhance people to people interaction	
Cultural Exchanges	1. Mainly arranging festivals and meetings of actors and artists to reduce the tension	Ajoka Theater Rafi Peer Theater
Business Groups	1. Seek the business opportunities to increase the economic interdependence among hostile states	Business Forum of Pakistan and India

1.12 Relationship between Track One and Track Two Diplomacy

The Track One and Track Two are two different aspect of the diplomacy. Apparently they deal in wholly opposite ways and means. Former is a State Centric traditional school of thought while latter is more of non-official and broader form of the diplomacy. The official diplomats work in a proper and defined process, develop the negotiation system, decide the agenda and allocate the place for the diplomatic negotiations. On the contrary Track II works more freely and mostly engages in meetings with out an open platform for talks. Both these orthodox and non-orthodox

schools of thoughts have different ideologies but at some level they tend to work together (Hottinger, 2005).

During a crisis or conflict, there are phases where the officials and policy makers become to a halt point. Both sides are not ready to budge from their stances. In some cases state is not ready to directly talk to the other party. This scenario created in the case of non-state actors like terrorists, insurgents and militants. State does not conduct negotiations with these entities because if they will engage in a diplomatic effort with them, it means the state is recognizing that element. Hence forth the state stands rigidly to their policy of non-negotiations. These circumstances usually resulted in escalation of conflict and the further destruction of the situation. In this whole scenario the role of Track II diplomacy come into play (Hottinger, 2005).

a. Role of States to Unofficial Actors

In Track Two, number of prominent individuals, private groups and organizations are involved. These entities have their own personal interests and affiliations. Henceforth state will work with these elements to resolve or reduce the hostility. The state officials interact with the non-state officials and present their agenda. The Track II diplomats will then contact with the other party on the behalf of the state. These non-officials listen to the point of view of other party and understand their stance. Then they deliver that point of view to the state and play their role in reducing the tension, keeping in view the interest of both parties. (Mapendre, 2002)

If being summarized, it can be said that Track II diplomacy plays a role of bridge among states and states and non-state elements. Some scholars called it Track one and half diplomacy. The non-officials work under or on the behalf of official diplomats. In this process the interests, ideas

and perceptions of both sides come onto the negotiation table which help in resolving the conflict. Henceforth the combination of both Track I and Track II diplomacy helps in resolving the issue at brisk pace (Mapendre, 2002).

1.13 Theories of Conflict Management

The Conflict Management concept emerged during 1950s soon became a major source of resolving the inter-state conflicts. That time was dominated by the power politics and security issues. Different scholars of international relations defined and developed its theoretical frameworks. These theories were adopted and implemented by the states, policy makers and diplomats to resolve the issues. In post Cold War II world the direct confrontation policy was not adopted by the states as the world had faced huge losses on humanitarian, economical, political and strategic losses. The states want to avoid the direct wars and further destruction in the world. Below are the major theories of conflict management in international relations.

a. Human Needs Theory

John Burton, former Secretary of Australia introduced this theory. According to him the resolution of conflict must meet the basic needs of humans beforehand. He is of the view that without fulfilling the basic needs of humans no conflict be resolved. Hence forth the fundamental elements of human must be met for permanent resolution of the conflicts. Burton extracted his theory from the work of American sociologist Paul Sites and made one more addition of his own in it. The basics of human need theory explained by Sites were control, security, Justice, stimulation, response, meaning, rationality and recognition. The additional aspect by Burton was “role defense”, means the need to defend one’s need. Burton calls these needs are the fundamental and universal of all humans around the world (Nimer, 1999)

The Human Needs Theory has been derived from different disciplines. In biology and sociobiology, this theory is taken as the competition for the rare or very low resources which become scarce due to common needs of individuals. Meanwhile in the social psychology, the theory is based on the understanding of the factors for human motivation. Burton called its ontological non-negotiable, values as elements as limited negotiable and interests as wholly negotiable issues. He called the conflict as an action over the non-negotiable conditions. According to him the conflict resolution resolve the serious and long term issues while settlement of an issue only addressed to temporary and non-tangible issues of a conflict (Tidwell, 1998; Burton, Sandole, 1986)

b. Interest Based Negotiation Theory

This theory was established by Roger Fisher who was an academic in Harvard Law School in 1990s. The basic fundamentals derived by Fisher are, the conflict resolution can be achieved by deferring judgment to a moral principle. It is totally opposite to the position bases negotiation in conflict management for example Fisher explains it as the interest based negotiation will include the issues like security, esteem and pleasure while position theory explains how one party achieve these interests. To prove his point Fisher asks the question that why does one hold one position, and another hold a different one? Hence he emphasize on the empathy as according to him empathy will certainly allow involving parties to seek underlying interests which by negotiations and creativity may end in peaceful solutions for the benefit of both parties. According to Fisher the basics of human need are security, economic prosperity, sense of belonging, recognition and control over one's life. These needs are quite close to the needs explain by Burton. (Fisher, 1991)

c. Conflict Transformation Theory

During 1990s the new school of thought of Conflict Transformation started to emerge in international relations study. The term conflict resolution started to being called as “conflict transformation” or “peace building” by the scholars. The term was used to encourage the involving parties to derive a constructive for all of them. Paul Lederach, Robert Baruch, Joseph Folger, R. Varynen and Peter Wallensteen are considered to be the pioneers of this school of thought. In this school of thought the conflict is not considered to be last stage rather it is called as “dynamic process where one problem is solved and new one emerges,” and with gradual transformation of conflict new opportunities emerge for the resolution of the issue. This ideology is the branch of post-modern sociological or philosophical perspective that concludes that mediators or third can charge with: *“enlarging the boundaries of political community, overcoming sectional and factional differences, expanding the domain of moral responsibility...and promoting relations which conform to some standards of international order”*. (Varynen, 2000)

1.14 Conflict Resolution Techniques

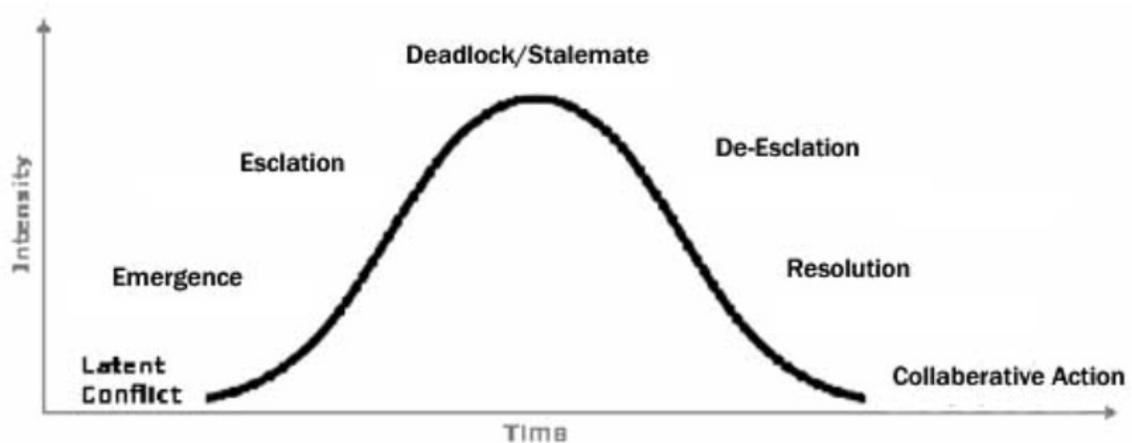
Stage of Conflict	Strategic Response	Examples of Tactical Response (Skill and Response)
Difference	Cultural Peace building	Problem-solving Support for indigenous dispute resolution institutions and CR training Fact finding missions and peace commissions
Contradiction	Structural Peace building	Development assistance Civil society development Governance training and institution building Human rights training Track II mediation and problem-solving
Polarization	Elite Peacemaking	Special envoys and official mediation Negotiation Coercive diplomacy

		Preventive peacekeeping
Violence	Peacekeeping	Interposition Crisis management and containment
War	War Limitation	Peace enforcement Peace support and stabilization
Ceasefire	Peacekeeping	Preventive peacekeeping Disarmament and security sector reform Confidence building and security enhancing measures Security in the community through police training
Agreement	Elite Peacekeeping	Electoral and constitutional reform Power sharing and de- centralization of power
Normalization	Structural Peacekeeping	Collective security and

		<p>cooperation arrangements</p> <p>Economic resource cooperation and development</p> <p>Alternative defence</p>
Reconciliation	Cultural Peacebuilding	<p>Commissions of enquiry/truth and justice commissions</p> <p>Peace media development</p> <p>Peace and conflict awareness education and training</p> <p>Cultural exchanges and initiatives, sport as reconciliation</p> <p>Problem-solving as future imaging</p>

1.15 Model of Conflict Management

CONFLICT STAGES MODEL

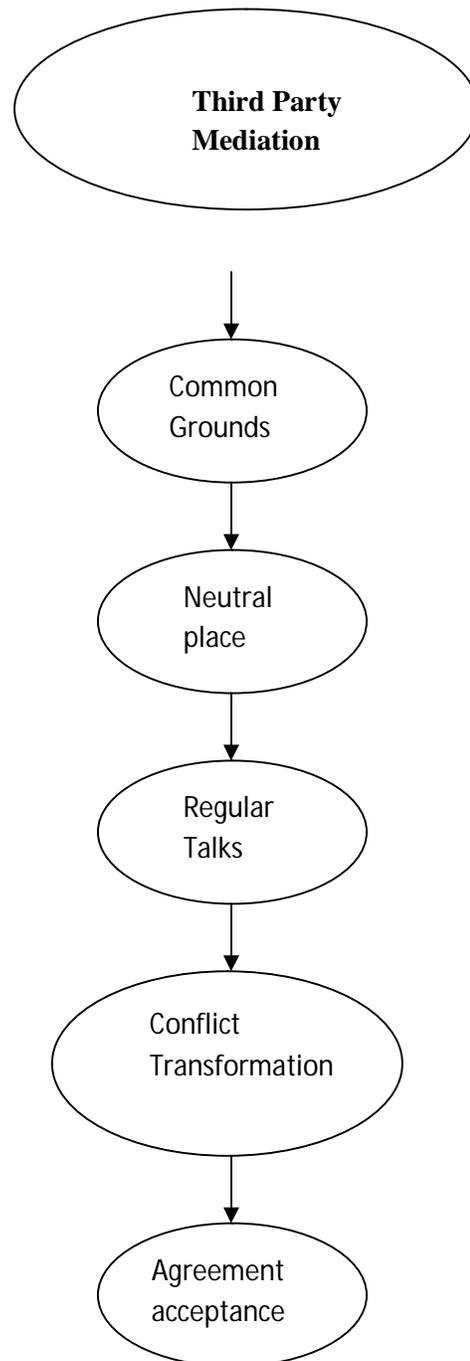


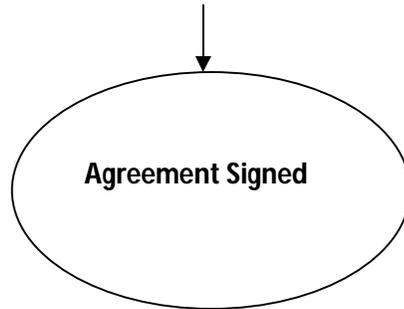
Source: The Conflict Resolution Archives

1.16 Israel and Palestine Conflict Resolution Model: Implementation on Kashmir Issue

Israel and Arab world has been engaged in the Track Two diplomacy and has shown some success in shape of David Camp Accord and Oslo Agreement. Pakistan and India are facing same conflict in shape of Kashmir issue. Where the Middle Eastern states have remained successful to reach an agreement for their issues, Pakistan and India has never able to reach to a final treaty or agreement on Kashmir issue. Following is the model made be the researcher to show the Middle East model and the reasons of its success as well as the aspects because of which this model cannot be successful in South Asian conflict.

Palestine-Israel Conflict Resolution Model: Actors and Elements





Implementation on Kashmir Issue

The Kashmir Issue has high resemblance with the Middle Eastern Issue between Israel and Arab countries. The Palestine Issue is on the top of resemblance with Kashmir Issue. By following the above model Israel and Palestine have remained successful to reach to the agreements. Below is the implementation of this model on Kashmir issue and will be evaluated the unsuccessfulness in this South Asian Conflict

a. Third Party Mediation

One of the major obstacles in the resolution of the Kashmir Issue is the lack of the third party role. The issues like East Timor were resolved by the intervention of United Nations. Although has presented several resolution like Resolution 47, 48, 49 for the resolution of Kashmir conflict but both Pakistan and India has remained unable to reach to any conclusive stage. Pakistan is in the favor of third party involvement and has been asked several parties like US during President Ayub Khan era and Musharraf era. Furthermore the Pakistani government has been emphasizing on implementation of UN model and resolutions for the resolution of issue, on the contrary India is not ready to accept the role of third party in this issue.

Indian has the stance that both Pakistan and India has the ability to resolve the issue on their own as this is their regional issue but the hard stance by both sides has failed this proposition on

regular bases. Due to the lack of Third party role the issue has come to a stalemate where both sides are not ready to move from their stance hence leaving the issue of Kashmir unresolved.

b. Common Grounds

The lack of Common grounds between Pakistan and India is the second major reason for the irresolution of Kashmir issue. Both sides have acquired hard and immovable stance from their policies hence the common grounds are absent. Both sides need to explore the common bases for the peace, stability of the South Asian Region and benefit of Kashmiri People and masses of both sides. The blame game is the element which stop both sides from reaching to a common point as after any conflict both states start to blame each other for the hostility which leads to further relational gap.

c. Neutral Place

In Israel-Palestine negotiations, leaders of both states met at neutral place in US where the atmosphere and surroundings made them to reach to an agreement. On the other hand leadership of Pakistan and India are not ready to engage in official talks on Kashmir issue at a neutral ground where the conflict can be resolved. The impact of neutral ground is vital in conflict resolution henceforth both South Asian states need to find the neutral grounds for the conflict resolution

d. Regular Talks

On the neutral places on other occasions, Both Israel and Palestine engaged in regular talks which led to reach on a conclusion. On the other hand Pakistan and India have never been engaged in regular talks. After every dialogues or talks between both states some new conflict

like Kargil War, Border Stand-off, Samjhota Express or Mumbai Attacks has occurred which derail the negotiation process. Both states need to be engaged in regular talks on both official and Track II fronts as this approach has high chances to establish an agreement.

e. Conflict Transformation

In case of Palestine and Israel, regular talks led to the transformation of conflict. As discussed above, Pakistan and India have never conducted regular negotiations and dialogues. This led to a lack of communication and trust deficiency between both states; henceforth, the Kashmir Issue is in the same condition since 1947. This conflict can only be resolved if it will be transformed; otherwise, it will remain a stalemate.

f. Acceptance and Signature of Agreement

Palestine and Israel reached to the point where not only accepted but also signed the agreements between them. Pakistan and India did not conduct the regular talks, did not transform the conflict; henceforth, chances of reaching to an agreement is oblique. Both states need to understand and adopt the Middle East Model as the Kashmir Issue resolution will not only make their mutual relations cordial but also will make the South Asian Region stable.

1.17 Conclusion

The theoretical debate of diplomacy has been studied in International Relations since ancient times. The states have developed the methods, rules and regulations to interact with each other. The art of diplomacy was initially handled by the rulers and officials of the states but with the passage of time, the art began to spread among the un-official circles of the states. Track Two Diplomacy emerged as the main approach and method for the states to resolve their core

issues with the help of non-state actors like businessmen, former diplomats and military bureaucrats. The historical development of the Track One and Track Two diplomacy has been discussed in the next chapter.

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Chapter 2

2. 1 Historical Perspective of Diplomacy, Track Two Diplomacy and Conflict Management

“There’s nothing to being an Ambassador...It’s just a matter of money. If you have money and there are important people like the Vicomtesse de Blissac and Senator Opal behind you . . .’

Diplomacy is the oldest tool to resolve the issues among states. Being a social individual, human being cannot live in solitude. The need of other persons for interaction is the core nature. They have to be in contact for their own survival. This communication among them slowly led to the origination of civilization. Human beings made the colonies, towns and states to live together and that was only possible through communication. Through discussing issues, interaction and development of mutual interests the civilization was being brought in designed, developed and more structured forms. This development of civilization is the sole reason of the survival of mankind. If it has not been the communication with other Human individuals, most probably the human race had been extinct (Nicolson, 1963, Rawnsley, 1999; Johnson, 1974).

After the establishment of their own colonies and states, they need to interact with other groups and more specifically civilizations. This need was based on the social needs, food items, trading goods and numerous other mutual interests. The dire wish to expand and enhanced their sphere of influence the human beings travelled to the other regions. This act or type of communication may not be called as proper diplomacy but it was the foundation of it. Historically it has been proven that different civilizations interact with each other. This relation was mostly bases on the trading, exchange of goods and gifts among the rulers of different civilizations. This not only led to the prosperity of both sides but also an understanding was developed. Gradually these relations expand from the land routes to the sea routes from where the trading ships started to

reach the coasts of other civilizations. These ships did not only bring the goods but also the individuals with them brought new ideas, aspects and common interests (Ahmad, 1969; Ratnagar, 2001).

2.2 Economic and Unofficial Diplomacy

This economic diplomacy was more openly being conducted on non-official bases. The traders came to the coastal cities with the specific items of their regions. With the passage of time the involvement of the rulers of the time also started to play a vital role in this whole activity. The kings sent the gifts, social items, daily utilized goods and other costly articles. This strategy not only sent a cordial diplomatic message but also positively affect the economic condition of those civilizations. In ancient times there were a few civilizations who knew the existence of other human settings. That trend in the relationships also deeply affected the base and roots of other civilizations. They adopted the mutual customs, traditions, knowledge and in numerous cases the beliefs (Gandhi, 1981; Kalidas, 1997).

2.3 Economic and Un-official Diplomacy in Ancient World

Ancient Indian civilization has remained the hub of this economic communication. The historians have the evidences that the Indus valley civilization, one of the oldest in the world has a direct contact with the Egyptians. These two civilizations were not only in contact but also had shared the number of cultural values and traditions. They interchanged their social and trading goods. This trading and economic diplomatic relationship was rapidly developed through the sea routes. These relations are dated back to the 1500 BC. The Egyptians were keenly interested in the Indian products. Thus, they traveled to India in a delegation sent by the Pharaoh Queen. With the time this communication through Red Sea to the Indian Coastal cities developed. The

exchange of goods led to the exchange of ideas between these two ancient civilizations (Hasan, 1984; Doshi, 1993).

