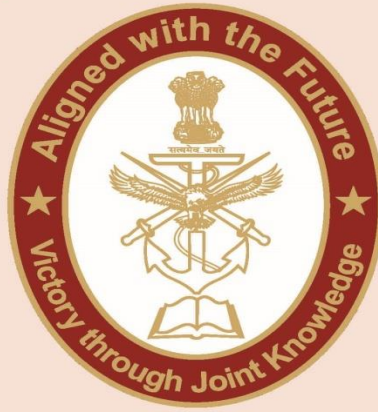


# CENTRE FOR JOINT WARFARE STUDIES



## CENJOWS

**COMPREHENSIVE  
INTEGRATION OF THE UT OF  
J&K WITH NEW INDIA, AND  
DETERRENCE OPTIONS TO  
PREVENT PAKISTAN'S  
CONTINUING PROXY WAR**



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### Introduction: The World in Not a Family.

Unlike what our sages wisely proclaimed 'Vasudaivam Kudumbakam' (The world is one family), the world today is certainly not behaving like one family, even a dysfunctional one at that. Ironically, the Indian sub-continent which was once an integral whole family, epitomises that even more tragically especially when it comes to India-Pakistan relations. History, geography, religion and a colonial legacy have weaved such an intricate complex web that it is very difficult to unravel. It's a long unfortunate story, but Pakistan ever since its independence has waged a proxy war against India irrespective of whether there was a civil government or military rule. The Pakistan Army has always dictated terms using the bogey of hegemonistic India and a national cry for liberating/assimilating Kashmir. India's policy of strategic restraint has not been able to dissuade Pakistan from engaging in proxy war against India.

### Aim of the Paper

The aim of the paper is to holistically examine how to ensure 'Comprehensive Integration of the UT of J&K with New India, and activate Deterrence Options to prevent Pakistan's Continuing Proxy/Hybrid War against India'. Being an extremely complex and chronic issue, the paper has broadly been set in three segments; **Part 1** deals with the historical ramifications of partition, international and regional security environment including interventionist role of China, and examines if Pakistan will ever stop waging its proxy/hybrid war; **Part II** examines the range of both kinetic and non-kinetic options against Pakistan which would impose caution and compel Pakistan to stop; **Part III** analyses the internal dimension of holistically integrating the UT of JK with India, which I feel is the most pivotal and vital component, to resolve this complex and chronic issue. While both are intricately linked they are not inseparable. As will be seen in the paper, the holistic integration of UT of JK will automatically put a stop to Pakistan's proxy/hybrid war.

## Part 1: Historical Perspective, International and Regional Geo-Political and Security Environment

### Two Nation Theory, Kashmir and Regional Security Zones

Undoubtedly a primary reason for the birth of Pakistan is the oft quoted 'Two Nation Theory'. According to this theory, Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations by definition; Muslims have their own customs, religion and tradition from social and moral points of view, Muslims are different from Hindus; and therefore, Muslims should be able to have their own separate homeland in which Islam is the dominant religion, segregated from Hindus<sup>1,2</sup>. Interestingly, it is generally believed in Pakistan and is part of contemporary official Pakistani history, that the movement for Muslim self-awakening and identity was started by Ahmed Sirhindi (1564–1624), who fought against Emperor Akbar's religious syncretistic *Din-i-Ilahi* movement. This was advocated by the All India Muslim League as the founding principle of the Pakistan Movement. There are varying interpretations of the two-nation theory, based on whether the two postulated nationalities can co-exist in one territory or not, with radically different implications. One interpretation argued for the secession of the Muslim-majority areas of colonial India and saw differences between Hindus and Muslims as irreconcilable; this interpretation nevertheless promised a democratic state where Muslims and non-Muslims would be treated as equals<sup>3</sup>. A different interpretation holds that a transfer of populations (i.e. the total removal of Hindus from Muslim-majority areas and the total removal of Muslims from Hindu-majority areas) is a desirable step towards a complete separation of two incompatible nations that "cannot coexist in a harmonious relationship"<sup>4</sup>. A further irreconcilable approach adopted by some influential Pakistani religious scholars is the 'Gazwa-e-Hind' theory. *Pakistan-based terror groups, notably Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), have been using Ghazwa-e-Hind as a Hadith to recruit, fund and justify its audacious terror strikes as a religious holy war against India. The Jaish and others falsely propagate that Jihad against India is considered holy in Islam and that those participating in it [the battle against "infidels"] will be granted an easy entry into paradise*<sup>5</sup>. Although this has been rejected by Indian Islamic scholars, there is no gainsaying the fact that this is a huge motivating force in attracting youth to the terrorist cause. This coupled with the 'raison d'etre' for Pakistan's creation and existence, birth pangs of losing Kashmir, with the added insult of liberation of Bangladesh has created irreconcilable antagonism within Pakistan for India (which is kept alive and exploited by the Pakistan Army, even when the people have realised the treacherous games played by them).

