

**Disaster Diplomacy: A Study of Post Earthquake Disaster Management in
Nepal (2015)**

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

I certify that this dissertation entitled "Disaster Diplomacy: A Study of Post Earthquake Disaster Management in Nepal (2015)" was prepared by Ujjwal Paudel under my supervision. I hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee Department of International Relations and Diplomacy, Tribhuvan University, in the fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER'S IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that it contains no materials previously published. I have not used its materials for the award of any kind of any other degree. Where other author's sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

A country cannot fight with the destructions of a large scale disaster alone. Internal and external help is needed to fight with the aftermath of such disasters. The term 'Disaster Diplomacy' includes the diplomatic activities in relation to disasters. The role of military in disasters and diplomacy is increased in the contemporary world. The basic aids and monetary support is required for a country to cope up a huge disaster. So, the disaster affected country needs a proper conduct of diplomacy and management of international aids. This research aimed to explore the destruction of the earthquake that hit Nepal on 25th April, 2015. After being hit by devastating earthquake, the utilization of the local resources and strategies adopted by Nepal to cope up with the earthquake needs to be looked in depth. For the post recovery of the earthquake, many countries promised short term and long term assistance. Thus, the research attempted to review the aids and assistance pledged by international community to Nepal and its utilization and management. The research has included the data collected from both primary and secondary sources. The research concludes that Nepal suffered a great loss from the earthquake and Nepalese Security Sector played an important role in the management of the earthquake. Many countries provided aid and assistances to Nepal after the earthquake. Although, Nepal was able to control the short-term emergency situation by utilizing domestic and international resources, it could not accomplish the projected long-term reconstruction and recovery goals.

Keywords: *Disaster Diplomacy, Military, Earthquake, Assistance, Reconstruction*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
APF	Armed Police Force
CAAN	Civil Aviation Authority of Nepal
CPN-UML	Communist Party Nepal- Unified Marxist Leninist
DC	Developing Country
DFID	Department for International Development
DASE	Department of Analysis and Surveillance
EU	European Union
GoN	Government of Nepal
ICNR	International Conference on Nepal's Reconstruction
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
LDC	Least Developed Countries
LLDC	Landlocked Least Developed Countries
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOHA	Ministry of Home Affairs

NA	Nepal Army
NEOC	National Emergency Operation Center
NFA	Nepal Foreign Affairs
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NP	Nepal Police
NPC	National Planning Commission
NRA	National Reconstruction Authority
NSA	Nepal Seismological Centre
PDNA	Post Disaster Needs Assessment
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAR	Search and Rescue
UCPN	United Communist Party Nepal
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UN-OHRLLS	United Nations Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Disaster is inevitable but the consequences of disaster can be minimized on the basis of any available pre information. An active practice of diplomacy is seen during and after the disaster. The disaster has negative effects and is responsible for the destruction. However, it can provide various opportunities. To capitalize that opportunity, diplomacy is the best means. The disaster impacts on the diplomacy because disaster can help to improve the troublesome diplomatic relations. Disaster also creates the military, political objectives and economic opportunities and pushes for its advancement (Harris, Keen, & Mitchell, 2013). During a disaster, even the basic needs get affected. Thus, relief and assistances during such hard times creates a positive impact. It further helps to cool down the past tensions between the states and looks forward for strengthening their relations. International help can uplift the status of the states affected by the natural disasters (UN, 2017).

The origin of the diplomacy can be traced back to ancient Greece, the word diplomacy comes from the Greek word "diploma" which means the document from princes (Roberts, 2011, p. 4) . In addition, the early use of this word in English was from the year 1645 but currently unused term *diplome* was used in English during 1610. Diplomacy is the act of negotiation. Diplomacy generally can be referred to international diplomacy which means the conduct of international relations where diplomats of various states communicate on various issues with regard to find a solution. Disaster diplomacy is composed of two words, i.e. "Disaster" and "Diplomacy". Disaster means, "a sudden accident or natural catastrophe that causes great

damage or loss of life" (Oxford Dictionary). The Cambridge Dictionary defines disaster as "the management of relationships between countries" and "Skill in dealing with people without offending or upsetting them" is Diplomacy (Cambridge Dictionary). When the two words "Disaster" and "Diplomacy" are used together, it can be brought to view either diplomacy can and have made difference in disasters or disaster have created opportunities for diplomacy (Jonsson & Aggestam, 2009, pp. 35-50; Kelman, 2011a).

Diplomacy has become one of the most effective tools for the state to cope up with natural disasters. Mostly underdeveloped and developing nations have benefitted from the disaster diplomacy but there are some reported cases where those disaster affected countries have became playground for powerful nations to illustrate their status in international relations. Humanitarian aid has become a part of political strategy (Curtis, 2001). Aid has the power to influence the states. Despite that, the disaster affected country's political, social structures and economy are negatively affected by involvement of various powerful actors and their competition. Some of the examples are the case of Haiti, Sri Lanka and even the case of Nepal. The proper management of aids and reliefs is an important issue to consider after disaster because it has direct impact on the post-disaster reconstruction. The proper aid management system of a state demonstrates the success and failure of aid.

Nepal, located between the two giant states is one of the countries in the world that is vulnerable to natural disasters. Mostly, Glacier lake outburst, flood, landslides, soil erosion and earthquake have affected Nepal. Earthquake is the most common disaster among all. Four earthquake of magnitude more than 6.0 Richter scale have occurred since past century (Tufft, 2015, p. 1). Nepal has to expect two earthquake of 7.5-8 Richter scale in every forty years and one earthquake of more than 8+ on Richter scale in every eighty years, In 1934 Nepal was hit by

a largest earthquake which was of 8.3 Richter scale (DPNet-Nepal, p. 1). Nepal faced a massive earthquake on 25th April, 2015 followed by many powerful aftershocks. Similarly, another major earthquake of 6.8 Richter scale magnitude occurred on 12th May, 2015.

Nepal was able to cope up immediate situation of the earthquake through Diplomatic means. Within a short time of disaster, Asian, European and American continent provided relief materials, aids, and rescue teams (Cook, Shrestha, & Hte, 2016). It helped Nepal to control the immediate pain of the earthquake. Likewise, the support and help from international community through state and non-state actors, utilization of domestic resources and security sector played an important role in the management following the disaster (Wendelbo, et al., 2016). A part from positive support from the world, some negative incidents was also highlighted.

Some noticeable incidents also took place during the disaster period in Nepal as Indian media faced a negative reaction from Nepalese in the issue of criticizing Pakistan, Indian control over Nepalese airport, India trying to overshadow the efforts of Nepalese Army, Nepalese Police, locals and carrying trapped Indian instead of earthquake victims (Biswas, 2015). Media also reported the aid competition between India and China following the earthquake in Nepal (Seemangal, 2015). The US helicopter was found crashed near the Chinese border which became another important issue (BBC News, 2015). All those issues once drew the global media attention. The aid flow in Nepal was seen in the name of reconstruction during post-earthquake period. Despite the fact that it already have been 5 long years since the earthquake hit Nepal, the post reconstruction has not been completed yet. The post-earthquake reconstruction is still in process. The ongoing reconstruction and development has clearly shown the aid effectiveness of Nepal.

1.2 Statement of Problem

The diplomatic practices have become one of the most important means for the solution of the disputes peacefully. Sometimes, the pre-disasters information brings the communities together but disasters have become one of the most influential factors for the interstate relationship. Natural disaster in any state needs an external help. Since many centuries, the states have adopted their disaster diplomacy to fight with disasters and its destruction. Nepal faced a devastating earthquake on 25th April, 2015 and the country went through the crisis situation. The raised question was that whether Nepal coped with earthquake of 2015 alone or was successful diplomacy that helped her to rise from the destructive earthquake? In the disaster related activities the role of military and security sector has been widely discussed. The role of 'Nepalese Security Sector' during disaster management became a major issue to analyze in this research. The crisis can sometimes support to collect more resources. The sideline domestic politics, proper aid management by affected country and persuasion of international power have played a major role for post disaster recovery. The relations of Nepal with international community and Nepalese internal politics might have become responsible factor for post disaster reconstruction and development. The success and failure of Nepalese disaster diplomacy following the earthquake of April 2015 along side with post disaster aid management, reconstruction and development became the key issue in this research.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How much Nepal encountered/faced disaster during the past earthquake 2015?
2. What was the role of Nepalese Security Sector during the earthquake of 2015?
3. Was Disaster Diplomacy of Nepal successful?
4. Did it help in garnering more aid and assistance for reconstruction?

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To analyze Nepal's past 2015 earthquake affects.
2. To analyze the role of Nepalese Security Sector in the earthquake of 2015 A.D.
3. To access whether disaster diplomacy of Nepal was successful or not.
4. To review the utilization of aid and assistance provided to Nepal by international community.

1.5 Limitation of Research

The scope of the study has included the study of diplomacy and its use during the time of natural disasters. The study reviewed the effects of 2015's earthquake of Nepal and focused on how Nepal dealt with the situation created by it. The study has tried to assess that a country can cope up with disaster through diplomacy, analyzed the post disaster condition of Nepal and reviewed the situation either Nepal recovered from the destruction or not. It also has made an effort to explore the aid and assistance received by Nepal for its reconstruction but since actual primary data of received budget is not available, the research used the available secondary data. The research has not been able to deeply touch every aspects of disaster diplomacy and explained individually. This research has tried to clarify the role of Nepalese Security Sector with direct focus on Nepal Army but it has not explored the role of Nepal Police and Armed Police Force. In terms of disaster diplomacy, the research has not explained the case study of developed countries in detail which are capable of self-help even in the time of disaster. Moreover, some limitations of this research are mentioned below:

1. Availability of limited time
2. Budget constraints

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Natural Disaster: Need of an International Assistance

Natural disaster refers to "a natural event such as flood, earthquake or tsunami that kills or injures a lot of peoples" (Cambridge Dictionary). Despite of natural causes its origin can also be due to human activities (IFRC, 2018, p. 1). Annan, Seventh Secretary-General of UN (1999) stated that the human society have to deal with natural disaster like landslides, floods, storms, earthquake and water unavailability that makes different types of natural disasters usual and predictable. He explained that currently the term 'Natural' is growing in being deceptive because human actions and behaviors are also responsible for disasters. The increasing tendencies of disaster during past decades were due to human actions and behavior rather than natural occurrence (Annan, 1999).

The natural disasters are getting worse. Adebayo (2018) argued that the worldwide geophysical disasters like volcano, earthquake, landslide etc. were stable from 1970's but the disasters related to weather have become huge. The natural disasters increased thrice during the year 2000-2009 as compared to the disaster of the year 1980-1989 where 80% of increased disaster was the result of climate related activities (Adebayo, 2018). The increase in hydro metrological disaster is due to blending of nature and man-made factors (Than, 2005). The rate of disaster has increased because of high urbanization, deforestation, climate change, global environmental degradation, water storms, high rains and huge amount of snow fall (Adebayo, 2018). Global warming can be one of the important reasons for the increase in temperature of the earth leading to frequent and more damaging natural disasters (Than, 2005).

The disaster tendency can continuously increase in future if prevention is not properly addressed (Annan, 1999). Natural disaster causes serious damages in human beings, materials, environmental and economic activities (WEDC, 2011). It has both physical as well as social impacts (Lindell, 2013, pp. 812-813). It becomes unable to overcome such situation on own; therefore, it is an emergency situation (Attinà, 2014, p. 2). In fact, the disasters need an external assistance (Burkle, 2011). So, international aid is important for the rebuilding the society after a disaster (Keerthiratne & S.J., 2018, p. 3). These days, providing the aid has become one of the parts of public diplomacy policy of various states (Leight-Give'on, 2010). Annan (1999) expressed that the main cause of disaster destruction is the people living in an area vulnerable to the disaster. Around 90% of disaster victims are residing in developing and underdeveloped countries (Annan, 1999). The poverty and high population has forced them to live in disaster prone area. Here, Kelman (2008, pp. 8-9) opined that the expansion of cooperation in relation to political, economical and socio-cultural matters can be useful to manage natural disasters. Thus, the disaster-prone countries can mitigate disasters effects through the cooperation with other countries.

2.2 The Exercise of Soft Power

Natural disasters always provide an opportunity for states to help one another or make its presence felt to the foreign public. The disaster creates an opportunity to the states because of emergency requirements of disaster victims (Brookings, 2008). The disaster victims even needs basic materials. In other words, the humanitarian support can be seen as diplomatic tool to provide chances for the contributor states to promote their international strategy (Brookings, 2008). The key approach of any one state to gain in rivalry with another state and the requirement of 21st century is exercise of a soft power (Tüney, 2016). Various methods such as

public diplomacy, social medias, exchange programs focusing on culture and education, military collaboration, trainings and assistance during disasters can be used as soft power by a country for the management of disasters (Nye Jr, 2010, p. 20).

As explained by Nye (2004), Soft Power means the ability to make the result of others according to one's want. In other words, it is the ability of achieving goals without the use of force (Nye, 2004, p. 5). He further mentioned that the country should use its influencing power to play a role in an international arena. In soft power, states carry out their wish and actions according to their will as the reason of their skills but not by their unfriendly behavior (Herningtyas, 2018, p. 24). Although, the soft power instruments include promotion of culture, exchanges programs, providing language learning opportunities, arranging language classes and radio broadcasting, these do not directly create soft power (Güneş, 2018). They just enhance the positivity, increase understandings and circulate positive thoughts of source state (Vuving, 2009). Moreover, soft power includes the use of elements of a state like social, economic, cultural as well as military in a systematic way as per the necessity (Tüney, 2016).