Interestingly this sea route led to the Indian connection to Europe. Through Egypt, the Europeans came to know about the Indian civilization. Gradually this led to the arrival of different European powers like Portuguese, Dutch, French and English. Most of these powers came to India on the basis of trading exchange or economic diplomacy more specifically. So, it can be stated that the Indian Civilizations especially Indus Valley civilization were aware of the importance of communication and interaction with the other entities. Although those efforts are not documented and were not specifically being conducted on diplomatic grounds but it did lay a base of diplomacy in the Indian subcontinent. This interestingly directly linked with Pakistan. Although it was part of India at that time but still the signs of Indus Valley civilization can be found in territory of Pakistan (Chaudari, 1985; Hanson, 2002)

2.4 Un-documented Ancient Diplomacy

As discussed above the diplomacy is oldest interaction tool among states. It was not documented, defined and had a proper official protocol but it did play a critical role during the time of ancient civilizations. Mostly it was based on economic diplomacy and war issues. Gradually these terms and norms of diplomacy were started to be practiced by them. An undocumented tradition was developed among those societies. The role of Greeks, Romans and Islamic empires is essential in this discipline of global politics. These rules started to define the rules and regulations for the diplomats. Specific conditions, protocols and immunities were introduced by them. Henceforth the discipline of diplomacy got a proper shape and body. Special offices, individuals and working lines were being established. With the establishment of Nation-State system the

diplomacy became more defined and decisive. The states started to put the documented rules along with the historical existing customs. Special immunities were established for diplomats, the process of negotiations, decision of agenda, location and the procedure to reach the management and resolution of the conflict were being evolved. Along with the traditional issues like war and trade relations, other social issues like education, health and environment also become the vital issues for diplomacy. Slowly the diplomacy came out of the official negotiation tables to the grass roots level. From having a Track I, it divided into 9 Tracks covering all the official and non-official actors of the diplomacy. Today diplomacy is the mean for a state to meet its foreign policy goals. It is because, it has centuries of development. From Ancient times to contemporary times the diplomacy has been playing a vital role in international politics (Eban, 1983; Derian, 1987; Frey & Frey, 1999)

2.5 Development of Diplomacy: A Historical Overview

The three rules, Greek, Romans and Islamic played a vital role in the development of diplomacy. They slowly made the diplomacy documented and official per say. The rules and regulations were developed. The implementation of these rules was made sure. Henceforth it can be easily stated that diplomacy was promoted during these eras. Following is the historical overview of these rules and empires with regard to growth of diplomacy (Jones, 1999).

2.6 Greek City-States

The role of Greek efforts is quite significant in the development of diplomacy. In ancient times there was not Greece rather it was combination of several city-states. These city-states did not enjoy cordial relations with each other for significant time period. The conflict and wars were the permanent phenomenon for these entities. They were hostile to each other and every strong king

of a city-state tried to capture its neighbor and other communities. The rulers slowly realized the importance of communication and cooperation among them. It was realized mostly with regard to external threat. Due to the lack of unity among them the invaders from other regions attacked them and destroyed them on a number of times. Henceforth the rulers of these city-states decided to establish a unitary body for collective security. This policy was made possible with the tool of diplomacy (Brown, 1923; Mosley, 1973)

The major city-states in ancient Greece were Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Thessaly and Corinth. They all have separate autonomous political governing bodies. Along with this they share a lot of common religious traditions like the oracle of Delphi and participation in the Olympic Games. Language was also a common factor among them as they all spoke Greek language with minor regional changes. These all factors played a critical role in the success of diplomacy in ancient Greece (Nicolson, 1963; Keohane, 1983).

a. Kinds of Greek Diplomacy

The Greeks have three kinds of diplomatic and official representatives. The first one was Angelos or Presbys, the second Keryx and lastly Proxenos. The Angelos stands for messenger and Presbys means senior or elder. They were assigned by the political authorities for specific diplomatic missions for specific defined times. The Keryx were the individuals who held the immunity for personal security, while the Proxenos were the residents and hold less official status than the former two. These factors and individuals established the structure of ancient Greek diplomacy (Langhorne, 1998; Keohane, 1986).

Different scholars have different opinions about the origin of the Greek diplomacy. Some traced this back to the era of Homer, a famous Greek poet. It is because Homer wrote about an incident how

a minister of Troy advised the king to murder the two diplomats of other city-states. Some other is of the view that the Greeks had established the proper diplomatic norms before 700 BC. They have established the annuities and privileges of the diplomats as after this suggestion two sons of that advisor were killed in retaliation. Thucydides (the writer of Peloponnesian War between Sparta and Athens) wrote about the selection procedure of the diplomat by a city-state. The procedure was a long and studious one as the Greeks want to prioritize their state interests at serious grounds (Herman, 1987; Roebuck, 1984)

b. Selection and Duties of Greek Diplomats

The historians wrote that the diplomat was selected by the legislative assembly of the city-state. The seriousness of the designation can be understood by the fact that the selected person could not hold any other official position in the city. Interestingly the selection was not being made on the bases of his negotiation skills. The diplomacy for Greeks was open and public affair. The diplomat has to present his idea and state's policy in public and then defend it in front of the masses in cross questioning gathering. After the selection the concern person was sent to the other city-state with specific given goals and policies. They have to discuss and defend those prescribed and given goals. They did not hold the power to maneuver outside the restrictions of these defined lines (Famos, 2009; Karavites 1986).

After receiving their specific agenda they went to the host state. According to the Greek diplomatic traditions the host state has to provide security and hospitality. As per Pluto the diplomats were received on special grounds of hospitality and are only received by the Generals, and Cavalry. After reaching the host state, they were usually presented in front of the legislative assembly of the hosts. At the assembly the diplomat presented the mission and specific agenda of

his arrival. The case was presented in an open court and diplomats delivered their arguments mostly on emotional bases to gain the public sympathy. The success of the mission was applauded and rewarded back home but in case failure, the individual had to face humiliation and in some cases prosecution (Adcock, 1948).

c. Role of Greek Diplomat in Host state

If the designated diplomat was found conducting the business outside the given policy lines or found misreporting to back home or falsely presented himself as a herald or ambassador and engaged in unauthorized negotiations with the other states, faced prosecution. Pluto had the list of the ambassadors who faced the death penalty. The prosecution was given on the rules given by the gods Hermes and Zeus. It shows the gravity of diplomacy for Greeks. The diplomacy was the duty by the Gods. The allocation or selection of these diplomats was on ad-hoc bases mostly for one mission. They were stripped off from their duties once the mission was completed. The number of members of diplomatic delegation can be as much as ten. This was decided according to the seriousness of the issue. The large number of diplomats in Greek diplomacy also proved to be problematic in some cases. The biggest example is when a delegation of Athenian diplomats was sent to Macedon in 346 BC, the group has already internal hostilities hence they refused to sit on same table, argue together and sleep in the same house (US State Department, 2004).

The Greek diplomacy developed the traditions of keeping records of the public argument, administrative process, high-level city-state diplomatic communication, the application of few rules of diplomatic immunity, the sophistication of treaty making and emotional public interested alliances. The disadvantages of the Greek open diplomacy were that the decisions were made on

emotional and ignorance bases. The Greeks were considered to be the earliest pioneers in the field of diplomacy because they were the first one to develop the idea of city-states. This idea is considered by many as the base of international relations and diplomatic norms.

2.7 Role of Romans' Diplomacy

The Romans are considered to be the biggest contributors of diplomatic norms after the Greeks. The Diplomacy by the Romans was based on the face to face connection. They liked to communicate on personal bases. No matter how and who they connect either a foe or a friend, they prefer it to on individual meetings. In Roman the diplomacy means ' a message written on cooper plate to be deliver to the other party through a messenger'. Hence forth the message was carried by a person to the specific destination and to present his case. The Romans liked to be in constant interaction with their neighbors. The connection was mostly based on trading interests. They gradually formed a system of delegations and convoys to send to the other states or kingdoms. These groups were sent in both peaceful and war times. The efforts of the Romans helped to form the traditions of modern diplomacy (Lee, 1993; Britannica Encyclopedia, 2000).

a. Development of Roman Diplomacy

Romans took the guidance from the Greek diplomatic traditions. The Roman diplomacy was more of legal based as compared to their old practitioners. They believed that the empire can be more stable and powerful with the grabbing of more land. Thus, they focused on conducting treaties, agreements and record the archives. This proves that Romans were more of administrators than negotiators. They further spread the borders of Empire through sending the diplomats to the conquered areas. A self-governed individual or convoy was used to be sent to those regions for conducting the negotiations. These entities had the written instruction from the

Roman senate. After the negotiation process, the Romans believed to be finalized it in written form which will authenticate the treaty on legal bases (Lous, Nigro, 2010; Declan, 2001).

They have the different approached for the small and larger regions. For the small towns and cities a *Muntius* means a person was to be sent to conduct the business while in larger cities, a *Legatio* means an embassy was used to be established or sent for the negotiations. This embassy was usually consisted of 10 to 12 persons who were handled and instructed by the president. The communication method of the Romans was largely inspired from the Greeks but more sophisticated and legal. The empire believed in the diplomacy way before its expansion and gradually became a Republic. In start the diplomatic efforts were more consist of the religious affairs and was conducted by the religious personalities (Barston, 2006).

b. Traditions of Roman Diplomacy

The earliest records show that the negotiation and treaty signing business was handled by the group of priests. This responsibility was carried by a college of priests of *Fetials*. This religious diplomacy slowly changed in to the more government control. These religious factors were started to be utilized only in the ceremonial treaties. Gradually diplomacy became the game of more political and military powers with in the Empire turning into the Republic. The diplomacy for Romans turned into more state, political, army tool from the quasi-religious efforts. The Romans established more control over embassies as compared to the Greeks. The Envoys of the allied and friendly states were received cordially and were entertained on the public expenses. On the contrary, the diplomats of enemy states, who were not allowed to enter in the Roman territory, were not allowed to enter into the central government circles. Sometimes they were escorted under the supervision of Roman forces (John, 1999).

Unlike Greeks, the Romans used to receive the diplomats in Senate instead of Public assemblies. Although in the early stages the public assembly can vote for the wage of war or conducting a peace treaty but the foreign policy was largely controlled by the Senate. The Emperor was the head of the Senate. The authority of the ruler largely shaped the foreign policy and diplomatic ties of the Empire. During the mid-first century the Senate formally voted for the Emperor to be a dominant authority in shaping treaties and meeting envoys. By the early third century the role of Senate in Diplomatic front had become obsolete. This step was taken mainly due to the systematic allocation of emperors one after another. Henceforth the emperor became the final authority to run the diplomacy discipline of the state (Freeman, Charles, 1994).

The Emperors authority was largely based on his control over army. More he had influence on the armed forces more he could play a decisive role. The emperor met the envoys on personal bases. In peace times it was rather easy to reach the ruler but in war times especially at the border regions of the empire it was a hard task. In that case the present military commander conducted the business but he had to consult the emperor before finalizing the treaty. The Romans laid down the basics of written, state centric, private diplomacy. This helped to form the modern rules and regulations of diplomatic personnels and envoys. Hence it can be concluded that the Romans were the founding fathers of treaties in written form and keeping the record of that procedure (Mullet, 1992).

2.8 Islamic Diplomacy

The Islamic Diplomacy can be traced back to the time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). He proved to be a role model in every aspect of life. The diplomatic trends set by him can also be seen in the modern diplomacy structure. Islam gives the diplomacy more defined and broader

shape. In pre-Islamic time the diplomacy was being conducted on the narrow and specific scales like most on war and trade. That diplomatic culture ignored the essence of ethics and values. Islam presented the importance of ethics in diplomacy. The Prophet (PBUH) was not only gave the rules of war but also how to deal with the foreign delegations and envoys. He presented the role of social norms in the diplomacy. The envoys and messengers sent by him practiced these traditions. The Islamic diplomacy laid the base of people centric tradition where the lives, goods and belongings are to be prioritized (Afzal, 1977).

a. Quranic Guidance for Islamic Diplomacy

The Islamic Diplomacy can be understand by the verse number 13 of Surah ‘Hujarat’ which states *“O mankind, we created you from a single (pair) of male and female and made into nations and tribes that you may know each other. Verily the most honored of you in the sight of God is the most righteous of you”*. This verse depicts the origin of the man kind and how it is important to know each other both at individual and nation level as all have the same fundamental origin. The concept of interaction is being laid in this verse. Furthermore the Islamic diplomacy gave the ideas of war waging, the things to be harmed and not to be harmed, the treatment with prisoners of war, and behavior with children, women and elders during war times and cooperation at global and regional level (Zafor, 1994).

The Islamic diplomacy was initiated right at the time of establishment of state of Medina. The Prophet (PBUH) conducted the treaties with Jewish tribes of the city which states that both Muslims and Jews will fight together in case of external invasion. This is the major example of making alliances through diplomacy. Through this treaty the Muslims secured the Medina for quite a long time till the *Ghazva Khandaq*. Other significant example of early Islamic diplomacy

was the treaty of Huddabiya. The treaty was signed between Muslims and the Heads of Quraysh Trine in Makkah. The incident occurred when Muslims came for perform their religious duty at *Khana Kabba*. The Quraysh refused to give permission to Muslims into Makkah, henceforth the situation got hostile and chances of clash were evident (Pipes, 1999; Haykal, 1965).

b. Diplomacy Traditions of Prophet (PBUH)

The Prophet (PBUH) pacified the situation and struck a deal with Sardars of Quraysh. This treaty proved to be mile stone in Muslim history. Although number of close companions of Prophet (PBUH) were not happy with the treaty but in long run it proved quite beneficial for Islam. This treaty proves the peaceful co-existence of two hostile powers which again prove beneficial for the modern diplomacy. After the Muslims established their own government after the conquer of Makkah, the Muslims under the supervision of Prophet (PBUH) started to communicate with the major powers of the times including Romans and Persians (Lewis, 1966; Carmichael, Perlman, 1973).

Prophet (PBUH) wrote letters to the kings and rulers of the powerful regimes and sent his diplomats to conduct the business. These letters were the major milestone for the Islamic diplomacy. The letters were started by Bismillah and verse of Quran which shows the essence of religion in the diplomacy. The letters were directly called to the rulers of those kingdoms in which they were offered to be part of Islam. Theoretically it was a liberal diplomacy as the offer was sent through envoys instead of direct attack on them. Some of the rulers accepted the offer while some refused to oblige the diplomatic effort of Muslims (Muir, 1878; Montgomery, 1954)

c. Values of Islamic Diplomacy

The trends set by Islamic diplomacy are mostly revolving around the ethics, values and social norms of the states. The focus on public welfare is dominant actor in the Islamic diplomacy. The power political focus is not so much significant although the Islamic diplomacy regarding war has the defined rules during and after war. With the passage of time through diplomacy and trade the religion Islam spread rapidly to the other regions of the world from Egypt to Iraq to Persia to the shores of India. Number of modern diplomacy's rules and regulations are based on the Islamic diplomatic traditions. The rules regarding war wage, non-interference during peace time, rules regarding the non-combatants and settlements of issue through peaceful interaction are largely based on the Islamic diplomacy (Rankin, Joan, 1956; Peters, 1994)

A cursory look into the approach of the Islamic diplomacy will show that many issues specifically letters written to the other rulers are the proof that Prophet (PBUH) believed on the universalism. The idea of Islam that the whole human kind is derived from single parents further emphasizes on this particular point. The liberal thought of a universal community is quite close to this Islamic idea. The idea can be achieved through diplomacy, most importantly on ethical grounds which again have been adopted by the liberalists. The Islamic focus on the ethics can be seen in the UN charter's article like 41, 42. The man and individual has been given priority over the state power and regime. Henceforth it can be concluded that Islamic diplomacy laid the foundation of diplomacy in which benefits of humans were kept more in focus (Glub, 1970; Hodgson, 1974)

The respect and hospitality is one other major aspect of the diplomacy. The foreign diplomats were received cordially both, foe and friends. They have the direct reach to the Caliphs of the

time. According to the one narration the diplomat envoy of Christians was allowed to perform their religious rituals inside the Medina Mosque which was the religious centre of Muslims in Medina. They were allowed to stay and rest there. This shows the hospitality value of the Islamic diplomacy. The foreigners were not only allowed to present their case freely but also they were treated very cordially in the Islamic State. The tradition was being practiced for very long time in the Islamic history. The Islamic diplomatic traditions are the most modern in the history of civilizations henceforth they are closer to the modern diplomacy in the core. The practice of real Islamic diplomacy has proven beneficial not only for Muslims but also for the other parties involved in the treaties and agreements.

2.9 Diplomacy and the Middle Ages.

The Middle Ages are considered to be the break point of diplomacy by many scholars. It is believed because the Roman Empire was on verge of collapse and there was no formal body to conduct the diplomatic activities. Whereas some jurists argue that it should be observed in the different perspective as it was the birth of Machiavellian diplomacy without any historical continuum. As mentioned earlier it was the end of Roman Empire and the European political and regime hemisphere was changing rapidly. A new era of political and religion co-existence was born during the times. The monarchs were ruling on the different parts of the Europe and the religious factors were playing a critical role in their regimes (Sen, 1985; Barnhart, 1988)

a. 5th Century Contributions in Diplomacy

In 5th Century when the Roman Empire was totally disintegrated, the diplomacy took a whole new shape. The Kings and Monarchs started to negotiate with the neighboring rulers personally and through the diplomats. The interesting point in this whole scenario was the role of the

Church. The religious centre for the Europeans started to play a leading role. The Popes became the arbitrators while the Papal emerged as peacemakers among the regimes. The presence of the Church in diplomatic and state affairs became a necessity. The Popes were giving the legitimacy to the rule of monarchs through one way or other. On the other hand the precedence of the secular envoys was being taken care by the Papal. This tradition was being practiced and dominant in the countries where the Roman Catholicism was the official religion in the shape of Diplomatic Deans (Meachan, Burns, 1988; Magalhaes, 1988)

The Europe was changing and so did the trade. The trading activities were on rise in the region but the issue was that for envoy there were not defined negotiation laws and rules. Ultimately in the 12th Century, the laws were established through the concept of *Plena Potens* meaning Full Powers. These were extracted from the Roman Civil Law. This Law body has the authority to conduct negotiations and could finalize the treaties and agreements. By the end of 12th Century the term ambassador had been coined. Gradually the location of the Venice and high trade through the Mediterranean made the Italian City-States accustomed to the Byzantine diplomacy. The Envoys and diplomats were started to given written instructions and keeping the archives of the diplomatic treaties. The Venetian Archive facility holds the records of all diplomatic documents from the time. The condition of the host country was described by the diplomats orally which was changed into the written form by 15th century (Nicolson, 1954).

