

Abstract:

This study looks to extract the public relations models (James Grunig) practiced in post disaster diplomacy by the Algerian government related to the 21 May 2003 BOUMERDES Earthquake and their roles in internal/external communication.

This research is using the complex adaptive system approach to analyze and understand disaster diplomacy related activities done by foreign states in goal to know the communication process at the external level. As findings from this study; Public relations models at the external level are divided relatively to the purpose of practice into communication diplomacy and public relations.

Communication diplomacy refers to the activities done within public information and two-way symmetric models. Communication diplomacy makes the disaster diplomacy legitimate, which creates equal power, good relations, long-term relations, good reputation and promotes disaster diplomacy between states.

Public relations in the external communication refer to the activities done within press agency and two-way asymmetric models. Public relations make the disaster diplomacy illegitimate, which creates non equal power, bad relations, short-term relations, bad reputation, and inhibit disaster diplomacy between states.

Keywords: public relations, Communication, disaster diplomacy legitimate, public relations legitimacy.

ملخص:

في هذه الدراسة اعتمدنا أساسا على تطبيق نماذج العلاقات العامة الخاصة بالباحث قرونك على كل الممارسات التي تلت أزمة زلزال بومرداس من طرف الحكومة الجزائرية والصينية في محاولة لفهم الممارسات الدبلوماسية أثناء الأزمات وأهدافها وأدوارها على النسق الاتصالي على المستوى الدولي ودور نماذج العلاقات العامة في كل هذا، فوجدنا أن نماذج العلاقات العامة على المستوى الخارجي مقسمة على أساس الهدف من الممارسات الاتصالية إلى اتصال دبلوماسي وعلاقات عامة. حيث يعد الاتصال الدبلوماسي كل النشاطات في ظل نموذج الإعلامي ونموذج الاتصال ذو الاتجاهين المتماثل، ويحقق هذا النوع من الاتصال توازن القوى، علاقات طيبة بين الدول، علاقات على المدى البعيد، وصورة حسنة لكلا الطرفين في ظل العلاقات الدبلوماسية. غير أن العلاقات العامة هي كل النشاطات في ظل نموذج الإشهار ونموذج الاتصال ذو الاتجاهين اللامتماثل وفي هذه الحالة تصبح العلاقات العامة غير شرعية مما يسبب اختلال في القوى بين الدول، تدهور العلاقات، علاقات على المدى القصير وصورة ذهنية سيئة للدول محل النزاعات الدبلوماسية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: العلاقات العامة، الاتصال، الشرعية الدبلوماسية، شرعية العلاقات العامة.

I. Introduction:

Surviving, this short and strong word is the aim and goal of life for any organism, people, organizations or other real or virtual organism. They seek to survive within a complex environment that includes interactions and relations between many units in many fields.

Crisis is a small word but represents a threat to the surviving of an organization. Crises are dramatic change, usually for worse. It may be a disaster, an event which involves loss of life or extensive damage to property, or it may be a situation when an organization finds itself under unwelcome scrutiny because of its behaviors or that of its staff. A crisis may occur as a result of an accident or act of GOD.

Organizations always pretends crisis and try to find pre-solutions by planning and learning from previous crises. Yes, crises are pretended but it is difficult to know the exact time, especially when it is natural disasters.

Volcanoes, tsunamis, landlines, floods, volcanic eruptions, tropical storms and earthquakes are natural crisis often causes threats to the organization such as the Boumerdes earthquake, the second largest earthquake recorded in central Algeria since 1716. The earthquake caused a lot of damages and casualties; it put the government in critical condition, and damaged its reputation, the main shock caused the loss of 2,278 lives, injuring more than 11,450 victims, and making about 200,000 homeless and the earthquake destroyed or seriously damaged at least 128 000 houses.

The natural crises as they create internal relationship between the government and its public they also create external relations between the affected state and other friendly or enemy states. These activities are seen as disaster diplomacy activities related to the crises that includes international aids and mutual condolences. These activities always realize deep relations and many purposes within public relations and international public affairs. The activities related to the crises could be a major of promoting or inhibiting the relationship. **So what is the relationship between disaster diplomacy legitimacy and PR models within a communicational process?**

II. Methodology:

1- Qualitative study:

This study uses a multiple case studies and this one is a form of a qualitative research that often uses several research methodologies to contextually examine a particular situation or phenomenon. "Qualitative data are attractive. They are a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions, and explanations of processes occurring in local contexts... words, especially when they are organized into incidents or stories, have a concrete, vivid, meaningful flavor that often proves for more convincing to a reader—another researcher, a policy-maker, a practitioner—than pages of numbers...The great advantage of qualitative research is that it can change direction easily and refocus data collection for the next field trip. Conceptual frameworks are simply the current version of the researcher's map of the territory."¹ In qualitative research "an important step... is the development of a rich, theoretical framework... The use of theory, in doing case studies, is not only an immense aid in designing the appropriate research design data collection, but also became the main vehicle for generalizing the results of the case study."²

2- **Multiple case studies:**

This research is based on multiple case studies, The 21 May Boumerdes earthquake, Pakistan-India earthquake and the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict. Case studies can be either single or multiple case studies, Herriott & Firestone, 1983; Yin, 1994 considered multiple case studies more compelling and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust. Multiple-case studies follow replication logic. This is not to be confused with sampling logic where a selection is made out of a population, for inclusion in the study. This type of sample selection is improper in a case study. Each individual case study consists of a "whole" study, in which facts are gathered from various sources and conclusions drawn on those facts. Yin compares the use of the replication strategy to conducting a number of separate experiments on related topics. Eisenhardt argued that this model, if all or most of the cases provide similar results, there can be substantial support for the development of a preliminary theory that describes the phenomena. In my research two cases were adopted to answer the proposed question, because the principle case study (The 21 May Boumerdes earthquake) was not enough to realize a whole vision about disaster diplomacy legitimacy.