Military can be used as an instrument of policy and it depends upon political calculation of a state (Wallin, 2015) . The use of military as an instrument of policy and soft power depends upon state's strategy (Gray, 2011). Use of military includes the positive relationships of military, joint military exercise courses, technical advancement and defense industry (Noya, 2005, pp. 15-16). Multinational military exchange programs are practiced by US department of defense to create mutual trust and connection for better future collaboration which supports the democratic norms and values (Atkinson, 2015). Only in the year 2011, US provided training to foreign military as a military exchange program by spending \$589 Million. In this training, 61,200 students from 158 different states participated. Similarly, in the time period of 2000-2009, the

huge numbers of military officers of Egypt were trained in U.S along with President Abdel Fattahal- Sisi and the Defense Minister Sedki Sobhi. (Atkinson, 2015).

Aid diplomacy can be seen as hard power because it is an economic power (Leight-Give'on, 2010). Economic sanctions and foreign assistance discourages countries to carry out unfriendly activities (Bordachev, 2019). For example: MOU between China and US during 1990's about IP rights were made only after both of them threatened trade embargo (Baum, 2001). However, aid can be used as soft power by a state (Nye Jr, 2010, p. 20). Humanitarian aid as a soft power is valuable because it can be an instrument for political benefits, for example: following the 2004 Asian Tsunami which hit Indonesia, Sri Lanka and other Asian countries, US provided their military to work together with Indonesian Army for humanitarian assistance which enhanced US- Indonesia relationship and US upgraded their status in Indonesia (Flaherty, 2017). Aid as a soft power enhances the public diplomacy and public people from all over the world see the presence and absence of state during the time of emergency (Leight-Give'on, 2010). In addition, the most selfless state with no clear hidden purposes reaches the peak and some countries earn soft power to keep their conflict away as like China and Taiwan. China and Taiwan signed a trade agreement on June 2010 A.D. to increase their trade and simplify their political ties (Hornby, 2010).

There are many organizations and people who are well known about the conflict situations not leaving behind the issue of disaster and climate change (Herningtyas, 2018, p. 24). However, they are unable to overcome such situation through the use of hard power which has increased the importance of soft power. The aid as a soft power require no any ongoing diplomatic relations among those countries i.e. aid providing and aid receiving (Herningtyas, 2018, p. 24). Moreover, the soft power can be utilized by a government through sufficient

expertise on finance, military and professional matters in disaster related issues to carry out the proper diplomacy with other states.

Public diplomacy can be used as soft power (Nye, 2010). In this connection, Nye (2004) suggested that the public diplomacy should be turned into soft power tools but it should not be understood by audience as a plan and misinformation. So, in this regard, public diplomacy is seen as an implementation of soft power. (Mghoi, 2012, p. 45). Public diplomacy is usually a clear approach through which an independent state outreaches with local people of foreign countries to promote and perform foreign policy goals and national interest (CPD, 2019). The means to conduct public diplomacy are by the use of media, libraries, internet and other facilities such as exhibitions of music, art, international educations, exchange programs etc. (Mghoi, 2012, p. 45). I/NGOS of various countries can also be used for public diplomacy because they are somehow capable of transferring and sharing of information. Moreover, some NGOs and foreign government goals can provide positive results for host states political aim (Mghoi, 2012).

Encyclopedia Britannica clearly wrote that during the time of cold war (1945-1990), US practiced public diplomacy (People's Diplomacy) to influence European populations by broadcasting Voice of America directly in Eastern Europe which explicated that democracy and capitalism were better than Soviet system. This people's diplomacy was mostly practiced to dismiss myths about west in Eastern Europe (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019). In addition, US also established and maintained study rooms nearside the border of Eastern Europe with books about culture and history of America with a hope that publicity of American values and ethics would strengthen US policies and support. Finally, these aided in the downfall of Soviet Union because political protestors communicated, organized and protested against Soviet Communists (Thussu, 2006).

Kelman (2011a) argued that public diplomacy after hazards clearly affects the clash of the countries by making the public and government to cooperate together who are else not ready to cooperate. Despite the fact that the process of democratization and conflict reduction was going on, Southern African countries faced a harsh water shortage in 1990s but the drought never turned into food scarcity because of quick emergency response and proper regional cooperation among them (Kelman, 2011). Moreover, the Southern African countries also got an opportunity to collaborate among neighbours.

2.3 New Prospects for Diplomacy?

There is an involvement of politics in every international talk and this politics can be called as double game in two levels i.e. national and international level (Putnam, 1988, p. 434). Putnam (1998) argued that in a domestic level, politicians are clever enough to collaborate with domestic groups to gain power whereas domestic interest groups are also able to pressurize the government to achieve their interest and implement the policies favorable to them. Similarly, in an international level, a country tries to fulfill the needs and wants of domestic pressure group to reduce the domestic pressure. Therefore, these two level games cannot be disregarded by an interdependent sovereign county and its policy makers (Putnam, 1988, p. 434).

Diplomacy is the conduct of international relations by negotiation rather than by force, propaganda, or recourse to law and by other peaceful means (such as gathering information or engendering goodwill) which are either directly or indirectly designed to promote negotiation (Berridge, 1995). Diplomacy is major tool used by the states all over the world to conduct the international relation peacefully and protect their interest abroad (FDFA, 2008, p. 3). The main use of diplomacy is to deal with the foreign policy goals through messages and the growth of diplomacy in internet has become a new way of diplomacy (Kleiner, 2008). Furthermore, due to

the increase in the number of the various actors in an international system the scope of diplomacy has become wide. After the end of World War II, diplomatic practices have changed, for instance, notion of public diplomacy considered as a tie of government-to-people (Siracusa, 2010, p. 5).

Disaster and the activities related to disaster i.e. pre-disaster and post-disaster are responsible factor to create diplomacy. Pre-disaster diplomatic activities include the prevention and post disaster activities include recovery and rebuilding (Kelman, 2007a). Weizhum concluded that the communication between two countries can be done by upholding disaster issues as a matter of discussion (Herningtyas, 2018, p. 25). Thus, disaster diplomacy means the study of the disaster related activities and its influence in cooperation (Kelman, 2012).

The disaster in a particular country is not going to affect only the disaster facing country but also neighbouring countries and its negative affects goes up to the production, economy and growth of the countries all over the world (Chhetri & Poudyal, 2011). So, the importance of the immediate and effective post disaster response in order to decrease the losses and damages caused by the disaster has been seen. The increasing trend of global natural disasters automatically raises the challenges of humanitarian, economic and social cost; thus, in the development of humanitarian field, there is the global need and importance of international cooperation between states, NGO's and INGO's (Chhetri & Poudyal, 2011). International organization also plays a positive role during disaster. During earthquake and tsunami of 2004 in Indonesia and Sri Lanka, the UNHCR assisted Sri Lanka's population with Non Food Items (NFI), agreed to provide short-term shelter for affected people and also assured to help in misplaced documentation. UNHCR further supported in the officially authorized aid provision and the equity policy for the entire displaced people (Lambert, 2007, pp. 7-8).

Disaster diplomacy is not only limited on explaining the task of international affairs and relations but it also explains about political conflicts that involves an independent state words (Comfort, 2007, pp. 277-294). Kelman (2007) argued that the disaster sometimes can become a base to manage the unresolved political conflicts. It can be in national and international level. Those countries which do not have good cooperation among each other may choose the way of improving relation and collaboration for reducing the effects of natural disasters (Kelman, 2008). Similarly, the new diplomatic process can be created with current existing conditions during the time of disaster (Kelman, 2008). However, the activities during disaster influence diplomacy in the short period of time that might be over some weeks or months (Kelman, 2014, pp. 2-3). For example: The earthquake of Gujrat, India that occurred in 2001 killed around 2,000 persons. Pakistan offered help to India which resulted the summit after six months but the summit failed with the disagreement then Indo-Pak relations cooled (Kelman, 2011).

The political obstacles can be eased by giving the aid during the disaster (Glantz, 2000). This is not so difficult in between the governments that have the good relation with each other. The disaster can aid to improve the long term relations and diplomacy (Kelman, 2006). During the time of natural disaster, rivals are likely to put their rivalry down and then start to work together, collaborate and strengthen their relationship (Reed, 2012). This is also the basics of disaster diplomacy.

The rivalry of Greece and Turkey started after 1955 following the massacre of religious ethnic group in Istanbul, later followed by conflict of Cyprus island in 1964 (P.Z., 2017). In 1999, the two earthquakes hit Greece and turkey in the timeframe of some week but as a response to the disaster, both country offered aid and support to each other which helped them to eliminate their long-rivalry within a year (Enia, 2015). Scholars claimed the improvement of

Greece-Turkey relation as a result of disaster diplomacy but Ker-Lindesy stated that the mutual Greek-Turks talk came before earthquake (Ganapati, Kelman, & Koukis, 2010). Furthermore, the reciprocity of disaster also helped Greece and turkey to improve their relation for long term.

The occurrence of transnational conflicts and effects of disaster in an area creates the importance among leaders to manage the diplomatic atmosphere and utilize the rescue and relief materials properly (Kelman, 2007). This situation can be turned into an opportunity for further collaborations (Kelman, 2007a). After the event of Jammu and Kashmir flood in 2010, some of the young leaders of India and Pakistan jointly developed a platform for the development of mutual cooperation among two states to share the common risks (Ali & Mehra, 2014, p. 2). They held a meeting together which implied the politicians to come together for common benefit.

Kelman (2010) opined that diplomacy during disaster may not always be able to overcome the hostile situation. Disaster diplomacy is not successful every time because some non-disaster related activities may increase the conflict which can decrease the potentiality of diplomacy (Kelman, 2014, pp. 2-3). Kelman (2010) clearly stated that the "politics can be so uncaring towards humanity that political grudge dominate saving lives in disasters". Sometimes, there might not be big impacts on diplomacy due to disaster (Kelman & Gaillard, 2012). For instance, Iran rejected aid from United States of America during 2005 earthquake and clarified that they can cope with disaster themselves. However, Iran did not deny aids from other organizations and the countries except United States of America (Kelman & Gaillard, 2012).

Christa Maciver's (2012) case study resulted that the disaster diplomacy of course affects the diplomacy for short period of time but the result is produced for long term. She researched on different cases of Falkland island conflict, Cuba Vs USA, North Korea Vs West and India vs.

Pakistan in Kashmir issue. Her research found that these events created a long term positive impact on countries relations. However, natural disasters have created peace and also have tensioned the conflicts (Maciver, 2012).

2.4 Military Diplomacy

Military diplomacy has a meaning similar to Public Diplomacy (Shea, 2005, p. 50). Ebitz (2019) stated that Military diplomacy is also known as "Defense diplomacy", "Soft power", "Military diplomacy" and "Strategic communication". Military diplomacy directly affects the foreign policy by building a base on which future relations among different states is created (Ebitz, 2019). The author elaborated that US military is an important actor to widen democratic activities, building military-military relation to promote foreign partnerships through NATO, EU, UN, other bilateral, multilateral military trainings and humanitarian aids. These activities support to perform diplomatic mission and future collaboration during any kinds of emergency. Soft power can be achieved through the means of public diplomacy and military public diplomacy is also useful (Güneş, 2018).

Military public diplomacy is defined as "Military communication and relationship building with foreign publics and military audiences for the purpose of achieving a foreign policy objective" (Wallin, 2015). According to Cruz (2015), the three pillars of the military's public diplomacy engagement are:

- 1) Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR)
- 2) Multinational exercises and
- 3) Public affairs.

Military as a soft power views the state's public diplomacy on how a state increases its soft power around the world by military war institutions and staff academy (Atkinson, 2014). These sorts of practices are mostly carried out by USA which may have demonstrated that USA has tried to increase the democratic values and strengthen its relations with allies through the public diplomacy by using military (Wallin, 2015). American government wants more diversity of countries to take part for education purpose in their *Army War College*; in 2015, personnel from 79 countries from different continent graduated from U.S. military educational exchange program (Atkinson, 2015).

Military is an important asset of a state. Philips (2011) argued that military always can be perfect to make great capacity of a nation not to be utilized everyday because the use of military is costly for national bodies. However, their ability is successful in disaster response (Phillips, 2011). Military has the resources and capacity to fight with disaster and military always has played a positive role in disaster management (Yoshizaki, 2011). Raj (2008) stated that the armed force is used in the condition when the local civil administration is unable to control the situation. He explained that armed force is also used for disaster response to search rescue and relief stage because it can facilitate the immediate disaster response and mitigate the losses, save life and prevent the damage caused by disaster. Disaster response period is the most important time and stage. Moreover, there are some evidences where the armed force was deployed before the disaster to mitigate property loss and save lives (Raj, 2008).

Currently, the role of military during the time of disaster response is growing in both national and international level. Due to the rise in natural disasters, the role of domestic (national) along with foreign (international) military has been observed during huge disasters which has widened the capacity of humanitarian organizations (Hofmann & Hudson, 2009). The

military have played a crucial role in disaster reliefs operations like communication, rebuilding of structures, food supplies, health care and transportation (Yoshizaki, 2011, p. 71). However, there are some rules and regulations to deploy domestic and international military during disaster response activities. UN General Assembly resolution 46/182 has guided the principles to provide emergency international humanitarian assistance and has explained that humanity, neutrality and impartiality are the major factor while providing assistance. The assistance should be provided after the permission of the affected country with due respect of national and territorial integrity. In addition, the affected state should be responsible to care the victims of natural disasters and other emergencies (OCHA, 2012).

