

Global Politics Extended Essay

**Title: A comparative analysis of Track I
and Track II diplomacy in Indo-Pak
relations, post Kargil (1999)**

**Research Question: “How far is Track II diplomacy a
better approach to resolving interstate conflicts in the
21st century?”**

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Introduction:

2017 marks the 70th anniversary of the India-Pakistan conflict that erupted after the historic partition on 15th August 1947. This partition took a violent turn with a genocide of estimated 1-2 million people, displacement of 10-12 million people and other instances of aggression like rape and abduction of women.¹ Till date, violence between India and Pakistan, especially in Kashmir, has claimed the lives of soldiers and civilians alike. Since 1947, 3 major wars have been fought: Indo-Pakistani War of 1965, the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971 and the Kargil War of 1999². Furthermore, both countries have their armies interlocked in combat that the Line of Control in Kashmir.³ Clearly, military engagement has not been successful. Thus, India and Pakistan is in dire need for diplomacy. Diplomacy is defined as the art and practice of conducting negotiations between nations.⁴ The question of diplomacy has global applicability for conflict resolution, which is the reason for the selection of this topic. Traditionally, this diplomacy is official carried out by a government and its high-ranking bureaucrats, and is called Track One Diplomacy. But as we move further into the 21st century, we see the

¹ Henderson, Barney. "Indian Independence Day: everything you need to know about Partition between India and Pakistan 70 years on." The Telegraph. August 15, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/08/15/indian-independence-day-everything-need-know-partition-india/>.

² Mir, Mushtaq Ahmad. "India –Pakistan; the History of Unsolved Conflicts." *India –Pakistan; the History of Unsolved Conflicts.*, April 2014. <http://iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol19-issue4/Version-2/O01942101110.pdf>.

³ "Kashmir conflict: Tension on the India Pakistan border." BBC News. October 01, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37531900>.

⁴ "Diplomacy." Merriam-Webster. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/diplomacy>.

advent of a new form of diplomacy known as Track Two Diplomacy. This form of diplomacy involves unofficial contact between two countries that is meant to ameliorate their relationship. Looking at the conflict after 1999 through the lenses of Waltz's Three Levels of analysis, we can identify the different actors and their perspectives. On the individual level, although critical governmental figures like the Indian prime minister Narendra Modi and ex-Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif play a chief role on the individual level of diplomacy, a lot more individuals ranging from politicians to citizens have a platform (social media) to express their views and opinions therefore participating in the conflict. Next, is the level of the state, which involves the Indian and Pakistani government. While both countries have the sovereign right to make decisions related to diplomacy on the issue, they postulate that their sovereign power is being eroded because of the participation of nongovernmental organisations and, third countries. They no longer hold the power hegemony over the state. Non-state actors participate in conflict more than ever, because the increase in globalization and interdependence means that conflict does not only have an effect on the nation level of analysis, but also in the international. Last is the anarchic nature of the international system and its inability to successfully contribute to the peaceful dissolving of the dispute. There is no actor with the power to force India and Pakistan to participate in diplomacy. What can be observed from the actors participating in diplomacy is that they are either state or non-state actors, who participate in Track I Diplomacy and Track II Diplomacy respectively. In this extended essay, I will explore the question "How far is Track II diplomacy a better approach to resolving interstate conflicts in the 21st century?" To

compare these types of diplomacy, I will examine how successfully they are in establishing 'peace'. This peace includes negative peace⁵, which is simply the absence of violence between the two countries, and positive peace⁶, which is the restoration of their relationship and constructive resolution of the conflict. I will consider key events since 1999, such as the Kargil War, 2001 Parliament attack, 2008 Mumbai terror attack and the 2016 Pathankot and Uri attack as well as initiatives towards peace; investigate how diplomacy was carried out; and then cogitate whether that form of diplomacy was successful in that case. To evaluate the success of attempts of diplomacy, I used primary sources; such as speeches, interviews and videos of interaction between citizens of both countries; and secondary sources; such as research papers, newspaper and internet articles as well as book; to gauge the effects on both countries. I have used sources from both countries, as it is important to have an unbiased evaluation of the success of diplomacy from the perspectives of both countries. The conclusion I will draw for this essay is the importance of 'multitrack diplomacy'⁷ that includes official and unofficial diplomacy that brings negative peace in the short-term and positive peace in the long-term.