3- **Selected case studies:**

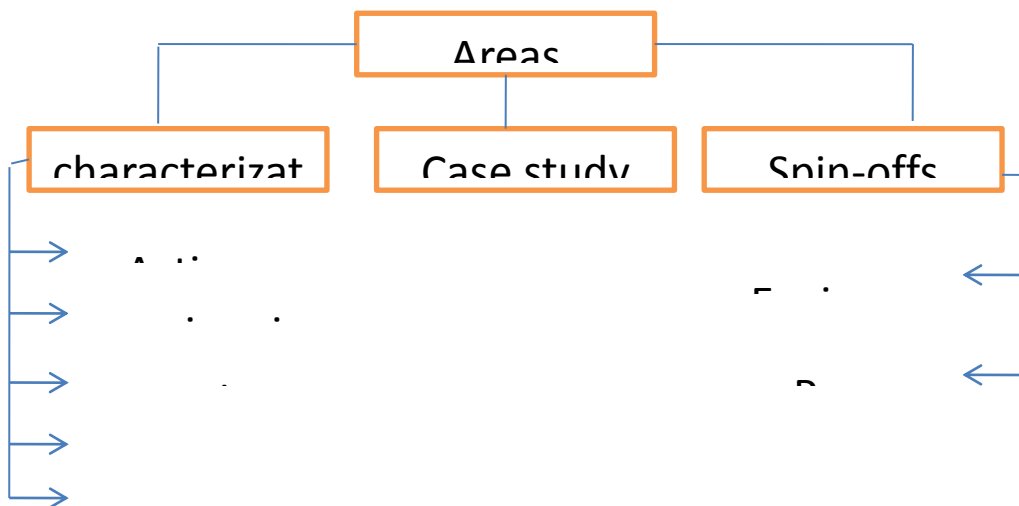
The 21 May Boumerdes earthquake (North of Algeria): I selected this case study according to my purpose, this earthquake is a natural disaster, it is an unexpected crisis, and it can destroy the state institutions image as it can improve it. I will try to find the PR models (as excellent PR theory) practiced to reinforce diplomatic relations with other states then by result the role of the practice of PR models outside state in post crisis time. This natural crisis will help me to develop the disaster diplomacy activities between ALGERIA and CHINA in the perspective of communication and extracting the elements of communication process within the complex adoptive system which is a diplomatic analytic approach used in crises.

The Pakistan-India earthquake and the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict: these case studies are not the main case studies as Boumerdes crisis, they are not used to examine the practice of the PR models at the external level but it is to examine legitimacy of disaster diplomacy. The first case study show disaster diplomacy between two friendly states and it is not enough to study legitimacy. According to my research I need to compare legitimacy related to disaster diplomacy between two friendly and enemy states to get more logical and global vision about the impact of the practice of PR models on legitimacy in disaster diplomacy.

4- **Theory and tools:**

● **Disaster diplomacy areas:**

The previous disaster diplomacy work focused on three main areas³: case study, spin-offs, and characterization.



Schema showing the three areas of disaster diplomacy studies

CASE STUDY: examined where and how the disaster happened.

SPIN-OFFS describing disaster diplomacy lessons applies in other forms such as environmental diplomacy and Para-diplomacy.

CHARACTERIZATIONS OF DISASTER DIPLOMACY:

* **ACTIVE vs. PASSIVE disaster diplomacy:**

The active DD can improve international relations by working with media or by lobbying government, but passive DD is totally the reverse.

* **PROPINQUITY or neighborliness:**

First: there are some countries shared borders like India and Pakistan.

Second: states that are separated by water borders as sea or lakes and rivers like Japan and North Korea.

Third: States that have no borders as Iran and USA.

* **AID RELATIONSHIP:**

Mutual aid: The both states faced the same disaster and aid each other.

Combined aid: that means enemy or a combination of enemies aid the state as Japan, China, South Korea and USA gave aid to North Korea.

Aid relationship: this refers to donation given by friendly/enemy country in a disaster to the affected country, and then in others disaster the other country gives aid to the first friendly/ enemy country for example: USA gave aid to Iran in the earthquake 2003 then Iran gave aid to USA aid in hurricane Katrina.

* **ADDITIONALLY**

DISASTER DIPLOMACY: or disaster diplomacy levels

Government level: the disaster is led between governments.

Organization-led DD: the disaster is led by not government groups as United Nations, nongovernmental organizations, media, private sector, lobby groups and research institutes. **People-led DD:** The disaster is led by people.

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PURPOSE:

Multiple purposes are often evident in disaster diplomacy outcomes, whether positive or negative.
The above five characterizations are not independent but most of the time related.

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Complex

Adaptive

System (CAS)⁴:

This system offers means to understand the change process by focusing on the transition in different states of evolving social, economic, political performance.

The CAS has three properties and four mechanisms:

PROPRIETIES:

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NON-LINEARITY:

sometimes small unexpected changes in systems performance produce large differences in outcome.

*

DIVERCITY: low: actions,

materials, ideas and people that energies interactions among the individual units.

*

AGGREGATION: the role

of the individual units in planning to reach the goal.

MECHANISM:

*

TAGGING: These facilitate

the process of matching a unit that seeks assistance with a unit that provides assistance.

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INTERNAL MODEL: this

consists to find assumptions components that the system is based on.

*

BUILDING BLOKS: what

are the elements that lead to realize complex interactions for instance communication?

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PURPOSE:

multiple

purposes are often evident in disaster diplomacy outcome, whether positive or negative.

III.

Literature review:

1- Public Relations:

Public relations has changed and progressed from the traditional PR as “production of messages, campaigns, and mass media effects on audiences (Bruning and Ledingham2000; Bruning and Ledingham1998)”⁵ to a professional PR that deal with all kinds of communication between an organization and its publics in all fields such as politics, economics, social and culture...etc.