The role of an international army during natural disasters has been guided by Oslo Guidelines. Oslo guidelines, "*Guidelines on The Use of Foreign Military and Civil Defense Assets in Disaster Relief*", has suggested the use of domestic military as a first retreat and foreign military as a last resort (OCHA, 2007). This guideline has further explained that the humanitarian assistance should be provided by the affected country itself within its territory at initial phase and the foreign military as well as civil defense resources must supplement (rather than supplant) present comfort methods but the final authority for using foreign (international) military resources plainly lies with the affected nation (OCHA, 2007). For example during the earthquake and tsunami of 2004, Indonesia accepted the international military help but it kept 90 days limitation on deployments (Hofmann & Hudson, 2009).

The assisting state and its military should co-ordinate, respect the affected state and ensure the standard of the relief supplies (OCHA, 2007). The MCDA should be sent without a single cost if there is no any agreement between receiving and sending state (OCHA, 2007). The Red Cross and Red Crescent follow their own guidelines which also have supported the military

as a last option to use in the countries blown up by armed or any other domestic violence where humanitarian aid is necessary (Hofmann & Hudson, 2009).

The Oslo guidelines (OCHA, 2007) stated that foreign military is used as "last resort" in humanitarian assistance. During an emergency, army has the capability to respond the disaster initially. The earthquake of December 2004 that hit the Indian Ocean coast turned the dispute on utilization of military resources and capacity (SIPRI, 2008, pp. 87-88). Next to the earthquake, in three months of time, military resources were given by 16 overseas government and 14 UN agencies. The number of local organizations involved for support were 38, international humanitarians organization conceded the support were 195 and the army resources provided by "35 states counted to 75 helicopters, 41 vessels, fixed-wing aircrafts, and more than 30,000 persons" (SIPRI, 2008, pp. 87-88). However, the work to coordinate these resources might have become scary (Yoshizaki, 2011, pp. 74-75).

The SIPRI (2008) report on the Indian Ocean earthquake pointed out the projected military role in disaster response on seven points. Those seven points are: gathering and investing the information and evaluating, providing budget to carry out the mission, replacing and supporting to advantage army capacity, preparing qualified persons on ready position for an emergency situation, having independent capacity to give assistance for basic needs, proficient decision-making way and acting as a public individual in an uniform by supporting them by maintaining consistency on the affected area (SIPRI, 2008). Mostly, the ability and confidence of the military on the mission matters more on the consistency of the affected area (Yoshizaki, 2011).

Different concluded researches, such as researches on Mozambique cyclones 2000, Jeanne (flood and tropical storm) of Haiti, tsunami of Indian Ocean, 2004 and earthquake of Pakistan, 2005 found out some factors that impact the success of military disaster response (SIPRI, 2008). Those factors include proper deployment, timeline, efficiency to work with international support, ability of host country, coordination and proper funding. Likewise, the Great East Japan earthquake of 2011 showed that the military is needed to be "self controlled, fast-moving, multi-skilled, and self directing to be success in disaster assistance activities (Rubens, 2011).

2.5 The Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy Goals of Aid Giving Countries

International assistance is used as the synonym of foreign/international aid and development aid even though there are some differences (Kumar, 2015, p. 1). International assistance means to provide the resources to another country. Generally, it is provided by rich countries to poor countries and by some international agencies like WB, IMF, I/NGOs etc. (Kumar, 2015). Agarwal (2017) viewed that the international aid can be considered as grant and loans. He explained that in condition of repayment, either it should be paid in local currency or in foreign currency – if local currency is used then it is a soft loan and if international currency is used then it is known as hard loan. The transferred resources from aid providing countries i.e. capital, service goods can be humanitarian, economic, and military (Williams, 2015, p. 1).

International aid can be also received from international organizations such as NGOs and INGO's (Ali & Zeb, 2016). The country's want and its eagerness to receive aids from non-governmental organizations play a vital role for influx of the assistance (Olsen, Carstensen, & Høyen, 2003). Despite this, there is not much proof on the efficiency of the strategy from

receiving administration and the institution of receiving administration further lacks the proper ability to bring the aids and donation amount into effective form (Easterly & Pfutze, 2008).

Foreign aid includes two types of interrelated aid i.e. humanitarian aid and developmental aid (Humanitarian Coalition, 2019). The humanitarian aid is short term aid provided during emergency to cope up the crisis whereas development aid is long term aid provided to support cultural, political, environmental and economic development (Humanitarian Coalition, 2019). Kraus (2016) explained about the benefits of foreign aid in technological, health, humanitarian and disaster crisis. He expressed that the aid receiving countries can also fight terrorism. The foreign aid further encourages for a favorable diplomatic relations among the aid providing and receiving country (Kraus, 2016).

Foreign aid plays a vital role after disaster. According to PAHO (1999), after disaster strikes, the immediate response to disaster is to provide humanitarian assistance with consulting the destroyed state regarding health needs. It further has elaborated that the country spends its assets in instant response to the crisis which makes the requirement of assistance clearly visible. Therefore, as per the possibility, the cash should be donated to health authorities or through NGO's and international organizations because it increases the ability to buy emergency support items from neighboring countries. Thus, supporters should spend resources for long terms missions with the objectives of reconstruction and decreasing effects of upcoming calamity but 'non-transferable' assistance must not be given to the exaggerated state (PAHO, 1999, p. 10). The aid formulation should be managed and executed properly so that it can accomplish the long term goals (Humanitarian Coalition, 2019).

The roots of humanitarian aids have to be made in such a basis which can support long-term goals (Humanitarian Coalition, 2019). The emergency and development assistance looks similar if the aids are provided to the countries with similar interest (Attinà, 2014, pp. 3-6). Sooner or later, the poor (aid receiving or disaster affected) countries can be independent and developed with the help of aid providing states (Kraus, 2016). For instance, the natural disaster destroyed Indonesia and left vulnerable as well as in chaotic situation where the immediate requirement was humanitarian assistance (Mordaunt, 2018). The aid from UK along with other international aid society supported Indonesia to rise above from tsunami and earthquake. The article of Mordaunt (2018) published on December 2018 stated that the aid was working well in "saving and changing lives – both in the immediate aftermath of disasters and longer term".

Attinà (2014) stated that although emergency aid is seen as selfless and humanitarian, the amount provided by a donor state to support sufferers depend upon the donor state's benefits and constant ability of the assistance by an international community (pp. 3-6). The author viewed that making world harmless from the calamities, disasters and instability including the selfishness of geo-politics is noticed by assisting countries during a crisis. These can be useful for assisting state to persuade the aid receiving countries in sharing political ethics, objective and also participate in aid receiver's economy (Attinà, 2014, pp. 3-6). The donors also do not want to donate central emergency response fund since donating on that way might not highlight their individual aid (HoC, 2006). Similarly, Seck (2015) expressed that the donor states use disaster to look for strategic and domestic political benefits because the assistance during humanitarian crisis is well evident.

Nye affirmed that international aid is a soft power of a state because experts knows about the importance and need of international cooperation during the time of disaster but the experts

of politics and international relations has not focused and studied about it fairly (Attinà, 2014, p. 2). There is a clear example that the French aid during 1986-1998 was based on acceptance of French language; *'The Journal Le Monde'* has covered it and further described clearly about sending aids to the particular country by the government of France (Rioux & Belle, 2005). The aid provided by USA was examined and the result clearly showed that the aid allocated from US was as per its own geostrategic and political interests (Drury, Olson, & Belle, 2005, p. 470). It clearly showed that the geostrategic interest also affects the foreign aids. In contrast, different writers and scholars viewed that the encouragement of aid is because of humanity too (Demerial-Pegg & Moskowitz, 2009, pp. 195-196).

Some of the papers have already explained the transfer of aids after natural disaster. The result via the hurricane intensity data showed that there is rapid increase in international aids after disaster and also those aid covers about 73 percent of damages done by natural disaster (Yang, 2008, p. 33). In contrast, the research of David demonstrated that there is no increase of aid in post climatic disaster situation and the aid is also not timely delivered (David, 2011, pp. 29-30). Thus, there is clear different answer in the researches of Yang and David. Aid promises and support creates headlines even they simply add up to the recreation of previously promised funds which is ongoing currently in developments plans (DFID, 2004). Therefore, more researches are required to clarify about the increase of international aids and assistance after disaster.

Usually, the amount of media attention regulates the reaction of the aid providers but media only is not a major contributing factor (Seck, 2015). In addition, the political thoughts are influencing because the politicians feel obliged to contribute aid so that they would not be seen as cruel and mean (Seck, 2015). The *'British House of Commons'* accepted that various factors

including medias have influenced in department of international development (DFID) to offer humanitarian aid (HoC, 2006, p. 15). Instantly after the Indian Ocean Tsunami of December 2004, the pledged amount of US was only US\$15 million but the media questioned on the aid provided by US as it is the richest country in the world (Seck, 2015). As a result, USA changed the amount of support to US\$ 350 million then slowly to more than US\$217 million.

Rye, Carsteen and Høyen (2003) stated that as per the published data, the news headlines of Mozambique floods was published in 382 articles but it was just in 91 articles in case of Indian hurricane, Indian hurricane was noticed by medias four times less than that of Mozambique floods which illustrated the information on the relation between media and aids (p. 114). A part from that, it was later found that the aid received by Mozambique was as much as seven times greater than the quantity of the aid received by India during the time of emergency disaster (Rye, Carstensen, & Høyen, 2003, p. 114). The result during floods of Mozambique in 2000 and cyclone on India occurred in 1999 clearly showed the positive and negative role of the headlines and media news during disaster in garnering the aids during the time of disaster (Rye, Carstensen, & Høyen, 2003, p. 114). The article published in the *Journal of politics, Volume 6* stated that the lasting time of Ethiopian drought of 1985 was less than that of Botswana drought of 1986 but the Ethiopian drought garnered high media involvements which increased the aid per victim to ten times larger than that of Botswana (Drury, Olson, & Belle, 2005, pp. 454-473).

It is not sure that the aid guaranteed during media coverage at highest peak will be provided (Becerra, Cavallo, & Noy, 2012, p. 2). In addition, such aids may not be provided in time or might overlap the aid that had to be given before disasters. This shows the concern on the real increase in foreign aid after disaster. As media hits the highest point, promises of aids and assistances creates a media highlights about aids and supporting state even if they are purely

added to previously pledged aids and are used in ongoing development plans (DFID, 2004). Shortly, after the fall down of emergency, those aids goes back to development missions and most of the aids promised with large publicity are not fully provided instead only certain part is given (DFID, 2004) & (HPN, 2002). The trend of turning media to 'servants' by the politicians and administrations for providing the information to civil from the side of government cannot be ignored (Robinson, 1999). During the Bam earthquake of Iran in 2003, US pledged \$1.1 billion but only distributed \$450 million (Seck, 2015). In the same way, Mozambique did not receive the pledged amount following the flood in 2000 A.D. as it received the amount which was less than \$450 million. Similarly, US promised the aid of US\$ 8.7 billion to those affected by 1998's hurricane Mitch but the victims had to wait very long time for the 2/3rd distribution of promised aid (US\$ 8.7 billion) (Economist, 2005).

International aid every time is not reached at the proper destination. The international aids also fails (GiveWell, 2019). The case of 2010 Earthquake in Haiti has figured it out properly. Hwang (2016) wrote that the critics noted the aid in Haiti during 2010 earthquake was harmful instead of being helpful. The writer further mentioned that following the earthquake, Haiti's government recognized the aid needed sector and appealed for funds but the donors provided huge amount in less prioritized sector and low amount in highly prioritized sector. Nearly, 9 billion dollars was pledged to Haiti as a support to cope up the disaster but only the amount about 5.63 billion dollars was disbursed (Hwang, 2016).

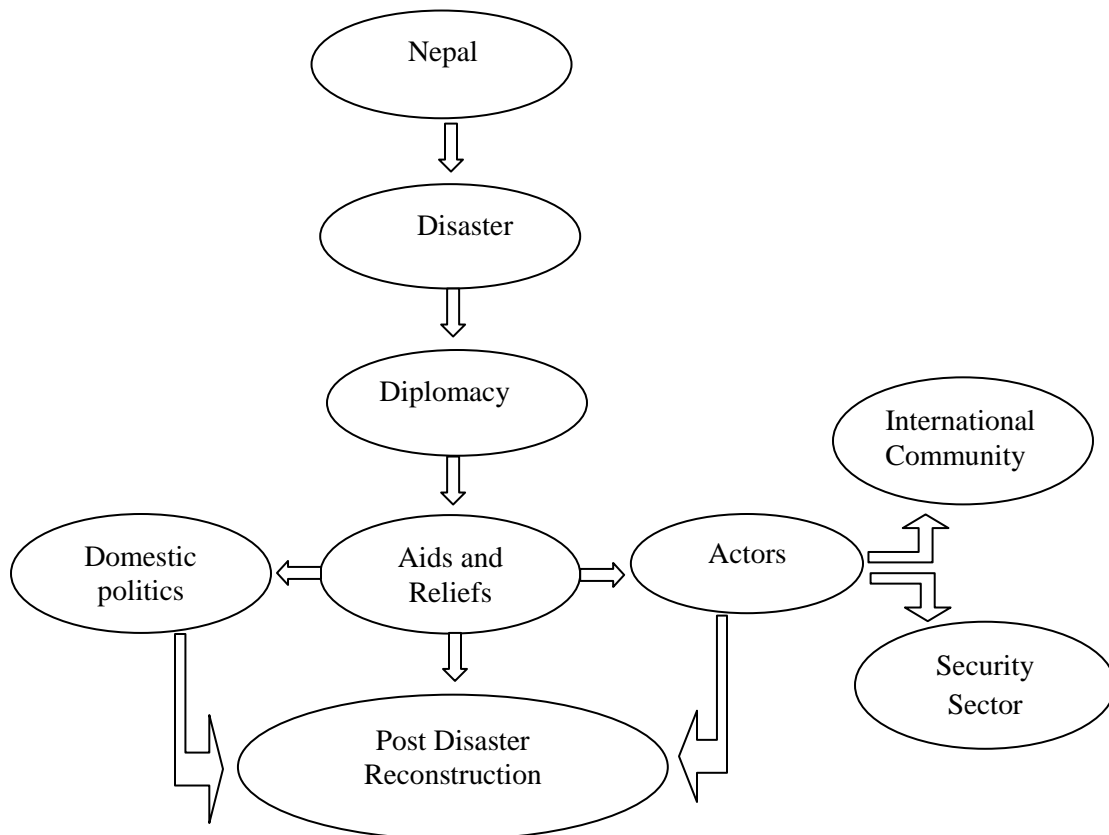
The 1.28 billion dollars aid provided by US did not reach to government because those amounts were given to private contractors and I/NGOS which were not in Haiti (Hwang, 2016). Besides, the research conducted by National Public Radio (NPR) showed that American Red Cross was provided \$500 million to spend for building 130,000 houses for the people of Haiti

but only 6 houses were built permanently. Huge amount of donation and reliefs were provided to Haiti by the world. Elise Jordan (2014) wrote according to the data of *United Institute of Peace* that more than 10,000 NGOS were functioning in Haiti but only 1 percent of finances went in the hand of Haitian government (p. 3). Although there were involvement of many actors and huge amount of money, very small amount of progress was seen (Jordan, 2014, p. 3). Therefore, some criticize it as a failure of international aid.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Conceptual Framework