Track One Diplomacy:

Track 1 Diplomacy is characterised by negotiation or actions take by high-ranking political leaders, military officials and diplomats of a state or multinational international

⁵ Galtung, Johan. "Foreword by Johan Galtung." *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict*, 2008, Xxxi. doi:10.1016/b978-012373985-8.09007-3.

⁶ *ibid*

⁷ Menski, Martin. "Book Review: Multi-track Diplomacy between India and Pakistan: A Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Security." *South Asia Research* 26, no. 3 (2006): 301-03.

and regional bodies. It involves peace talks, treaties, cease-fires, and military or economic intimidations presented from one party to another.⁸ In the book, “The Pure Concept Of Diplomacy” Jose Calvet de Magalhaes (1988) defined this official diplomacy as “an instrument of foreign policy for the establishment and development of contacts between the governments of different states through the use of intermediaries mutually recognized by the respective parties”.⁹ Practice of this form of diplomacy can be traced back times as early as circa 1274 BC, when the Egyptian-Hittite peace treaty was signed between the Egyptian pharaoh Ramses II and Emperor Hattusilis III.¹⁰ From a realist theoretical perspective, Track1 Diplomacy was and is the chief form of diplomacy as states are considered to be the primary actors in the international system as they have hegemonic power over the land within their boundaries¹¹. Additionally, ‘diplomacy’ as a whole, is often defined as an ‘instrument by which a *state* tries to achieve its aims’¹², which is why Track1 Diplomacy is typically considered as the main peacemaking instrument for the state’s foreign policy.¹³

Track1 Diplomacy has many advantages. Firstly, it can employ profound and detailed knowledge about the country’s interest because of access to innumerable intelligence

⁸ "Tracks of Diplomacy." United States Institute of Peace. April 19, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.usip.org/glossary/tracks-diplomacy>.

⁹ Magalhães, José C. de. *The pure concept of diplomacy*. New York: Greenwood Pr., 1988.

¹⁰ "Egyptian Hittite peace treaty - One of the oldest treaties in the world." DocumentaryTube. June 02, 2015. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.documentarytube.com/articles/egyptian-hittite-peace-treaty--one-of-the-oldest-treaties-in-the-world>.

¹¹ Heywood, Andrew. *Global politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

¹² "What is diplomacy? definition and meaning." BusinessDictionary.com. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/diplomacy.html>.

¹³ "Beyond Intractability." Track I Diplomacy | Beyond Intractability. Accessed November 28, 2017. https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track1_diplomacy.

sources, which are often classified or not common knowledge to uninvolved citizens.¹⁴ It is characteristically better funded, supported by better resources ranging from information to ambassadorial to security.^{15,16} Secondly, Track I Diplomacy also has the ability to employ political power that can influence the results of negotiations. A country has the ability to use coercive diplomacy in the form of sanctions, military force or restriction and reduction of economic to threaten their opponent.¹⁷ On the other hand, they might be able to implement checkbook diplomacy¹⁸ or appeasement diplomacy¹⁹, where they mollify their opponent to get something in return. Thirdly, there is a possibility of official involvement of third countries through multilateral diplomacy²⁰. The presence of neutral countries and unbiased organizations mean acceptable solutions are formed for conflicts where sides disagree on solutions.^{21 22}

¹⁴ Bercovitch, Jacob, and Allison Houston. "Why Do They Do It Like This?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44, no. 2 (2000).

¹⁵ Fukuyama, Francis, Chester A. Crocker, and Fen Osler Hampson. "Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 2 (1997).

¹⁶ Bercovitch, Jacob, and Allison Houston. "Why Do They Do It Like This?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44, no. 2 (2000).

¹⁷ "What is coercive diplomacy?" The Politicon. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://thepoliticon.net/essays/145-what-is-coercive-diplomacy.html>.