● **Defining Public relations:**

Edward Bernays said” Public relations is a management function involving in tabulating public attitudes, defining the policies, procedures and interest of an organization followed by implementation a program of action to earn public understanding and acceptance”⁶. Others define PR as a tool of managing communication between organizations and their publics; they said “PR helps an organization and its publics to adapt mutually to each

other”⁷. “James E. Grunig and Todd Hunt defined “Public relations as the management of communication between an organization and its public”⁸. Some think that PR is “the art and science of getting along well with other people”⁹, Public relations is also an organization’s efforts to win the co-operation of groups of people: public relations helps organizations effectively interact and communicate with their key publics”¹⁰ while Cutlip, Center, and Broom (1994) said PR has an influential role on public opinion they saw that: “Public relations is an effort to influence opinions through good character and responsible performance based upon mutual satisfactory two- way communication”¹¹. Many definition discussed many PR roles even organization reputations, this group think that: “Public relations is about reputation-the result of what you do, what you say and what others say about you. Public relations practice is the discipline which looks after reputation- with the aim of earning understanding and support, and influencing opinion and behavior. It is the planned and sustained effort to establish and maintain goodwill and mutual understanding between an organization and its public”¹².

So, as a summary, *public relation is all the communicational strategies used by an organization to influence its public opinion, earning their support and mutual understanding in aim to realize their goal and defend their reputation or their organization image.*

- **Public relations Models:**

Grunig and Hunt (1984) discussed the historical development^{*} of PR and they proposed four models of PR: **press agency** (has existed since the mid- 19th century), the second model **public information** (begin in the early 20th century), the third model of PR **two-way asymmetrical** (came out during the First World War), the fourth model is the **two-way symmetrical**.

The classification was based on “value, goals and behaviors held by organizations when they practice public relations (Grunig & Grunig, 1989). Dozier, Grunig, and Grunig (1995) stated that these models explain the values and a pattern of behaviors (practices) that communication departments use to deal with publics”¹³.

- * **Press agency model:**

“The goal of press agency/ or publicity is propaganda”¹⁴ and communication is one way from sender to receiver. This model allows for economy with the truth or half-true information. The most famous exponent is Phineas Barnum. This model is still widely practiced in sports, theater and product promotion and accounts for about 15 per cent of public relations activity nowadays. Those using it have something to promote or sell”¹⁵. “Grunig described the purpose of the press agency model is getting favorable publicity for an organization in any way possible. The major job for practitioners in these organizations is to acquire attention in the media for their organizations”¹⁶.

- * **Public information model:**

This model is “used to disseminate information to one or more publics. It is one-way, from sender to receiver, but truth is important. The leading historical figure for this model is Ivy Lee. It is estimated that this model is the most widely used today, by perhaps 50 per cent of organizations, primarily government (local and national), non-commercial organizations of all kinds, and business in general. They use press releases, leaflets, reports, guides, fact-packs, videos and exhibitions to tell their publics about their existence or functions”¹⁷. “Practitioners

in this model act as journalist, whose job is to report objective information about the organization (Grunig & Hunt). They also produce various informational pamphlets, magazines consumer guidebooks, fact sheets, films, and videotapes that are all designed to inform publics about the organization (Grunig & Hunt). In both one-way model, the purpose of the communication is persuasive and public relations practitioners who are responsible for disseminating the information serve as an advocate for the organization (Carpenter, 2005)¹⁸.

* **Two-way asymmetric model:**

This model “uses scientific persuasion, as propounded by Edward Bernays. Communication is two-way, from sender to receiver and with feedback from the receiver, but the power lies with the sender, whose intention is to persuade the receiver to accept and support the sender organization. The purpose of the feedback they receive is solely to help organizations target their messages in a way acceptable to their publics¹⁹. The concept of asymmetry implies that public relations attempts only to change public attitudes and behaviors rather than having the organization change due to public attitudes and behaviors (Childers, 1989). The two-way asymmetrical model uses research to develop messages that are likely to persuade strategic publics to behave as the organization wants (Madere, 2002). Therefore, communication within this model is viewed as persuasive and manipulative.”²⁰

* **Two-way symmetrical model:**

This model is “based on the ideal of mutual understanding. It is truly two-way, taking the form of a kind of dialogue between the organization and the public; both parties are capable of being persuaded to modify their attitudes or behavior as a result of the public relations activity. Edward Bernays was a leading proponent of this model, as are the academics and professional bodies of today.”²¹ “The concept of symmetry indicates that public relations should represent the environment to the organization and not just the organization to the environment (Leisinger, 1991)... the two-way symmetric help the organization to cooperate with and adapt to the environment... the purpose of the two-way symmetric model is to develop ‘win-win’ solutions to avoid conflicts between organizations and publics (Carpenter)... the two way symmetric model uses communication to manage conflict with strategic public (Madere, 2002). In sum, the two-way symmetric model attempts to achieve mutually satisfying relations between an organization and its publics.”²²

So the four PR models are divided into two categories: **(a) One way communication:** which is press agency and public information. The differences between the two are found by examining the manner in which the communication is delivered. The first one is linked to propaganda. The second is to disseminate information but the two models have a persuasive purpose. **(b) Two way communication:** which is two-way asymmetric and two-way symmetric. The first one is gathering information from publics to manipulate and control them while the second use negotiation with the public and PR play the role of mediator.²³

2- **Disaster diplomacy:**

Before defining public diplomacy we will first give some light into the terms that compose disaster diplomacy.

● **Defining disaster diplomacy:**

* **Disasters:**

A **disaster** is the tragedy of a natural or human-made hazard (a hazard is a situation which poses a level of threat to life, health, property, or environment) that negatively affects society or environment.

Disasters are commonly divided into “natural” and “man made” disasters, but such distinctions are generally artificial.

Natural disasters “is the consequence when a natural hazard (e.g., volcanic eruption or earthquake) affects humans. Human vulnerability, caused by the lack of appropriate emergency management, leads to financial, environmental, or human impact. The resulting loss depends on the capacity of the population to support or resist the disaster: their resilience. This understanding is concentrated in the formulation: “disasters occur when hazards meet vulnerability”. A natural hazard will hence never result in a natural disaster in areas without vulnerability, e.g., strong earthquakes in uninhabited areas. The term natural has consequently been disputed because the events simply are not hazards or disasters without human involvement.”²⁴ Natural disasters can be earthquake, tsunami, landslides, floods, volcano, tropical storms, and famine.