Nepal is one of the disaster prone countries. It is a mountainous country that lies in the zone vulnerable to the earthquake. Nepal has maintained a good diplomatic relations with various countries of the world. The research attempted to study the importance of diplomacy following the disaster in Nepalese context. After the devastating earthquake of April 2015, the aid and assistances were pledged by international community for the

reconstruction. The research tried to include the role of domestic politics, involvement of various actors during the earthquake and the post disaster reconstruction in Nepal.

3.1.1 Research Methodology

The method of this research is qualitative in nature. The content in this research is mostly taken from the various literatures of disaster diplomacy, security sector's role in disaster management and Nepal's devastating earthquake of April 2015. Applicable literatures were considered to gain the information on the contemporary issues of Nepal following the earthquake 2015, including the reconstructions and domestic politics. To find out the answer of research question and to accomplish the objectives of research, key informant interview was also taken with Nepal Army personnel who was involved in the disaster response activities following the earthquake of Nepal, 2015.

3.2 Research Design

This research is qualitative in nature.

3.2.1 Sources of Data

As the research is qualitative, the prime sources of data used in this research are books, international reports, published data, articles, newspapers, journals and online sources and web archives as well. Other important sources used in this research are the government reports that are prepared by different countries in their post disaster period, news reports and secondary quantitative data. Similarly, the research has included the personal interview of key informant as a primary source of data. The personal interview taken was recorded, noted and included in this research.

3.2.2 Tools and Techniques

The tools and technique in this study included Key informant interview, study of data from secondary sources like books, international reports, published articles, case studies, newspapers, journals, online sources and web archives.

3.2.3 Data Analysis Methods

The qualitative nature of this research made the whole data analysis method as exploratory. The research has highlighted the literature on the diplomatic practices of sovereign state during disaster. Similarly, the research explained the effect of 2015 earthquake in Nepal. The research further has attempted to analyze the role of Nepalese security sector and diplomatic steps addressed by Nepal. Based on the understanding, the research finally has tried to identify the step taken by Nepal to cope up the disaster and manage the flow of international aid and assistance.

3.3 Significance of Research

This study has tried to provide insight on the international aid and assistance received by Nepal after April 2015 earthquake. This study also attempted to focus on the role of security sector, especially Nepal Army in disaster management. This research has also focused on disaster diplomacy and observed its effectiveness in the context of small and developing country Nepal. I hope that this research paper can be useful as a source to encourage the further research on disaster diplomacy, role of Nepalese security sector in disaster management. Similarly, this research would also be helpful for further researches on aid management and efficiency in Nepal.

CHAPTER 4

NEPAL, EARTHQUAKE AND DIPLOMACY

4.1 Earthquake and Nepal

Nepal is a country land locked by India from south, east, west and China from the north. The world faces various earthquakes and among them about 17% occurs as a result of collision of Indian and Eurasian tectonic plates (Nepal Disaster Management Reference Handbook, 2015). Nepal receives most of the earthquake because of its location in between Indian and Eurasian (Tibetan) tectonic plates and Kathmandu valley contains very weak soil which makes Kathmandu vulnerable to bear very huge damage (Nepal Disaster Management Reference Handbook, 2015).

The danger reduction of earthquake can be done by the proper study of '*seismotectonic*' physical methods that exists in various places in the globe. '*Microseismic*' method is one of the quick and organized means to know about the earthquake vulnerability of an area and it can help for the rescue after the disaster (NSC, 2018). *Microseismic* methods has been used in Nepal since 1978 and its network and stations has been kept in different parts of Nepal (NSC, 2018).

Nepal is a mountainous country and mountains were formed after the crash of Indian and Tibetan plates. Every year, 20mm of Indian landmass is pushed underneath Tibetan plate every year as per the dimensions of GPS (Avouac, 2003). This collision of the plates releases powers and that causes earthquake in Nepal. Nepal is one of the vulnerable countries from the point of earthquake. Basanta Raj Adhikari (2016), Assistant Professor of Engineering geology, Central Campus, Pulchowk, Tribhuvan University wrote in an article named *Gorkha Earthquake 2015:*

Cause and Effect about the earthquake that occurred during different time period in Nepal. Some of those are given below:

King Abhaya Malla died in the earthquake of 7th June 1255 A.D (7.8 Richter scale). Other large earthquakes occurred in 1260, 1408, 1681, 1767, 1810, and 1823. The quake of 1833 destroyed Darahara, Thimi and Bhaktapur. Similarly, the other earthquakes occurred in Nepal on 1834, 1934 (Bihar Nepal Earthquake: magnitude of 8.1 Richter scale), followed by deadliest earthquake of 1980, 1988, 1993, 1994, 1997 and 2011 A.D (6.9 Richter scale) (Adhikari, 2016). In order to review the ongoing process of Indian plates from south Moving to North, "NSC/DMG installed 29 GPS Stations in technical collaboration with Caltech/USA and DASE/France across the Nepal Himalaya" (NSC, 2018).

4.1.1 The Earthquake of April 2015 and its Effects in Nepal

Nepal was hit by devastating earthquake of 7.8 Richter scale followed by another powerful earthquake of 7.3 Richter scale (BBC News, 2015) on 25th April 2015 and 12th May 2015 respectively. The earthquake totally devastated Gorkha, Sindhupalchowk, Dolakha district and severely affected Kathmandu Valley. History shows that Kathmandu valley has experienced earthquake in every seventy to eighty years so there were some previous expectations for the earthquake of 2015 (Nepal Disaster Management Reference Handbook & CEDIM, 2015).

Nepalese strategy for the preparedness of disaster was less than its preparedness in 1934 (Malla, 2015). As per the Ministry of Health and Population, 14 districts extremely effected by the earthquake were Gorkha, Sindhupalchowk, Dhading, Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Kavre, Ramechhap, Sindhuli, Okhaldhunga, Makwanpur, Dolakha, Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur. However, Sindhupalchowk and Dolakha were the two districts to bear the extreme losses after the quake of

12th May (WHO, 2015). The earthquake pushed Nepal about 50 years back in the sector of development.

All sectors including economic and environmental were badly destroyed by the earthquake. The report of ICIMOD showed painful picture of earthquake (ICIMOD, 2015). The report illustrated that the number of houses completely damaged were 500,000 and somehow damaged about half were 300,000. In addition, it also affected the employment of millions and also displaced 100,000 people. Similarly, as per the CEDIM (2015, p. 2) report, Government of Nepal and NEOC expected that the completely ruined buildings were 300,000 and partially damaged were 250,000. The roads were blocked by landslides which also destroyed infrastructures and left 500 dead. In the same way, the snow slide also destroyed many camps in MT. Everest area and killed 20 people (CEDIM, 2015).

The incident of earthquake was so terrible that it destroyed shelter, school, banks, offices etc. and shattered the food, agriculture and animal husbandry sectors. Hence, the negative affects was seen in health sectors, the roads, productions sectors, trade and commerce (ICIMOD, 2015). Furthermore, as a result of the large shake the food sector was a challenge and water resources were also polluted. Regarding this issue, ICIMOD (2015) have written that those places where there was clean water before became muddy which also promoted to worsen the health. Although it was temporary, it was a threat to water security. Similarly, International labor organization estimated 150 workdays were lost in 31 districts in first few weeks following the earthquake (ICIMOD, 2015, p. 13). The earthquake shocked the people mentally and also created various problems in the society. Lots of people were forced to live in tents outside their houses under an open sky for many months also with their kids (ICIMOD, 2015, p. 14). In the same way, women lived there in a helpless situation that might be a cause of reports finding

about the trafficking of girls and children. Therefore, this picture provided physical and mental difficulty during disaster.

4.2 Hit Sectors

Various sectors were badly hit by the earthquake of April, 2015. The effects of the earthquake in various sectors are discussed below:

4.2.1 Effect in Different Sectors

NPC Vol. B (2015, p. 57) report showed that the projected value and cost of education sector was about 31,317.9 million (US\$313.2 million) but among this losses, above 80 % losses appeared to be in 14 extremely affected districts. The report confirmed that the destruction amount was 22,375.1 million (US\$ 223.8 million) with the losses amount of 2,629.1 million (US\$ 26.3 million). As per the published details of PDNA, Nuwakot, Sindhupalchowk, Dolakha and Gorkha districts ranked top for the complete destruction in health services. Moreover, the total numbers of completely devastated public health facilities were 446 together with 5 hospitals, 12 primary healthcare center, 417 health posts and 12 others. Similarly, 16 health services of other sector rather than public were destroyed.

The free health treatment to the earthquake victims was provided by Government of Nepal but at the same time complain was also filed against some private hospitals for charging earthquake victims (NPC Vol. B, 2015). Health emergency center was opened with observation system to view both hospitals i.e. private and public in all badly affected 14 districts. NPR 7.54 billion was expected to be the value of total impacts of disaster which include both damage and losses (NPC Vol. B, 2015).

The per capita of Nepal in the year 2015 was below than 700 US\$, so as per the capital and people's low living quality it is not rich country but still in comparison to the whole country, capital, Kathmandu valley has a little high GDP (CEDIM, 2015). World Bank record showed that the population of 2.5 million were living in Kathmandu valley with density of 13,000 people per square kilometer during 2015 (UNSDIR, 2015). As per the PDNA Vol. A report, 700,000 people went below the poverty line after the earthquake (NPC A, 2015). The PDNA Vol. B explained that since a long time Nepal was facing the problem of under nutrition. In comparison to pre disaster and post disaster data, the food habits became worse in the districts that were affected by earthquake (NPC Vol. B, 2015).

A lot of structures of government, religious and private sectors were destroyed (CEDIM, 2015). The structures that were listed in UNESCO's world heritage sites were damaged completely including other some of old ancient buildings and monasteries. The PDNA Vol. A also stated that many structures that were built recently were also exaggerated in more than 20 districts, where 25% were totally damaged. A projected physical damages of heritage was about US\$ 169 million (NPR 16.9 billion) which affected 2900 buildings including monuments which has great importance in different culture, history and religion (NPC A, 2015).

The heritages located outside of Kathmandu valley were also destroyed. Although most of the ancient monuments and buildings were destroyed in Kathmandu, Bouddhanath, Swoyambhunath, Pashupatinath, Taleju, Jaggannath Temple and Kumari temple remained safe. The cultural and historical structures which were completely destroyed in earthquake consists of Kasthamandap, Maju Dega, Narayan Vishnu Temple, Trailokya Mohan, Krishna (Chasin Dega), Dharahara (Bhimsen Tower), Hari Sankhar, Jagan Narayan, Fesidega Temple and Vatshala Durga Temple (UNSDIR, 2015). In Bhaktapur and Lalitpur Durbar Square some ancient and

historic temples were completely destroyed and some were partially affected. The partially affected structures were 55 Windows Palace and Krishna Mandir. Moreover, Machhindranath Temple of Bughmati and Changunarayan temple of Bhaktapur district was also affected.

UNFPAO (2015) showed the effect of earthquake in the agriculture sector where six districts remained mostly affected i.e. Dhading, Dolakha, Nuwakot, Gorkha, Sindhupalchowk and Rasuwa. So, the improvement in agricultural sector is needed because this sector has contributed to GDP at the rate of about 35% since 2001. The landslides and land slips affected about 1,000 hectares of lands which made the land no more useable and even in future it may not be useable (NPC A, 2015). The amount of around NPR 28,366 million was projected for the destruction of agriculture sector where 14 mostly destroyed districts comprises of around NPR 16,405 million on combined data of whole country. In the same way, the commercial and industrial which are the backbone of country's economy were severely affected. According to PDNA Vol. A (2015), 14 districts were badly affected resulting the huge damage in commercial and industrial sector.