¹⁸ McMahon, Mary, and Bronwyn Harris. "What is Checkbook Diplomacy?" WiseGEEK. November 02, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-checkbook-diplomacy.htm#didyouknowout>.

¹⁹ Rakove, Robert. "Now diplomacy is appeasement?" SFGate. May 22, 2008. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/article/Now-diplomacy-is-appeasement-3213594.php>.

²⁰ Fukuyama, Francis, Chester A. Crocker, and Fen Osler Hampson. "Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 2 (1997).

²¹ Mahubani, Kishore. "Multilateral Diplomacy - Oxford Handbooks." Oxford Handbooks - Scholarly Research Reviews. June 16, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199588862.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199588862-e-14>.

²² Bercovitch, Jacob, and Allison Houston. "Why Do They Do It Like This?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44, no. 2 (2000).

On the other hand, Track1 Diplomacy has its weaknesses. Firstly, power can affect conflict resolution by establishing temporary truce rather than long-lasting peace. The party with stronger power in a conflict can often overwhelm and disadvantage the other party leading to an unstable future, as all participants are not satisfied with the outcome.²³ Secondly, this form of diplomacy ceases when it is most important: during the highest escalation to the peak of a conflict. This abolition of diplomacy when it is needed the most makes it impossible to resolve conflicts at critical levels. Because of international anarchy, it is very difficult to force the two countries to participate in diplomatic missions during these times.²⁴ Thirdly, a country's diplomats have no choice to explore solutions that lie outside their foreign policy, which makes creative solutions outside their ability.²⁵ Lastly, actions taken by the government through T1 Diplomacy can be heavily influenced by the electoral cycles. Decisions they make and actions they make can have political agendas to further their motives in an election rather than look at the long-term benefit for both countries.²⁶

Two Diplomacy:

When we think of diplomacy, we often think of it as the only official interaction between representatives of both governments, which is official Track1 Diplomacy. On the other

²³ Mapendere, Jeffrey . "Track One and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks." *Culture of Peace Online Journal*, 2(1), 66-81. Accessed November 29, 2017. <http://www.copoj.ca/>.

²⁴ Ziegler, David W. *War, peace, and international politics*. Longman, 2009.

²⁵ Volkan, Vamik D., Demetrios A. Julius, and Joseph V. Montville. *The Psychodynamics of international relationships*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1991.

²⁶ Ibid ft 20

hand, Track Two diplomacy is the practice of unofficial, informal and non-governmental contact and activity between non-state actors of two countries.^{27,28} As defined in '*Track II Diplomacy: Lessons from the Middle East*' (2003), it is the "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"²⁹ This form of diplomacy encompasses numerous different forms of diplomacy ranging from citizen diplomacy to supplemental diplomacy to coexistence work.^{30 31}

Track2 Diplomacy, like Track One Diplomacy, has much strength. Firstly, it is not bound by constitutional foreign policy or political power unlike Track 1 diplomacy. These people get a say in conflicts in which they have first-hand experience as they directly affect their families and communities. It empowers people who do not necessarily have political power as it gives them the opportunity to broadcast their views on the political issue and advise on possible steps to peace that would be supported by their community.³² This is also known as citizen diplomacy, as it involves citizens acting as diplomats working towards better relationships between countries.³³ Secondly, avenue of social media has become successful for people to voice their opinion and call for diplomacy.

²⁷ "Track II Diplomacy." Search for Common Ground. June 27, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.sfcg.org/track-ii/>.

²⁸ "Beyond Intractability." Track II (Citizen) Diplomacy | Beyond Intractability. Accessed November 28, 2017. https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track2_diplomacy.

²⁹ Āghā, Husayn, and Shai Feldman. *Track-II diplomacy lessons from the Middle East*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003.

³⁰ "Beyond Intractability." Track II (Citizen) Diplomacy | Beyond Intractability. Accessed November 28, 2017. https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track2_diplomacy.

³¹ Kissinger, Henry. *Diplomacy*.

³² Ibid ft 20

³³ Montville, J. (1991). *Track Two Diplomacy: The Arrow and the Olive Branch: A case for Track Two Diplomacy*. Unofficial diplomacy at work : Massachusetts: Lexington Books.