2.10 *Realpolitik and Machiavellian Diplomacy*

By the 1300, the Italian traditional peninsula started to crumble and the new political entity emerged to fill the gap. This new institute was called as *Stato* by the Italians. This proved to be the origin of Nation-State focused diplomacy in International Relations. Italy's socio-economic

situation, geographical location and weak structure of early state-system led to number of wars in the region. The medieval practices of seldom dispatching an envoy for one mission for specific time had become obsolete for new Italy. Thus, the need of new pragmatic and permanent diplomatic body was emerged which could meet the fast growing demands of the changing Europe. Along with that a proper structure of collecting and reporting the intelligence was the need of the time (Perry *et al*, 1989).

During the late 15th century the resident embassies became the centre of diplomatic activities among the Italian City-States. In 1464, a representative was sent to the France by the Italian authorities. During the 1494 clash between France and Italy, the Italian authorities utilized their diplomatic skills to cover up the balance in war which they were lacking in the battle field. The Italians used the tool of diplomacy to extract more and more advantage in win-lose game of war. During the time, the work of Niccolo Machiavelli proved to be first most major work in field of *Realpolitik* (Szykman, 1995)

a. Machiavelli and Diplomacy

The Prince by Machiavelli is considered to be the bible of Nation-State centric. In this work he simply gave the advices and instructions to the rulers of the state. His basic idea was based on the Darwin theory “the fittest survive” and applied on it on the Nation-state system and called it *raison d’etat* means “National Interest”. This book gave the idea of realism and advocated that the diplomacy should be on the bases of national interest. This idea has been practiced in the international relations since 15th century. It transformed the diplomacy from ideals to objectivity. The advice to the king elaborated the whole idea of this book. That was “*Kingdoms (States) are*

in constant conflicts with each other and the objective of the prince (Head of State) is to ensure the protection and growth of it (Machiavelli, 1532)

2.11 Treaty of Westphalia and Pre-World Wars era

The treaty of Westphalia was signed in 1648 among the nations of Europe. This treaty is considered to be the foundation of new nation-state system. Europe had passed through the 30 year of war. Most important development of this treaty was that the religion was separated from the state system. The renaissance of Italy spread out to the whole Europe which laid the new traditions especially in field of diplomacy. Between Westphalia and Congress in Vienna (1814-15) the modern rules of diplomacy were formed. Adam Watson divided these regulations in five steps which are:

- The idea of professional diplomats was spread
- The ideology of diplomats being special category individuals with special immunities and privileges was emerged.
- Diplomats initiated the meetings on regular bases and these meetings started to play vital role in resolving and managing the conflicts among states.
- The institutions related to diplomacy were established in the foreign offices

The era of post Congress of Vienna and pre-WWI consisted of power politics diplomacy. The diplomacy was used to be conducted among the major states and colonial powers. The small states had to rely on their colonial masters for their diplomatic initiatives. In late 19th and early 20th century the diplomacy seemed to be failed as the powerful states in Europe engaged in two full scale World Wars (Kappeler, 2000l; Barston, 2006).

2.12 Post-WWII Diplomacy

The post World War II diplomacy faced a rapid change in it due to dynamic circumstances of international relations. First major development was the establishment of United Nations after WWII which was based on the model of the League of Nations (1919-1939). Second major change in global scenario was the emergence of new states on the map of world. Newly emerged small states started to conduct the diplomacy on their own with the help of international and regional organizations. The Cold War divided the world into two blocks which further deepened in the shape of North-South division. The diplomacy was not only the tool to resolve conflicts but also for the negotiations on arms control, nuclear proliferation, Mutual destruction and border concerns (Riordan, 2003; Berridge, 2002).

2.13 Contemporary World and Diplomacy

The modern diplomacy has hugely altered itself from the old traditional diplomacy. It has adopted the new trends, traditions and values of contemporary and globalized world. Now diplomacy is not the mere business of official diplomats rather it has it reprehensive in almost every sector of society. Newly developed tracks of diplomacy have spread it to the grass root level of the communities. Along with the officials the businessmen, private groups, specific individuals, NGOs, IGOs, and media groups are playing very critical role in enhancing the diplomatic ties among the states. The diplomatic issues are now related to the education, health, poverty, environment, diseases and other social and human related aspects (Morgenthau, 1966; White, 2005; Langhorne, 2008).

2.14 Origin and Development of Track Two Diplomacy

Track Two diplomacy is the brain child of free-thinking state department bureaucrats and literary intellectuals of 1970s. It was introduced to bring the diplomacy out of official sphere. Joseph V. Montville, a former Foreign Secretary official was the first to coin this term. He clearly rather bluntly defined the Track Two diplomacy as ““*citizens could take some action rather than simply being bystanders while the grown-up governments acted like jerks,*” In other words the Track Two diplomacy was evolved from the notion that private individuals can find the mutual interests while meeting un-officially which officials cannot achieve (Homans, 2011).

2.15 Significant Development

The Track Two diplomacy is rather a new phenomenon in international relations. It has rapidly developed during the last quarter of the 20th century. The dynamic scenarios and fast changing global politics have given this track of diplomacy an important status. Following are some major issues and incident which helped in developing the Track Two diplomacy and also it proved to be efficient tool to resolve and the issues among hostile states.

a. U-2 Spy Incident (1960)

In 1960 an American U-2 drone spy plane infiltrated in the Soviet territory and was shot down by the USSR armed forces. This led to a full blown hostility between the Cold War rivals. During this time the friend of US president Eisenhower, Norman Cousins who was the editor of *Saturday Review* arranged a meeting between unofficial envoys of USA and USSR. This meeting drew the outline and structure of Track Two diplomacy which consists of its actors (combination of academics and ex-officials) and its agenda to be discussed mostly about the differences their states have. (BBC, 2014).

b. Arab-Israel Confrontation (1970s)

The 1970s decade was among the most hostile time between the Arabs and Israel. At the time the American Psychiatrist Association (APA) with the cooperation of Institute of Psychiatry and Foreign Affairs (IPFA) arranged meetings between Scholars and retired military officers from both sides. The Egypt President Anwar Sadat believed on the Psychiatric issues between Arab community and Israel government. He told the Israel President Knesset during his visit in 1977 that “*a psychological barrier between us, a barrier of suspicion, a barrier of rejection, a barrier of fear, of deception*” divides Arabs and Israelis, and is “70 percent of the whole problem.” (CFR, 2001)

c. Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan (1979)

In December 1979, Soviet Union armed forces entered into Afghanistan in the support of its established communist government. This became the reason to further enmity between Cold War rivals US and USSR. To reduce the tension, two American individuals arranged a conference at Esalen Institute. The purpose of that arrangement was to promote unofficial interaction between Soviet and American citizens. Montville told the audience that You can say I do Track I diplomacy and what you guys are doing is Track II diplomacy (Taylor, August 4, 2014).

d. First Time in Print (1981)

Montville with the collaboration of William D. Davidson who was a psychiatrist and IPFA head, published the term “Track Two Diplomacy” for the very first time. They explained it as ““Its underlying assumption,” they write, “*is that actual or potential conflict can be resolved or eased by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to good will and reasonableness.*”

e. Arab-Israel Interaction (1989)

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences again conducted the interactive meetings between Arab and Israel participants. The purpose of this conference was to seek the possible outcome of Palestine issue through the suggestions of the attendees. This conference and similar meetings and further Track II efforts led to make a deep impact on the Oslo Accords of 1993 between Arab and Israel political leadership (Homans, 2011).

f. Post Cold War Era

After the disintegration of the USSR and emergence of New World Order, the scholars of international relations started to show keen interest in the Track Two diplomacy. This was started to maintain peace in post Soviet world. In 1994 when North Korea and USA were at the verge of nuclear clash, former President Jimmy Carter travelled to North Korea and got the Promise from Kim Sung II that he will end its nuclear program. This was celebrated as “Triumph of Track Two Diplomacy”. Carter made the Track II diplomacy a critical global politics tool and somehow introduced the Track 1.5 diplomacy in which former official person met on the behalf of his state with the officials of other state (Mapendre *etal*, 2009).

g. Post 9-11 Era

In 2002, U.S Ambassador Marc Grossman told the participants of a meeting that: “Track Two Diplomacy is key part of our efforts” He then became the special envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan of US government. Today the Track Two diplomacy has established itself as important and vital tool of international relations. It is a major source of interaction among the hostile

nations. Along with that it is now part of curriculum of numerous universities around the globe (Mapendre *etal*, 2009).

2.17 Relational and Diplomatic History of Pakistan and India

Hostility would be the right word to define the relations of these two neighboring states. The enmity exists since 1947 when they got freedom from their British colonial master. Millions of individuals were brutally killed, kidnapped and made handicapped during the process of separation. In 1947-48 both states fought their first war on the issue of Kashmir. The Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir decided to annex with India but the Muslim majority started to revolt against him. Indian forces entered in Kashmir and from other side the tribesmen started their offense. The war continued till 1949 when UN intervened into the issue and the issue is still unresolved. Both sides held talks for the issue in 1954, 1957, 1963 and 1964 when Pakistan finally referred the case to United Nations (Hashim, 2014).

a. Early Years (1947-1960s)

Both sides fought their second war in 1965 again on the issue of Kashmir. The war started at Rann of Kutch and escalated on September 6, when India attacked on Lahore Border. The war continued till 22 September when the case was filed to UN for the ceasefire. The war ended in stalemate as both sides held some part of the territory of other side. In context of the 1965, the Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan met at Tashkent under the observation of Soviet Union in 1966. Both sides agreed to withdraw their forces at pre-August positions. Also both agreed to enhance the economic and diplomatic relations. The agreement is considered to be one of the important agreements in Pakistan India history (Story of Pakistan, 2005)

In 1971, Indian forces entered in to East Pakistan and infiltrated the ongoing civil insurgency in Pakistan. The both sides fought another war which resulted in the creation of Bangladesh in December 1971. Pakistan still hold it was Indian involvement which disintegrated Pakistan, otherwise it could have been solved as it was the internal affair of Pakistan. In 1972, Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi met at Shimla in India. Both sides agreed to increase the cordial relations and conflicts will be solved though “diplomacy” Pakistan accepts the border of Bangladesh as Line of Control and both sides agreed to not to interfere in internal affairs of other states (*Dawn*, January 22, 2012).

b. Decade of 1970s and 1980s

In 1974, India tested its nuclear device at Pokhran in an operation called “Smiling Buddha”. This Indian step disturbed the balance of power in India and created a direct threat of Pakistan. Henceforth Pakistan government announced to start its own nuclear program which was initiated in 1974 and got the nuclear ability in 1980s. In 1988, both sides signed an agreement that no one will attack on the nuclear facilities of other state. In the agreement the “ "nuclear power and research reactors, fuel fabrication, uranium enrichment, isotopes separation and reprocessing facilities as well as any other installations with fresh or irradiated nuclear fuel and materials in any form and establishments storing significant quantities of radio-active materials" were included. Also both sides to agree on sharing the information about their nuclear programs which is been done on January 1 of every year since then (Battle, 2010).

In 1989, armed resistance in Kashmir started against India. Indian government blamed Pakistan that it is behind this movement. India said that Pakistan is giving weapons, training and helping in “Cross-border terrorism”. While Pakistan declared that it only gives its “moral and

diplomatic” support to the movement. The movement reached to its peak in 1990s and still continues. In 1991, both sides signed a agreements under which it was decided that both sides will share the information in advance regarding military exercises, maneuvers and troop movements and violation of airspace. In 1992 both sides agreed on “no use of chemical weapons” in case of clash or war.

c. Decade of 1990s

In 1998 India detonated its five nuclear bombs at Pokhran and gain disturbed the balance of power in South Asian region. In response Pakistan detonated six nuclear devices which were necessary to counter the India aggression. Both sides were sanctioned by international community. In 1999, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bahari Vajpayee reached Lahore on the invitation of Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The Lahore declaration was signed and both sides re-affirmed the Shimla Accord and agreed to hold “Confidence Building Measures” “(CBMs) on regular bases. The relations again got worse after the Kargil War in 1999. This hostility was visible in 2001, when both sides were peak of the hostility and forces of both sides were allocated to the borders. It was ended in 2002 after the international involvement (Arms Control Organization, 2008)

d. 21st Century and Pakistan-India Diplomacy

In 2002 President Musharraf went to India for agreement but both sides remained unable to reach to any common grounds in Agra. In 2003, Pakistan declared to fight extremism on its own but held the stand on Kashmir issue. In 2004, Musharraf and Vajpayee held a detailed discussion in SAARC summit in Islamabad and secretaries and foreign ministers held number of occasion to reduce tension. In 2006, India re-deploys 5,000 of its army personnels at LOC. Both sides agreed

to develop a mutual mechanism for anti-terrorism. In 2007, both sides arranged CBMs for composite dialogue along with the Joint Ant-Terrorism Mechanism (JATM). The Samjhota Express Incident was occurred in 2007 in which 68 people were killed. In 2008, Mumbai Attack again derailed the relations between both states. India Blamed Pakistan involvement in the attack and all talks were broke off by India (Khosa, 2015).

In 2009 Pakistan admitted that the plan was partially planned on its soil but refused that its intelligence agency was involved in it. In 2010, the relationship further destroyed when armies of both sides exchanged fire at LOC. In 2011, India shared the dossier with Pakistan on issue of Samjhota Express Incident. Again in 2013, Pakistan blamed India of violating the cease-fire in Kashmir region, both sides met on sidelines of UN General Assembly meeting and agreed to reduce the tension. In the same year India and Pakistan agreed to resume trade at Kashmir Border which was at halt for three weeks (Yousaf, 2015).

In 2014, Pakistan Army Chief General Raheel Sharif called Kashmir “Jugular Vein” of Pakistan showing the stance of the state on the issue. In same year Nawaz Sharif and Narendar Modi held talks in New Delhi to increase the bilateral relations. The diplomatic efforts were started but in 2015 the talks came to another halt after the Cross-Border firing at LOC and Indian insistence of arranging talks only on terrorism issue excluding Kashmir and other issues. Pakistan refused to be part of these talks henceforth both parties have returned to a firm and rigid stances and blame game is at its peak. The diplomatic efforts through backdoor and Tack II diplomacy are continued for resolutions of the issues (*Aljazeera*, August 16, 2015)

2.18 History of Conflict Management

The conflict management among the states has a long history. Even since the ancient times the civilizations had the methods and means to resolve their conflicts which ranged from personal relations of the rulers to the special delegations. The conflicts resolution started to get a formal shape with the establishment of nation-state systems. The proper diplomats, delegations, and envoys were sent to other states to resolve the issues. The diplomacy the major source of resolving and managing the issues became the priority of the states' foreign policies. In 20th century faced to World Wars, mainly because of failures in resolving their conflicts on table. After the WWII, the international community realized that the war is not the mean to resolve because of the scale of destruction it cause. Hence forth the biggest War international community faced was Cold War which was fought on the diplomatic fronts.

During 1950s and 60s the study of conflict management started to emerge as defined study. The time was the height of the Cold War as the nuclear and arms race was on the rise between both super powers US and USSR. The pioneers realized the importance of the conflict management study in international relations. These initiators realized that this global conflict has the same properties as the community conflicts, business clashes, and issues among the families and between individuals. Numbers of scholars and private groups from North America and Europe started to establish different groups and think tanks for the study of conflict resolution in international relations. On the contrary the traditional scholars and experts of this discipline did not welcome the initiative much positively because they felt that the study of international relations and nature of its conflicts is altogether different from the other subjects. They were of the view that nature and implication of conflict management is altogether different from that of

industrial or community conflict resolution studies hence it is not fit for the international relations (Ramsbotham, Woodhous, Miall, 2011)

Despite the opposition the discipline started to grow and different minds started to evaluate the importance of this study. The conflict resolution journals started to get published and the institutions to study it started to be established. The conflict management even started to had its own sub-study areas like the internal conflicts in states, social conflicts, national crisis and it ranged from the negation to the mediation process to resolve the conflict. In 1980s the conflict resolution study started to really thrive in global politics. In South Africa different groups started to apply different conflict resolution approaches and analysis on the apartheids and its challenges, in Middle East the involving negotiating actors had known each other from conflict resolution studies and from the workshops they have attended, In Northern Ireland the conflict resolution groups started to apply the community conflict management approached to get different communities on the same page. Likewise in the war-effected regions like Far-East Asia the conflict resolution think tanks started to analyze the issue and rehabilitation process through their study. In all of these cases and issues, conflict management discipline played a vital role in understanding, minimizing and resolving the conflicts. By the end of Cold War the conflict management took a whole new shape as the US and USSR were on the amicable stance, the conflicts between them were resolving, the regional conflicts in different parts of the world were ending peacefully and UN was emerging as a strong entity (Ramsbotham, Woodhous, Miall, 2011)

After the disintegration of USSR the nature of international conflict changed wholly. The conflicts from state conflicts changed into the ethnic, religious, internal and racial conflicts. This scenario was totally different in the history of conflict resolution. The states were becoming

internally weak and economically deprived. This led to the conflict resolution thinkers to apply methods which they have been talking since the 1950s. The behavior of the traditionalists and statesmen also changed as they started to use the language of conflict resolution. The Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and Organization of African Unity (OAU) started to establish their offices in different parts of their respective regions (Bercovitch, Regan, 2003)

1.19 Conclusion

The Diplomacy has its roots in the ancient world of Greeks and Romans. This art has developed through the courts of rulers, from the undocumented and traditional norms among states to the well documented and practiced method. The Track One, also known as the official Diplomacy has dominated throughout the history of the International Relations but since late 20th Century other tracks, specially Track II Diplomacy, the un-official diplomacy art has began to get prominence and importance in resolving and managing the conflicts among the nations of the world. Track Two Diplomacy has settled number of global and regional issues and also has expanded the study of Diplomacy. Other state actors like the academics, former diplomats and retired military personals can play a important role in resolving the conflicts which was only bound to the official circles of the states.

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Chapter 3

Track Two Diplomacy for Conflict Management between Pakistan and India (1996-2001)

3. 1 Brief History of Relationship

Pakistan and India two hostile neighboring states has never sustained cordial relationship since their mutual inception in 1947. Both have at logger's head on number of occasions. Three full fledged wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971 explain the relation quite well. Pakistan acquires security dilemma right after its independence mainly from India. Hindu politicians were not happy from the creation of Pakistan. They considered it as the division of their motherland. Henceforth an aura of hostility prevailed right from the start. Due to Indian aggression, newly created Pakistan has to look for strong military assistance and alliance. This started a still lasting enmity and relational gap between them. With passage of time the hostility increased instead of decreasing (Yadav, 2008, Nayyar, 2009)

Along with the full wars, both states clashed on numerous occasions on mutual border. Pakistan remained quite unstable with regard to democratic government. Due to short sighted and weak political leadership, military rulers took over the office time and over. On the contrary India enjoyed a stable democratic system but still the trustworthy relations cannot be established. The lack of trust widened the gap. Furthermore the blame game played a critical role on further deteriorating the relations. At every internal and border incident, both sides started to put the responsibility on other. In result the efforts done for establishing cordial ties proved futile, which ultimately resulted in more allegations and enmity (Ghosh, 2011; Cohen, 2003).