Being a production sector, tourism also did not survive from earthquake. The tourists always want to travel in the safe destination and if any kind of natural disaster explodes in such destination, the tourists may not choose such destination because of safety reason (Sönmez, 1999). This can affect the tourism industry and such tourist places bear negative impacts. As one of the horrible earthquake occurred in Nepal, a little far from Kathmandu in more than 80 years, the heavenly place for tourist to seek adventure and enjoy foreign culture turned into chaos (Ulak, 2015). Three UNESCO sites of Nepal were unable to survive and were completely damaged including some ancient nearby areas (IRIS, 2015). Although 14 districts were badly affected, the affected areas of earthquake were not much narrow like the majority reports

claimed. The tourist areas like Pokhara, Chitwan, Annapurna Base Camp were not much affected in terms of infrastructures but these places were expected to face the decrease of tourists (NPC A, 2015). Among the total seventy five districts of the Nepal, thirty five suffered the quake. So, the decrease in the number of tourists for few years was predicted which might have reduced the per day expenditure of the tourist ranging about US\$ 43 to US\$ 35 (NPC A, 2015). Moreover, it was obvious that effects would be in country's revenue and to those who have been following the tourism sector. PDNA team prepared the summary on the destruction and losses of earthquake in different sector as mentioned below.

Table 1

Summary of the effects of April 2015 earthquake

Sectors	Disaster Effects (NPR million)			Distribution of Disaster Effects (NPR million)		Losses of Personal Income (NPR million)
	Damages	Losses	Total	Private	Public	
Social Sectors	355,028	53,597	408,625	363,248	45,377	-
Housing and Human Settlements	303,632	46,908	350,540	350,540	-	-
Health	6,422	1,122	7,544	1,394	6,150	-
Education	28,064	3,254	31,318	2,365	28,953	-
Cultural Heritage	16,910	2,313	19,223	8,948	10,274	-
Productive Sectors	58,074	120,046	178,121	158,079	20,043	17,124

Agriculture	16,405	11,962	28,366	25,813	2,553	4,603
Irrigation	383	-	383	-	383	-
Commerce	9,015	7,938	16,953	16,953	-	2,667
Industry	8,394	10,887	19,271	19,271	-	3,654
Tourism	18,863	63,379	81,242	75,105	6,137	6,200
Finance	5,015	26,890	31,905	20,937	10,969	-
Infrastructural Sectors	52,460	14,323	66,783	17,281	49,502	-
Electricity	17,807	3,435	21,242	15,569	5,673	-
Communications	3,610	5,085	8,695	1,712	6,983	-
Community	3,349	-	3,349	-	3,349	-
Infrastructures						
Transport	17,188	4,930	22,118	-	22,118	-
Water and Sanitation	10,506	873	11,379	-	11,379	-
Cross-Cutting Issues	51,872	1,061	52,993	1,755	51,178	-
Governance	18,757	-	18,757	-	18,575	-
Disaster Risk	155	-	155	-	155	-
Reduction						
Environment and	32,960	1,061	34,021	1,755	32,267	-
Forestry						
Total	517,434	189,027	706,461	540,362	166,100	17,124
Total	\$5,174	\$1,890	\$7,065	\$5,404	\$1,661	\$171

Source: PDNA (NPC 2015 Vol B p: XIII)

The above mentioned table shows that the destruction of earthquake is not less.

4.3 Disaster Management Strategies of Nepal

National Calamity (Relief) Act, 1982 has provided a base for *Disaster Risk Management* in Nepal which primarily focuses on disaster preparedness and response. The frameworks that govern the Disaster Risk Management in Nepal are listed below:

1. Constitution of Nepal
2. Natural Calamity (Relief) Act, 1982
3. Local-self Governance Act, 1999
4. National Strategy on Disaster Risk Management, 2009
5. National Disaster Response Framework, 2013
6. Guidance Note on Disaster Preparedness and Response Planning, 2011
7. National Guidelines for Search and Rescue, 2014
8. District Disaster Preparedness and Response Plans
9. Standard Operating Procedures of NEOC (and DEOCs) (GoN, 2016).

Nepal has been involved in the various forums and international seminars and conferences related to disaster management like *Yokohama Strategy and Plan of Action for a Safer World, Yokohama, 1994*, *The Hyogo Framework for Action Hyogo, 2005* and *The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015 (SFDRR)* (GoN, 2017) . Nepal has attended the *Asian Ministerial Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (2016)*, in New Delhi and supported to allow the implementation of *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction*. Nepal being a member state of UN has always participated in international forums in the issue of disaster management and dedicated to accomplish its responsibility (GoN, 2017).

4.3.1 Nepal Army in Disaster Management

The earthquake of 1934, central region flood of 1993, Koshi flood of 2008, Jajarkot epidemic of 2009, landslide of Sindhupalchowk, flood and storms of western mountains occurred in 2014 are some of the examples where Nepal Army was involved (Nepal Army, 2015). Nepal Army had supplied relief during earthquake of Pakistan and UN peacekeepers from Nepal Army also took part in assisting the Haiti earthquake in 2010 (NRCS & IFRC, 2012). NRCS and IFRC (2012) stated that the article 4.2.4.7 of *the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2006*, allowed Nepal Army to perform relief activities during the time of natural and other disaster as per the direction Nepal government. Furthermore, *the Constitution of Nepal, 2015* also allows the same (Nepal Army, 2015). Nepal follows *Oslo Guidelines* for international military support and operations.

Nepal Army has always supported the Government to establish '*Disaster Resilient Community*' and has put various plans into action for disaster management. Nepal Army allocated the budget of NRs 12,500,000/-, NRs 12,000,000/- and NRs 18,732,000/- in Fiscal Year 69/70, 70/71 and 71/72 respectively. These budget were specially allocated to bring rescue and relief materials (Nepal Army, 2015). Nepal Army has also trained and still training its personals to generate a skilled workforce for medical emergencies, reliefs, and rescues operations. Moreover, Nepal Army has participated in various multinational trainings, seminars workshops and exercises in order to provide support during large disasters (NRCS & IFRC, 2012). Some of these participation include Ex 'Tempest Express', Ex 'Joint Endeavor' and Ex 'Unity of effort'.

Nepal Army (2015) expected that these participations can help for the effective management, coordination and utilization of international military and non military humanitarian assistance globally during the time of disasters and emergencies. These multinational workshops

and exercises have made the participations of personals from China, USA and India who were the key respondents of Nepal's earthquake, 2015. Various programs have been organized by Nepal Army to conduct joint trainings on reliefs, rescue and medical awareness by coordinating with associates like Nepal Society for Earthquake Technology (NCET) (Nepal Army, 2015). Nepal Army has provided humanitarian assistance training to its staffs and personals. In addition, they also have become responsible to supply medicine and food to the poor as humanitarian assistance during the peacekeeping missions abroad (NRCS & IFRC, 2012).

4.4 The Role of Nepalese Security Sector in the Earthquake of April 2015

The Ministry of Home Affairs has been considered as a responsible authority to manage the disaster by coordinating with NGO's and INGOS. Similarly, UN Humanitarian Coordinator is responsible to coordinate with UN along with other International organizations to support in humanitarian reaction and also to guarantee its effectiveness (NRCS, 2011, p. 30). However, NCRS (2011) claimed that the Government of affected country is responsible to ask for national and international support if the disaster is huge and beyond the capacity of a country to cope up. Following the disaster, Government of Nepal immediately declared emergency and requested support from international community by exempting the custom of relief goods, exempting visa fee to humanitarian actors, SAR teams and members (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2015).

The role of military and security sector in disaster is increasing all over the world. Nepal adopted the same process. Oslo guidelines have permitted the use of national military and international military for humanitarian assistance. In the issue of disaster preparation, Cook, Shrestha and Htet (2016) opined that although the pre disaster plans might not fully work for future, it is still important. Nepal Army played a dominant role for earthquake relief management in Nepal. The cooperated operations of Nepal Army, Nepal Police, Armed Police Force and Civil

defense forces were most efficient during the emergency response and it can also be a lesson for future (Cook, Shrestha, & Htet, 2016). Moreover, the reason for their efficiency was because of their management, well organized information construction system and deployment awareness.

According to the article appeared in website of Nepal Army titled *Nepalese Army - In Service of the People - Earthquake 2015* (2015), within minutes of an earthquake, Nepal Army was put into action at every level as an immediate mobilization to save the lives of victims. Beyond that, Nepal Army established a field headquarters in affected district immediately because they were at the center for rescue and relief operations. Nepal Army worked during earthquake by coordinating with I/NGO's, foreign military and other teams, security forces, government agencies and volunteers (Nepal Army, 2015).

The "*National Disaster Response Framework – 2013*" of Nepal, a guide to respond against disasters throughout Nepal has authorized NA to coordinate international military humanitarian assistance and to provide responsibilities to main stakeholders in responding the disaster period (GON, 2013). The case study report of *Center for Excellence in Disaster Management & Humanitarian Assistance*, showed that NA was first to react the earthquake directly with "*Operation Rahat*" (Operation Relief) mobilizing 90 % of troops to Search and Rescue (SAR). After completion of SAR, the officials thought the further requirement of NA and their operation. Hence, the "*Operation Rahat*" was later changed to "*Operation Sankat Mochan*". Although NA was affected themselves, *Operation Sankat Mochan* redeployed the troops from less affected sites to more affected districts. Similarly, other to take action immediately was APF (Armed Police force) and NP (Nepal Police) (CFE-DM, pp. 1-4).

China, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were the first country to supply aid and assistance to Nepal within six hours of the quake. Due to the lack of proper coordination and communication, some foreign team arrived without pre-informing Nepal which created the confusion and misconduct of time and sources (Cook, Shrestha, & Htet, 2016). In addition, Civil Aviation authority of Nepal (CAAN) was responsible to regulate the air traffic but military also had such structure which confused the flight aviators on whose instruction to be followed during the overlapping of instructions.

The helicopter of Nepal Army were operated carrying rescue and relief materials and saving life and rescuing injured people, taking them to hospital and contributing in saving their life (Poudel, 2016). Cook et. al (2016) mentioned that the issues regarding the communication among Nepalese authorities and international military crews were highlighted during initial week. Regarding this issue, some events revealed that some international army crews were not communicating and domestic authorities could not trace their location. This created some anxiety to Nepalese Government and at last moment, government concluded with a provision to assign some region to particular foreign army crews (Cook, et. al., 2016 pp. 21-23).

Some media showed several reports that were able to question the Oslo guidelines. According to the NFA (2015), Indian government along side with Indian military teams provided rescue operation and distributed help aid to the victims in Nepal but it created controversy because they supported victims without cooperation with Nepal's government bureau. There were reported instances of Indian military monitoring in Nepal-China border. This unprofessional behavior from Indian military disturbed and confused Nepal Army whether Indian military teams were to conduct medical camps or do other things (NFA, 2015).

Indian side was accused of nearly taking control over Nepalese airport which slowed other international support forces and Nepalese side felt that extremely huge Indian media highlights shadowed the brave and hard work done by Nepal Army (Biswas, 2015). Likewise, as a result of Indian pressure policy, Chinese government aircraft were not allowed to land in Nepal's airport at first but later with government's agreement they were allowed to lift aircraft and dispatch relief materials (NFA, 2015).

One of the source from Nepal Army headquarters affirmed that Indian military were more focused on Himalayas rather than rescue but Indian side denied the blame and claimed that Indian Army were not staying at Everest Camp (NFA, 2015). The US Marine chopper was found crashed, near Chinese border in Dolakha district (Xinhua, 2015). So, some media criticized the activities of US military. However, Nepal army played a successful role in the management and cooperation with the foreign military rescue missions that entered Nepal with new rescue tools (Poudel, 2016).

Nepal Army has played an important role for the long term development and reconstruction of Nepal. In regards to the role of Nepal Army in reconstruction after earthquake, Maj. Gen. Thapa (Retd), Nepal Army, (Personal Communication, December 19, 2019) explained that Nepal Army has always been supportive for the reconstruction works and Nepal Army has the required resources and manpower. Nepal Army has asked government to use those resources and manpower for reconstruction works as well. He added that Nepal army is always ready to assist the government. Similarly, after NRNA could not complete the reconstruction of Laprak village which was started on 2016, Nepal Army worked 24/7 and completed the reconstruction on 2019 (Sapkota, 2019).

4.5 Government Response Strategy

In response to the earthquake, Government of Nepal made some strategies as described below:

4.5.1 PDNA

After the disaster, it was a time to analyze and rethink for the future development. So, National Planning Commission along with, United nations, World Bank Group, JICA, EU and ADB jointly published PDNA report on June 2015 to create a strategy for long term rebuilding of destroyed properties and restructuring of survivors (UNFPA, 2015). Ministry of Home affairs (2018) explained:

The Post Disaster Recovery Framework was prepared by the National Reconstruction Authority and the *Post Disaster Needs Assessment* was prepared by the National Planning Commission and it took stock of the damages and losses and estimated recovery costs together with an outline of the reconstruction strategy (p. 23).

The PDNA was published in two volumes, Vol. A. and Vol. B. where Vol.B showed the fact of total destructions by fragmenting in different parts which made PDNA as a base of data investigation for rebuilding and rehabilitation (Nepal Government, 2015). It was directed by National Planning Commission where more than 250 professionals including global and national professionals were involved. They jointly made an analysis and published PDNA report that covered 23 areas within a month. Many sessions of negotiations and talk were done with various investors for making the procedure clear and participatory (Nepal Government, 2015).

PDNA (2015) research report indicated that 31 districts were devastated by the earthquake of 25th April 2015 and its aftershocks. It showed that 8,790 people were killed, 22,300 were injured, 498,852 private housings, 2,656 Government structures and 19,000 class rooms of schools were totally destroyed (N.R.A, 2017). Similarly, it also illustrated the aid required for reconstruction.