Media in the form of TV, radio and paper news are other opportunities for diplomacy.

³⁴Third, respected actors, business professionals as well as ex-politicians, ex-police officers and ex-army officials get the opportunity to participate in diplomacy. ³⁵Their views have the ability to sway public opinions because of popularity. Similarly, a form of diplomacy born the South Asia is Cricket diplomacy that can sway public opinion through its popularity. It is used as a form of cultural diplomacy and as a symbolic message of cooperation through sport. ³⁶Lastly, it is effective for peacebuilding, as it can rehabilitate amity between people from both countries through actual interaction. ³⁷

Nevertheless, Track 2 Diplomacy has a plethora of weaknesses. Firstly, because of its lack of political power, it does not have the ability to legally alter political powers and a country's foreign policy. Secondly, it can come to a standstill when a conflict becomes very intense and violent. This is because of nationalism that increases during the peak of war inspiring the opposite of diplomacy³⁸. Thirdly, as Track 2 Diplomacy is unofficial, authoritarian governments that have different views from what is being suggested can easily suppress its efforts. ³⁹

Indo-Pak relations Post 1999:

³⁴ Rao, Nirupama. "Diplomacy in the Age of Social Media." The Wire. July 19, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://thewire.in/158962/foreign-relations-diplomacy-social-media/>.

³⁵ "India's Cultural Diplomacy." Diplomat magazine. November 03, 2013. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.diplomatmagazine.nl/2013/11/03/indias-cultural-diplomacy-globalised-world/>.

³⁶ Jha, Martand. "India and Pakistan's Cricket Diplomacy." The Diplomat. March 16, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://thediplomat.com/2017/03/india-and-pakistans-cricket-diplomacy/>.

³⁷ Ibid ft 20

³⁸ Sanders, H.H. (1991). Officials and citizens in international relations. *The Psychodynamics of International Relations*: Vol. 2. Massachusetts: Lexington Books.

³⁹ Ibid ft 20

Reflecting on India-Pakistan relations from 1999, we see there is a mixture of failures and successes of Track One and Track Two diplomacy. If we rewind back to February of 1999, we would see the historic signing of the Lahore Accords between Pakistani PM Nawaz Sharif and Indian PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee. This declaration brought assurance that the two countries would not participate in a nuclear race.⁴⁰ Here, Track 1 (T1) Diplomacy was successful as both prime ministers had the power and access to change foreign policy to issue a binding agreement. But in May 1999, the peace brought by the Lahore accord was disrupted after Pakistani troops occupied Indian Territory on the border, starting the Kargil War. India had an estimate of 527 casualties and Pakistan between 357- 453⁴¹. Not only did T1 diplomacy immediately come to a standstill, but also all progress towards peace made up until the Kargil War was lost. T1 Coercive diplomacy was implemented to successfully end the war. Along with military pressure pushing back Pakistani Forces on the mountainous border at Kargil, Indian forces launched a naval offensive where they were prepared to blockade a majority of the Pakistani Ports. This exploited Pakistani dependence on trade flows, cutting them off from important resources needed to fight a war like oil.⁴² T1 diplomacy was successful here as the state government has a country's national resources (in this case the military) at its dispense.

⁴⁰ "Lahore Declaration." Nuclear Threat Initiative - Ten Years of Building a Safer World. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/laure-declaration/>.

⁴¹ "Kargil War: All you need to know about Kargil War." The Economic Times. July 26, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/all-you-need-to-know-about-kargil-war/how-when-and-where/slideshow/59772216.cms>.

⁴² "On the brink." The Telegraph. Accessed November 28, 2017. https://www.telegraphindia.com/1130428/jsp/7days/story_16836328.jsp.

In December 2001, gunmen attacked the Indian parliament and killed 14. India blamed 2 Pakistani based militant groups; Lashkar-e-Taiban and Jaish-e-Muhammad, and deployed its troops to its western frontline with Pakistan.⁴³ This led to the 2001-2002 Indo-Pak standoff, where all communication between India and Pakistan came to a standstill, leading to a threat of nuclear war. The international community was wary that a conventional war could lead to nuclear engagement.⁴⁴ But then, aided by USA's shuttle diplomacy (when a country acts as an intermediary), Pakistan was forced to renounce the use of nuclear pressure. Here, while bilateral T1 diplomacy fails during conflict, multilateral T1 diplomacy can be successful during conflict escalation.