3.2 Kashmir Issue and Wars

Kashmir issue is most burning conflict between both neighbors. The nil-resolution of the issue has further created many issues. Two major wars of 1948 and 1965 and a limited war in Kargil War were fought due to the issue. Both states are not ready to budge from their stance. The territorial conflict has been proved to be tangible issue between them. Pakistan holds the stance that it was supposed to be its integral part as it was a Muslim majority region. Indian government occupied it with the help of its Hindu ruler at the time of partition. Since then the governments of both sides are fighting over the issue. Till the resolution of the issue, the relationship between both states holds dubious future. The feel of strain will prevail between them because of the unresolved Kashmir issue (Mohan, 2004; Hassan, 2010; Cohen, 2003).

Over the years the diplomatic efforts had been undertaken from both sides. The efforts were mostly at official level. The agreements like Tashkent agreement, Shimla accord, and Lahore declaration were signed by both sides but result remained same. The agreements and efforts proved to be non-result oriented for longer time period. Other diplomatic efforts like “Cricket Diplomacy” were adopted during General Zia regime. This step although reduced the tension for the time being but the hostility reemerged in its full colors. Track II diplomacy have also been tried on number of occasion by former military personals, bureaucrats, businessmen and other important individuals of both societies. The efforts are consistent in some cases and mostly for the specific time after an issue or hostility. The efforts of Track II diplomacy from 1996 to 2001 will be discussed in this chapter. The time is important for Pakistan as for the democratic governments were changing rapidly and significant issues like Nuclear Bomb tests, Kargil War and major border hostility in 2001-2002 occurred in this time period. These issues left a long

lasting implications and effects on the relationship of both sides (Man, Kathori, *etal*, 2010; Ahmad, 2011).

3.3 Time Period of (1996-2001)

3. 4 Government(s) in Pakistan (1996-2001)

a. Preface

As discussed earlier the 1990s decade is highly significant as the power was shifting between Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz). Both parties were taking turns and their tenures were ended prematurely mainly because of corruption and incompetency allegations. The country was in constant turmoil. The short sightedness of leaders has made Pakistan politics an arena of power struggle. Democracy was not prevailing well in the state. PML-N had the tenure from 1990 to 1993, than Benazir took the office from 1993 to 1996, and from 1997-1999 Nawaz Sharif came into power. In 1999 due to strained relations with military, PML-N government was overthrown by bloodless military coup by General Pervaiz Musharraf (Rasheed, Ahmad, 2006; Bexter, Craig, 2001; Aziz, 2001).

b. Ending of Benazir Second tenure (1996)

Benazir Bhutto had come to power in 1993 after the president Ghulam Ishaq dismissed the legislature of PML-N. After another election PPP came into power. The opposition was spearheaded by Nawaz Sharif who vowed to work with the government for rule of democracy but soon he made an alliance with brother of PPP chairperson and Prime Minister of Pakistan. The alliance started a campaign against the corruption of the ruling party. The movement ultimately caused the end of tenure of PPP. The President Farooq Laghari dismissed the national

assemblies and appointed Meraj Khalid as the head of caretaker government. In February 1997, after another general election Nawaz Sharif came into power with two-third majority (Doherty, Doherty, 1997; Zain, Ali, 2009; Jones, 2005).

c. PML-N Second Tenure (1997-1999)

Nawaz Sharif came into office after acquiring a dominant majority in the parliament. Another democratic party got the chance to run the state. According to number of political analysts Nawaz established a “civil dictatorship” and tried to handle all the power by himself. This tenure is highly important with regard to relations with India as major incident like Nuclear Bomb test in 1998 and Kargil War in 1999 proved to be critical for both Pakistan and India and South Asian politics. After the nuclear bomb tests a major step with regard to diplomacy was taken by both governments. The famous “Bus Diplomacy” was undertaken by both sides. This step reduced the tension emerged after nuclear tests. The clash of Kargil yet again destroyed all the diplomatic efforts. After the issue, Pakistan ruling party and military had established a strained relationship. This ended in 1999, when PM Nawaz Sharif tried to change the Chief of Army Staff (COAS) when the COAS General Pervaiz Musharraf was not in the state. Army officials refused to accept the change henceforth Nawaz government was ousted by General Pervaiz Musharraf in 1999 (Mahmud, 2001; Cohen, 2005; *Express Tribune*, May 13, 2013).

d. General Musharraf Regime-First Phase (1999-2001)

Musharraf took the office after another bloodless military coup in Pakistan. The military ruler like his predecessors announced to arrange general elections but it never happened. General Musharraf was the main head behind Kargil War. Hence being him into power certainly grew apprehensions in India. The phase of Musharraf regime being discussed in this chapter is from

1999 to 2001 as after 2001 world and regional politics changed massively. This change not only affected the Pakistan internally but also left a critical impact on Pakistan-India relations. The relations between both states went into another down spiral after an attack on Indian Parliament in 2001. The blame game restarted and the Armies of both states took their war position on the shared border. Both militaries stood eye ball to eye ball for quite a long time. It only dispersed after extensive diplomatic efforts especially by international actors (Shah, 2010; Ramdas, 2009).

3.5. Governments in India (1996-2001)

India also passed through change in three governments in time span of two years from 1996 to 1999. Congress party was in the office at the time of elections in 1996. The party was under severe corruption allegations by both party leaders and Prime Minister of the time Narasimha Rao. The result of the elections created a hung parliament with no majority acquired by any political party. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) tried to establish the government with Atal Bihari Bajpai but remained unsuccessful as it cannot achieve the collation in the parliament. The United Front established its government with non congress non BJP support. Deve Gowda was the new Prime Minister of India but he also could not last for long. A major collation party drew itself from the alliance forcing India to go for third election in two years (Oliver, 2006; Hasan, 2006; CNN, May 28, 1996; Robert, 1996; IEC Report, 1996).

In 1998 elections BJP emerged as a major party and with the help of its alliance. Atal Bihari Bajpai once again took the oath as the Prime Minister. After his selection as a Prime Minister he was keen to outline close ties with Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. He took the initiative of famous “Bus Diplomacy” to reduce the tension between both states especially after the Nuclear tests in 1998. The visit resulted in Lahore Declaration between both states. Along with

that the Track II diplomacy was extensively used by both Prime Ministers to reduce tensions, to seek new resolution of Kashmir issue and other conflicting matters (Roy, Wallace, 2003; Pai, 2001 Dass, 2004).

3.6. Challenges and Barriers during 1996-2001

As discussed earlier Pakistan and India has never been able to enjoy long lasted stable relationship. After every few month or years both states lodged in loggerhead on one issue or another. These conflicts are mainly result of lack of communication and trust deficiency between both neighbors. During time period of 1996 to 2001 some major conflicts took place. These issues redesigned the relationship pattern for the states. The diplomacy played its important role during and after these issues. Even Track II diplomacy was used by the leaders of both states to draw an outcome of major clashes (Shafique, 2011).

(a) Nuclear Test 1998

The nuclear capability has changed the prospect of conflict between Pakistan and India. The nuclear race initiated by India in 1970s was well responded by Pakistan in the shape of nuclear tests in 1998. On May 11 Indian conducted its first nuclear bomb tests and again tested it on May 13, 1998. Pakistan came under severe international and domestic pressure regarding the issue. International states did not want Pakistan to test its nuclear bombs. The state was threatened to come under the economic sanctions in case of nuclear tests. On the contrary at domestic front, Nawaz government was facing severe pressure to conduct the tests. The Indian tests have clearly shifted the balance of power in favor of India. The Indian dream to be dominant South Asian hegemone seemed to come true. Pakistan will become under constant threat by India (Dawn, May 16, 1998; Hoodbhoy, 2011).

After long consultations and meetings, Pakistan decided to showcase its nuclear capability to world and India. The decision was specifically taken after continues taunting and provoking statements by Indian government officials and ministers. On May 28, 1998, after roughly two weeks of Indian tests, Pakistan conducted its first nuclear test at the site of Chaghi, Balochistan. Second test was conduct on May 30, 1998. This step by Pakistan created a constant deterrence for the country against India. The balance of power was restored in the region. It certainly affected the relationship status. The atmosphere of hostility and enmity was again sustained between old arch rival states. The nuclear capability by Pakistan made it stand on same grounds with India, henceforth the diplomatic ties were tried to be set and discussed on equal grounds (Hashmi, 2012; Saleh, 2000).

(b). Kargil War 1999

In 1999, Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Bajpai met in Lahore. The meeting was first major initiative after the nuclear tests in 1998. Both head of the states met at Wagah border, Lahore. The tension was eased between both sides. The Kargil war was conducted after the Lahore declaration. The main object of the war was to highlight the Kashmir issue at international level where it had been undermined for some time. The plan was believed to be made in early months of 1999. An operation was launched on Indian posts in Kargil, a vital strategic point in Indian Occupied Kashmir. The Indian forces had emptied their posts in winter. Pakistan captured these posts in severe winters. According to Indian official sources almost 542 Indian soldiers were killed and 10, 34 got injured (Zinni, Clancy, 2004; Shuja, 2007).

After the issue got the international community attention, the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif stated that he is unaware of such military operation. Indian forces started their offense at the front, making Pakistani forces to retreat. Pakistani government refused to acknowledge the personals as their own. Prime Nawaz Sharif seek the global support to resolve the issue. The war lasted from May 4, to July 14 when both sides announced a ceasefire.

This was not a total war but it yet again destroyed the close ties between Pakistan and India. After this conflict mere official diplomatic efforts were tried. The Track II diplomacy was conducted between both states through bureaucratic officials and journalists of both states (Cheema, 2003; Chandra, 2004; Barau, 2005).

(c). Military border standout 2001-2002

The military stand-off is another major conflict between Pakistan and Indian during that time period. The initiative was started by India after the government put allegation of Pakistan of supporting elements to attack on Indian parliament. Two attacks on October 1 and December 13 were launched by the gunmen on Kashmir legislation building and Indian Parliament respectively.. Indian blamed Pakistan that these attacks were conducted by two Pakistani Islamists groups Lashkr-e-Tayyba and Jash-e-Muhammad. On next day of attack on Indian parliament the Indian minister L. K. Advani stated that we have the evidences, that our neighboring country is involved in the attacks. The blame was clearly on Pakistan. Indian demanded to ban the Islamist organizations (AAAS, 2015; Basrur, 2009; Economist December 20, 2001).

On the other hand Pakistan denied its involvement in the attack. The blame game restarted. This gradually led to more hostility. India started the military movement to borders and Pakistan also

moved its forces to the borders. India deployed its 5, 00,000 army personals to the border whereas Pakistan allocated 300,000 military personals. The focus of both sides was Kashmir region alongside the Line of Control (LOC). This process started in December 2001. Both sides had moved their ballistic missiles to the border region. The stand-off continued till November 2002, when India started to retreat its forces. The tool of diplomacy again played a significant role in deescalating the conflict. The involvement of powerful states and their diplomats make both states to be flexible in their stances. The shuttle diplomacy was used as the main tool. Along with that Back channel diplomacy through assigned individuals also played a vital role in resolving the issue (Afridi, 2009; Dawn, December 14, 2001; Times of India, October 16, 2002).

These three are three major conflicts between Indian and Pakistan during time period of 1996 to 2001. Although both states were hostile during the time period but diplomacy was used by both sides to resolve the tension. The nuclear capability also played its role in the whole process as both know the power of its counterpart hence the full fledged war is quite out of question.

3.7 Major Groups and Actors of Track Two Diplomacy for Conflict Management

In Track Two diplomacy number of groups worked significantly to bridge up the relational gap.

The major groups were:

- Pakistan-India People's forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD)
- Neemrana Initiative
- Balusa Group
- Kashmir Study Group
- Association of Peoples of Asia (APA)
- Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP)

- South Asian Forum of Human Rights (SAFHR)
- Pakistan Peace Coalition and the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace
- India Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace (IPSI)

Following are the introduction, purposes and efforts done by these groups in the field of Track II diplomacy during 1996-2001. The efforts have been conducted by the participants and individuals for quite a long time (Bronstien, Johnson *etal*, 2015; Shantanu, 2003; Shaheen, 2012).

3.8 Groups and Track Two Diplomacy

(a) Neemrana Initiative

One of most significant and early effort in Track Two diplomacy was Neemrana initiative. The program or process started in 1991 and left deep affect in Pakistan and India Track Two diplomacy during 1996-1997. The initiative has still its operatives and members. The program was consisted of ex-military men, former diplomats, foreign secretaries, businessmen and other important social individuals from both sides. It was mainly funded by US with allocation of an American convener. The group arranged over a dozen meetings till 1996. The main agenda of the group revolves around the issues like nuclear stability, border clashes, Kashmir issue, business interests, media cooperation and a constant communication channel between Pakistan and India. The program was designed on the blue prints of *Détente* between US and USSR during Cold War eras in 1970s and 1980s (Coll, 2009, Normer, McDonald, 1996; Schaffer, 2002)

The US and USSR remained successful to extract some agreements out of their *Détente* but Neemrana participants remained unable to do so. It was almost perished after the nuclear tests of

1998. Although the project did not show any significant success but it defiantly laid a strong ground for Track Two diplomacy between Pakistan and India. This initiative led to number of Track II channels and programs between both rival neighboring states (Malhotra, 2010)

(b). Shanghai Initiative

The groups remained operational from 1994 to 2000 It was consists of four members i.e. Pakistan, India, China and USA. The program had six to seven members. These members were former important scientists, diplomats and military officers. The program has extensive focus of the nuclear technology and capability of the member states. The members used to meet once in a year in Pakistan, India, China and US respectively. During the meetings the members discussed the future implications, pros and cons, and balance of power among states after acquiring nuclear power. The program was mainly funded by the US Alton Jones Foundation. The meetings were also addressed to the perceptions, perspectives, and priorities of involving states regarding nuclear technology (Kaye, 2007; Krepon, Sevak, 1995; Kutty, 2004).

After the nuclear tests by Pakistan and India in 1998, the importance of group became more vital. The members especially from both states engaged in detailed talks and discussions over the future of relations of these states. The members presented the policy of their states although not officially but it produced a strong sense of understanding among the participants. Along with that the newly emerged security parameters were also came under discussion. The participant intellectuals were of the view that the security dilemma between both states has been entirely changed and it will leave a long lasting effect on the relations of Pakistan and India. After the 1998 tests, the relations had come to a complete halt between both countries. The members of Shanghai initiative involved themselves in back door diplomacy specifically with regard to

nuclear capability. In the last meetings of the group in Washington DC in 2000, it was found that the participants did not have an effective influence on the government policies back home, hence gradually the program was finished.. Despite no major development was achieved by the group but this program continued the tradition of Neemrana program as some of its members were also in Neemrana initiative. One of the members Abdul Sattar became Foreign Minister of Pakistan. This defiantly made an impact on nuclear relations of Pakistan and India in long run (Sandia International, Rachel, 2013; Kothari, Zia, 2010)

(c). Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP)

This organization was established in 1999 by Meenakshi Gopinath in Delhi. The main purpose of the group was to empower women in the areas like security, policy making, peace and international relations. Its main agenda holds the point that the gender gap between women and men in policy making should be bridged. The initiative was highly targeted towards South Asian women. It tends to encourage women to take part in state politics and policy making process. Further it advocated that women must be integral part of inter-state negotiations, theory developing in international relations, conflict management and regional politics focusing on Pakistan and India relations. Along with that the organization raised its voice on several forums regarding the plight of common women South Asian states especially in the occupied land like Kashmir (Manjri, 2004).

Another major initiative took by the organization was establishing harmony among the South Asian woman. It was specifically done during the years of 1999 and 2000. A movement named *Athwas* which means holding the hand of another person for showing trust, cooperation and empathy was initiated by organization in 2000. It was introduced in one of the round table

conference of the organization. It was started to show solidarity with Kashmiri women. The handshake was being conducted among the Kashmiri Pundit, Sikh and Muslim women. It was the first initiative for Kashmiri women in a decade since the armed freedom movement was started in the valley. It was to make participants to understand the point of view of others. It was also to show the harmony and borderless love for the Kashmiri affected women (Bronstien, Johnson, 2009). **Kashmir Study Group (KSG)**

This group was founded in 1996 by the former diplomats, academics, intellectuals, heads of NGOs, and former parliamentary leaders. These founders are mostly from US, Canada and European countries. The basic purpose of the group was to extract the resolution of Kashmir issue. The founder of KSG was a Kashmiri-American Muhammad Farooq. He also funded the project so a resolution of the issue can be reached as soon as possible. The group rapidly got recognition in the world especially in Pakistan and India. According to two South Asian intellectuals, the KSG “*has achieved a reputation for nonpartisan objectivity that has earned it a hearing in New Delhi and Islamabad, and a measure of confidence among Kashmiri leaders*” (Schaffer, Schaffer, 2005; Hampson, All, 2005)

The KSG arranged a number of meetings between Pakistani and Indian former diplomats, military personnel and academics. These meetings were mostly being arranged in Islamabad and New Delhi. The main agenda was to look, analyze and understand the point of view and perceptions of both sides. Furthermore it was also come under discussion that how much the both sides can show the flexibility. (KSG Report, 2005) The discussions were lengthy and strategically vital. The ideas and proposals presented by KSG were highly appreciated and considered by the policy makers of both Pakistan and India. In its number of meetings the Kashmir issue was highlighted at global level. One of the purposes of the group is to resolve the issue through the cooperation

of international community and under special observation of United Nations (KSG Website, 2016)

One of the vital meetings was arranged between by KSG in 1999. The participants of the meeting were retired Pakistani and Indian military officials. The group held a prolonged discussion for the Kashmir issue. The meeting was important due to the involvement of military personals because these individuals have fought wars on the same issue with each other. They knew the importance of the territory hence a proposal by these individuals was highly vital. The group prepared a report which was published in 2000 under the title of “Kashmir Issue: A Way Forward” The main proposal of the report was to divide part of Kashmir in two independent sovereign entities but without international status. The report was highly appreciated by both governments but like many other ideas this one also went into spiral of official red tape and lack of interest of politicians to resolve the issue of Kashmir. The activities of the this group were highly important as the Kargil war recently fought between Pakistan and Indian, henceforth the significance of the Kashmir issue had come into international line light yet again. KSG is still active and have been publishing its reports for extracting a permanent and stable outcome of Kashmir issue mainly for the betterment of people of Kashmir (Kumar, 2012).

e. Balusa Group

Shirin Tahir Kheli, who was a professor in John Hopkins University, and has remained at important designations during George W. Bush’s both first and second tenures, founded the Balusa (Knowledge) group in 1995. Her brother Toufiq Siddiqi who is an energy and environmental expert was the co-founder of the group. The duo established the group to establish a channel of communication and to improve relations between Pakistan and India. UN

development program and Rock Feller foundation were the main fund donors of the project. This step was considered to be one of the critical steps of Track II diplomacy for establishing a trust worth channel between neighboring arch rivals (Kheli, 1997; *The International News*, April 6, 2008).