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<sup>1</sup>**'Challenges and Opportunities in Global Approaches to Education'**. IGI Global. 2019. p. 58. Indian Partition of 1947 was a significant communal segregation in the world's history following a huge mass migration. Based on Jinnah's "Two-Nation Theory", a utopian state named Pakistan came into being. Islam as a religion was the only connector between the two long-distanced (by more than 2200 kilometers) parts of Pakistan: East and West (Rafique, 2015). However, the East Pakistanis (present day Bangladeshis) soon found themselves in a vulnerable position in concern of political and economic power. Corrupt West Pakistani leaders persecuted the peoples in the East side.

<sup>2</sup>**'Pakistan: The Heart of Asia'**, Liaquat Ali Khan (1940), Thacker & Co. Ltd.

<sup>3</sup>**'Religions and Societies, Asia and the Middle East'**, Carlo Caldarola (1982), Walter de Gruyter, p. 262-263, They simply advocated a democratic state in which all citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, would enjoy equal rights.

<sup>4</sup>**'Plight of Muslims in India'**, S. Harman (1977), DL Publications and M. M. Sankhdher (1992), **Secularism in India, dilemmas and challenges**, Deep & Deep Publication

<sup>5</sup><https://www.orfonline.org/research/complex-narratives-ghazwa-e-hind-56257/>

## **India-Pakistan Relations within a South Asian Regional Security Zone**

Regional security zones are fairly independent of globalisation and global political trends due to their strong emotional, geographical, historical and adversarial links. Regional Security Complex Theory<sup>6</sup> (RSCT) enables one to understand new alliances/structures and to evaluate the relative balance of power, and mutual relationship within it between, regionalising and globalising trends. Currently only USA and China play a truly global game, treating each other as a special class, and projecting their power into far-flung regions. **This also explains as to why India-Pakistan adversarial and confrontationalist relationships continues with little global intervention, and remains largely bilateral.** The emerging global power China has in the last decade or so tried to intervene/ dominate the South Asia security sub-zone, changing the status quo, and by irrevocably aligning with Pakistan created instability and volatility in the region. India has to consider the China factor when examining its options against Pakistan. It is also axiomatic that India needs to play the leadership/dominant role in South Asia unequivocally, which it considers as its strategic backyard; as a mandatory stepping stone towards attaining regional power and balancing power status. Just as the USA is fast realising that superpower status is neither a constant or a given, India too needs to exercise all facets of its Comprehensive National Power (CNP) to dominate and retain leadership in South Asia.