In 2008, Indo-Pak relations took a giant leap forward when the trade route in Kashmir was commenced for the first time in 6 decades through successful T1 diplomacy.⁴⁵ This T1 economic diplomacy is similar to the T1 checkbook diplomacy in 2011. Pakistan declared India as a Most Favored Nation in 2011 at the 17th SAARC meeting.⁴⁶ The outcome of this would be India reducing non-traffic barriers on trade with Pakistan, resulting in a boosted level of trade. Both cases made India and Pakistan more economically linked, thus reducing the chances of war because of increased financial interdependence.

⁴³ "2001 Parliament attack - Times of India." The Times of India. October 25, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/event/2001-Parliament-attack/articleshow/55053711.cms>.

⁴⁴ Akram, Munir. "Gambling against Armageddon." DAWN.COM. October 26, 2014. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1140381>.

⁴⁵ Ramesh, Randeep. "India and Pakistan open historic Kashmir trade route." The Guardian. October 21, 2008. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/oct/21/kashmir-india>.

⁴⁶ India, Press Trust of. "Pakistan grants MFN status to India." The Hindu Business Line. December 26, 2011. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/economy/pakistan-grants-mfn-status-to-india/article2592267.ece>.

November 2008 marked the violent attack in Mumbai, India where gunmen attacked numerous locations around the city killing 166 people.⁴⁷ Like during the Parliament attack, the blame was put on the Pakistan-based terrorist group Lashkar-e-Tiaba. Like always, T1 diplomacy came to a standstill. Communication was only revived through the use of Track 2 (T2) diplomacy through T2 cricket diplomacy. Playing the Indian and Pakistani teams against one-another helped ease the built-up tension because of the spirit of the game. During the 2008 World Cup Cricket Indo-Pak match, both Heads of State watched the match together.⁴⁸

In 2012, there was a clash over the Nimoo-Bazgo hydropower project.⁴⁹ Pakistan claimed that it was a violation of the Indus Water Treaty⁵⁰ that brokered by the World Bank in 1960 has upheld through the years. This treaty outlines the water sharing policy between India and Pakistan. This conflict, including others like the 2017 Kishenganga and Ratle hydroelectric power plant controversy⁵¹, have been resolved peacefully till date. The complaint was taken to the World Bank by Pakistan as violations of the treaty. Then, under the supervision of the International Court of Arbitration, the matters were ruled over. Here, T1 diplomacy with international organizations was successful.

⁴⁷ Hyperaktivist. YouTube. October 25, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B7Hg_83Kcs8.

⁴⁸ "How the Indo-Pak deadlock was broken." Cricinfo. July 17, 2012. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.espn.cricinfo.com/ci/content/story/572665.html>.

⁴⁹ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/315760/nimoo-bazgo-project-pakistan-to-take-dam-dispute-to-world-court/>

⁵⁰ "MEA | Statements : Bilateral/Multilateral Documents." Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl%2F6439%2FIndus>.

⁵¹ Moushumi Das Gupta & Jayanth Jacob Hindustan Times. "Indus Waters Treaty: Five hydro projects likely to be discussed in India-Pak meet." <http://www.hindustantimes.com/>. March 19, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/indus-waters-treaty-five-hydro-projects-likely-to-be-discussed-in-india-pakistan-meet/story-bySEKcO2EHFQLTv2kSpdN.html>.

In 2014, India's new PM Narendra Modi invited the Pakistani PM for his inauguration.

⁵²The Indian PM also had a surprise visit to Lahore, Pakistan in December 2015 to meet the PM Nawaz Sharif helped greatly advanced diplomatic communication between India and Pakistan⁵³. During this meeting, they reportedly discussed several issues that were of major importance to the rocky relationship of both countries, making it a positive development after months of a frigid affiliation between both countries. This form of T1 diplomacy had a domino effect on the people of both countries as they became hopeful of a stable future. The opinions of the citizens being positive help two countries work towards peace, as if there were negative sentiments, the people would reject brokered peace as well as the government.