The meetings of this group are usually consists of former military officials, retired diplomats, and academics from Pakistan and India. The main agenda of the meetings are to analyze the options for trust building measures and resolution of burning issue of Kashmir between two neighboring states. Along with that the other major goal of the group is to bring out the discussion agendas from narrow strategic point to the economic, social and political options. The meetings were mainly held around mid and late 1990s. Another major proposal presented by the Balusa Group during 1996-96 was to establish a gas pipeline from Iran to Pakistan to India. Although the idea was already floating in official circles but this group further propagated the idea with new escalation. During an interview Mr. Siddiqi quoted: "*Shirin and I have had a continuous interest in promoting sustainable development in the Subcontinent, and here was a concept [the pipeline proposal] that would represent a win-win economic situation for the key adversaries, while also serving as a CBM*" (Dixet, 2005; RAND, 2007)

General Durrani who was also a founding member of Balusa Group has also been a strong supporter of the idea. He emphasized on the gas pipeline project after Nuclear tests in 1998 and then in 1999 after Kargil War. The General stated: "*The peace dividend will begin to flow the moment you sign the document. There will be newfound confidence as you move into detailed studies, construction, the to-and-fro between officials, and so on*". He further produced a document which discussed the destruction and disadvantages of war between Pakistan and India. The paper was written on the outlines of agenda of Balusa Group. Although most of the

intellectuals considered that the group has little influence but it had established its sphere of influence in the official circles like General Durrani kept on furnishing the ideas of Balusa Group in the Defense Ministry of Pakistan (Durrani, 2005)

The Balusa Group emerged as a vital tool of Track II diplomacy between Pakistan and India after Kargil War in 1999. The options were discussed to keep a channel open despite the hostility between both neighboring states. Furthermore the Group discussed the new security situation in context of military coup in Pakistan and its potential effects on Pak-India relationship.

f. India Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace (IPSI)

After the Lahore declaration in 1999 numerous positive initiatives were being taken to further enhance cooperation and communication between Pakistan and India. Along with other social and civil actors, military personals also started to take part in the activity. Former military personals of Pakistan and India decided to form a platform to discuss the mutual interests, issues and conflicts between both sides. After the presentation of idea soldiers of both sides appreciated in, hence under the chair of Nirmala DaishPande the organization under the name of India-Pakistan Soldiers Initiatives for Peace (IPSI) was formed in 1999. The organization has the offices in both Lahore and New Delhi. Distinguished former military officials head the offices on both sides.

Admiral (r) Ramdas a former Navy Chief is heading the Delhi chapter of the organization while Lahore office is run under the chair of Lt. General (r) Naseer Akhtar. The basic condition of becoming a member is that the candidate should be serious and devoted for building peace and trust channels between Pakistan and India. The organization has number of meetings and seminars especially after Kargil War in 1999 to discuss the potential implications on mutual

relationship of both states. First major seminar of the organization was held in United States Centre in New Delhi on January 23, 2001. The Kargil War was still a hot topic and was fresh in the mind of participants. Pakistani delegation led by Lt. Gen. Naseer Akhtar faced some serious questions and hot debate. The misperceptions on many issues were finished on both sides. A joint declaration for peace was issued at the end of the seminar (IPSI Home Page, 2012)

Second seminar of the organization was held in Lahore in 2001. The Indian delegation under Nirmala DaishPande reached the city. The Indian chapter of IPSI met President General Pervaiz Musharraf and discussed the vital military and economic issues with him. Furthermore the delegation met with the leaders of Al-Badr organization which was an active armed freedom movement organization in Indian Occupied Kashmir. The Indian delegations went back with many cleared misperceptions and with the feeling that majority of Pakistani people want peaceful relations with India (Gaur, 2003).

g. Pakistan-India People's forum for Peace and Democracy (PIFPD)

PIFPD was established in 1995 at the time of high tension between Pakistan and India. The major purpose of the group is to engage civil society activists on both sides of the borders. The members of the group are mostly academics, businessmen, media persons and NGOs. The individual or group wants to be member of this organization need to be supporter of the peace and cooperation agendas of this PIPFD. Basic members of this organization were 24 who have the same purpose to promote peace and democracy in their respective countries. PRPFPD has the offices in Lahore and New Delhi. The major activity conduct by this group is arranging an annual seminar in both countries with 100-200 participants. There seminars held from 1995 to 2001 were highly important for a constant communication plat form between Pakistan and India

because the times were hostile between them. The aura of suspicion and trust deficiency was prevailing. Henceforth PIPFPD kept a window open for contact across the border (Purohit, 2013).

h. South Asian Forum of Human Rights (SAFHR)

The forum established in 1990 works for the basic Human Rights in South Asia. The head quarter of the organization is located in Katmandu, Nepal. The organization was established to maintain and promote the human rights in South Asia. Basic purpose of the group is to *"promote respect for universal standards of human rights with emphasis on universality and interdependence of human rights."* The group has worked intensively for the rights of people of Kashmir. It has raised the voice in both Pakistan and India to resolve the issue of Kashmir for the Kashmiris. The seminars, conferences and talks were arranged by the group after the Kargil War in 1999 and 2000 to put pressure on Pakistan-India to seek a resolution of the issue. The members and participants are from both states belong to sectors of education, welfare, media and diplomacy (SAFHR, 2002)

Above discussed groups has played a vital role in sector of Track II diplomacy especially during time phase of 1996 to 2001. As mentioned earlier this phase was highly critical for both sides as the major issues like Nuclear tests and Kargil War were occurred in that time. These groups not only kept a communication bridge on but also presented their ideas and new proposals to leaders and policy makers of both states to develop peaceful and cordial ties. This aspect and efforts of Track II diplomacy may not be recognized by number of scholars of International Relations but no one can deny they role played by these groups and organizations (SAFHR, 2002).

3.9 Role of Individuals in Track Two Diplomacy between Pakistan and India

The groups who played a significant role in Track Two diplomacy between Pakistan and India but there were few important individuals who played a vital role in establishing a Track II channel between both states. These individuals belong to diplomatic sector and media field has played a vital role. These individuals mostly allocated by the head of the states arranged secret meetings in Pakistan and India to resolve the issues in hand. The major issues as discussed earlier were the nuclear tests in 1998, Kargil War 1999, and border stand-off in 2001-2002. These individuals not only kept a connection between both states but also presented new ideas to resolve the issues keeping the interests of their states on top. During this critical phase these individuals played highly important role to keep a stable and sustainable relations between both hostile states.

(a) Niaz Naik and R. K. Mishra: Two Poles of Track Two Diplomacy (1996-2001)

Niaz Naik a former foreign secretary of Pakistan played a major role during the government of Nawaz Sharif to bring Pakistan and India together and his counterpart R. K. Mishra a journalist by profession and political secretary of the Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Bajpai played similar important role in bridge up the differences between both states. Both individuals were assigned by the head of the governments of both states. They were close to them. Before election in Pakistan in 1997, the relationship between both neighbors was in worse condition. The blame game was at its peak. Almost zero communication was occurring between both states. The elections of 1997 and victory of Nawaz Sharif by huge margin created a new ray of hope. Although both Niaz Naik and Nawaz Sharif didn't share same political grounds but both shared one common interest, good relations with India. In an interview Naik stated: *"Sharif was basically not a politician but a businessman. He could see the benefits of Indo-Pakistani co-*

operation in the economic and social sectors. He was really, genuinely interested in making progress." (Rediff, December 23, 1999)

Newly elected Pakistani PM allocated Mr. Naik for establishing back door connection with India. Naik was his second choice for the Track Two diplomacy after the death of his political secretary. Former foreign secretary was an old player of the field. He had already played a significant role during General Zia regime when he established back door channel between Pakistani ruler and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Meanwhile after the general elections in India in 1998, nationalist Atal Bihari Bajpai had come into power. Despite the doubts, the newly elected Indian PM was ready to establish cordial relations with Pakistan.

After the nuclear tests in 1998, the relations and communications between both states had come to a complete halt. Both Pakistani and Indian Prime Ministers first met at the sideline of UN convention in New York. Both agreed to move the relations in positive direction. The official diplomacy was almost out of question as the feeling of hostility among the politicians and masses on both sides of borders. Hence the tool of Track Two diplomacy was decided to be adopted. Niaz Naik from Pakistan and R.K Mishra from Indian were the choices (Dawn, March 28, 1999)

3.10 Secret Delhi Meeting on Kashmir Issue

These Two individuals met for number of times mostly in New Delhi. Both individuals also arranged meetings during the Lahore summit when Indian PM Bajpai was on official visit of Pakistan. The topics discussed by them ranged from strategic stability, border clash resolutions, economic cooperation and most importantly Kashmir issue. During these meetings the issue of Kargil rose and the focus of the negotiations started to turn towards its resolution, Pakistan's

position and Indian aggression in the conflict. Both allocated by the head of the states tried to resolve the issue by peaceful and rapid means. According to some government officials and political analysts US Deputy Assistant Secretary Gibson Lanphr was also played an important role during the Kargil War (Behera, July 16, 2003).

According to some sources Mr. Lanphr and Mr. Naik flew into New Delhi on July 1 when the Kargil War was continued. They both flew into at night and flew back at the morning without catching any media attention. These individuals met R K Mishra in a New Delhi Hotel. The meeting said to be ended without any fruitful result. Till then the international actors especially US government has gotten involved and Pakistan and India was going for the resolution of Kargil issue. This War highlighted the gravity of Kashmir issue for global community and specifically for Pakistan and India. PM Nawaz Sharif and PM Bajpai again decided to use the Track II diplomacy to seek new resolutions for the unresolved issue since 1947 (Tehka, April 1, 2002)

3.11 Kashmir Issue: Track Two Diplomacy and Conflict Management

During the Bajpai visit to Lahore, the Kashmir issue was already being discussed between them behind closed doors. Both leaders decided to allocate a missionary representative for the negotiation like the Oslo Accord between Israel and Palestine. After reaching back to India, Bajpai called Nawaz Sharif and told him about his choice which was R K Mishra. Meanwhile Mr. Naik has been selected from Pakistani side. During the time of mid-march, 1999, Mishra came to Islamabad to meet Nawaz Sharif and Niaz Naik. Mr. Naik and Mr. Mishra decided to meet in New Delhi at end of March for first round of negotiations on Kashmir issue (Indian Ministry of External Affairs, May 20, 2003).

On March 27, 1999 Niaz Naik reached New Delhi without any official recognition and media coverage. He checked in the hotel and never left the room for days. He used to order his meals in his room. There was no visitor for him. Mr. Naik has once remained a High Commissioner for Pakistan once in the same city. There was only one visitor, R.K, Mishra. Both met for number of days for quite long hours. The main agenda was Kashmir. Both individuals had the consent of their Prime Ministers to extract new resolutions for the conflict. Both agreed to talk on neutral grounds, neither Mishra will called Kashmir as an integral part of India not Naik will state it as the jugular vein of Pakistan. According to the sources Mr. Naik took a map of India and Pakistan on April 1, and both Track II diplomats studied it for hours to reach to a common ground (India Tribune, June 2, 2003).

3.12 Discussed Options on Kashmir Issue: Track Two Delhi Meeting

Both unofficial diplomats decided the outline of negotiation beforehand There were some main points like:

- The resolution will be decided after taken the whole account of interests of Pakistan, India and Kashmiri People
- The solution will be practicable, implementable and equally balanced
- Finally the resolution will be final not partial like Shimla accord of 1972 in which partial conditions were included to resolve the issue

After deciding the outline of negotiation, two sat and discussed the potential outcomes of the conflict. Main proposed solutions were:

- Mishra suggested that both countries will admit Line of Control as the permanent border but was rejected by Naik as this was the reason of wars and was not feasible at all

- Second option was the independent and free elections in Kashmir but was rejected by Naik by saying that elections are much less than what Kashmiris want
- Third option being discussed was the Owen Dixon model of 1950. In which the UN mediator has suggested to divide Kashmir on majority region bases of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. The idea was rejected by Mishra because it would be not acceptable for nationalist government of BJP and it has the potential to turn into blood bath
- Third was the option of independent Kashmir. The idea was based on the Kashmir Liberation Front ideology emerged in 1980 but both rejected the idea
- From there both discussed number of possibilities from Swedish-Finnish model, Kuldeep Nayyar's proposal, Northern Ireland model but none can be reached to solution. R K Mishra told Bajpai that all the options have been exhausted. Bajpai asked them to innovate (Rediff, December 23, 1999).
- After that two focused on innovation and new ideas for the resolution of Kashmir issue. At the time Mr. Naik proposed the famous "Chenab Formula". He suggested that the river Chenab will be considered as the new border of Pakistan and India. The river flows from southwestern region of Kashmir. Mishra said that he did not know the exact location of the river. On that Naik went to hotel lobby and brought a common tourist map of the region. Both cannot ask for the detailed map without rising suspicion. Both discussed the proposal in detail (Iqbal, 2003).

3.13 Kargil War and De-railing of Track Two Diplomacy

On April 1, 1999, Niaz Naik returned to Pakistan with advice from Mishra to send him the detailed maps of river Chenab. Some days after in May the famous Kargil War started and the Chenab formula went dry without any further progress. Mr. Naik went to India on June 26, 1999

for the last time when both states were on the verge of the total war. During that time PM Nawaz Sharif had decided to go to China for seeking assistance in the Kargil issue. At that point Mr. Naik suggested that a brief meeting can be arranged between Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India. The plan he came up with was that Nawaz Sharif's plan is due to pass over Indian air range, a small technical error can be reported and plane can land in India where both leaders can meet one to one and a solution can be possible. Mr. Naik even sent a fax to Indian counterpart but never got a reply (Gupta, 1999; *India Telegraph*, June 27, 1999).

Niaz Naik and R. K Mishra are not the much discussed figure in the diplomatic relations of Pakistan and India but the efforts of both individuals cannot be ignored. The tool of Track II diplomacy was used efficiently by both individuals to reach out to peaceful and applicable solutions of the issues between Pakistan and India. Many scholars considered these efforts as futile and result less but the timing of the back channel negotiations and effort put by these individuals had helped to establish a stable and amicable relationship. Due to their meetings and negotiations a constant communication channel remained open, new areas were discussed, potential solutions of conflicts were extracted, and both almost reached to a possible solution especially on the Kashmir issue. Be it not the Track II diplomacy the condition and relations between Pakistan and India could have been altogether different and potentially in worse condition.

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Chapter 4

Track Two Diplomacy and Conflict Management Efforts between Pakistan-India (2001-2010)

4.1 Brief Overlook on the Time Period

The era of 2001 to 2010 was not only has the regional but also international significance for both India and Pakistan. The regional security dimensions certainly impacted the relations of these states. Pakistan was phasing through another military regime once again for most of this time. In the context of post 9-11 era the issue of terrorism remained the top issue between Pakistan and India. Like past they faced multiple points of clash and cooperation. Pakistan decided to be part of war on terrorism which not only affected its internal security but also left a deep implication on its relationship with India. Both neighboring entities engaged in composite dialogues for the first time in their history. Along with that the Track Two diplomacy remained a major tool for both states to make an attempt to resolve the conflicts.

The conflicting issues comprised of Indian Parliament attack in 2001, Samjhota Express blasts in 2006 and Mumbai Attacks in 2008. Twice in this era the armies of both states stood eye ball to eye ball on borders against each other. The blame game yet again remained the main aspect of foreign policy of both states. The tensions reached to a new level between them and the fear of a nuclear power was prevailing South Asian region. The issue of Kashmir still remained an unresolved issue. This led to number of confrontations and Track Two efforts respectively. The Chenab Formula and Pakistan President of the time Musharraf's points regarding Kashmir resolution remained on the negotiation but despite these efforts the both states could not reached a common resolution of the burning issue.

4.2 Unofficial Actors for Track Two Diplomacy

The Private groups like Jinnah Institution, IPSC India, FRIENDS, Balusa Group, Friends without borders, Kashmir Group and number of former diplomats, retired military men, businessmen and Media groups continue to conduct seminars, conferences and interaction meetings to reduce the tensions between both states through Track-II diplomacy. The *Aman ki Asha* is most vital initiative of Track II diplomacy. Pakistani Jang Media Group and Indian Times of India are the initiators of the effort. Both sides shared the stories of cross border people, conducted seminars, Talks and electronic channel talks under this banner. Through these efforts the common masses on both sides of Pakistan-India border shared their experiences and stories with each other. Along with that renowned Track Two personals like Niaz A. Naik, Tariq Aziz and their Indian counter parts engaged in talks on the behalf of their ruling governments. During Musharraf and Manmoham Singh governments a “non-paper” Track-Ii Diplomacy was conducted for the resolution of issues with Kashmir conflict as top priority.

The 2001 to 2010 era is essential in many aspects for Pakistan and India. Both nuclear powers had to decide their issues in the nuclear capability context. Furthermore the Track II diplomacy mainly through private groups and other social, political and economic actors reached to a new level during this time period. This track introduced new channels for communication and contact between the hostile neighbors. Track-II diplomacy started in 1990s between Pakistan and India introduced numerous new possibilities for both sides to resolve their issues on negotiating table with involvement of non-official actors.

4.3 Governments in Pakistan and India

The role of governments has always played a vital role in deciding the course of relationship between both states. Pakistan, during this time passed through a military and democratic rule. Whereas India government went into from Right Wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to more moderate political force Congress. Below is the brief introduction of the governments of the time in both states and their efforts to resolve issues through Track II diplomacy as well as the conflicts both sides faced.

a. Pervaiz Musharraf Regime (1999-2007)

After a series of confrontation with then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Army Chief General Musharraf dethroned him in 1999. A Military coup was conducted after Nawaz Sharif refused to allow the landing of a passenger plane in which Musharraf was travelling. The Military forces detained the ruling government leaders including Prime Minister and implemented a Martial Law with Musharraf his head. The era of Musharraf is considered as one of the most important time periods of Pakistan's political history. He is mainly known for his economic reforms, educational steps and War on Terrorism. During his era Pakistan engaged in composite dialogues with India in 2004. After the attacks on Indian Parliament in 2001 and military stand-off between both states continued till 2003, he banned number of religious and militant organizations in Pakistan. This step of Musharraf is considered to be highly vital policy against terrorism and relations with India (Wiener, October 17, 1999).