### **A Multi-Nation, Multi-Domain Approach: An Obvious Narrative**

In an emerging multi-polar world, even USA has realised that a collective approach coupled with unilateral actions to engage a stubborn hard-line adversary provides flexibility and options, creating additional pressure points, to induce/force corrective actions on an unrepentant nation/terrorist groups using terror as an instrument of state policy. The span, scope and dimension of security has enlarged in space, time and domains, where both kinetic and non-kinetic systems enjoy equal importance in terms of effect at the objective end. Nations and groups (corporations, institutions and even terrorist groups) are engaged in 360 degrees, 24X7 multi-domain (MD) cooperation, competition, confrontation and if necessary even conflict if their national objectives are threatened. In other words, 'persistent engagement' to create, maintains and/or expands their strategic space to meet their aspirations. The domains now include strategic PDIME (Political, Diplomatic, Informational, Military, Economic), as also land, sea, sky, space, cyber, information and media, psychological, electro-magnetic spectrum, digital networks which can cause physical, moral and psychological neutralisation and destruction. Even non-kinetic (cognitive and non-cognitive) domains can cause physical destruction like cyber-attacks on aviation or logistic networks, or nuclear plants. Information Influence (IIO), cyber information (CIO) and psychological (PSYOPS) operations, along with niche disruptive technologies (AI, nano, hyper-velocity systems) are becoming pivotal in today's hybrid warfare era. These will be future game-changers to force change in behaviour of nations, leaders (autocratic) and people of a nation, religion or community. MD operations allow for cross domain operations (example, army units firing anti-aircraft/anti-ship missiles and rockets, cyber-attacks on weapon systems causing damage/casualties and neutralisation, PSYOPS against leaders both political and military) in complex layers impacting many other domains. No nation (even USA and China) can be a master of all domains both in time and place. India needs to conduct MD operations against China and Pakistan,

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<sup>6</sup>*RelationsRegions and Powers; The Structure of International Security*, CambridgeStudies International, Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, CAMBRIDGE; [www.cambridge.org/9780521814126](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521814126)

and must use its allies and the international community to caution and coerce both nations to stop proxy and hybrid war against India, which they are undoubtedly engaging in 24X7, even as I write. A 'whole of nation' approach is needed to achieve the aim stated.

### **Will Pakistan Ever Stop its Proxy/Hybrid War?**

It is important to analyse and accept some hard realities and circumstantial rationale. 'Take back Kashmir' and hegemonistic India (existential threat to Pakistan) is such a core conviction instilled in the minds of Pakistan Army and majority of the populace, that it has become indelible. The reasons are numerous and well known and will not be elaborated upon. Will India winning a strategic decisive military victory (possible only when applied multi-domain) stop proxy war?; If that happens, the Pak military will likely react in two ways; firstly, a vanquished nation and Army will further encourage proxy war in all its manifestations as the only recourse against a confirmed enemy who has proved their fears correct; second, terrorists/jehadi groups no longer under control of the Pakistan Army will intensify their actions with little regard for the implications on the people or international opinion. Can break up of Pakistan be the answer? Pundits who have long thought about it opine that a fragmented, violent, unstable Pakistan with insecure nuclear weapons will be a greater danger to humanity let alone India. Will an imploding Pakistan be a solution? It may keep the polity and Pak Army busy for a while but essentially same rationale as above applies. Moreover, Pakistan is too big to be allowed to implode (over 200 million), and global powers and their allies will not allow it. We must therefore face the reality that Pakistan is highly unlikely to stop the proxy war from being waged against India. The ebb and flow can be controlled, and hopefully to a level that it does not affect India even psychologically. Finally, like all great powers, every inch of land, blade of grass, drop of water, and crystal of snow which is Indian has to be protected at all cost, and India must use its CNP to stop Pakistan from prosecuting a proxy war.