In 2016, relations began going downhill. In January, the Pathankot Attack took place, where 6 militants attacked an Indian Air force base, martyring 7 soldiers in 4 days. ⁵⁴

Then, in July, the Indian army killed an alleged terrorist and Hizbul Mujahideen leader Burhan Wani. ^{55,56} While India claimed he was a terrorist, Pakistan named him a martyr and expressed its solidarity with the Kashmiris who were angered by his death. ⁵⁷ This

⁵² "Narendra Modi inauguration: Pakistan PM Sharif invited." BBC News. May 21, 2014. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-27501731>.

⁵³ Haider, Dawn.com | Irfan. "Modi returns to India after surprise Pakistan visit." DAWN.COM. December 26, 2015. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1228735>.

⁵⁴ "Why India's response to Pathankot attack was 'a debacle'." BBC News. January 06, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-35232599>.

⁵⁵ Sandhu, Kamaljit Kaur. "How Burhan Wani was killed in encounter on July 8 last year: An exclusive account." India Today. July 08, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/burhan-wani-death-anniversary-hizbul-mujahideen-terrorist-social-media/1/997073.html>.

⁵⁶ Ap. "Burhan Wani has become what India long feared." DAWN.COM. May 27, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1282425>.

⁵⁷ "Pakistan observes Black Day for Burhan Wani: Please remind them of the Taliban." Firstpost. July 20, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.firstpost.com/world/pakistan-observes->

highlights the problem in the Kashmir Valley. Clashes between these separatist groups, insurgent groups and the armies and police of both countries have made it a very violent zone.⁵⁸ Also, the Indian army is accused of misusing their power through the violation of several human rights.⁵⁹ This makes it difficult for people to participate in T2 diplomacy because of lack of security, proving that citizen diplomacy can be easily overpowered by the state.

September 2016 saw the Uri terrorist attacks followed by the “surgical strike” carried out 11 days later by the Indian army to annihilate terrorist cells across the LoC.⁶⁰ These surgical strikes are said to have political motives for BJP, as the timing of these strikes would influence the 2017 state elections to be held in India. T1 diplomacy can often have ulterior motives.⁶¹ The Uri attack caused a clash in the opinions on T2 cultural in the Bollywood and film industry. For years, Pakistani actors, directors and writers were allowed to participate in this industry, furthering relations through the sharing of film and music. But now, there was huge uproar. There was a clear divide between people in the industry who believed that they should be allowed to stay and work in India while the

black-day-for-burhan-wani-killing-someone-remind-them-taliban-does-the-same-to-them-2903714.html.

⁵⁸ "2017 most violent year in Jammu and Kashmir with 184 incidents of violence: Govt." India Today. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/jammu-and-kashmir-terror-attacks-mha-violence-burhan-wani/1/1016789.html>.

⁵⁹ "India: Investigate Use of Lethal Force in Kashmir." Human Rights Watch. July 13, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/07/12/india-investigate-use-lethal-force-kashmir>.

⁶⁰ "A year on from Uri attack: Surgical strikes, elimination of terrorists and everything else that happened after audacious raid." Firstpost. September 19, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.firstpost.com/india/a-year-on-from-uri-attack-surgical-strikes-elimination-of-terrorists-and-everything-else-that-happened-after-audacious-raid-4054609.html>.

⁶¹ Naqvi, Saba. "Riding 'Surgical Strike' Wave, BJP Sets Sight on UP Elections." The Wire. October 10, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://thewire.in/72087/will-surgical-strike-help-bjp-elections/>.

other half disagreed.^{62,63} Eventually, all Pakistani actors were banned from acting in Indian films and Indian films were banned from Pakistan. The cultural interaction that was previously aiding friendly relationships between India and Pakistan were damaged. In June 2017, there were also riots by Indian cricket fans and political parties calling for the Indian cricket team to not play against Pakistan in the Champions Trophy because of the Uri Attack.⁶⁴ Cricket diplomacy is not possible as a large segment of the population is strongly against it. The Uri Attack led to negative T1 diplomacy as well. Clear examples of this are the speeches given by ambassadors of both countries at the United Nations General Assembly over the past 2 years. Sushma Swaraj's speech, which labeled Pakistan as 'Terroristan', was followed by a speech by Pakistani Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi wherein he accused India of committing several war crimes in Kashmir.⁶⁵ What we see here is platforms that should be used for diplomacy actually deteriorating relations between two countries making the establishment of peace tougher.