4.5.2 NRA

The major importance after the earthquake was rebuilding the nation. Although the PDNA report was published, reconstruction activities were not going well. The website of NRA (2017) stated that Government of Nepal established National Re-construction Authority (NRA) in order to manage and systematize the reconstruction works and also to look after post reconstruction works. NRA was established as a government organization on August 2015 during the Prime Minister term of *Nepali Congress* (Sushil Koirala) (NRA, 2017). Since, Nepal government was unable to present the modified bill to replace previous one, NRA was dissolved (Ghimire, 2015). However, NRA was re-established by central government on December 2015 in accordance to the act passed by parliament. It was re-established to look after the complete procedure for the reconstruction (NASC, 2018).

The Act, 2072 related to the earthquake renovation structures has explained the works of reconstruction authority. Those works are: Priority of reconstructions, approving programs, policies, plans and budget, accepting projects and appointing the body for reconstructions, providing budget to the responsible ministry, implementing the projects like unified community, housing development, migration and renovation by finding out the suitable area and deciding its quality, operating the NGO's or private sectors, managing the financial resources, communicating with various bodies, preparing and implementing reconstructions works,

carrying out the reconstructions works in the sectors like education, agriculture, employment, industry and health (N.R.A, 2017). The then Prime Minister, Sher Bahadur Deuba asked NRA for time estimation to deliver reconstruction funds during 10th course meeting (NRA, 2017). He also permitted to open eight other offices to contact and see the reports of 17 districts that were affected by earthquake including 14 heavily affected districts. NRA also promised to show significant growth (Giri, 2017). Although NRA was established to reconstruct the destroyed structures and restructure the affected peoples, the NRA has not been so efficient and successful in reaching its objectives.

CHAPTER 5

THE FOREIGN AID

5.1 Foreign Aid in Nepal

Aid is not given for free. The aid giving countries have their own interest. One state supports another state by analyzing cost and benefits. Literature review has shown some hidden policy goals of aid providing countries. Nepal mostly depends on foreign aid. "The flow of foreign aid in Nepal began in the 1950's" (Devkota, 2011, p. 41). During cold war (1945-1991), the world order was divided into two ideologies. Joseph (2015) wrote that Rabindra Khanal, *Professor of Political Science at Tribhuvan University* recalled:

"The failure of reaching an agreement among major superpowers at the time complicated the post international relations creating a hostile world order based on unhealthy competition and mistrust" (p. 4).

During cold war period, two blocks US and Soviet Union both provided development aid to east Europe, Africa and South American countries to become their allies and follow their ideology. Although US and Soviets did not have direct interest in Nepal, they provided aid to influence Nepal with their policy (Khadka, 1997, pp. 1047-1048).

China and India, neighboring countries always have provided aid to Nepal. India has executed largest number of aid programs in Nepal and is still providing highest amount of aid. India started to concern in the economic development of Nepal since the *treaty of peace friendship* between the two countries signed on 31 July, 1950. The treaty stated that "If the government of Nepal should decide to seek foreign assistance, the Government of Nepal shall

give first preference to the government of nationals of India" (Singh, 1996, p. 82). The Government of Nepal, MOHA's website, on a topic *Nepal-China Relations* mentioned that Nepal has the aid relation with china since October, 1956. Since past, "The *Chinese Premier* assured the Nepalese that his country would assist in Nepal's economic development" (Singh, 1996, p. 13). Singh (1996) stated that the various scholars have given different intentions on India and china providing aids to Nepal. Those scholars opined that India provides aid in order to limit the Chinese influence over Nepal. Like India, china has also tried to persuade Nepalese politics through their strong economy (Seemangal, 2015).

5.1.1 Effectiveness of Foreign Aid in Nepal

The geostrategic position of Nepal always has become an important factor of Indian security and economic benefit. India has provided aid to Nepal because of its political interest. The aid effectiveness in Nepal is low but some scholars viewed it as effective in agricultural, infrastructural, decreasing child mortality, education sector and infrastructural sector (Joshi, 2006, p. 24). However, Mihaly (1965) claims that the aid in Nepal failed to success its goals. Those nations that provided economic aid in Nepal could not achieve success. Corruption has become the first reason of aid failure (Mihaly, 1965). In this regard, The English Parliament informed to cut its 86 million pound aid to Nepal if Nepal do not fight against "endemic" corruption and "poor governance" (Guilbert, 2015). The foreign aid in Nepal has not become effective as expected because:

Foreign aid has created a gap between people living in the rural areas and those living in the urban areas. Most of the foreign aided projects are urban biased. Rural Nepal is still traditional, whereas urban Nepal is in the grip of western culture. Secondary, a huge amount of foreign aid goes back to donors in the form of compensation to expatriate

consultants and import of equipment. Thirdly, foreign aid has worsened corruption in Nepal. Between 40 and 50 percent of the project budget is siphoned out by politicians, bureaucrats, and projects staff (Dahal, Dahal, Acharya, Bhattachan, & Nepal, 2002, pp. 81-83).

The funded project became the main sources of corruption for local and central authority after the restoration of multiparty democracy in Nepal (Economist, 2012, p. 10). This has affected the huge development of Nepal. Similarly, only in the name revolution about 7.5 billion US\$ was used either as "bribe or salary". *Department of International Development of Nepal* questioned as it is claimed was to be corruption free (Economist, 2012). According to the figure of Transparency International, the Nepal government and workers of DFID were also involved in corruption (Economist, 2012). Nepal was ranked 139 least corrupt nations out of 180 countries during 2012 and 124 on 2018. The weakness prevails in both Nepalese government and donor's side for the effectiveness of the international aid. The Nepal government does not have the enough resources to organize monitor implement and manage the projects. Joseph (2015) sated that sometimes there is a difference between the pledged aid and supplied aid.

Nepal has become unable to utilize the foreign aid properly. Bell (2015) enlightened in *Aljazeera News* that "Nepal is one of the best examples of failed development aid". The author has explained that, it has been more than sixty years that Nepal started to get international aid in stability with more than one billion dollar per year, i.e. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total national budget. Various strategies and targets have been created for aid success but it provided very small amount of gains and the promised success has turned to failure (Bell, 2015). USAID in 1991 described, "an increased understanding of the need to follow market principles we are hopeful that by the year 2001 ... we will see Nepal graduate from the ranks of the least developed countries".

It has become more than decade, but still Nepal is in the list of least developed country (Bell, 2015). Nepal has started the work to raise the status from least developed to developing countries. In this connection, Gyan Chandra Acharya, former *foreign secretary of Nepal, United Nations Under Secretary-General and High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States (UN-OHRLLS) since 5 September, 2012* recalled, "Nepal has set the vision of graduating into a Developing Country (DC) by 2022 from the status of the Least Developed Country (LDC)" (NBA, 2015).

A simple example of aid failure in Nepal is Melamchi project. Since 30 years, Nepalese has believed the completion of the Melamchi project and the recent last official date of the project completion was on Feb. 2019 (Thapa, 2018). Melamchi project, to supply water inside Kathmandu valley was officially started from 2000 and the project timeframe of completion was kept for 30th September, 2006 officially (The Himalayan Times, 2019) but it has not been completed yet due to various problems. Melamchi project was estimated to cost 434 million US\$ initially and 558 million US\$ finally (Pangeni, 2017). However, Pangeni (2017) stated that according to the data of January 2017, about Rs 30.93 billion has already been spent.

There arises a question on whom to blame for aid failure? Since, 1996 to 2006 Maoist insurgency was blamed to affect the development process and delayed aid utilization and economic progress. During that period, infrastructures were destroyed and economic progress also went low. A decade of end of conflict has already passed but still the condition has not become much better as expected (Bell, 2015). Nepal's problem in aid utilization is deep rooted in politics. So, the government's ability had become unable to manage and spent its stored money for development. Bell (2015) stated that about a quarter of fund for capital development freezes every year in Nepal.

5.2 Disaster Aid to Nepal following the Earthquake of April 2015

The natural disaster in general destroys a lot and effect negatively. It is mostly responsible for physical damages. After the destruction of natural disasters, the proper management and reconstruction of the damages is important. Natural disasters provides knowledge that help to correct the previous mistakes and work for future rationally by considering the damages of past. The heavy disaster affected area goes to helpless situation which makes them unable to stand on themselves. After facing an earthquake, coping up the disaster alone was not possible for Nepal. Hence, Nepal needed an external assistance and Nepal asked for international support. As a result, Nepal got aids and assistances from international community.

PDNA report Vol. B (2015) showed the clear scene regarding the humanitarian assistances because million people started to live in a tent after destruction of their houses. It forced the government and other charitable trusts to make a temporary emergency shelter and provide the essential needs for them. A part from that, people lived in such a temporary shelter even after the month of disaster claiming that such shelter were build in safer place and it can protect them from rains and land slides (NPC Vol. B, 2015). The PDNA Vol. B (2015) further explained that due to the improper collaboration of the coordinating authority and district administration offices in initial phases, it was very hard to supply the assistance and relief materials because of fear of landslides, rough geography, very remote places to reach and other various challenges. Moreover, the relief materials were not properly supplied because same people received those materials for multiple times and the materials were mostly received by nearby village which has easy access that left many other easily inaccessible villages behind. *PDNA (NPC Vol. B, 2015, p. XIV), explained, "It is estimated that the total value of disaster*

effects (damages and losses) caused by the earthquakes is NPR 706 billion or its equivalent of US\$ 7 billion". The table 2 has shown the required capital for the recovery of destruction caused by April, 2015 earthquake below:

Table 2

Capital required for the recovery of the destruction

Sector	Total Needs (NPR Million)	Total Needs (US\$ Million)	Share of Needs by Sector
Social Sectors	407,747	4,077	60.9%
Housing	327,762	3,278	49.0%
Health	14,690	147	2.2%
Nutrition	5,036	50	0.8%
Education	39,706	397	5.9%
Cultural Heritage	20,533	206	3.1%
Productive Sectors	115,618	1,156	17.3%
Agriculture	15,561	156	2.3%
Irrigation	467	5	0.1%
Commerce	20,051	201	3.0%
Industry	7,357	74	1.1%
Tourism	38,710	387	5.8%
Finance	33,472	335	5.0%
Infrastructure Sectors	74,226	743	11.1%
Electricity	15,586	186	2.8%
Communications	4,939	49	0.7%
Community Infrastructure	4,550	45	0.7%

Transport	28,185	282	4.2%
Water and Sanitation	18,106	181	2.7%
Cross-cutting Issues	71,873	719	10.7%
Governance	18,442	184	2.8%
Disaster Risk Reduction	8,204	82	1.2%
Environment and Forestry	25,197	252	3.8%
Employment and Livelihoods	12,547	125	1.9%
Social Protection	6,398	64	1.0%
Gender and Social Inclusion	1,086	11	0.2%
Total	669,505	6,695	

Source: PDNA (NPC Vol B, 2015 p: XIX)

5.2.1 International Conference on Nepal's Reconstruction

Nepal held an international conference with an aim to collect more aids and assistances for the reconstruction. *"The International Conference on Nepal's Reconstruction (ICNR) - 'Towards a Resilient Nepal'"* took place in Kathmandu on 25th June, 2015 with the participation of various states and organizations including UN, WB, ADB and EU. Overall, they promised to provide aid of \$4.4 billion for reconstruction of destroyed sectors (Consulate General of Estonia in Nepal, 2018). Out of the 4.4 billion of aid, \$2.2 billion was agreed as a grant and remaining as a loan (Shrestha, 2015, p. 1). NRA showed different information as the amount of around 3.06 billion dollar was with government known as on-budget and off-budget. The on-budget can be used by NRA directly whereas the contributor itself can utilize off-budget money after authorization of reconstruction authority. *CEO of NRA*, Yuvraj Bhusal's clarified that due to lack

of direct channeling of the aid funding to certain project, the resources providing process has become slow (Giri & Mandal, 2018).

The main aim of this conference was to raise funds for the reconstruction of Nepal. The leaders of Nepalese political parties and prime minister of Nepal took part in the meeting (Ekantipur, 2015). The meeting included participants from 60 countries and other contributing agencies. Sushma Swaraj and Wang Yi, the foreign ministers of India and China respectively were also among the participants (Ekantipur, 2015). As stated by Ram Sharan Mahat, *Minister of Finance*, "the ICNR has become successful and the support promised by donors were beyond expectations and positive outcome in the financial sector of a country would be seen in upcoming days" (Rastriya Samachar Samiti, 2015).

5.2.2 Pledged Support During ICNR by Various Counties

Table 3

Pledged support amount by various countries to Nepal during ICNR

Countries	Pledged Support Amount
India	NRs 100 Billion
China	RMB 3 Billion (NRs 49 Billion)
Norway	NK 200 Million
US	USD 130 Million
ADB	USD 600 Million
EU	Euro 100 Million Grant and 5 Million for Reconstruction
WB	USD 200 Million building houses and 100 Million for financial Sector Recovery

Source: The Himalayan Times Online (25th June, 2015)

The countries like India, China, Norway, US, Japan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Sri Lanka pledged the support during ICNR (THT Online, 2015). In addition, those countries which already have promised or provided certain aids also assured for the further cooperation and support in technological and financial sector. The international conference on "*Experience of Earthquake Risk Management, Preparedness and Reconstruction*" was held in Nepal from 18th to 20th June, 2018 at Hotel Radisson Kathmandu (NSET, Risk2Resilience, 2018). Similarly, the conference named "*Risk2Resilience: Nepal's Collective Journey towards a Safer Future*" resulted successful. Around 240 people including 40 professionals from different 13 different countries attended the conference. This conference was organized to find out Nepal's progress on disaster management sector, to help Nepal in finding out the alternatives for disaster risk minimization (NSET, 2018) and to support Nepal in disaster management sector.