He extensively worked on Track-II and back channel diplomacy during his rule. His aids like Tariq Aziz and Niaz A. Naik and Khurshid Kasuri played an important role in engaging unofficial and non-paper talks with India. His famous four point formula was highly appreciated

on both sides of border but remained unable to reach a decisive conclusion. Even former Chief of Indian Intelligence agency RAW Amirjit Singh also called them only resolution of Kashmir issue. He visited India in 2001 for famous Agra summit and talks but due to diplomatic word usage the joint agreement was not signed. During his regime the electronic media got a boost and numbers of new TV channels were introduced. One of the TV channel and media group started the *Aman ki Asha* in 2010 which started an extensive Track-II program between Pakistan and India (BBC, July 17, 2001)

b. Pakistan People's Party Government (2008-2013)

After the General Elections in 2008, PPP got into Power. During the Initial years (2008-2010) of PPP government faced number of issues from economical to terrorism. It was a democratic government in Pakistan after a decade. This democratic rule remained successful in completing its five year tenure for the first time in political history of Pakistan. Its relations with India remained cordial. The biggest setback in relationship with India was the Mumbai Attacks in 2008. India blamed Pakistani involvement behind the attacks. The Zardari led government initially denied the allegations but soon started an operation against militant organizations like Lashkr-e-Tayyaba. During this government the Track-II diplomacy continued mainly on economic fronts but these efforts were quite minimal. The exchange of media outlets was once again played a important role in Track-II diplomacy between both states during this time period. Overall the relations remained hostile till 2010 mainly because Mumbai attacks. The Kashmir Issue also saw a set back under Zardari government as he called the Kashmiri freedom Fighter "terrorists". In 2009, Zardari met Indian Prime Minister Manmoham Singh during Shanghai Conference. After the meeting the steps were started to be taken to reduce the hostility between both states (FAFEN, 2008).

4.4 Governments in India

a. Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998-2004)

Atal Bihari Vajpayee has remained Prime Minister of India from 1998 to 2004 in his second tenure. Although he was the leader of right wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) but during his tenure some major steps were taken to establish close ties with Pakistan. His famous Lahore visit through bus was his first initiative during PM Nawaz Sharif government. The second famous step taken to bring Pakistan-India close was Agra Summit of 2001. Then President of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf initiated this step by shaking hand with Vajpayee at SAARC summit in early 2002. The relations were at stall after Kargil War between both sides.

The famous Agra Summit was conducted from January 14-16 2001. The negotiation was highly anticipated. The core issues to be discussed in this summit were reducing the nuclear capabilities of both sides, Kashmir issue and cross border terrorism. The negotiation was hyped but it was collapsed due to diplomatic technicalities. Although Indian side blamed Pakistan delegation for the failure but former RAW chief R.S Dulat has said that BJP leader L.K. Advani played a vital role in the failure of the summit. PM Vajpayee is also known for his back channel and Track II diplomacy efforts with Pakistan. His close aid R. Mishra had engaged in extensive Track-II diplomacy with Former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan Niaz A. Naik especially with regard to Kashmir Issue. PM Vajpayee and BJP government was ended in 2004 after Congress Party defeated it in General Elections.

b. Manmohan Singh (2004-2010)

Manmohan Singh got into the office after 2004 General Elections. The soft spoken economist has faced number of incidents regarding Pakistan. The Samjhota Express Blasts and Mumbai

Attacks are two major incidents which deeply affected the Pakistan India relations during his tenure. The tensions reached to whole new level in 2008 after Mumbai attacks when the armies of both states stood eye ball to eye ball on border. The tension was somewhat eased after international interference. The relations between Pakistan and India were going towards normality before the Mumbai Attacks. After he left office, it was revealed that both states were very close to solve the Kashmir issue in 2007 before General Musharraf got into trouble in 2007 and have to leave office in 2008.

During PPP government under President Asif Ali Zardari, Pakistan and India re-initiated the efforts to establish close ties with each other. In the post Mumbai Attacks the relations and negotiations were focused on the terrorism and Kashmir issues. Indian side was emphasizing that cross border terrorism will remain the centre of talks. During Manmohan and Zardari era till 2010 the relations were at the halt as both sides have distanced themselves from each other. On the contrary the private groups, organizations and specific individuals were engaged in Track –II diplomacy on both sides of the border.

The era of 2001 to 2010 considered to be highly important for Track-II diplomacy mainly because of emergence of numbers of new actors. The private groups consists of former diplomats and military men and Media houses were playing an important role in establishing a constant communication channel between people of Pakistan and India.

4.5 Challenges and Barriers of the Time Period

In post 9-11 era the terrorism emerged as the main issue in international politics. This phenomenon also played deciding factor of relationship between Pakistan and India. There are number of issues especially in context of terrorism that negatively affected this relationship. The

2001 to 2010 era is important in the sense that there were number of terrorist attacks on both sides and both blamed each other for the incident. Although Pakistan is a front ally in war against terrorism but India keeps on blaming Pakistan for the terrorist activities on their territory. Same is the case with Pakistan, as the government blamed India for terrorist attacks on its land and its people on Indian land. These issues have hugely deteriorated the relations of both already hostile nations. Following is the brief detail of these incidents, happened from 2001 to 2010.

a. Attack on Indian Parliament and Border Stand-off (2001-2002)

In December 2001, Indian Parliament building in Jammu and Kashmir was attacked by five gunmen. They killed seven people inside the building before being shot dead by Indian Military Forces. Although the International leadership including Pakistan condemned the attack but Indian government started to blame Pakistan for the attacks. (Davis, 2011) The ruling alliance in India stated claimed that Pakistan based Lashkr-e-Tayyaba (LeT) is behind this breach. The Home Minister of India L.K. Advani stated that: *"we have received some clues about yesterday's incident, which shows that a neighboring country, and some terrorist organisations active there are behind it"*. (Rediff, December 14, 2001)

The Indian government sent message to Pakistani government through Pakistani envoy in India Ashraf Qazi that Pakistan must curb the militant organizations and freeze their financial assets. On the very next day the Pakistani Army was asked to be high alert on border with India. The spokesperson of Inter Services of Public Relations (ISPR) Major-General Rashid Qureshi stated: *"The Parliament attack was a "drama staged by Indian intelligence agencies to defame the freedom struggle in 'occupied Kashmir'" and further warned that India would pay "heavily if they engage in any misadventure"*. (Dawn, December 15, 2001)

On December 20, 2001 India under the name of Operation Pakhran deployed its forces on Punjab and Kashmir borders. Till end of December both states have moved their Ballistic Missile on border regions. In January 2002, India moved their 500,000 military personal whereas Pakistan deployed 300,000 military personal on the mutual borders. On January 12, 2002 Pakistani President General Musharraf said in a speech that Pakistan will take action against the militant and terrorist elements on their land but it hold the right on Kashmir. Following that Indian PM told his Army General that there will be no war “for now” (BBC, January 12, 2002)

The tension rose to new level again in Mid of May 2002, when three men attack Indian Military base in Jammu Kashmir and killed almost two dozen individuals. On the same day Pakistan Ambassador was expelled by India and clash on Jammu border started. On May 22, 2002, the Indian PM has ordered its forces to be prepared for a “decisive battle,” It follows by a series of Missile tests by Pakistan and in June 2002, Pakistan Air Force has shot down an unmanned Indian aircraft over its territory (Solar, 2008).

After the intervention of International community and efforts of President Musharraf Indian Parliament to accept his pledge to remove forces from borders. In mid June 2002, Indian Warfare Ships started to go back to friendly waters and soon the Pakistani Ships followed the suit. Although the tensions remained high but by October 2002, the forces started to retreat from the borders of Pakistan and India. The Standoff cost almost 1100 lives to India whereas the cost for this deployment was \$3.2 billion for India and \$1.4 billion for Pakistan. After the retreat the efforts were again started to reduce the tensions between both states.

b. Samjhota Express Blasts (2007)

The Samjhota means “Understanding/Friendship” Express was initiated in 1976 for travel of Pakistani and India citizens. The train was started to develop more understanding between both states. The project has been halted and cancelled on number of occasions. The train was once again stopped after 2001 Indian parliament attacks. After reconciliation it was restarted in 2004. The train is scheduled to travel twice in a week. On February 18, 2007 after the train left from India for Pakistan and had just crossed the city of Panipat when two planted bombs were blasted in two bogies of the train. (Tivari, 2007) In the result of the blasts 68 passengers died and 50 got injured, out of which majority were Pakistani citizens. The passengers remained unable to evacuate from the coaches because of barred windows due to security reasons. According to a eyewitness

“It was about 11.52 when I showed the signal lantern to the Attari [Samjhauta] Express which was coming in very fast, probably at over 100 kilometers an hour (62.1 mph). Just as [it] reached near the home signal, I could hear two loud explosions from the coaches near the guards' van at the rear” (Rao, February 19, 2007)

The timing was critical of these blasts as Pakistani Foreign Minister Khurshid Kasuri was scheduled to reach India just after a day on official visit. After the blasts, the Indian started to target Pakistani government for harboring terrorists on its territory but soon the investigation led the blasts to Hindutva elements. The Indian Railway Minister Lalu Parsad Yadav called it an effort to derail the Pakistan India increasing close ties. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh showed “deep grief” for the families of the dead. Pakistani Foreign Minister Khurshid Kasuri stated it as an effort to target his visit which was to result in close ties of both states. The

investigation by the Indian Intelligence Agencies proved the involvement of Right Wing Hindu Organizations like Abhinav Bharat and RSS. No major development happened in the investigation by Indian authorities as Pakistan blamed the Indian government of not conducting the investigation rightly. The issue is still unresolved with Pakistani demand of arrest of the culprits (Naqvi, February, 2012; Naqvi, February 19, 2007; Raju, 2013)

c. Mumbai Attacks (2008)

On November 26, 2008, ten terrorists attacked the Indian metropolitan City of Mumbai. The attackers targeted the Taj Hotel, Obrei Hotel, Nariman House (a Jewish community centre), Cama Hospital and St. Xavier College. The attackers allegedly entered in the city through the sea shore. In the result of attack 168 people got killed and 308 got injured. The attackers started the attack from Railway Station of Mumbai. Soon they spread around the city and held different positions. Till 28 November the Indian Security forces have cleared all the sites except Taj Hotel. The Hotel was the residence of numbers of foreign tourists. On November 29, Indian Special Forces NSG conducted an operation to clear the building. All the attackers got killed except one, Ajmal Kasab. Before the attacks the relations were getting better which were disrupted yet again by the terrorist elements (Tellis *etal*, 2009; Javaid, Kamal, 2013)

After few days of attack, Pakistan government accepted the sole survivor as its citizen. The attackers had the connection with their handlers in Pakistan. Although the land of Pakistan was used to launch the attack but there were no evidence of Pakistani government or Army forces involvement in it. After the attack the both states yet again stood on hostile stance. Pakistan assured India to act against the culprits and number of workers of banned organization was arrested. Along with the Indian Pressure, Pakistani government faced severe International

criticism and pressure to act against the militant elements on its land. Pakistan authorities arrested the elements and put them in jail (Hederson, April 12, 2013; Ghosh, 2008)

After the attack the relationship stood again to a halt and high hostility. All diplomatic relations and channels were called off from both sides. Although an Indian Politicians stated that it was inside job but under Indian evidences and Pakistani government investigation the overwhelming majority considers it to be outside job from Indian Territory. The main culprit and arrested Ajmal Kasab was hanged after almost seven years of attacks. These attacks again led to a border military standoff between Pakistan and India which again led to a hostile South Asian region. Both states were under International pressure due to the fear of a nuclear war. The standoff was called off but the affects of these attacks still can be seen in Pakistan and India relations as the terrorism have been emphasized by India. On the other hand Pakistan want to keep Kashmir issue on the top as it is the main unresolved issue between both states and has caused all clashes, conflicts, war, limited wars and terrorists against the people of both states (Riedel, 2015).

d. Military Stand-off (2008)

After the Mumbai Attacks another military standoff was happened between Pakistan and India. According to private security agency report, the Indian Army had decided its targets in Pakistan and was waiting for a green signal by their government. During the same month Indian Air Force were flying in the border regions and even tried to fly inside Pakistan territory. On the same hand Pakistan Air Force was conducting exercises for the combat. (Aljazeera, December 23, 2008; Vinayak, 2008)

Pakistan Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi has stated that Pakistan Forces are ready to face any external threat and will give full response in the time of need. PM Yousaf Raza Gillani

stated that Pakistan stands united against any external threat. According to Aljazeera media reports by the end of December 2008, India had started to deploy its forces in the areas like Rajasthan and firing rangers of Jaisalmer, where as Pakistan also has started to deploy its forces and mobilized its radar systems and quick response teams in the border regions with India (Times of India, December 19, 2008; Parihar, December 24, 2008; Sura, December 24, 2008)

According to Aljazeera report the Pakistan Military leadership was conducting emergency meetings at GHQ Rawalpindi. The report further wrote that *“Pakistan air force have been seen visibly in a number of locations flying close to the Pakistani-India border, in what is being described as an aggressive patrolling mode, following reports that India is planning pre-emptive strikes against locations in Pakistan”*. Pakistan Chief of Army Staff General Pervaiz Kayani has stated that Pakistan will give full response “in minutes” of any Indian aggression against Pakistan. Interestingly Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) a militant organization announces that their thousands of fighters will fight against India in case of a war (Times of India, December 23, 2005).

According to media reports the Indian Air Force had decided 5000 targets in Pakistan and as per a senior Air Force official “We have prepared but whether we will cross the border is to be decided by political leadership”. Indian Authorities even issued the warning for border inhabitants in Rajasthan that they might need to be relocated. Pakistan President Asif Ali Zardari has stated that “We will fight till last drop of our blood” (ANI, December 25, 2008).

The military leaves were cancelled in both sides of Armies. On December 29 Army Chiefs of Pakistan and India talked on red phone for no usage of any nuclear weapons in the case of war. This standoff continued for almost two months and after back channel, Track II Diplomacy and

International intervention the armies were called back to the non war positions (Symonds, 2008; Opiel Jr, Masood, December 26, 2008; Daily Times, December 30, 2008).

This standoff was the final major issue between Pakistan and India in term of hostility, between 2001 and 2010. These all attacks and hostilities derailed the efforts of bringing Pakistan and India close through the diplomacy. The Track II diplomacy played its role to reduce the tension between both states but these issues again distanced these neighboring states. Track II kept on playing its role for the good relations and below is the given efforts taken by both sides to enhance the cordial relationship.

4.6 Track Two and Conflict Management Efforts

a. Delegation Under Niaz A. Naik (2003)

After the Military Standoff of 2001-2002 the relations between Pakistan and India were at standstill. Both sides were not ready to engage in direct diplomatic ties. In this scenario Track Two diplomacy once again played its vital role. President Musharraf decided to use the former diplomats for the purpose. The personality like Niaz A. Naik was the perfect choice for Pakistan government. Naik has been engaged in Track II diplomacy for many rulers of Pakistan. He was a key element of Zia-Indira Gandhi mango diplomacy as he perused Pakistani president Zia to engage in this policy. Naik played a important role during PM Nawaz Sharif tenure. He and his Indian counterpart K. Mishra indulged in extensive talks for the resolution of Kashmir issue after the nuclear tests of Pakistan and Indian in 1998. Both individuals had the full support of heads of both states (Zee News, May 18, 2003; AAP, 2003; Soherwordi *etal*, 2015).

President Musharraf sent a delegation under Niaz A. Naik in 2003 to conduct talks with India. The Pakistani and Indian delegation scheduled to meet in Capital of Nepal, Kathmandu on June

12, 2003. The delegation of Pakistan was comprised of Niaz A. Naik, Ex. Military General Jahangir Karamat, Renowned Human Rights Activist Asma Jahangir, Professor of Karachi University Talat Wazarat, Ex. General Muhammad Arif. The delegation was comprised of all important fields of Pakistan from military to diplomat to social worker to an academic. Indian delegation was headed by then Vice Chancellor of Ali Garh University Professor A. N. Khusro. Other members of Indian delegation were former Foreign Secretary Salman Haider, Congress leader Mani Shankar and other number of important figures (Reddy, May 18, 2003; Daily Times December 30, 2003).

While talking to the media Naik confirmed the meeting by stating that “ *I think we can try once again to bring the two countries closer so that they can live in peace and harmony, concentrating more on removing poverty from South Asia.*” The delegation was to discuss the issues of nuclear stability, Kashmir issue, cross border terrorism and arrange of composite dialogues between Pakistan and India. “*Kashmir, Siachin and issues relating to exchange of cultural delegations, trade and easing visa restrictions would be discussed,*” Naik told the media (Dawn, December 18, 2003).

It was the very first effort to bridge the relational gap between Pakistan and India. The delegation met and discussed all the aspects on agenda. Although it remained unable to extract a valuable result but in context of the existing circumstances of the time it was considered to be very vital step by both governments. It showed the consent of both sides to engage in process of negotiation to resolve the issues. This delegation and effort proved to be start of many Track Two efforts in the coming years from 2001 to 2010. This was proved to be a base for the efforts to bring both states on official and non-official social level (Dawn, December 19, 2003; Cohen, 2005)

b. Pugwash Organization Track Two Meeting (2004)

The Track II meeting of 2003 led to normalize the relation between Pakistan and India. In context of the improving relations the Nobel Award winning Pugwash Organization arranged another Track II meeting in Kathmandu in 2004 (PUGWASH, 2005)

The delegations of both sides were comprised of retired bureaucrats, former military men, businessmen and social activists. For the first time the politicians and journalists of Jammu and Kashmir were included in the talks. Pakistan did send the President of Muslim Conference of Kashmir Sardar Attique Khan but no representative was included from Gilgit-Baltistan due to expected outrage from them and opposition of Indian delegation. On the Indian side the separatists leader Sajjad Lone and leader of Panthers Party Bhim Singh was included. Indian delegation also included G Parthasarathy, Hamid Ansar who became Indian President in coming years and Satinder Lambah who like, Niaz A. Naik is a prominent Track Two activist

According to the report released by Pugwash Organization in 2004, although no consensus can be developed by the participants in deciding the start point for talk on issues between both states but it was agreed by majority to make the policies of both states human bases especially for Kashmir issue. Number of Participants speaks about the People-Centric need to be adopted by the leadership of Pakistan and India to resolve the issue of Kashmir. The attendees also emphasized on need of establishing durable and strong mechanism for Pakistan-India relation and Kashmir issue resolution was the most important matter to be resolved for stable relations and South Asian region. Both delegation also agreed on that the long lasting and durable relationship is only possible with extensive geopolitical, economic and social interaction between both states as the peace cannot be achieved overnight especially in case of states like Pakistan

and India. Along with that extensive round of talks need to be conducted between both sides of Kashmir, inside Jammu Kashmir and between Islamabad and Delhi to resolve the issue and UN resolution was also asked to be acted upon by the attendees (Parthasarathy, 2010)

The major suggestion by this meetings was to start a bus service between Jammu and Azad Kashmir, multiple land routes must be used for trade and public movement between both Kashmir sides, border markets must be established for close trade and social contacts, the trade routes must be established on the LOC, delegations should meet on regular bases to decrease the tensions, Water resources must be deeply studies and consensus must be developed on distribution on water reservoirs between Pakistan and India and environment projects should be started alongside LOC. The suggestion was also placed on the table to reduce the military numbers on borders especially on boundary line of disputed areas of Kashmir and the political freedom must be given to the people of Kashmir so that dialogues can be arranged on regular bases (Goldberg, 2013; Pugwash, 2011).