Human made disasters are “disasters caused by human action, negligence, error, or involving the failure of a system are called man-made disasters. Man-made disasters are in turn categorized as technological or sociological. Technological disasters are the results of failure of technology, such as engineering failures, transport disasters, or environmental disasters. Sociological disasters have a strong human motive, such as criminal acts, stampedes, riots, and war.”²⁵

Natural disasters “are much more than environmental events. They have profound political, environmental, social, spatial and psychological consequences.”²⁶ “Cuny argued for linkages between natural disasters and development, and anecdotally suggested governmental destabilization in the years immediately following a disaster.”²⁷

As a disaster destroys many key social and political institutions, it threatens political stability and creates a power vacuum and opportunity for warlords and criminal gangs to usurp power. “Many relief organizations also claim that natural disasters reduce intra-state conflicts. According to the Worldwatch Institute, new opportunities for peace and reconciliation may emerge as suffering cuts across the divides of conflict, prompting common relief needs.”²⁸ Ilan Kelman’s theory of disaster diplomacy also states that disasters create opportunity to facilitate better cooperation and relations and amongst states in conflict.

* **Diplomacy:**

Diplomacy is an instrument by which a state (or by extension, an organization or individual) attempts to achieve its aims, in relation to those of others, through dialogue and negotiation. The word *diplomacy* originated from *diploma*, which in early modern Europe was the letter of credence that certified an ambassador’s power to negotiate and serve as the direct representative or plenipotentiary of the sovereign.

Encyclopedia defines diplomacy as “the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of groups or states. It usually refers to international diplomacy, the conduct of international relations through the intercession of professional diplomats with regard to issues of peace-making, trade, war, economics and culture. International treaties are usually negotiated by diplomats prior to endorsement by national politicians. In an

informal or social sense, diplomacy is the employment of tact to gain strategic advantage or to find mutually acceptable solutions to a common challenge, one set of tools being the phrasing of statements in a non-confrontational or polite manner.”²⁹

“Diplomacy is a central concept in the study of international relations, although scholars often disagree about its function. There is a general distinction in the social science literature between diplomacy as foreign policy, and diplomacy as the process of negotiation and deliberation that promotes peace and cooperation among nations. Diplomacy as foreign policy is the expressed desire of nations to use words before force...As José Calvet de Magalhães points out in *The Pure Concept of Diplomacy* (1988), states can engage in unilateral contact such as propaganda, espionage, and political or economic intervention. They can also engage in violent contact such as threat, deterrence, and economic war. Thus, the definition of diplomacy as a dialogue among nations is very broad.”³⁰

* Disaster diplomacy:

As defining natural disasters and diplomacy, disaster diplomacy is ***all the diplomatic activities of an organization, state or others in their environment related to disasters, to avoid or reduce risk or minimize the damages, and gain support and aids.***

Ilan kelman in his research³¹ explore disaster diplomacy, and answer these questions: “do natural disasters induce international cooperation amongst countries that have traditionally been enemies? Could disaster-related activities, both pre-disaster such as mitigation and prevention and post-disaster such as response and recovery, positively affect relations amongst states which are not normally prone to cooperation? The author studied Greece-Turkey 1999 earthquake, monitoring hurricanes in Cuba and United States, preventing drought disasters in Africa. He found in his research that a disaster can significantly spur on a diplomatic process that had a pre-existing basis, but a disaster alone is unlikely to generate new diplomacy. Disaster-related activities can catalyze, but do not create cooperation. He spoke about the legitimacy of diplomacy and related it to public relations. He said that diplomacy can’t be legitimate if using PR and refers this to propaganda which has an impact on the period of lasting diplomacy between states.

Rakhi Bhavnani in his research³² explores the effect of natural disasters on conflict. This study analyze the wide range of environmental, social, spatial, political, and psychological effects of natural disasters in both conflict-ridden and conflict –free areas of the world. The author finds that natural disasters are important factors in explaining social conflict and he indicate the importance of incorporating system socks such as natural disasters. Louis K.Comfort shows in his study³³ that disaster events clearly produce an opportunity for change in relationships among the participants in response to shared risk. And the author shows that the challenge is to use that opportunity to guide actions at the micro level of disaster management so they will support and lead to substantive change at the macro level of greater cooperation among nations previously in conflict as they discover common goals in the reduction of risk or response to disaster.

3- Internal and External Communication:

● Internal communication:

In the Public Relations Encyclopedia “internal communication PR directed to and among employees in an organization”³⁴, while the “internal publics are groups of people inside the organization, supervisors, administrative assistants, clerks, and other staff members”³⁵ and “the internal public relations messages can be understood through comprehension of the various relationships that exist within the organization”³⁶.

- **External communication:**

External communication “are the entire actions of institutional, commercial and communications from an organization (firms, public administrations, association) to ameliorate its image to its public... by using: public relations, sponsorship, publicity and direct marketing”³⁷.

So as we see all the definitions are focusing on the communication inside or outside the organization to define internal or external communication, this lead to think that there is a relationship between place and communication for this, *all the communicational activities, strategies and methods used inside organizations is internal communications while all the communicational activities, strategies and methods used outside the organization is external communication.*

4- The 21ST May 2003 Boumerdes Earthquake

Northern Algeria, in which about 90% of the country’s population resides, is located along the plate boundary between Eurasia and Africa. The convergence of the two major plates creates a complex system of active faults that has resulted in a number of moderated to strong earthquakes in the region.

“Since 28 January 1716, when the city of Blida was destroyed killing more than 20000 people, there have been more than one hundred recorded damaging earthquakes. All of these have been in the area north of the Atlas mountain range and plateau, and most have been in the region west of the city of Algiers. The names recur of some towns and cities having been damaged: Oued Fodda, Ténès, Cherchell, Blida, Oran, and Mascara. There are six references to earthquakes and tremors having affected Orléansville, the former name of El Asnam, between its foundation in 1843 and the 1954 R6.4 and R6.2 earthquakes on consecutive days. More than 1200 people were killed, 5000 injured, and 2000 houses and huts (*ghourbis*) in the city and neighboring villages were destroyed (Rothé 1954; Lewis ³⁸, 1982)”³⁹. This table ^{**} will show number of the most earthquakes that struck Algeria in previous years:

5- Algeria – China: A historical relationship review:

In December 24, 2008 the Algerian president Abdel Aziz Bouteflika and his counterpart Chinese president Hujintao exchanged messages of congratulation to mark the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between their two countries.