Track2 efforts for diplomacy have helped Indo-Pak relations through unofficial contact between the countries.⁶⁶ The media movement is the 'Aman Ki Asha' initiative (2010) by two of the biggest Indian and Pakistan Media Houses (The Times of India and The Jang Group of Pakistan) in partnership with the international organization 'Friends Without Borders'. The movement targets reciprocal peace and advancement of cultural and

⁶² TheNewshourDebate. YouTube. October 04, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nBmHdESpo3k>.

⁶³ TheNewshourDebate. YouTube. October 05, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bhf8y4mRvGM>.

⁶⁴ <https://scroll.in/latest/839622/zee-media-will-not-cover-india-pakistan-cricket-match-in-support-of-armed-forces-subhash-chandra>

⁶⁵ DDNewsofficial. SushmaSwaraj UN speech YouTube. September 23, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lviT78WtYig>.

⁶⁶ "South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA)." Peace Insight. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/pakistan/peacebuilding-organisations/safma/>.

diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan.⁶⁷ An example of pre-conflict peacemaking is the initiatives of numerous companies and YouTube channels like BuzzFeed. In their initiative, they have made YouTube videos involving both Indians and Pakistanis interacting and sharing their culture with each other, helping to highlight their numerous similarities and handful differences.⁶⁸ These videos spread awareness on the cooperation that is possible between the two countries. Even though these T2 efforts have garnered little attention and little success, they can be very successful in establishing long-term peace.

Key leanings based on Indo-Pak relations post 1999:

The first observation made based on diplomacy is that it comes to a standstill when most needed, for example bilateral Track One diplomacy after the Kargil war or during the nuclear standoff in 2001-02. Some forms of Track Two diplomacy may also cease, such as cricket and cultural diplomacy. This is why multilateral Diplomacy is important, as third countries and international organizations can act as unbiased mediators, like during the nuclear standoff and during conflict over water resources. This trend is visible in other conflicts such as the Egypt-Israel conflict that was ended through the Camp David Accords mediated by US President Jimmy Carter⁶⁹ and the UN peacekeeping mission in

⁶⁷ "Pakistan, India and Aman ki Asha: The year that was, and looking ahead." Just another WordPress site. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://amankiasha.com/?p=4318>.

⁶⁸ BuzzFeedVideo. YouTube. November 27, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ca5GO5zsti8>. India and Pakistan Taste Test

⁶⁹ Carter, Jimmy. "Camp David Accords." Encyclopædia Britannica. July 21, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Camp-David-Accords>.

Burundi which helped the country recover from years of ethnic war⁷⁰. The second observation is that connecting two countries economically and culturally reduces the chances that they go to war as it increases interdependence and camaraderie, for example through the dependence on the Kashmir trade route established in 2008 and cultural diplomacy through Bollywood. Proof that this may help improve Indo-Pak relations can be found in the relations between USA and China. These countries are unlikely to go to war because of their strong economic relationship and the fact that China is their largest trading partner.⁷¹ The last observation is that even though numerous Track 2 citizen diplomacy initiatives such as 'Aman Ki Aasha' and intercultural videos by BuzzFeed exist, they do not have enough traction to make a huge improvement in Indo-Pak relations. These projects are on a small scale and do not have a large enough audience to advocate their agenda. This is something India and Pakistan must look into as it has proven to be a successful way to help in conflict resolution in the past. An example of this is the Jewish-Palestinian Living Room Dialogue Group in 1993. It was a part of the Beyond War movement that successfully encourages coexistence of Jewish and Palestinian Israeli families in California. This movement was very successful in establishing long-lasting peace and spread all over the world to countries like Cameroon, Singapore, Nigeria, just to name a few⁷². Another example is the resolution of the Aceh

⁷⁰ "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Burundi." Providing for Peacekeeping. August 21, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2015/06/26/peacekeeping-contributor-profile-burundi/>.