This initiative led to further Track Two steps including the efforts of Jamia Illmia University. It also paved the way for extensive talks between Indian Foreign Secretary J. N Dixit and his Pakistani counterpart Tariq Aziz in “back channel diplomacy between 2005 -2007. These meetings led to famous four points of President Musharraf’s four point formula for Kashmir resolution (Pugwash, 2010).

4.7 Medicine used for Track Two Diplomacy (2005)

During 2005, the relations between Pakistan and India were again hostile after the Delhi blasts which have killed 62 people in Indian Capital. To normalize the relations a unique idea and method was adopted by Pakistan and India. A medical expert was used to engage in Track II

diplomacy. A renowned Indian Ayurvedic physician from Kerala was dispatched to Islamabad to “treat” number of Pakistani leaders including then Prime Minister Shujat Hussain. The operation was kept highly secret by the authorities of both states (YUSH, 2011).

The idea was emerged during a meeting between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Prime Minister Shujat Hussain when the latter told former about his ailment and Indian PM suggested Ayurvedic treatment to him. Then Indian PM ordered RAW chief to arrange a physician. Later the chief stated: *“It was a wonderful human gesture. Such things keep happening. And, of course, it is all the more special when the bonding is with Pakistan,”* Dr. Ravindaran was chose to be the doctor who had also treated former Indian President R.K Narayanan. The idea was furnished by PM Manmohan Singh, Operationalized by RAW chief Hormis Tharakan and facilitated by the Indian envoy in Pakistan Shiv Shankar. The doctor reached Islamabad in late December 2005 and stayed till January 2006 (Das, February 10, 2012).

According to the sources President Musharraf was also suppose to be “treated” by the doctor but meeting was cancelled due to unknown reasons. The doctor gave the treatment to PM Shujat Husain. A team of his aids and doctors were on the standby in India but could not sent to Pakistan mainly because of border clashed between both states, Although the effort was small and highly secretive but it did open a window of communication between leaders of both sides. It was cordial gesture by Indian PM which shows the consent of both sides to engage in talks for resolution of the issues. After few years Dr. Ravindaran did accept that he went to Islamabad. *“For me it is karma to treat a patient, whoever he is. I am not bothered about anything beyond that,”* he said (Das, 2012)

After this initiative it was believed that it paved the way for back channel diplomacy between Pakistan and India and foreign secretaries met on number of occasions secretly to resolve the conflicts especially the Kashmir issue. The Track II diplomacy yet again proved its worth for both sides and opened new communication channels and opportunities for these countries to reduce the tension between them. The step was although very little but it did play a huge role.

4.8 Major Track Two Groups and Organizations

The main purpose of Track Two is to enhance close relations not only at government level but also to at social level. In this regard number of private groups, organizations and media houses has been working to enhance the social understanding between people of both states. These groups arrange seminars, talks, conferences, concerts, media and online interactions between people of different societies. There are number of non-official organizations working with regard to Track II diplomacy in Pakistan and India. They are comprised of students, scholars and media houses. Following is given the two major groups of this kind who have been working to increase people to people connection between Pakistan and India.

a. Friends without Borders

This group based on five Indian students has been engaged in number of activities for increasing the communication between these two hostile neighboring states. The group was founded in 2005. Their major initiatives are “World’s Largest Love Letter” and Dil se Dil Concert engaging students, scholars and artists of both sides. The idea of letter was taken by a school initiative in India hence the Friends without Borders contacted an artist who was specialist in arranging large scale canvassing and presented him the idea. The project was started on January 16, 2005

in Chanaswami Cricket Stadium in India. Hundreds of school students were brought to the place for this project. The letter was completed in four days with 11,000 small letters. It read:

Dear Children of Pakistan,

Let's join hearts in friendship. Together we can make a better world.

-The Children of India

The timing of the letter was kept critical as on the completion day of the letter, much awaited test match between Pakistan and India started. The letter was telecasted on air and in stadium screens and got 100 million views online.

The letter was then transported to the Calcutta Stadium where second test match was scheduled. It was received hugely by the people, the letter then traveled towards Pakistan-India border passing through the schools. It crossed the Wagah border and was brought to Gaddafi Stadium where thousands of children were present to see the gif sent by Indian students. A reply was sent by the Pakistani children which were 1008 Feet, titled "The Golden Bridge of Friendship". The letter was then brought back to India where it was hugely welcomed by media and people (Rid, 2014).

The Second major initiative taken by Friends without Borders was Dil se Dil Concert being arranged on the night of 14th and 15th August 2007. The stages were being set on the Attari/Wagah Border in both India and Pakistan sides. The performers and musicians played simultaneously and the audiences on both sides were able to listen to the performances. Thousands of People attended the event from both countries and celebrated the common music and culture. It was one of the biggest initiatives taken by any private group under Track II

diplomacy at social level. Through these events common masses of both states came to know about each other and shared the cordial emotions (Friends Without Borders, 2007)

Aman ki Asha

Aman ki Asha is considered to be continued series of Friends without Borders. This project initiated by two major media groups of Pakistan and India. Jang Media Group is Pakistani entity while Times of India is its counter on other side of the border. Both media groups have engaged and conducted numerous talks, seminars, people to people interaction and media talks. Under this project many artists, journalists, businessmen and students have visited each other states. The initiative was started in 2010 is among the vital step taken during the time period of 2001 and 2010 (IOC, 2013; Siddiqi, 2007)

Under this project the people of both sides share their stories which get published in the newspapers and telecasted on their respective TV channels. Furthermore the artists like Rahat Ali Khan, Jawad Bashir have visited India to perform and have received huge welcoming response. A music program was also arranged in which singers of both states took part. Furthermore the journalists have been engaging in number of joint sessions for increasing the understanding at social level. Along with that the initiatives like Trade for Peace, In Humanity's name, Water for Life, Jine do, Dividends and heart to heart have engaged people from different aspects of society (Kumar, August 24, 2014).

Although these initiatives do not have the government or official backing on financial bases but with context of Track II diplomacy it surely has increased the understanding between people of both sides. Masses of both states know more about each other and about mutual norms and cultural values. It is a slow process and still have long way to go but it do give a constant

window of communication at grass root level which is essential in case of Pakistan and India. (Aman Ki Asha, 2009)

b. Jinnah Institute (JI) & Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS)

The JI institute located in Islamabad and IPCS from New Delhi has been engaged in Track Two initiatives between Pakistan and India. The members of these two institutes comprise of former diplomats, retired military personal and renowned academics of both states. The names like Sherry Rehman, General Janahgir Karamat, Former RAW chief Ajit Dulat, Academic Rasool Baksh Raees, General Durrani, and Academic Professor Hoodbhoy are the participants of the workshops, seminars and conferences arranged by these two organizations (Jacob, 2009)

IPSC conducted a workshop on June 7-9 2009 in Bangkok in which the renowned personalities of both sides including Professor Hoodboy, former Foreign Secretary Riaz Khokhar, and Professor Rasool Bakhs Raees attended the workshop. The main issues discussed in the gathering were Kashmir issues, Siachin conflict nuclear capabilities of both states, strategic cooperation, Confidence Building Measures (CBMs), cross LOC interaction, mutual trade and constant communication between leadership and societies of Pakistan and India. The attendees discussed the issues extensively. At the end of the workshop a joint declaration was issued in which both sides agreed on increasing further interactions. This workshop proved to be major initiative in paving the way for future interaction between both sides (IPCS, 2009).

The Jinnah Institute arranged a conference in 2010 in Islamabad. In the conference number of important Indian personalities took part. The conference was headed by former Ambassador Shery Rehman. The issues discussed on the occasion were Kashmir issue, cross border terrorism, land routes for trade and geo strategic communication between Pakistan and India. During 2009

and 2010 numbers of seminars were arranged by both JI and IPCS in Delhi, Islamabad, Colombo and Bangkok for the interaction and change of ideas. These institutes have the importance because of its participants which still holds influence in the official circles of the states (JI, 2009)

c. Chaophraya Track-two Dialogue (2009-2010)

This project is the joint venture of Melbourne based Australian-India Institute (AII) and Jinnah institute (JI) of Pakistan. Former RAW chief Dulat has written in his book that his first Track II diplomacy experience came with this project in 2009. The conference was arranged in Bangkok and was named after main river of Thailand. This project has arranged number of conferences and workshop during 2009 and 2010. It conducted four conferences i.e. on March 30-31 2009, on October 2-3 2009, on February 8-9 2010 and on August 28-30 2010, all of these conferences were held in Bangkok. The areas discussed in these gatherings were comprised of arranging CBMs, composite dialogues between Pakistan and India and Stability in South Asia. The participants were again former diplomats, military men, businessmen and academics (Dialogue Seven 2010; Dialogue Six 2010; Dialogue Five, 2010)

This project has been working to establish a durable channel of communication between both states mainly focusing on the negotiation and Track II channels. The efforts of this organization have been appreciated and received well on both sides. The diplomats who know the importance of negotiations are in constant touch especially after any conflict and clash between Pakistan and India. The main agenda of the organization is that a stable South Asia is not only important international community but more importantly for both neighboring states and for that they have to remain in constant contact and this organization and like many others are the source of this communication (Chaophraya Dialogue, 2009; Chaophraya Dialogue 2009; Das, Sinha 2015).

4.9 Track Two Efforts in 2010

In 2010 almost frozen relationship of Pakistan and India was once again stirred through Track Two diplomats. The relations were at hold since Mumbai Attacks in 2008 and there was a dire need of negotiation and reconciliation. A highly important Track II diplomat Amitabh Manto wrote that negotiations between both heads of the states are necessary for the stabilization relationship. The foreign Secretaries got into contact after Track II efforts from both sides which led to melt the ice. Both secretaries agreed to further increase the connection through negotiation (Mehmood, 2010)

Conclusion

The era of 2001 to 2010 is important for Pakistan and India as both nuclear states engaged in several hostile stances but threat was averted. During this time Track II diplomacy played a vital in normalizing the relationship. Although no major breakthrough can be achieved by a constant communication channel remained established which mean a contact and method to reduce the tensions. Along with the institutes comprise of former diplomats and military men the social and media groups also played an important role to decrease the tensions. Pakistan and India have been in hostility since 1947 but during 2001-2010 the Track II diplomacy certainly stopped the major wars and created a channel through which both sides kept on sharing ideas and point of views which are essential for states like Pakistan and India.

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Chapter 5

Summary, Findings and Recommendations

5.1 Summary

Diplomacy has been remained a centre of International politics. Since the inception of city states in Greece the interaction between states has been conducted through diplomacy. That was used to be conducted among the heads of the society and rulers of the city states. With passage of the time the diplomacy spread and increases its influence to the people to people contact. This known as Track Two diplomacy is highly important for Pakistan and India. This type of diplomacy holds the important as both states are nuclear. With the passage of time different school of thoughts in theoretical framework emerged in diplomacy. These schools of thoughts have hold their stances strong from traditionalists to neo school of thoughts.

The oldest and major school of thought is called traditional school of thought which is also called realist ideology of the diplomacy. This school of thought holds the idea that diplomacy is the business of only officials and government rulers. According to Wight this is called as bounded diplomacy and can be known as “Classical Diplomacy”. Nicholson called it Old Diplomacy. The scholars of this schoold of thought hold the idea that its roots can be traced back to Westphalia order and it has not changed in the passing years and will not change in coming years. Henceforth it can summarize that the traditionalists don't want any change in study of diplomacy.

The traditional diplomacy has a state centric and power politic approach. They have the idea that state is the primary actor of diplomacy and it is totally an official business. There is no place for non official actors in it. The other basic idea of traditional diplomacy is that it is the game of

power politics. All the states engaged in diplomatic ties just to increase and hold their power over the other states. The major example is of Cold War era when USA and USSR were indulged in power politics game. Both states used the diplomacy to implement their own ideology around the globe. According to the scholars of this school of thought power is always the centre of relations of states.

Furthermore the national interest always kept on the top during diplomatic interaction. The national interest can be achieved through the power and alliances and alliances can only be achieved through traditional diplomacy. This ideology supports the idea of absolute gain of the state. The diplomats will go to every limit to achieve the national interest of the state. This school of thought has ruled international politics in Post WWII era. The realists were dominating the study, theory and operational aspect of IR. The traditional diplomacy has been the main focus of all scholars in Post WWII and during Cold War era. The development in this aspect of diplomacy was shuttle diplomacy introduced by Henry Kissinger during Cold War era. Under this type of diplomacy the states rarely compromise on their stances because of priority to national interest and national power which is the assurance of their dominance in international relations.

The second school of thought is known as nascent diplomacy. This ideology supports the idea that diplomacy is not the sole business of states rather unofficial actors and non state elements also can very vital role in diplomacy. The new actors they introduce were individuals, private groups, regional organizations, social values and cultural traditions of the society. In short the main focus of this school of thought is non-official elements and their important in diplomacy. The Track Two diplomacy comes under this school of thought. This is also known as non-

orthodox diplomacy and it pushed the diplomacy out of official corridors. Under this school of thought the conflicts can be solved on the bases of mutual consents and interests of the states.

This theory or ideology can be traced back to inter-war period. The reason of the emergence of this theoretical aspect was WWI. After the WWI the states thought to establish a mechanism which can save the world from the next devastation of World War. According to the scholars of the time the diplomacy should include the interests of individuals. At the start of WWII this school of thought lost its significance. During Cold War era the ideas of this school of thought was not studied and prioritized by international politics scholars. On the peaceful end of Cold War the realistic diplomacy lost its influence in global diplomatic circle and non-traditional diplomacy started to gain its ground again global arena.

In post Cold War era the Diaspora of diplomacy increased and so does the actors. The issues started to include relate to economy, environment, poverty, disease, education and other social aspects of a state. The power centric diplomacy started to become obsolete with time. Hocking called the nascent diplomacy as a symbol of expansion of the rational diplomacy basics. This ideology takes the diplomacy from state centric sphere to the global community. This type of diplomacy spread due to the fast development of technology, communication channels, transport system and globalization. The distances of the states have shrink which makes easy for the diplomats to engage with each quite convenient.

Under this diplomacy the old trends have changed the basic concepts of traditional diplomacy. The connection has not remain limited to the leaders of the state rather it has reached to the people from the people of different societies interact with each other different forums and can play a vital role in diplomacy of the states. The businessmen, NGOS, MNCs, and individuals

establish their connections and share ideas, norms and common interests with each other. This is the basic concept of Track Two diplomacy. This theory or diplomatic schools of thought can be easily applied on Pakistan-India ties because both states share cluster of traditional norms, values and cultural systems with each other and this can be used immensely by both states for developing the close ties. The nascent diplomacy involve the non-official elements and there are number of these actors prevail in both Pakistan and India.

The third major school of thought is called as Innovative Diplomatic Theory. This theory is known to be major development in field of diplomacy. It is known as to be the mixture of different diplomacy theories. This theory is basically the merge Traditional and Transcend theories. This aspect holds the point that both states and non state actors in the diplomatic field.

This theory is also known as the innovation theory or innovator school of thought. The real purpose of this theory was t fill the gap left open by the two famous schools of thoughts in diplomacy. This theory was the first one to realize the gap present in the study. The supporters of this ideology believe that the field of diplomacy cannot be explained by only one existing theory.

It was mentioned by this theoretical framework that two basic theories of diplomacies have created an agnostic environment in the study as both were not ready to accept the basic assumptions of each other. The alienation of both sides had created a large gap in the study which was needed to be filled. There was debate prevailing in the diplomatic field commonly known as newness and decline. The Traditionalists were of the view that due to inclusion of new non-state and unofficial actors in the diplomacy the field is on the decline whereas the second one strongly believes in their importance. Furthermore it has make a student to chose either one of the school which make wholly one sided.

Due to this confusion and shortcoming the scholars felt that new theory is call of the time. Henceforth the Innovators emerged in the study of diplomacy. They took the important assumptions of both sides and created a new theory. This new ideology believes that both state and non-state actors are essential to conduct and study diplomacy. The basic assumption of this theory is to understand new trends and methods of diplomacy under the experience of traditional lessons. The gap bridged by this school of thought proved to be a completely new side of diplomacy. The neutrality of this theory propagates that by taking the lessons from both sides a diplomat can do his duty more efficiently for his state. They believe that a relationship between both theories is not only important but essential for development of diplomacy.

Over the time different scholars, diplomats and intellectuals have given different definitions to diplomacy. Some of them are:

“Diplomacy is the management of international relations by means of negotiations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys the business or art of the diplomats” Nicholson

“Diplomacy is the inevitable outcome of the coexistence of separate political units (states) with any degree of contact.” (Frankel)

“Diplomacy is “the art of forwarding one’s interests in relation to other countries.”(Panikar, 1945)

“Diplomacy as simply foreign policy captures only a superficial element of the workings of international relations. Diplomacy encompasses a great number of international activities that do not include processes of cooperation. As Jose Calvet de Magalhaes points out in states can

engage in unilateral contact such as propaganda, espionage, and political or economic intervention. They can also engage in violent contact such as threat, deterrence, and economic war. Thus, the definition of diplomacy as a dialogue among nations is very broad". (The Pure Concept of Diplomacy, 1988)

Furthermore the scholars have derived different types or tracks of diplomacy. These tracks have been developed with the changing politics and circumstances in international relations. There are nine tracks, which have been defined by the jurists of the diplomatic studies. These all nine levels have included the actors from official to non-official to the retired diplomats and army men to the businessmen to the students to the artists of the states. The contemporary diplomacy has named them significant for conducting diplomatic efforts among the states of the world.