### **International Opinion and Pressure works up to a Point: Finally, AatmaNirbharata is the Key**

In today's world of dynamic strategic balancing and shifting alliances, there are no permanent friends. India has been politically and diplomatically highlighting Pakistan's role in waging a state sponsored proxy war, and being the hot-bed of terrorism. This has been accepted by the World without exception, with some countries openly agreeing with India while others being silent but supportive. International pressure and funding to Pakistan has waxed and waned with geo-political events. Pakistan has always managed to stay afloat and many times swim against the tide by exploiting events to its advantage. Many illiberal nations led by China and Russia have learnt the art of conducting hybrid war and achieving their political aims, staying below the red lines of conventional punitive retaliation. Pakistan has mastered the art. International approbation and economic sanctions must remain one of the many verticals which must be constantly applied on Pakistan. As India's standing rises in the world polity so will the response from allies and the international community against Pakistan, but ultimately India must accept that it needs to resolve the issue by itself.

### **The Changing Face of Deterrence<sup>7</sup>.**

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<sup>7</sup> Paraphrased from my own article on Deterrence; '**Strategic and Operational Deterrence in Indian Context: Multi Domain Warfare**'; CENJOWS SYNERGY Magazine, Jun 2019

The traditional/cold war deterrence (mainly nuclear) is no longer effective today, leading to a lot of cynicism about the relevance and even effectiveness of deterrence specially on illiberal/rogue nations and terrorist organisations. Even given the tremendous CNP of USA, increasingly many smaller nations from Iran, North Korea, Venezuela, Philippines, Pakistan etc are thumbing their noses at USA with impunity. Deterrence effect finds it difficult to prevent strategic competition which falls beneath the threshold of traditional military force, allowing these adversaries to make operational gains without tripping the 'go-to-war' calculus of the adversary. The expansion of domains for confrontation from space and cyberspace to information and sea bed (energy pipelines and data cables), new capabilities and disruptive technologies are making it harder to accurately gauge the military balance of power. Today deterrence works better in the strategic and existential plane rather than in the operational and tactical plane. India must rethink its deterrence strategy in the changing geo-political and strategic environment including psychology of decision making (after all, leaders/COAS Pakistan will be the final arbiter/decision maker). Our deterrence capabilities including military has not stopped Pakistan, as he cleverly stays below our perceived red lines of punitive retaliation (frankly, because of lack of 'deterrence reputation and execution' too, he indulges in adventurism). However, even with diminishing returns, developing a multi-domain 'Punitive Deterrence' against Pakistan, and 'credible deterrence' against China becomes a major priority for India.

**The China Connection is a Live and Present Danger.** The China-Pakistan binding master-client relationship is no secret and needs no elaboration. The launch of BRI and further CPEC adds a more intimate and physical dimension to the China-Pakistan-India triangular relations. There is not only a physical collusivity between China and Pakistan in Eastern Ladakh and the PoK region, but it has also increased the stakes dramatically. I believe BRI is 'existential' for the CCP given the current global economic state, rising aspirations of the Chinese people, internal dissensions, and dependence on external trade for growth and achievement of Xi Jinping's China Dream. In addition, Pakistan has always been a 'cat's paw' for China. China's actions do not stop there, as its increasing interference, intervention and relations with South Asian nations (Myanmar, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives) pose a threat in our strategic backyard, as it directly impacts our national interests. Our strategy and concept of operations for preventing Pakistan from waging a proxy war MUST take into account the Chinese geo-political and physical presence in the region. Its intrinsic support to Pakistan in ALL activities both kinetic and non-kinetic must be factored in. Gradually China-Pakistan joint hybrid operations are getting cemented and India needs to stay ahead of the OODA loop (Observe-Orient-Decide-Act) to counter it, and continuously build our CNP and deterrence capability, of which the military vertical is pivotal. **Increasing Chinese PDIME (political, diplomatic, informational, military and economic) interference and belligerence against India, and most challenging standoff along the LAC in Eastern Ladakh (one reason being a threat to CPEC), China's continued intransigence on the boundary question where it does not recognize Indian sovereignty over Arunachal Pradesh and even UT of Ladakh are portents for the future and indicate a 'clear and present danger'.** China is increasingly sensitive to our MD reforms (specially infrastructure development along the border areas in all Sectors, with focus on East Ladakh given strategic importance of BRI/CPEC), and will support Pakistan both in moral and material terms, and in its hybrid war. India too must pull out its stops. India need not act in isolation due to the asymmetry in CNP, but must strongly join the chorus on mistreatment of Uighur

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Muslims, hegemonistic actions in the East and South China seas, and with Taiwan. We must support the voices questioning the one China policy, examine seriously calls for the so-called autonomy to Xinjiang and Tibet and highlight debt trap enticements to nations as part of BRI. Above all we must resolutely stand firm on the LAC.