Hujintao said: “there exist a deep traditional friendship between china and Algeria, the two countries have withstood the test of over-changing world situations since they forged diplomatic relations 50 years ago, and seen their ties developing soundly and smoothly ever since”⁴⁰. The two countries have shown mutual trust in the political field, they have treated each other equally and they cooperated for mutual economic benefit and common development, displayed respect and learned from each other in cultural exchange, as well as coordinated and cooperated in regional and international affairs.

In this historical event the two presidents pledged that they had a mutual support to their political acts as the important contribution made by Algeria in restoring china's lawful seat at the UN, and the support of china for the Algerian fight for freedom and dignity.

■ **Political Relations:**

China and Algeria have traditional and friendly relations When the Algerian interim-government was formed in September 1958; China immediately gave it recognition and established full diplomatic relations with Algeria on December 20. Since Algeria won independence in 1962, the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Algeria have developed comprehensively in the political, economic, cultural, health and military fields. Algeria once made significant contributions to restoring China's legitimate seat in the United Nations as one of the co-sponsors. In April 1997, the Foreign Ministries of the two countries signed the Agreement on Holding Regular Political Consultations. Algeria attaches great importance to developing relations with China. In Oct, 2000, President Bouteflika, as a special guest of honor, attended the Beijing 2000 Ministerial Conference of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum and following the Conference paid a state visit to China and signed a joint communiqué together with President Jiang Zemin.

■ **Economy, Trade Relations and Technical Cooperation:**

The bilateral trade between China and Algeria developed fairly quickly in the early 80s. In 1982, the bilateral trade volume reached 170 million US dollars. In 2000, the trade volume between China and Algeria totaled 198.85 million US dollars. The bilateral trade volume between China and Algeria in 2001 was US\$292,000,000. Cooperation of contracted projects between China and Algeria began in 1980, including building projects in agriculture, water conservancy, hotels and restaurants etc. The Mixed Economic, Trade and Technological Committee between the Chinese and Algerian governments have held four sessions up until now.

■ **Cooperation in Culture, Education and Science and Technology:**

China began to dispatch medical teams to Algeria in 1963 and there have been so far over 2,200 people ever working there. In Feb.1998, Minister of Public Health Chen Minzhang visited Algeria and signed the Agreement on Medical and Health Cooperation between Chinese and Algerian Government. China and Algeria have altogether signed nearly 20 exchange programs and cooperation agreements on culture, education, sports and the press.

6- India- Pakistan: A historical disaster diplomacy review:

Before talking about disasters that related the two countries we must talk about the origin of the political conflict between them.

After the Second World, War Britain gives independence to Britain India and decided to divide it into India and Pakistan except Kashmir which had the opportunity to choose their future. Maharajah Hari Singh Dogra of Kashmir complain for an autonomy to India and Pakistan who sent a tribal Lashkars to talk to him (in another version Pakistani tribal forces attacked Kashmir and forces maharajah to sign the "Agreement to the accession of the princely state to India")⁴¹ India saw this act as action of invasion and sent troops to defend Kashmir in 1947, this war resulted a control of 37% of Kashmir by Pakistan and 67% by India.

In 1965 Pakistan designed by Operation Gibraltar to infiltrate forces into Jammu and Kashmir so India was obliged to defend what she considered its territories, this war ended in UN mandated ceasefire. Another war was started in 1971 but this time was about Bengalis living in East Pakistan. More than one million Bangladeshis were killed before the independence of Bangladesh. The latest war was in 1999, where Pakistan troops infiltrate across the line of control (LOC) and occupied Kargil district. In the end Pakistan was forced to withdraw its forces back across the LOC.

India and Pakistan had faced a lot of disasters but we will discuss two of earthquakes related to our study which are:

* **Gujarat earthquake 2001:** On 26 January 2001 and coincided with the 51st celebration of India's Republic Day an earthquake registering 7.9 on the Richter scale devastated the Indian state of Gujarat. It was the second largest recorded earthquake in India, the largest being in 1737, and was the worst natural disaster in India in more than 50 years.

The earthquake struck at approximately 8.46am local time, so people were up and about to go to their work they were trapped in their homes. The epicenter was located 80 kilometers north-east of the city of Bhuj and the shock waves or tremors lasted about two minutes, followed by aftershocks for more than a month.

The scale of the impact of the earthquake is almost impossible to comprehend. The shock or seismic waves spread out in a 700 kilometer circumference from the epicenter, and within this area the devastation was immense. There were more than 20,000 deaths and 167,000 people injured. Four districts of Gujarat lay in ruin and altogether, 21 districts were affected. Around 300,000 families and at least 3 million children aged 14 and under were affected. Around 600,000 people were left homeless. In the city of Bhuj, more than 3,000 inhabitants of the city lost their lives; the main hospital was crushed and close to 90% of the buildings was destroyed. Nothing was left of the town of Bhachau. The town resembled a quarry.

* **Kashmir earthquake 2005:** also known as the **South Asian earthquake** or the **Great Pakistan earthquake** of 2005 designates a major earthquake with its epicenter in the Pakistan-administered Kashmir. The earthquake occurred at 08:50 am Pakistan Standard Time (03:50 am UTC) on October 8, 2005. Registering a debatable 7.7 or 7.6 on the Richter scale, the quake compares in intensity to the 1935 Quetta earthquake, the 2001 Gujarat earthquake, and the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. As of November 8, 2005, the Pakistani government's official death toll stood at 73,276, while International donors have estimated that about 86,000 died, and officials say nearly 1,400 people died in Jammu and Kashmir and fourteen people in Afghanistan. The earthquake in Pakistan is the result of India's long-term, gradual, geological movement north into Asia at a speed of five centimetres a year or a millimetre per week.