One of the most important track of diplomacy after Track One is known as Track Two diplomacy. In this track the retired diplomats, former military men, businessmen, private groups, NGOs, MNCs and prominent personalities play a vital role in establishing a communication channel to negotiate and resolve their issues on the table. Just like Track One diplomacy, the scholars have defined Track Two diplomacy in different styles, like:

"Track Two diplomacy is a process designed to assist official leaders...by exploring possible solutions out of the public view and without the requirements of formal negotiation or bargaining for advantage. Track two diplomacy seeks political formulas or scenarios that might satisfy the basic security and esteem needs of the parties to a particular dispute. On its more general level, it seeks to promote an environment in a political community, through the education of public opinion, that would make it safer for political leaders to take risks for peace" (Montville, 1987)

Track Two diplomacy refers to "non-governmental, informal and unofficial contacts and activities between private citizens or groups of individuals, sometimes called '[non-state actors](#)'" (Davidson, 1981)

The non-officials involved usually include scholars, senior journalists, former government officials, and former military officers. Government and other officials, acting in an informal capacity, sometimes also participate in such talks alongside the non-officials involved" (Agha,Khalidi, Cheriff, 2003)\

The diplomacy has a deep and long history in the study of global politics. It can be traced back to the ancient times. In the time the communication was largely based on the economic bases when the ships carried their goods to the other civilizations. Indian sub-continent has been engaged in the trade diplomacy since the ancient times. The trade routes through Indian Ocean to the red sea connected it to the Egypt Civilization and up to Roman Empire. The traders would take the famous spices and silk from the rout and supply them to other civilizations where these goods were taken eagerly. Along with the economic ties the diplomacy was used during the war times between the civilizations. That diplomacy was not in written form and was without any rules and regulations henceforth all the civilizations have derived their own norms and standards for this practice.

The Greeks were the pioneers in setting decided rules and regulations for the diplomacy. It was the first set up of small city states Greece. These city states used to engage indifferent matters in which war was on top. Due to hostilities and old enmity they have fought numbers of wars. The rulers in Greek City States gradually developed specific traditions for diplomacy. With the passage of time these states developed a common body for their own security against the external

powers and it was become possible through the diplomacy. These Greek States shared common history, number of same cultural values and most importantly the language. The language was almost same with slight change in different regions. The tool of language helped immensely to these city states to conduct diplomatic efforts and to reach on common grounds.

The Greeks categorized their diplomatic representatives with some hold the assurance of security and immunity in other states while some had fewer facilities. Specific persons were used to be allocated for specific missions and delegations. These special individuals were selected through a council in a city-state and it was so important that the selected one could not hold any other official post. The Greek Diplomacy was open as the diplomat had to present his case in front of audience after which he was asked the questions and he had to defend the interest of his city-state. The diplomat was given special protocol in the host state and he had to work in given dimensions of his home state. The Greek also started to keep a record of public meetings and important treaties signed among the city-states.

After the Greeks, the Romans are considered to be the most important developers of diplomatic rules. The Romans brought the diplomacy from open to private chambers. The Roman diplomats used to engage in meetings with rulers of host state in private chambers. During the expansion of Roman Empire the rulers used the diplomacy to grab more land. They used to sign treaties and agreements with other territories to conquer them peacefully. They have different rules for small and large states. The delegations of large state were housed in a specific chamber who's staff was directly under the President. The Roman made the diplomacy more legal and rationalized which led them to be a Republic from an Empire. The earlier diplomatic missions were handled by the priests but slowly it was handed over to more train and rationale political entities which

made the diplomacy more diplomatic and state oriented. In the Roman Empire the ruler held the complete power over for conducting and handling the foreign affairs through diplomacy. The Romans are considered to be forefathers of proper written treaties and agreements which is being used by the current diplomats.

The Islamic diplomacy introduced the concept of treating the individuals especially children, women, elder and even non human living things like trees during war times. The Prophet (PBUH) has established certain rules for war and the prisoners of wars. The prisoners of wars were asked to be treated well by him. The Islamic diplomacy also developed the rules of treaties with other nations and communities. These treaties laid the base of Islamic rule in coming years. The Prophet (PBUH) signed the treaties with his enemies to avoid war and peaceful coexistence. The Islamic diplomacy emphasized on the ethics, values and norms of the different societies. Henceforth the ideas of liberal diplomacy can be traced back to Islamic diplomatic roots. After establishing government in Makkah, the Prophet (PBUH) has engaged in diplomatic efforts with other rules of the world through his letters sent through a special diplomat.

The Islamic diplomacy revolves around the universalism as it believed in one community and peaceful coexistence. Islamic diplomacy also derived the rules and regulations regarding the respect of diplomats of other states. They were even allowed to worship and live according to their traditions in Islamic state. The diplomat no matter from friend or foe was used to be treated nicely and has had the direct access to the Caliph of the time.

In the Middle ages the diplomacy changed hugely as the Kings and rulers start to negotiate with other states' rulers personally. It was mainly because the Roman Empire was on the verge of destruction henceforth. Till 5th century the Roman Empire had totally disintegrated and Popes

were playing the main role of mediators among different states. Till 12th Century the term of Ambassador has been coined. The Trade and Civil Law had been introduced and implemented by European states. The diplomats started to keep a record of the host states.

By 1300 the role of church started to decrease as the new term Stato was coined and it is believed to be origin of Nation-State system. A permanent body was established by Europeans to deal with the diplomatic works which keeps the intelligence reports and written agreements for the state. Till 15th Century the Roman City States has started to deal with each other through proper embassies. During that time Machiavelli has emerged as first renowned scholar of diplomacy. In his famous book The Prince he gave the realistic or traditionalist idea of diplomacy. He was the one to introduce the Term “National Interest” which became the centre of realistic diplomacy.

During the time of Westphalia Treaty to Congress of Vienna (1814-15) the official terms and conditions for diplomacy, the duties and immunities of the diplomat, the establishment of proper offices, establishment of foreign offices and other important steps regarding have been taken by the states. Before WWI the diplomacy was all about power politics which changed in inter war period when the organization like League of Nation was established by the states. This diplomacy dominated international politics till start of WWII.

In post WWII era the diplomacy yet again become traditional. The world changed in many ways like there were numbers of new states on the map of the world and establishment of central body like United Nations. The Cold War era dominated the global arena till 1991 and during that period the traditionalism ruled the study and practice of diplomacy. This trend started to change in post Cold War era when the liberalist view or Nascent diplomacy started to gain its ground in

the diplomacy practice around the globe. This has again changed to some extent after 9-11 when the national interest and war politics has been dominated the international relations.

During the late 1970s the scholars of international relations have been started to feel the need of new type of diplomacy. The world was changing numbers of new actors and issues were emerging in the world. According to them the Track I diplomacy is not enough to address these issue hence forth the Track Two diplomacy emerged as a new strong type of diplomacy. A former US Foreign Secretary Joseph Montville coined the term that was fed up from the old official channels to resolve the issues.

The Track Two diplomacy proved its important in number of cases. The U-2 Spy plane incident between US and USSR during Cold War was resolved by the Track Two diplomacy. The other important issues like Arab-Israel David Camp accord and reconciliation was done by the Track II diplomacy. This Track also played an important role during Russian Invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. In the case of Pakistan and India the Track II diplomacy has played its vital role in establishing a constant communication channel for resolution of issues.

Pakistan and India has never enjoyed durable cordial relations with each other. Both states have been numerous border clashes, three full fledged wars and other diplomatic issues. The issue of Kashmir is proved to be main reason of confrontation between two states. The Track I diplomacy has always been use to resolve these issues between Pakistan and India but remained successful on very few occasions. The agreements like Simla Accord, Lahore Declaration and Tashkent agreement have been signed between these two states but most of the time the diplomats have remained unable to reach on same page. The lack of trust and lack of communications are the two major reasons of these failures.

The Track Two diplomacy was started between both states in early 1990s and during 1996 to 2001, significant developments were achieved in this field. Pakistan was phasing through a series of democratic governments. The political structure of the state was in shambles. During the given time period three governments were changed. The government of Benazir Bhutto was ended in 1996, Mian Nawaz Sharif held the office from 96 to 99 and then Military ruler General Pervez Musharraf dethroned him and took the office in 1999. Whereas India was also passing through the change of governments in which the Atal Behari Vajpayee took the office twice in three years.

Both states remained engaged in series of serious issues during that time period. The first was the Nuclear Bomb tests by both states 1998. After the explosions the relations came to standstill. The second major issue was the Kargil War in 1999 which led to death of hundreds of army personnel of both sides. This war made the relationship hostile and more enmity based. The third major issue was of Military Standoff between both states in 2001 which continued till 2002. The standoff occurred due to the attack on Indian parliament in Jammu Kashmir.

The Track I diplomacy was obviously at halt after the incidents like Kargil War and Nuclear tests. If there was any official diplomacy, it was limited and agitated. In that time the Track II diplomacy consist of number of private groups, organizations and former diplomats played a highly important role to bring both sides near. The Track Two diplomacy although not much influential in government circles on many occasions but it had its importance in engaging both sides on critical issues like Kashmir issue. There were numerous entities that played an important role in increasing the Track Two diplomacy initiatives between both states. Some of them are:

- Pakistan-India People's forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD)
- Neemrana Initiative
- Balusa Group
- Kashmir Study Group
- Association of Peoples of Asia (APA)
- Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP)
- South Asian Forum of Human Rights (SAFHR)
- Pakistan Peace Coalition and the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace
- India Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace (IPSI)

The Neemrana Initiative is considered to be the pioneer in Track II diplomacy between Pakistan and India. The organization was established on the bases of Track Two efforts between US and USSR during Cold War era. Although the Super power remained successful in extracting their Détente from those efforts but Pakistan and Indian participants remained unable to do so. The group was consists of former diplomats, retired Army personal, and businessmen. The group arranged number of meetings during 1997 to 1998 but major development could not be achieved. Although no major breakthrough can be carried by this group but it was considered to be foremost project of Track II diplomacy between Pakistan and India which paved the way for future endeavors.

Shanghai Group remained active form 1994 to 2001. It had four members including Pakistan, India, China and USA. The members of this group were former important scientist, Ex-diplomats and military offices. The main focus of this group was on nuclear technology and capabilities of the member states. The group became important after the nuclear tests by Pakistan and India.

The members of the group engaged themselves in extensive talks regarding the issue. A policy paper was issued by the group. Along with that the possible security dilemma emerged in result of these tests was the centre of discussion of the members of the group. In the last meetings of the group it was found that members do not have the essential influence among the official governmental circles hence forth it was ended.

The group named Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace was established by Meenakshi Gopinath in 1999 in Delhi. The purpose of this group was to increase the role of women in studies of security, policy making peace and international relations studies. The main focus of the group was on the gender gap in international politics between men and women. The group believed that role of women is highly important in policy making and negotiation especially in the regions like South Asia. It was believed by the group that women can play a vital role in conflict management between Pakistan and India in the issues like Kashmir. The group also established a harmony among the women of South Asia as tradition of Athwas mean holding hands was introduced during conference in 2000.

The other groups like Kashmir Study Group, Balusa Group, India Pakistan Soldiers Initiative and other projects played an important role in establishing Track II ties between Pakistan and India. The main focus of these groups was to establish a constant contact among the people of both states. The former army men who remained hostile o each other during their services believed that the trust must be developed between both states and it is possible through Track II diplomacy.

Major efforts in Track Two diplomacy were conducted by two Individuals during this time period. Former Foreign Secretary Niaz A. Naik and an Indian journalist R. K Mishra played

highly vital role in bringing close the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan. Before the Lahore Declaration they played an important role in arranging the meeting of both leaders, P Nawaz Sharif and PM Vajpayee. After the Lahore declaration these two individuals with the full support of their Prime Ministers engaged in secret Track Two talks in India for the resolution of Kashmir. Both met in 1999 when both talked extensively on the issue for three days nonstop. These Track Two diplomats considered multiple options and reached to the Chenab Formula. After they reached to almost same grounds and went back to their respective Prime Ministers, the Kargil War broke out and all the efforts of these individuals went into vain.

The next from 2001 to 2010 has remained highly important for Pakistan and India. During this time period both states have phased through number of issues like terrorism and already prevailing Kashmir issue. During that time period Pakistan remained under a military ruler General Pervaiz Musharraf till 2008 and a democratic government of Pakistan People's Party from 2008 to 2010. Both states faced some serious issues during this time. First was the already going Military Standoff from 2001 and lasted till 2002. Both sides stood eye to eye on the mutual border. The standoff proved to be costly and hundreds of lives were gone in the process. After much fear it was called off after almost a year.

The second major issue happened between both states was the Samjhota Express blasts in 2007. In that incident the Samjhota Express which runs between Pakistan and India to take pilgrims and other citizens across the border was targeted by bomb blasts. The train was coming from India to Pakistan and was blasted on the territory of India. Two coaches of the train were targeted in which 68 passengers died. Majority of them were Pakistanis. The timing of these blasts was highly important as they were happened just a day before the official visit of Pakistan Foreign

Minister visit to India. After a long blame game on each other the investigation showed the signs on involvement of Hindu Extremist in the attacks.

The third major incident was the Mumbai attacks of 2008 when 10 militants entered in the metropolitan city of Mumbai through its sea shore and attacked different sites. 168 people were killed in those attacks out of which many were foreigners. The hostage issue remained enacted for three days and ended after the operation by Indian Special forces at Taj Hotel. A single militant was caught alive who was proved to be Pakistani citizen. He was a member of banned organization in Pakistan. After all those incidents the diplomatic relations came to a halt between Pakistan and India. After the attack both states engaged in another military standoff in 2008. At that time the Track Two initiatives played an important role to sustain a communication like between both states.

The first Track Two initiative of this time period was conducted in 2003 under the seasoned Track Two diplomat Niaz A. Naik. The Pakistani and Indian delegation met in capital of Nepal, Katmandu. The Pakistani delegation was comprised of human right activist, academics and retired military officers. Same was the case with Indian delegation. The meetings discussed the issues of Kashmir, Siachin, Cross border terrorism and means to arrange composite dialogues between heads of both states. It was a major development in relationship of both sides in the context of existing circumstances of the time.

This effort was followed by the efforts of Nobel Prize Winner Pugwash Organization in 2004. The organization arranged an important meeting between the Track Two delegations of Pakistan and India. The important individuals from Kashmir were invited for the first time. Both sides extensively discussed the prospects of resolving the issue of Kashmir. The suggestions presented

by the attendees were to start a bus services between both parts of Kashmir, opening of multiple land routes and border markets to increase the communication between the people on both sides of the border. Furthermore the methods to establish durable and stable relationship between Pakistan and India were also came under discussion.

In 2005, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh used medicine as the Track II diplomacy tool. An Ayurvedic doctor was sent to Islamabad secretly to give health advice to then Pakistan PM Shujat Husain. The Doctor was supposed to meet President General Pervaiz Musharraf but due to some unforeseen reasons the meetings could not be arranged. It was a highly secret mission to engage in Track Two diplomacy efforts.

The role of Private groups like Friends without Borders and Aman ki Asha cannot be ignored in Track Two diplomacy. The former was started by five individuals in India arranged number of projects to bring people close of both countries. Their major projects were The World's Largest Love Letter and Dil se Dil Concert in 2005 and 2006. It was followed by Aman ki Asha started by two media houses of Pakistan and India. Through these initiative artists, journalists and students of both countries engaged in talks, seminars and conferences. Furthermore the stories from across the border are shared in the newspapers of these media houses.

The other important Track Two efforts during this time period were arranged by IPCS India, Jinnah institute Pakistan and Chaophraya dialogues arranged by AII in Bangkok from 2009 to 2010. In the meetings the former bureaucrats, retired diplomats, businessmen, Ex-military officers, academics and journalists have engaged in number of conferences and workshops. The agendas of these meetings comprise of security issues, Kashmir issue, Siachin issue, cross border terrorism problem and prospects of stable relationship between Pakistan and India.

5.2 Findings

- Diplomacy has been a basic tool of communication among the civilizations and states since ancient times
- The role of ancient empires like Greek, Roman and Islamic is highly significant because they established the norms, traditions and rules for the diplomacy
- In Post Westphalia era the specific facilities, duties, immunities of diplomats have been established through number of conferences
- The Diplomacy phased through traditionalism, nascent and innovation school of thoughts according to the prevailing global politics
- In the modern world the need of new track of diplomacy was felt as the traditional diplomacy was not enough to deal the newly emerged issues of the world
- Track II diplomacy emerged in late 1970s and early 1980s and since then has been a very effective tool for resolving number of issues
- Track Two diplomacy has brought the diplomacy from the official and governmental circles of the states to the non state and unofficial elements of the society. i.e. NGOs, MNCs, Private groups, and individuals
- Track Two diplomacy has played an important role between Pakistan India to resolve the conflicts and managing them
- The Private groups like Neemrana initiative, Balusa Group, Kashmir Study group have played vital role in decreasing the tension between Pakistan and India
- The individuals like Niaz A. Naik and R.K Mishra have played vital role in bringing the heads of both states close
- These individuals have reached on the same page on the issues like Kashmir

- The Track Two diplomacy has kept a channel of communication between hostile Pakistan and India
- The development of media has helped people of both sides to understand each other better
- The important issues like nuclear, security and terrorism have been discussed and analyzed by the Track Two diplomats and have given their suggestions under the light of their experiences

5.3 Suggestions

- Track Two diplomats must keep on meeting from both states as it keeps a window open of connection
- The suggestions given by the Track Two diplomats must be given importance by the governments of Pakistan and India
- In the time of crisis the Track II diplomacy must be given free hand to reduce the tension
- Pakistan and India should consider Track II diplomacy to resolve their issues as it is based on the social sentiments and involvement
- People to People must be increased by the governments of both sides as both shares number of cultural values and traditions
- During Track Two diplomacy an official representative must be in constant contact so that the issues can be resolved and the consent of official authorities can be included in the process

- Track Two projects must be spread to the small cities of both states which will help to reduce the misconceptions about the other state
- The joint institutes in art and culture should be established to share the ideas and artists between both states on regular bases
- Media houses should be used to decrease the tensions and misconceptions about each other on both sides of border

5.4 Conclusion

Diplomacy has been the central tool of communication and contact between the states and civilizations since the ancient times. The diplomacy has evolved over the time from traditional to Nascent to innovative. With the passage of time the diplomacy has changed itself according to demands of global politics. Track Two diplomacy has emerged as highly vital tool for conflict management among the states of the world. Track Two has also emerged as important communication tool between Pakistan and India. The tool has successfully reduced the tensions and misconceptions between both sides. Both sides have managed their number of conflicts through Track II diplomacy.

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