5.2.3 Promised and Received Aids

Various countries and international organizations became ready to provide needed financial help to Nepal following the earthquake. A lot of medical supplies, search and rescue teams, medical teams and basic supplies arrived at Kathmandu after the quake. Most of the countries promised aids and assistances which are discussed below:

U.S. promised to provide assistance of further \$9 million as the total donation from USAID (McWhirter & Elinson, 2015). In addition, US sent rescue team to search the missing ones and sent the supplies of 45 tons. This help was expected to strengthen the US-Nepal relationship in the area of mitigating of disaster Risk. Helen Regan (2015) stated that Malaysia on 26th of April spoke to send 30 disaster assistant rescue team and 20 doctors to support the affected Nepalese. He added that the UK claimed to provide assistance of \$7.6 million and other emergency needs like shelter, blankets, household items and remaining other to be provided through Red Cross.

The Red Cross also helped in rescue and recovery. A lot of charities of UK including Oxfam and British Red Cross sent disaster specialists team (Regan, 2015). Later on, the promised aid from UK reached to £15 million and took UK in the top list of financial donors (Santana, 2015).

The government, individuals and private/public organizations of India provided an apparent support and assistance to Nepal. India sent its first plane, rescue team, mobile hospitals and other required goods following the quake through the air forces and road network (MOFA, 2016, p. 6). The offered help was also immediate and appreciable. India also sent 13 aircraft, helicopters and two Advanced Light Helicopters (Kulkarni, 2015). Helen Regan, author of *Time Newspaper, USA*, wrote:

India has been heavily involved in the aid operation to Nepal since Saturday, sending 1,000 National Disaster Response Force personnel to help with search-and-rescue efforts. In addition, India has deployed 13 aircraft, six Mi-17 helicopters and two Advanced Light Helicopters. On Sunday, 10 tons of blankets, 50 tons of water, 22 tons of food items and 2 tons of medicine were dispatched to Kathmandu. As well as aid, India has sent three army field hospitals, an engineering task force and medical units of civilian doctors, according to the Indian Express. (2015, p. 1)

The support from India was positive. Yuvaraj Bhusal, *CEO of NRA*, confirmed that India offered the donation of 16.2 million dollars to UNDP and UNOPS Asia for the technological sector to reconstructs the houses of Nuwakot and Gorkha district (Giri & Mandal, 2018). China has always supported Nepal. In this connection Regan (2015 p. 1) explained, "China provided 62 members search-and-rescue team including emergency shelters, clothing, blankets and power generators". The Chinese government and Chinese people both supported Nepal during

earthquake. China supplied assistances and reliefs materials, medical equipments and rescue teams which were successful as well. China also assured the aid of RMB \$3.3 million for reconstruction (MOFA, 2016, p. 18). India promised \$1b, China promised \$500m and Asian Development Bank assured \$600m aid for Nepal (BBC News, 2015, p.1).

Being a neighbor of Nepal and member of SAARC, Pakistan immediately responded the quake within some hours of occurrence. It was among the countries to send the supplies and aid with medical teams and medicines. Pakistan sent the emergency assistance with rice, medicines, tent, and field hospital which was the admirable facilities gained by the victims and injured patients (MOFA, 2016, p. 26). The Air Force Aircraft of Pakistan carried those support materials which included 30-bed hospitals, basic facilities including doctors and medicines and health assistants were carried by for (Regan, 2015).

Initially, Australia announced the help amount of \$3.9 million to Nepal to be provided through different Australian organizations and U.N associates (Regan, 2015). For the earthquake relief and long term assistance, Australia promised to donate amount of AU\$ 20 million (MOFA 2016, p. 37). Immediately after the earthquake, Australians medicals provided the services to injured victims. Aid amount about total AU\$ 27 million was provided to Nepal (MOFA, 2016, p. 37). Furthermore, the Australian citizens and NGOs also supported for rescue and relief tasks.

Israel sent 260 health member team, rescue teams, 95 tons medical supplies and aids (Regan, 2015). In the mission to assist Nepal, they made 60 beds field hospital and also supported for reconstructing of earthquake destroyed village (MOFA, 2016, p. 48). Japan also was ready to send aid of 25 million yen which includes blankets and shelter materials (BBC News, 2015). Likewise, Canada, Australia, Germany and Singapore announced the help (Petroff

& Rooney, 2015). Other European, Asian and countries from Oceania were also in the list to help Nepal during earthquake (Regan, 2015). Nonprofit organizations like AmeriCares, American Red cross, Save the Children, Christian Aid, collected the money (Petroff & Rooney, 2015). Moreover, companies like Coca-cola, Pepsi, Kellogg, Toyota, UPS and Microsoft pledged aid for Nepal. Microsoft was one to promise \$1million cash (Petroff & Rooney, 2015).

In an initial phase, European Commission provided €3million as an emergency aid to Nepal's earthquake (European Commission, 2015). Later on, it was increased to increases to €14 million to deal with emergency needs like shelter, healthcare, water etc. (European Commission, 2018). As its support to earthquake victims and reconstruction of Nepal, EC donated € 5.5 million (NPR 660.7 million) making the total aid donation of € 19.5 million (European Commission, 2016). U.N. officially confirmed \$15 million as an immediate response to those who suffered earthquake and UN was also cooperating with its agencies and Government of Nepal for distributing the aid to the victims (UN, 2015).

WFP also wanted to supply the basic facilities and aids to 1.4 million affected people (WFO, 2015). UNICEF operated planes to carry Humanitarian aids (UNICEF, 2015). Due to small airport of Nepal it was hard in managing the plane to fly and land. Some of the organizations mentioned that Nepal was much in necessity of money rather than other materials (Regan, 2015). Huge amount were pledged during ICNR but those pledged amount when the media was at peak were not delivered. In this issue, Panthi (2018) wrote that China, ADB, WB and India were the leading donors for pledging support for reconstruction after earthquake but the reports shows that out of the total pledged support sum, only 16% of sum was distributed till August 2018. More than three years after the earthquake, in August 2018, the Indian government distributed the earliest portion of aid wh

CHAPTER 6

RECONSTRUCTION AFTER EARTHQUAKE

6.1 Sideline Domestic Politics

Nepal was in more than a decade long transitional phase till 2015. To end the transitional Phase and increase a pace for development, Nepal took a step to draft a new constitution replacing the interim constitution of 2007. The new constitution was important for the reconstruction of the country destroyed by the earthquake. Various parties of Nepal signed a 16 point agreement to move ahead in the process of promulgating new constitution (Rai, 2015). The four major political parties of Nepal i.e. Nepali Congress, UCPN- Maoists, CPN-UML and Madhesi Janaadhikar Forum- Democratic held a meeting and signed an agreement which guaranteed the move towards the next step of drafting a constitution (The Himalayan Times, 2015). Although the small political parties directed by Maoist had disagreement over the agreement, they became unable to prevent the constituent assembly to move ahead in formulating the new constitution (Rai, 2015).

Nepal promulgated its new constitution on September 20, 2015 containing 305 articles and 8 parts with proportional representation to include the marginalized groups, women and dalits castes (Singh, 2016, pp. 68-73). It comprised the rules and regulation that is mentioned in the best constitutions available in the world. Most of the countries in the world welcomed the constitution of Nepal. For the management of disaster, *The constitution of Nepal 2015, Part 4, Article 5, Sub Article g(9)* has mentioned that "the State shall formulate and pursue a policy of designing a pre-warning system, disaster preparedness, rescue, relief works and rehabilitation in

order to minimize the risks of natural disasters". Moreover, this constitution also has supported the mobilization of Nepal Army for disaster management (Nepal Army, 2015).

6.2 Nepal's Diplomacy after Disaster

Disaster diplomacy is the alternative approach for instrument of foreign Policy (Sudirman & Putra, 2018) . In the current context, disaster diplomacy observes on how the disaster response tactics and ideas help to ease tension of the rival parties which are involved in a clash. The concepts of disaster diplomacy progressed and executed through the disaster response activities including the emergency medicines, health care facilities and disaster response professionals (Callaway, Yim, Stack, & Burkle, 2013, pp. 53-59). Sending and receiving of the humanitarian aids has also been included in Diplomacy (Akcinaroglu, DiCicco, & Radziszewski, 2011). To cope up with the emergency and disaster situation, aid is the most important factor. Aid has been considered as an important factor for disaster response and recovery. Disaster diplomacy may originate in different forms on different levels like "international, intranational and local levels" (Kontar, 2018).

Nepal Army played a very successful diplomatic role following the disaster and supported the government in different ways (Nepal Army, 2015). In this connection, Maj. Gen. Thapa (Retd.), Nepal Army (2019) explained:

Nepal Army played a successful role including military diplomacy to manage Gorkha earthquake. Following the earthquake immediately, Nepal Army also supported the job of OCHA before its arrival. Military diplomacy was played by Nepal Army during disaster, all the joint exercises and training done by Nepal Army with different militaries played an important role of diplomacy in solving crisis. Nepal as per its interest has participated in multinational

exercises, which helped Nepal Army to connect with other regional and international armies including their resources. Nepal Army acted by studying the background of different countries to prevent tussles and misunderstanding among them. Nepal army divided the area of operation for different countries and their militaries. Similarly, all the tasking was done by Nepal Army in coordination with the assisting country. There was good air and ground coordination between Nepal Army and other friendly countries. Military diplomacy facilitated for proper management of the situation (Personal Communication, December 19, 2019).

Even with some weaknesses, Nepal demonstrated successful disaster diplomacy. Leela Mani Paudyal (2015, pp. 7-10) in a talk show, *Rebuilding Nepal: Post-earthquake Foreign Policy and Economic Diplomacy in the Changed Context* expressed that Nepal is an active member of UN which has provided a platform for diplomacy and in the time of disaster Nepal coordinated with UN, UNHCR , FAO and Red Cross for humanitarian response. In the same program, Madhu Raman Acharya put into light that the most positive effect of disaster in Nepal was political agreement for Nepal's reconstruction. As per the agreement, the leaders from different parties and political background came together for new constitution which ended the 7 years long wait for the new constitution. This was the positive impact of "Disaster Diplomacy" in Nepal (Ed. Adhikari, 2015, pp. 35-56).

In response to the Nepalese request of international assistance, various countries, international associations, charities, organizations and institution sent sympathy and support along with rescue teams, reliefs and supplies. Along with rescue teams, they also provided funds and promised further development aid for recovery and rebuilding (Ed. Adhikari, 2015, pp. 35-56). Moreover, in terms of disaster diplomacy, Nepal's National Planning Commission published

PDNA report to estimate the loss and damage of earthquake in cooperation with its partners such as WB, ADB, EU and UN.

Immediately after the earthquake India started *Operation Friendship*, china promised assistance and within an hour, Pakistan tried to assist Nepal (Tang, 2015). In accepting assistance as a part of disaster diplomacy, Nepal succeeded in reactive form of disaster response activity. Seemangal (2015) put into words that following the disaster, the disaster aid started to flow which became a new fight among regional powers. India and China both competed to distribute disaster aid in affected zone of Nepal. India knew its persuading power over Nepalese politics was decreasing even though their struggle for power has once again increased following the earthquake (Seemangal, 2015). Above all, Chinese president XI Jin Ping expressed "The Chinese side," " is willing to offer all necessary disaster assistance to the Nepalese side".

The involvement of various actors during disaster also creates competition among them. Thus, they tries to influence the disaster affected state economically, socially and politically. Following the earthquake, India somehow indirectly tried to notify foreign ministry of Nepal to stop reliefs materials from Pakistan and receive every required materials from India but foreign ministry of Nepal denied India's request and acknowledged every aid from Pakistan (Gautam, 2015, p. 2). Likewise, Indian media took out an issue on 'Beef Masala' sent to Hindu dominated kingdom by Pakistan as a relief materials and turned this issue into propaganda to create misunderstanding in the relation between Pakistan and Nepal (p. 3). However, Nepal played a successful diplomatic role and explained it as a propaganda of Indian media which was duly appreciated (p. 3).

Madhu Raman Acharya in a talk show, *Rebuilding Nepal: Post-earthquake Foreign Policy and Economic Diplomacy in the Changed Context* (2015) viewed that another successful impact of disaster diplomacy was Nepal being able to hold an ICNR conference with participation of various countries. The ICNR was held to receive foreign aid for economic, political and moral support for further reconstruction. The pledged amount during ICNR was \$4.4 billion which was above than government expectations (Ed. Adhikari, 2015, pp. 35-56). Furthermore, the Nepalese government worked harder than that of UN for organizing and managing the foreign assistance. All these activities showed the success of Nepalese disaster diplomacy.

6.3 NRA and Nepal's Reconstruction

Government of Nepal signed different contracts for the loans and funds grant. Despite of the international aid mobilization, the progress on reconstruction did not reach the target. The amount of 4.1 billion dollars was committed during the ICNR but only 16 % of agreed amount was provided till April, 2018 (Giri & Mandal, 2018). During two years of NRA's opening, more than 70% beneficiaries in the districts mostly affected by earthquake have come under reconstruction. The NRA's data till February 26th 2018 showed that the NRA consented with 610,500 recipients. The 667,662 peoples from 14 destroyed districts were qualified for grant from the government and within most affected districts 100,236 houses were reconstructed whereas 332,321 houses were under reconstruction process. NRA took timeframe of five years to complete the reconstruction of private houses from the date 27th December, 2015 and estimated to complete 60% of rebuilding of houses with the monsoon of 2016 (NRA, 2018).