## **Part II – Taming Pakistan: Options to Stop his Hybrid/Proxy War**

In this Part we will highlight the external options/methodologies to coerce/persuade/influence Pakistan to stop persecuting a proxy war against India. This comprehensive, top-down multi-disciplinary strategy needs to be implemented resolutely over a sustained period of time.

**Pakistan’s Changing Manoeuvres: Peoples Hybrid Movement.** The more visible form of proxy war waged by Pakistan is the kinetic one with numerous acts of terrorism in J&K and also across the hinterland. The concept of ‘keep the kettle boiling’ and ‘war of a thousand cuts’ are frequently bandied as his concept of operations. **It is to be noted with concern, that on analysis, Pakistan has adopted multi-domain (MD) hybrid war using both kinetic and non-kinetic means with a larger focus on the cognitive and non-cognitive domains of PDIME (political, diplomatic, informational, military, economic), with emphasis on IIO and PSYOPS ever since 2008/09. Pakistan has realized that wars and terrorism alone, has not achieved results, but in fact earned the country lots of ignominy, which is being exploited by India. So, Pakistan’s focus has turned to a sinister political/societal/religious/communal upheaval in Valley and mainland India.** Sporadic acts of violence/terrorism will continue as hitherto, which can reach a surge of discontent to paralyse and de-stabilise Valley (and preferably rest of India), providing the impetus/chain reaction to force India to negotiate the status of J&K with Pakistan. Pakistan appears to have taken a leaf out of Gene Sharpe’s essay ***‘From Dictatorship to Democracy, A Conceptual Framework for Liberation’***<sup>8</sup> which was written in 1993, to support the Burmese revolution to overthrow the dictatorship, and thereafter used by many intifadas and colour revolution leaders as a guide for their causes. Pakistan also has the MD support including international clout of big brother China with it, to provide the necessary catalyst as also stymie Indian and international actions/sanctions against Pakistan.

This nuanced change of strategy is an attempt to out-manoeuvre world’s intolerance for terrorism (post 9/11), successes of counter infiltration/counter terrorism (CI/CT) operations (synergy between Rashtriya Rifles (RR), CAPFs, JKP, intelligence agencies and Unified HQ), the Anti-Infiltration Obstacle System (AIOS) (2004), normalcy (Assembly elections and Parliamentary elections), and the game changing abrogation of Article 370 and 35A. However, our own internal dissensions provide the necessary ingredients/catalysts to Pakistan to reinforce and exploit. During the last year or so, Pakistan has picked up prickly/tricky issues like the Khalistan Referendum and Kartarpur Corridor in Punjab, CAA (Citizens Amendment Act) and NRC (National Registry of Citizens), constant fake news/rumours about minorities (emphasis on communal contours), to create a potent destabilizing cocktail, which can be utilized to achieve Pakistan’s political aims.