In response to the catastrophe, India and Pakistan dropped their hostility over the Kashmir region and cooperated in relief efforts. So Pakistan offers aids to India, and India do so in Kashmir earthquake.

7- **Ethiopia – Eritrea conflict:**

Before the independence in 1993 Eritrea was part of Ethiopia. But the war started in 6 May 1998 when some Eritrean soldiers entered the Badme region under Ethiopia administration, which resulted in a fire fight. US/Rwanda

offered a peace plan but Eritrea refused and instead demanded for demilitarization of all disputed areas along the common border overseen by a neutral monitoring force and direct talks. Instead of this refuse Ethiopia launched Operation Sunset on 22 February 1999. This war ended by the acceptance of OAU peace plan on 27 February 1999. On the 12 May the Ethiopians launched an offensive that broke through the Eritrean lines between Shambuko and Mendefera, crossed the Mareb River, and cut the road between Barentu and Mendefera, the main supply line for Eritrean troops on the western front of the fighting. By the end of May 2000, Ethiopia occupied about a quarter of Eritrea's territory, displacing 650,000 people and destroying key components of Eritrea's infrastructure. This war had an impact on the famine and more than 211000 people were affected.

IV. Findings:

This study aims to find the relationship between communication process and disaster diplomacy activities related to Boumerdes earthquake as a first step, then the role of public relations models and legitimacy in disaster diplomacy activities.

*** Communication Diplomacy:**

In this part the communication between Algeria and China related to disaster diplomacy will be extracted from disaster diplomacy approaches and tools. It is necessary to say that the relationship between the two states is a diplomatic relationship, that's why we must take in account to study communication between Algeria and China within disaster diplomacy approaches and tools, we can't ignore the nature of the relationship or analyze it within other relational field characteristics, because it could mislead the results toward wrong way.

The relationship between Algeria and China is diplomatic relationship which means the two states are practicing external communication at the level of Macro Environment.

To study the communication between the two states, first we must understand the nature of the relationship. This relationship can only be understood within the characterizations of disaster diplomacy. As seen in literature review, the theoretical projection on the Algerian – Chinese disaster diplomacy can provide a well understanding of the nature of the relationship.

*** Understanding disaster diplomacy between Algeria and China:**

ACTIVE vs. PASSIVE DISASTER DIPLOMACY:

The analyze of the international relations between the two states after the Boumerdes earthquake, lead to categorize the disaster diplomacy as passive or active, due to cooperation or non-cooperation.

According to Xinhua, a Chinese online news site, China had played a good role in helping Algeria in its disaster.

- Chinese President Hu Jintao delivered a condolence to his Algerian counterpart Abdelaziz Bouteflika, expressing his sympathy with Algerians. In the message, Hu Jintao extended deep sorrow to families of all the victims in the earthquake and sent condolences to President Bouteflika, the Algerian government and people. He expressed belief that under the leadership of President Bouteflika, the Algerian government and people would overcome the difficulties caused by the disaster and rebuild their homeland with united efforts.

- A Chinese rescue team arrived in Algeria on Saturday morning and was soon assigned to one of the most seriously hit areas of "Dally Ibrahim", a small city in the tremor-ravaged country. The team was consisting of 30

highly experienced personnel and headed by Yue Mingsheng, deputy director of the China Seismological Bureau. The team brought with them three sniffer dogs and relevant equipment, and 9 tons of relief goods.

- The Red Cross Society of China donated 50,000 US dollars to the Red Crescent Society of Algeria. The donation was the first that Algeria received from a foreign country.
- Chinese Ambassador to Algeria Liu Yu he wrote in the condolence book, "May the dead rest in peace and those living be strong. Let the world be filled with love."

The disaster diplomacy between *Algeria and China is passive disaster diplomacy* it reinforce relationship by cooperation and mutual understanding. Media had also reflected a good image about the disaster diplomacy related activities.

PROPINQUITY OR NEIGHBOURLINESS:

Maybe many readers of this research will ask the question what is the importance of the second chapter? It is necessary to know everything about the studied countries, had a minimum of general culture on case studies is necessary.

According to the second chapter the *disaster diplomacy between Algeria and China is included to the third level of propinquity*, there are no borders between Algeria and China.

The Algerian state is situated in the north of Africa bordered by: Tunisia in the northeast, Libya in the east, Niger in the southeast, Mali and Mauritania in the southwest, Western Sahara in the southwest, Morocco in the west and northwest, and the Mediterranean Sea in the north.

While China is situated in the extreme Asia continent and had borders with 14 countries which are: Mongolia, Russia, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, Bhutan, Nepal, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan.

AID RELATIONSHIP:

In this study the aid relationship is *mutual aid relationship done by two friendly sates*. China had donated aids to Algeria in Boumerdes earthquake, and Algeria also cooperated in donations at the Sichuan earthquake that struck China on the afternoon of May 12, 2008, killing about 70,000 people and leaving over 18,000 missing. Algeria gave moral and material support to the Chinese government. The Algerian president "Abdel Aziz Bouteflika" sent a condolence message to the Chinese president "Hu Jintao" expressing his deep sorrow and sadness, and transmits the condolence of the Algerian people to the Chinese people. The Algerian government cooperated with one million US dollars as a modest value to help Chinese victims.

ADDITIONALLY DISASTER DIPLOMACY:

The disaster diplomacy is governmental level, because all the activities related to the earthquake were led by the Chinese government to the Algerian government.

PURPOSE:

The purpose of the disaster diplomacy was mutual cooperation and helps to establish good relations in future time. This purpose was realized in form of cooperation in many projects. According to Xinhua News Agency:

▪ ***The Algerian East-West Highway:*** This project is the largest public works project in Algerian which connects the extreme east to extreme west in length of 1216 km. this project cost 7 billion US dollars, and had been finished in this year.

This project Begun in 2005, the six-lane highway will stretch 756 mi. (1,216 km) between Algeria's borders with Morocco and Tunisia and will eventually connect Algiers, Constantine, Oran, Annaba, Tlemcen and Setif. The route of the highway will take it across half of the country's 48 wilayas (provinces). With approximately a dozen tunnels, 70 viaducts, and 60 interchanges, as well as numerous truck stops, service stations and maintenance facilities, it will link airports and ports as well as the two borders and the cities mentioned.