⁷¹ Keck, Zachary. "Why China and the US (Probably) Won't Go to War." The Diplomat. July 12, 2013. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://thediplomat.com/2013/07/why-china-and-the-us-probably-wont-go-to-war/>.

⁷² JEWISH-PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE: Progress Report. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://traubman.igc.org/dg-prog.htm>.

conflict in Indonesia between 1973 and 2005, which is similar to the situation in Kashmir because of insurgence in both cases. Track 2 diplomacy here was labeled as “peace privatization” because mediators were NGOs like the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue and the Crisis Management Initiative aided the peace process greatly. Thus, the Indo-Pak conflict requires stronger Track Two diplomacy for peace between citizens who have had bitter sentiments towards each other for decades. ⁷³As Joseph V. Montville, the author of ‘Foreign Policy According to Freud’ said, “citizens could take some action rather than simply being bystanders while the grown-up governments acted like jerks.”⁷⁴

Conclusion:

In relation to diplomacy, India and Pakistan must focus on three things: allow more multilateral diplomacy, strengthen economic ties and encourage more Track Two Diplomacy. Reflecting on the research question, ‘How far is Track II diplomacy a better approach to resolving interstate conflicts in the 21st century?’, we see that both Track One and Track Two diplomacy have their strengths and weaknesses, and that possible solutions require both strains of diplomacy for peace. They work best together. Looking at the stages of conflict resolution, we can see that both Tracks can help on the Phases of Latent Conflict, Conflict Emergence and Conflict Emergence through tools of diplomacy like treaties, peace conferences and conflict resolution through comradeship (T2

⁷³ "Privatising peace." The Economist. July 02, 2011. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.economist.com/node/18895458>.

⁷⁴ Homans, Charles. "Track II Diplomacy: A Short History." Foreign Policy. June 19, 2011. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/06/20/track-ii-diplomacy-a-short-history/>.

Diplomacy). Next, during the Stalemate phase, T1 multilateral diplomacy can be used for peacemaking, as it is unsafe for citizens to involve themselves in violent conflict. Next, for the peace building phase, Track 2 diplomacy will be most useful to foster stability in the bilateral relationship from a secure future. We see that Track One can establish negative peace and that Track Two can establish positive peace, and thus both are necessary for the long run. Thus, the best approach to resolving interstate conflicts in the 21st century would be multitrack diplomacy, which is a combination of official Track 1 and unofficial Track 2 diplomacy.

One of the main limitations I encountered was looking for sources to create unbiased conclusions on the success of diplomacy on different events post Kargil. This was because numerous Pakistani news sources and agencies have been blocked by the government, restricting my access.⁷⁵ So, while I could not get equal sources from an Indian and Pakistani perspective, I focused on getting information from websites with origin from other countries, as they are not directly involved. Another limitation is that there was no tangible way to measure the 'success' of diplomacy as it is a relative concept. This made it hard to weigh different situations against each other as they all had different outcomes. Additionally, since T1 diplomacy mainly achieves 'negative peace' and T2 diplomacy primarily achieves 'positive peace', it becomes harder to compare the two.

A question that remains unanswered is how can we stabilize peace between India and

⁷⁵ Jena, Smrutisnat. "Game of bans: As Pakistan blocks 'India Today', India not far behind." *The Financial Express*. September 15, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/game-of-bans-as-pakistan-blocks-india-today-india-not-far-behind/377881/>.

Pakistan? A weakness with both Track One and Track Two and thus Multitrack diplomacy is that any flare-up of conflict reverses all pre-established peace. Since 1999, India and Pakistan have seen 4 such periods: after the Kargil War in 1999, after the Indian Parliament attack in 2001, after the Mumbai Terror attack in 2008 and after the Uri attacks in 2016. After each event, the process of negative and positive peace must begin again. For multitrack diplomacy to pave a path of peace, this question must be explored.

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