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<sup>8</sup>***From Dictatorship to Democracy, A Conceptual Framework for Liberation’*** by Gene Sharp; available online and print from numerous sources including Amazon

**India's Modification to Policy of Strategic Restraint thus Enhancing Deterrence Reputation.** The surgical strikes, Balakote and current firm stance along the LAC has already signaled a change/modification to our strategy. However, it will take some time to develop a deterrence reputation (like Israel, China, USA), as possessing capabilities and capacities is not enough if India is perceived as a soft state or at best a diffident regional power. In this connection signaling a 'one off' strike in the post-strike statements may have taken some of the sheen of our deterrence reputation as also emboldened Pakistan to quickly recover and carry out quid pro quo actions more to satisfy its own populace<sup>9</sup>. India has introduced an element of unpredictability and Pakistan can no longer be sure about India's likely response. India has demonstrated to Pakistan and the world that the rules of the game have changed. India must continue to be pro-active in framing responses to terrorist incidents with their origin on Pakistani soil, so as to raise Pakistan's cost for waging a proxy war against India with a view to eventually making it prohibitive.

**Discredit Pakistan Army/Reduce its Saliency in Pakistan Polity.** Our National Security Strategy and foreign policy objective must aim at discrediting the Pakistan Army in the eyes of their people, and even within the international community aligned towards a liberal democratic world order. The focus needs to be on the 'Deep State'. Recently the opposition led by ex PM Nawaz Sharif has started calling out the Army and the present Government. This is finding increasing traction in Pakistan. The clashes in Karachi and the increasing restiveness of the Sindhis, Balochis amongst others including the Punjabis is a clear indication of the average Pakistani's disillusionment with the 'Deep State'. Now is therefore a very opportune time, as the Western world is already hostile to a belligerent and illiberal China and will not take kindly to Pakistan's close alignment with China. The Pakistani Army has graduated to conducting a hybrid war using calibrated use of terrorism, supported by strategic deterrence, allowing it to retain the strategic advantage of bleeding India. It therefore has no reason to take a retrograde step towards the failed model of waging a conventional war against India. Based on the premise that Pakistan/its Army is unlikely to change its policy of sponsoring terrorism, India must hurt the principal architect of Pakistan's Kashmir policy, the Pakistani Army. India needs to create requisite leverages against the Pakistani Army in order to curb terrorism. We have already signaled that our SF will neutralise terrorists not only inside India but also target the perpetrators of terrorism across the LoC. It is necessary to inflict punishment on the posts across the LoC that are an integral element of Pakistan's terrorist actions against India. Pakistani military retaliation to the same and raising of the existing threshold of weapons and quantum of force employed along the LoC is to be expected. India possesses the ability to gain a military advantage over Pakistan along the LoC, irrespective of the level of escalation, something that had been accomplished in the past, as well prior to the ceasefire in 2003. Understanding of the escalation ladder and taking adequate measures is a given. **There are lines which Pakistan will not cross, despite disproportionate punishment by India, as repeated failures in conventional wars have proved it disastrous.** India must keep harping on a declaratory policy of escalatory response to acts of terrorism, and launch a vigorous IIO and PSYOPS in Pakistan. Shaping perceptions in Pakistan of maximum damage and casualties to Pakistan Army will help both internally and externally. To further consolidate, our strikes across the LoC need not necessarily be reactive, but slowly be pre-emptive and punitive. With time, infrastructural damage and increasing body bags,

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<sup>9</sup>**How to counter Pakistans Proxy War** by Brig Gurmeet Kanwal, The Economic Times, 08 Oct 2018, Link - <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/longread-how-to-counter-pakistans-proxy-war/articleshow/66119254.cms>



Pak Army will have no choice but to close the terror tap. When applying our escalation policy, we must safeguard and secure our villages and people living close to the LoC, specially from artillery fire. Civilian suffering can be obviated by relocating villages in the direct line of fire of the Pakistan Army (mostly on the Pakistani side of mother ridge within 500 to 1500 meters of the LoC) by acquiring this land at generous terms and facilitating the resettlement of the villagers. Further, the creation of family bunkers along the IB sector in J&K may also have to be considered, given past experience of ceasefire violations by the Pakistan Army and its indiscriminate targeting of villages. These steps would help sustain the current policy without adversely affecting the local population.