The massive project is expected to generate more than 100,000 jobs, not only during construction but also for provision of maintenance and service industries connected with the highway after its completion. Among the latter will be toll collection, previously unknown in Algeria.

In addition, the new highway will provide better access to the northern part of the country and is expected to stimulate economic development. It also will form part of the 4,349 mi. (7,000 km) Autoroute Transmaghrébine that will eventually link five North African countries.

International groups and more than 60 companies from Japan, Germany, China, France, Portugal, Italy and the United States submitted 15 bids for the project, a prime example of multi-national competition and ultimately cooperation. The contract for construction of the 105 mi. (169 km) central and 223 mi. (359 km) western sections at a cost of \$451 million was won by a Chinese consortium, based in Hong Kong and made up of China Rail Construction Corporation (CRCC) and China International Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC).

▪ Establishing a parliamentary friendship group between Algeria and China to contribute cooperation.

▪ The minister of the Algerian National Army, "Gaid Salah" visited china and met "Xu Caihou", vice chairman of the Central Military Commission; they pledged to further expand China-Algeria military exchanges and cooperation. "Gaid" expressed that Algeria armed forces is willing to continue to enhance exchanges and cooperation with the Chinese army in various fields.

▪ At the UN 60th anniversary summit in New York, the Algerian and Chinese presidents agreed Thursday to expand cooperation between their countries. On the rapid growth of bilateral economic and trade relations.

Hu said China is taking measures to increase import from Algeria to promote the sound and steady development of bilateral trade. He pointed to bilateral cooperation achievements in energy, telecommunications, communication, infrastructure and human resources, saying the Chinese government will encourage more Chinese enterprises to take part in the economic construction of Algeria.

Bouteflika said Algeria pays much attention to bilateral cooperation in various fields, and the two countries enjoy sound political relations and expanding economic and trade cooperation.

▪ Instead of the visit of "Li Changchun" a member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau on March 24, 2008, Algeria and China agreed on cooperation on energy resources and mining.

Li Changchun met also with Algerian Prime Minister Abdelaziz Belkhadem and they agreed that the two parties would continue to promote high-level contact, and exchange the experience of administration management to benefit the two peoples.

Li Changchun announced to the Algerian Prime Minister Abdelaziz Belkhadem that China would encourage capable enterprises with good reputation to invest in Algeria, and that he hoped Algeria would continue to support the Chinese enterprises in Algeria to upgrade the economic and trade cooperation between the two countries.

- Due to the visit of the Algerian president to his counterpart Chinese president on February, 2004, the Chinese president puts forward a four-point proposal on the development of Sino-Algerian relations

Firstly, he said leaders of both countries should frequently exchange visits and opinions, and directs the development of bilateral ties from the prospective of strategic cooperation.

Secondly, both countries should strengthen economic and trade cooperation, and expand the cooperation to cover oil and natural gas exploration, infrastructure construction, communications, agriculture and human resources.

Thirdly, cooperation should also be strengthened in health care, culture, science and technology and education, and more exchanges should be encouraged between the legislatures, political parties, non-governmental organizations and youths of the two countries.

Fourthly, the two countries are to hold more consultations on major international and regional issues and to jointly promote the democratization of international relations.

* **Communication process and Complex adaptive system:**

In this part I extracted the communicational terms included in the Complex Adaptive System in way to proof that disaster diplomacy is communicational process and could be studied within communication field. Complex Adaptive System is the approach used to study communication within disaster diplomacy, in goal to respect the nature of the relationship and get result of communication related to disaster diplomacy.

PROPRIETIES:

- **Non- linearity:** Sellnow and Ulmer define crisis communication within four characteristics: specific, unexpected, creates uncertainty, and threat to important goals.

Specific: The Boumerdes earthquake is a specific crisis, it is natural disaster.

Unexpected: all the natural disasters are unexpected, they happened without any previous warnings.

Creates uncertainty: The Boumerdes earthquake created uncertainty. Victims were not sure that the government could manage the crisis and provide security, and their needs.

Threats to important goals: the earthquake had provided many threats to the government. More than 2,278 Algerian died in this earthquake, 128 000 houses were completely destroyed and damaged. Other organizations lost their reputation especially the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism.

So, the Boumerdes earthquake is considered as *crisis communication*.

- **Diversity:** The earthquakes created interactions between many units such as:

Decisions taken at the crisis time toward victims like: Burial permits that were given in the same time and place to avoid disease, allowing people to place tents in playgrounds and public spheres and the priority for victims in allocations.

Actions: the activities related to the earthquake whether inside or outside the country created interactions between sender and receiver. These activities were studied as internal and external communication in previous pages.

Ideas: this outcome is representing the moral cooperation which means condolences letters between Algeria and foreign states.

People: all the activities cited in previous parts were done by people, of course, it is human communication.

As we see all these interactions refer to a ***coherent and complex communicational relationship created by the natural crisis.***

■ **Aggregation:** in the previous pages we conclude that the role of PR inside the country has a shifting function from weakness to strength to improve governmental institutions image. The four PR models were presented by many activities well planned and studied within management function. Planning is the second stage of crisis communication "***the preparation stage***" and it one of "***PR's roles in excellent PR theory***".

MECHANISM:

■ **Tagging:** as said in diversity the units were decisions, actions, ideas and people. These units were matched and attached within a relation created by a disaster. Tagging is all what could facilitate the connection between the units. These units are inside a complex system that contains culture, politics, and economy, it is a whole environment that respects the Algerian society criteria. These units could never be well matched and connected if they don't use the same ***code of message***. This code of message must be respected by the foreign state for well understanding, clear cooperation and best communication.

■ **Internal model:** the system related to the earthquake is based on relations as activities related to the crisis. All these activities are based on improving mutual cooperation and reinforce relations; here we're referring to ***the target of practicing related disaster diplomacy activities***. All the relational systems here are based on this target "***good relationship***".

■ **Building blocks:** the element that related all the previous units is ***diplomatic communication channels***, such as condolence letters, visits, and aids.