The reconstruction activities were targeted for quick completion. Within mid of December 2017, 1000 schools were expected to be completed, 2000 schools were estimated to be

completed by 2018 and 1000 were projected to be completed by December 2019 but till July 2017 only reconstruction of around 2100 were completed (Giri, 2017). The rebuilding of the health services were projected to be completed within three years but in contrast only 230 health services were finished though 140 were being constructed with a timeframe of July 2017. There were some claims that NRA also was organizing a program in Dolakha, Nuwakot, Khokana, Sankhu etc. for the preservation of the native traditional areas (Giri, 2017).

6.3.1 Reconstruction Process and Progress

The survey report, *Improving the Reconstruction Process in Nepal: Monitoring Report Phase II* of the National Election Observation Committee stated that only 6% of total beneficiaries of reconstruction grant felt satisfied, more than 85% of them were not satisfied, around 10% of them did not even know about the total grant amount (THT Online, 2017). Similarly, less than 10% of the beneficiaries found the first installment as satisfactory, 78% were dissatisfied with the grant and the remaining 12% of them were found indifferent.

A daily newspaper of Nepal, The Himalayan Times (2017) published a news article online which stated that government made decision of providing NPR two lakhs to three lakhs in three installments within 2015 for those whose houses were totally destroyed by earthquake. Dolakha district was the first one to receive the installment amount but human right activists claimed that the amount to reconstruct the houses were insufficient (THT Online, 2017). In this regard, not only the victims told that the provided amount was insufficient to reconstruct their houses but they constructed their houses by ignoring the government set standard of housing.

The speeding up of the slowed process of reconstruction seemed as a hard task for Nepalese government. So, *Finance Minister*, Yubaraj Khatiwoda openly expressed on 30th march

2018, that there was insufficiency of 100 Billion Nepalese Rupees to finish the construction of houses of private sector which showed depressing result (Giri & Mandal, 2018). He further added that there was necessity of other extra sources to meet the needs. The reconstruction process was not properly managed but it was fixed for NRA to get more funds for another year. Allocated resources were not spent for reconstruction process. The allocated resources of different fiscal years for the reconstruction are given below:

Budget of the fiscal year (2015-16) was NPR 83.83 billion

Budget of the fiscal year (2016-17) was NPR 111 billion

Budget of the fiscal year (2017-18) was NPR 145.93 billion (Giri, 2017)

The allocated budget of the fiscal year (2018-19) was NPR 138.42 billion (Shrestha, 2019).

Similarly, budget of NPR 141 billion has been officially declared for the fiscal year (2019-20) (Ministry of Finance, 2019).

The reconstruction works was slow because of several challenges but with over 590,000 earthquake victims, the housing grant agreements were completed by January, 2017 (THT Online, 2017). The reconstruction process was very slow. Giri and Mandal (2018) stated that till April 2018, reconstructions of only 112,453 houses of private sector were completed and 376,027 were in the reconstruction process. This was in accordance with the NRA's goal of constructing 400,000 houses until the end of the fiscal year. Only 279,325 families got the reconstruction grant of second phase and 65,504 asked for the grant of final phase (Giri & Mandal, 2018). Despite this, the reconstruction was rapid in those areas where rich family lived and which was facilitated with good access of roadways (Mahatara, 2017). Moreover, Local

people also started to take loans informally by increasing the debts because the government was unable to deal with the need of people. All these factors became a cause to slow down the reconstruction process and recovery.

Lack of transparency was also an important issue to consider because some of the spent resources were not recorded. In this case, the spokesperson of NRA clarified that the heritage reconstruction of Bhaktapur was agreed in cooperation between Germany and Municipality (Giri & Mandal, 2018). In this heritage reconstruction project, the promised amount of NPR 3 billion was kept in record of NRA but the amount spent was not recorded.

Sanjay Sharma, *Secretary of the National Reconstruction Authority* told that the funds distribution was difficult but the government was ready to shortly deal with those challenges and problems (THT Online, 2017). Moreover, the *Representative of NRA*, Yam Lal Bhusal enlightened that the quantity of rebuilt houses and those in construction process were supposed to be higher because the data arrangement system of NRA was in process to be updated. Likewise, Manohar Ghimire, *Head of NRA's information management and communication section* believed that among 100,043 recipients in less affected districts, grant was assured with 90,850 recipients in accordance with the contract (NRA, 2018). The NRA's per annum spending on reconstruction in different fiscal years are given below:

FY 2015-16 – NPR 22.47 billion

FY 2016-17 – NPR 49.69 billion

FY 2017-18 – NPR 114.78 billion

FY 2018-19 – NPR 89.35 billion

NRA spent NRs 274.6 billion for a post earthquake reconstruction till the fiscal year 2018/19 (NepaliSansar, 2019).

As per the report of Sept-Oct 2019 published by NRA, the reconstruction details of various sectors are listed below:

Public Buildings: 74.9% reconstructed and 24 % were under construction,

Health institutions: 55.5% reconstructed and 12.4% were under construction,

Cultural Heritage: 42.6% reconstructed and 13.8% were under construction,

Educational Institutions: 67% reconstructed and 24% were under construction,

Security Buildings: 47.7% reconstructed and 8.3% were under construction (NRA, 2019).

6.4 Challenges of Nepal's Reconstruction

Nepal faced a huge economic embargo after the promulgation of constitution on 20th September, 2015. The economic embargo from southern neighbor started on September 2015 and ended on February 2016. During this phase, there was a crisis of fuel, economic goods and other basic goods in Nepal. However, the clear relation between the economic blockade and the slow reconstruction process remains unseen (The Asia Foundation, 2016, p. 10). Similarly, people thought that the reconstruction was affected by local level election because there were no local bodies to regulate the process but their thought came to be a mistake when their problem remained the same even after the election (Mahatara, 2017).

Among various reasons, another reason for failure of NRA to complete the reconstruction task in time might be due to the direct influence of Nepalese politics and unstable government.

The NRA's *CEO*, Mr. Sushil Gyawali was hired on 2016 by KP Oli's government, fired on Prachanda's government and again Re-hired By KP Oli's 2/3rd majority Government (Rai, 2018). K.C (2018) affirmed that the NRA has become an institution to rear and care the political supporters. He argued in an interview to *Nepal Aaja* that:

Members of political parties are also the victims of earthquake. NRA has a lot of resources. If all those resources of NRA are kept in one's side then also income can be generated. Those resources can be used for election campaign and to win the election. Those party members can also get the benefits. So, for this purpose, moving to NRA working there for some months then leaving that place and spending the income and resources earned there for election has been clearly seen (K.C., 2018).

NRA with huge amount of budget was unable even to build a tin roof house to earthquake victims (K.C., 2018). He further expressed that the game of making NRA's key as owns resulted the real earthquake victims to suffer and they became unable to get the justice. As per the white paper of government, there was insufficiency of one hundred billion rupees to finish rebuilding of private homes and among them 4.1 billion dollars was committed by donors for the reconstruction after earthquake (Giri & Mandal, 2018). Furthermore, the real promises apart from non reconstruction assurance were 3.43 billion dollars but out of the pledged 4.1 billion dollars, only 16% were provided till April, 2018. Similarly, the late distribution of pledged aid also became the causes of sluggish organization of available resources and reconstruction.

The reconstruction activities of Nepal should be managed properly because earthquake destroyed the economy, politics, society and infrastructures. For the reconstruction, donors promised more than US\$ 4 billion but most of the aids were not utilized for reconstruction works

(Ojha, Baldry, & Shrestha, 2017, p. 2). Madhu Raman Acharya (2015 pp. 35-56) expressed that Nepal did not receive the amount pledged by the donors. Limited number of depositors only provided the pledged aid because the donors could not trust the ability of government to utilize the aids effectively (Ed. Adhikari, 2015). Although Nepal received good amount of international aid and assistance, NRA lacked the enough budget to complete reconstruction works which affected the reconstruction works negatively and some projects were also stopped (Gyawali, 2019).

The NRA has not succeeded to utilize the fund and complete the reconstruction. On January 2019, CEO of NRA addressed to complete all reconstructions tasks within 2 years because NRA now has worked in a mission with a clear Policy (GON, 2019). Although, Nepal lacks insufficiency of NPR 34 billion, for the rapid reconstruction works NRA has coordinated with local government, local leaders and offices to find out the challenges by going deep inside the civilian problems and complete the reconstruction of destroyed structures (Gyawali, 2019).

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Findings

Nepal is one of the earthquake prone countries in the world. Although Nepal has faced many large earthquakes since centuries, Nepal has become unable to put needed efforts in pre-disaster awareness, preparedness, rescue, reliefs and rehabilitation activities to minimize disaster risk. The developing countries like Nepal have difficulties to rise from the disaster alone due to the lack of resources, modern technology and tools to address the large scale disasters. Nepal Army, Nepal Police, Armed Police Force, I/NGO's, individuals and other actors played a successful role during earthquake response. Being a Security Sector, Nepal Army played a part of diplomacy very well. Nepal Army was able to successfully manage the foreign SAR teams, reliefs, humanitarian aid and assistance. Nepal demonstrated success in disaster diplomacy by signing 16 points agreement, formulating the new constitution and holding an international conference for the reconstruction. Furthermore, cooperating and managing the foreign assistance teams, aid and creating balance with all the teams deployed for the disaster response activities are the positive impacts of disaster diplomacy. Although huge amount of aid was pledged by international community it has not been totally disbursed. Nepal's political instability and lack of transparency in utilization of aid affected the amount of disbursed aid. National Reconstruction Authority has been unable to utilize the aids and complete the reconstruction activities in time as it was severely affected by Nepalese domestic politics.

7.2 Summary and Conclusion

It is very hard for a developing and underdeveloped countries to cope up the disaster alone. Developing countries play a reactive role in diplomatic activities and during disaster the developed nations always gets an opportunity to receive benefits in two ways. On one hand they can increase their international popularity and reputation whereas on the other hand they can influence their allies and disaster affected nation through the use of both soft and hard power. Likewise, the media has become a powerful means to conduct diplomacy and its effects have been seen both negatively and positively even though most benefits are achieved by powerful nations. The medias also have been used by powerful nations to circulate their agenda and show their strong presence in the global community. The small disaster affected countries or regions have become a playground for two or more powerful rival countries to show their influencing power against each other.

The international community has made guidelines to use the military in disaster affected region. Those guidelines carry certain rules and regulations. Despite that, there are some conspiracies and some reality that as per the interests, the rule makers are themselves looking for an opportunity to go against it. Natural disaster is one of the pull factors of an international aid. The international aid and humanitarian aid has been seen as selfless but during implication, providing an aid depend upon the benefit of aid providing countries which could be either in short term or in long term. Countries unable of self help are influenced politically, economically and socially by the powerful countries to act according to their need. The post disaster time becomes the exact right time for them to take an advantage. The domestic politics normally affects post disaster activities and its management. To rise from the ashes of occurred disasters, the domestic political and bureaucratic stability has to play the most important role. The pre

disaster prevention activities are very essential for any country to minimize the post disaster risk and loss. Until and unless the political and bureaucratic stability with minimum corruption is observed in developing countries, it is very hard from them to cope up with disaster.

The countries like Nepal face difficulties to cope up the large scale disaster and its effects. The pre- disaster activities and safety measures were not much advanced and enlightened by Nepal. So, Nepal was unable to mitigate the risk and destruction of earthquake that occurred on April 2015 and faced the chaotic situation. However, Nepal utilized its resources to handle the emergency situation. The situation after earthquake was chaotic with lack of resources but the role of Nepal Army was valuable and appreciable. In terms of diplomacy on disaster management sector along with international actors, Nepal Army played an important role in terms of military diplomacy.

Although, it was explained as the Indian media effects, Nepal became a playground for the countries like China, Pakistan and India to show their rivalry and influence through their soft power. So far, some countries went beyond Oslo guidelines and helicopters were observed flying out of disaster affected zone. Nepal's weak economic, destroyed structure and economic dependency became an advantage for the neighboring countries to pressurize and influence over domestic politics. The use of economic power over small fragile state was exercised by southern powerful neighbor but it taught a lesson to Nepal on the importance of balanced dependency and diplomacy with its neighbors. Nepal has not played a pro-active role in disaster diplomacy instead it only played a reactive Role. Moreover, military diplomacy during disaster, international coordination, international assistance, all the political parties coming up together for national interest, 16 point agreement of various political parties of Nepal and promulgation of a new constitution can be included to view the success of disaster diplomacy.

Nepal was able to cope up the short term emergency situation of earthquake but it could not complete the long term reconstruction activities on time. Nepal has not received the total amount pledged by the international community during International Conference on Nepal's Reconstruction because of its internal political instability and low capability of aid management. Hence, Nepal has been unable to utilize the aid properly and complete its projects. Although the economic embargo over Nepal has been claimed as a first major factor for incomplete reconstruction work, the bureaucracy of Nepal could not effectively work on reconstruction activities including the major governmental body for reconstruction, NRA. NRA was unstable and severely affected by political imbalance. Without the political stability and proper aid management system the country alone cannot address the post disaster reconstruction properly.

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APPENDICES**APPENDIX A: KEY RESPONDENT**

Name	Location	Date	Time
Maj. Gen. Himalaya Thapa (Retd.)	Bhaisipati, Lalitpur	19 th December, 2019	8:30 A.M

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONS FOR THE KEY RESPONDANT

1. Do you think that Military Diplomacy of Nepal is successful?
2. How have you seen the coordination of Nepalese Army with international military during disaster period?
3. What was the role of Nepalese Security Sector during Nepal earthquake of 2015?
4. Did Nepal Army take some measures to avoid conflicts between international army during 2015 Nepal Earthquake? If yes how?
5. Has Nepal been able to achieve its interest through military diplomacy, including the multinational exercises?
6. Has Nepal army took part/taking part in international forums in terms of disaster management?