**Brand Pakistan as a Terrorist State.** Given Pakistan's pathological hatred towards India and its proxy war, and in consonance with the resolute stance taken especially by our Armed Forces along the LAC, it is time to officially name Pakistan as a 'terrorist state'. India being a non-permanent member of the UNSC with unprecedented global backing, this tag should be pitched within the UNGA and UNSC. With Chinese reputation at an all-time low, the move while unlikely to succeed as yet, will dent Pakistan's reputation and morale specially within Pakistan greatly. However, before that the Indian parliament must pass a unanimous resolution branding Pakistan as a terrorist state.

**Other Measures against Pakistan.** India can deal many a hand and has done it in the past either in isolation or sporadically, always with the hope that Pakistan being our immediate neighbour will eventually turn around and mend its ways. It is time to accept that Pakistan in any state will always conduct a MD proxy/hybrid war against India. Some of the measures are listed below with very little amplification as they are well known, and many are already being acted upon. What should change now is to carry out a relentless multi-pronged, MD attack short of a conventional military war till Pakistan is forced to turn the tap off, and never let off the pressure till such time our CNP asymmetry, deterrence capability, capacity and reputation, will make it improbable for Pakistan to conduct a proxy/hybrid war. This obviously includes our internal, external and soft power status regionally and internationally. Some of the salient objectives should be: -

- Diplomatically isolate Pakistan for its rogue actions. No talks or a relation with Pakistan till it stops proxy/hybrid war against India (discretely keeping lines of communication open to exploit any change of stance or opportunity).
- Choke Pakistan economically by ensuring blacklisting by FATF (Financial Action Task Force), and by preventing loans from world economic institutions like World Bank and IMF, till Pakistan stops state sponsored terrorism. This is already happening.
- Isolate Pakistan within South Asia and shift emphasis to other linkages like BIMSTEC, SCO, BRICS, QUAD.
- Overtly and covertly support the movement in Balochistan and Gilgit-Baltistan. Consider allowing both to form 'Government in exile' in India. An emerging faultline with immense potential is the concept of 'Pashtunistan/ Pakhtunwa' which has had a surprising resurgence at the back of a peaceful Pashtun nationalist movement, threatening Pakistan's



tenuous hold in KPK adding fuel to vision of Pashtunistan. It is important to note that Pashtuns embody the world's largest (patriarchal) lineage ethnic group with a population of approximately 40 million astride the Durand Line, which the Pashtuns do not recognize. We should however, not be seen supporting any form of terrorism/terrorist actions anywhere especially in Pakistan.

- Support Afghanistan on its stand on the Durand Line, which will additionally provide a boost to the Pakhtunwa movement.
- Along with the international community, ensure that after the withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan the country should not descend into civil war. Our assets built assiduously since 2002 need to be protected.
- Create infrastructure for full utilisation of the water provided for in the 1960 Indus Water Treaty, which by itself will create panic within Pakistan being an acute water scarce nation. This can be done without any re-negotiation of the Treaty. If pushed seek re-negotiation of the Treaty.
- Conduct covert operations to neutralise terrorist leaders in Pakistan, as Pakistan treats them as strategic assets, which also will discredit Pak Army. International approbation will be nil/muffled as most of them are already categorised as terrorists by UN. To those who worry about tit for tat action by Pakistan, one can respond that there are no wanted or designated terrorists on Indian soil. It must be pointed out that this must be done at opportune moments and must be timely, as historically such actions have not given the desired results (Israel has periodically carried out neutralisation missions with not much to show for it). However, over a period of time Israel's stand has been vindicated as the Arabs themselves have grown tired of Hezbollah, and are gradually aligning with Israel for geo-political compulsions.
- **Exploit Geo-Political Trends.** Exploit the global geo-political trends like in the Middle East, with the traditional Pakistan friends Saudi Arabia, UAE and numerous OIC nations already cooling off, and strengthening their bonds with India. The emerging alignment of Pakistan with Turkey and Malaysia is more of a counter reaction to the troubled relations which Pakistan is facing with other Middle East states. Real politik will finally dictate relationships, especially with a stronger, stable, richer, populated, emerging New India which believes in strategic autonomy and views relations in a principled way. The same can be said of EU and other democratic nations who have a majority vote/weightage in all global institutions/forums.
- **Probable Win-Win India-China Situation at Pakistan's cost.** In the future, which is a possibility in the ever-changing geo-strategic environment; convince China that her relation with India is far more beneficial both strategically and economically than with Pakistan. This will further ensure security and vibrancy of BRI and CPEC, especially if India agrees to join it. While sounding unlikely now, would be a win-win situation which PM Modi initially envisaged. **Pakistan's move to a democratic set-up with no interference/intervention by her Army will**