■ **Purpose:** in this part ***purpose are these seen at the long- term***, it is different from the internal model. The internal model is the disaster diplomacy target at the period of crisis, while purpose refers to the target in long – term; this purpose was presented as purpose in understanding relationship between Algeria and China.

● **Disaster diplomacy legitimacy and Public Relations:**

In the internal communication we found that the role of PR models has a strategic goal which is transition or shifting from weaknesses to strengths, so what is the role of PR models in the external communication or in disaster diplomacy?

I used two other case studies to make a comparison between the practice of PR models between friendly/enemy states and states that have volatile relationship between friendship and enmity.

*** India – Pakistan disaster diplomacy:**

After the 26 January 2001 earthquake that struck India, Pakistan's de facto ruler, soon to become president, "Pervez Musharraf" offered aids, and provided assistance. The diplomatic outcome included a summit in July 2001. After 2002, India and Pakistan moved forward in restoring diplomatic tie, air links, bus links and cricket test matches and Pakistan offered to get rid of its nuclear weapons if India would do the same.

After the 11 September 2001, Pakistan was classified within the terrorist states list, while the relationship between India and USA was good especially after the 26 December 2004 Tsunami disaster and USA aids. These factors reduced opportunities for cooperation and cropped up again Kashmir problem: the regional geopolitics conflict.

The second earthquake that struck Pakistan on 8 October 2005 was a good opportunity to push forward the relationship between the two states. India and Pakistan collaborated to facilitate the aid operations by lessening Line of Control restrictions. On October 2005, telephone links were restored across the Line of Control to permit families to contact each other. Over nine days, five locations along the line were opened to permit relief supplies to cross. On 19 October some civilians were permitted to cross one of these checkpoints to seek missing family members.

*** Ethiopia – Eritrea disaster diplomacy:**

The conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea soon affected Ethiopia by famine in 1999, the worst food security in 15 years⁴². Humanitarian agencies called for Eritrea to permit food aid to be offloaded at Eritrean ports. In April 2000, Eritrea agreed while Ethiopia rejected the offer. The reasons given by Ethiopia for not using Eritrean ports were:

- * Eritrea stole some of the food aid.
- * Eritrea offer was for Public relations.
- * Eritrean bandits attacked aid convoys' drivers and killed them because they were from different ethnic.
- * Eritrean ports needed the business of offloading aid supplies.
- * Non Eritrean ports were better shipment point than Eritrean ports.
- * Ethiopia needs more food than more access ports.

V. Discussion:

The relationship between Algeria and China is considered as crisis communication. It is a relationship between two friendly states, who doesn't share borders, and they provide mutual cooperation by sending aids as a channel to express sorrow and condolences, and respecting the specific of the affected state to avoid parasite that could threaten the reception of the message. This relationship aims to mutual cooperation at crisis time and long-term relationship in several fields between the two states.

The activities done by the Chinese government were all aids for mutual cooperation with the Algerian state to help victims, and condolences to express deep sorrow and sympathy. The aids hadn't any profiting intentions

they were included into the fourth model of PR, the model of two-way symmetric, while the condolences letters had only an informational role it was for public information. The disaster diplomacy activities reached the micro target which is mutual cooperation at the crisis time (cooperation and giving help), and at the long- term by cooperation in many field and relations.

The relationship between India and Pakistan is a relationship between two states that share borders and have a volatile relation due to a geopolitics conflict. The activities done within disaster diplomacy were all to realize cooperation and mutual help. All the activities were included into two way symmetric PR model. The disaster diplomacy activities succeed into cooperation at the crisis (micro target), but they failed into push forward the relations towards a full security, because the macro target wasn't reached which is a radical solution to the Kashmir conflict.

The proposed Eritrean aids were used as a weapon in the disaster diplomacy, to weakness enemy, and imbalance of power. Eritrea proposed aids accompanied by conditions that were refused by Ethiopia which claims illegitimacy disaster diplomacy done by Eritrea. Ethiopia accuse Eritrea by profiting from the disaster and practicing public relations as publicity (press agency model) to make good image and gain public opinion support by appearing as a good friend and not enemy and focusing on proliferation to the Ethiopian territories throw the Eritrean ports. Ethiopia was given logical excuses to influence public opinion and convince them why it refuses aids; Ethiopia was practicing two way asymmetric communications for scientific persuasion.

VI. Conclusion:

The communication process due to the disaster diplomacy is communication diplomacy. It is a crisis communication due to a natural crisis: Boumerdes earthquake.

According to Lasswell model:

Who: The sender of the disaster diplomacy activities which is Chinese government.

Says what: The disaster diplomacy activities done by Chinese government.

To whom: The Algerian government.

In which channel: All the diplomatic channels.

With what effect: Did the disaster diplomacy activities have impact on future or at the long-term relationship whether positive or negative? In the Algerian- Chinese relationship the effect was positive; it creates cooperation in many fields at the years that follows the earthquake.

How: This question refers to how the effect was positive or negative? The effect in Algerian – Chinese relationship was positive at long- term; it was legitimate disaster diplomacy, using two way symmetric PR model and public information without any bad intentions or any interest. While the effect was negative between Ethiopia and Eritrea, it was illegitimate disaster diplomacy, using press agency model and two-way asymmetric model. The relationship between India and Pakistan is legitimate it uses public information model and two way symmetric, but the relationship always is at the mid-term, because they couldn't realize the macro target which is Kashmir problem.

When: in post Boumerdes earthquake.

So, we conclude that the relationship between disaster diplomacy and public relations models is the effect on disaster diplomacy legitimacy.

Communication diplomacy = \sum (*public information* + *two way symmetric*) = *legitimate diplomacy*

PR = \sum (*press agency/publicity* + *two way asymmetric*) = *illegitimate diplomacy*

Legitimate diplomacy → communication diplomacy → Equal power

Good relations

Long-term relations

Both have good reputation

Promoted disaster diplomacy

Illegitimate diplomacy → public relations → Non equal power

Bad reputation

Short term relations

Inhibit disaster diplomacy

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