**further consolidate the situation and bring stability and peace to the region.**

- **Window for Conventional Conflict between Nuclear Powers.** Pakistan boasts of full spectrum capability (which experts doubt) to include tactical nuclear weapons. India needs to announce and convince the people of Pakistan that this is a bogey and a window for punitive conventional deterrence exists, which India will exercise if red lines are crossed. The people are increasingly aware of the wide disparity and asymmetry between the two nations, as also how the international community views both nations.
- **Parliament Representation of People of PoK and Gilgit Baltistan.** Start asserting legal right over PoK and GB by filling vacant seats of the Lok Sabha and UT of J&K assembly (once re-formed), reserved for PoK and Kashmiri Pundits. India has more than 36000 families of PoK and six lakh Kashmiri pundits. India should give them the opportunity of contesting these seats and become the voice of entire POK and GB.
- **India's Dilemma: Pakistan Democratic Farce and Ambiguous Control.** The current Imran Khan government which was installed by the Army has by everybody's reckoning lost the trust of the Army and the people. Whom to talk to in Pakistan has always been an issue with democratic India. The dilemma is that the Deep State (ISI and Army) runs policy and conducts the proxy war, but in the farce of a democracy called Pakistan, who and how to negotiate? Experience with a military dictator or democratically elected PM have not achieved any results. Pakistan has to be coerced to accept India's terms and stop the proxy war.
- **All Terrorists are Bad and need to be Neutralised.** Persuade and if required put international pressure on Pakistan to act against all terrorist groups for its own security and not selectively, specially groups involved in terrorist acts in India like Deobandi gps like JeM, HuM, and Ahl-e-Hadis groups like LeT and Jamaat-e-Islami supported HM.
- **Conduct of Special Operations.** Without mincing words, India must conduct hybrid/special operations, over and above Special Forces operations. These imply developing and employing capabilities beyond the armed forces and exploit the complete sub-conventional spectrum available. Terrorist group leadership is one set of targets that must remain within the operational spectrum of such capacity development.
- **Exploit the Fundamental Differences in Interpretation of Islam<sup>10</sup>.** In Pakistan, Islam has so closely interwoven into social fabric that it has assumed a life of its own. Surprisingly the pertinent question is; what type of Islam? Islam is not monolithic and different 'madhab/mazhab' as well as sects advocate different interpretations of Islam. All consider their own interpretation as authoritative and regard the rest as either non-Islamic or un-Islamic. Even within sects there are major divisions like between the 'Deobandis and Barelvis'. Even if Muslims belonging to the same mazhab

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<sup>10</sup>'The Politicisation of Islam' by Dr Ashok K Behra in the CDM publication by the Pakistan Study Forum in Mar 2020

(Hanafi in this case) their approach to Islam vary to the extent that they consider the other non-Muslim! It may not be wrong to say that in Pak 'Islam has become an obsession, a pathology'. Ironically, Pakistanis find it difficult to define their country in non-religious terms as Islam has become its marker. This can be exploited to create dissension and instability within Pakistan, with a view to stop infiltration and Kashmir centric operations.

- **Carry the Punitive Measures in the High Seas.** After the Mumbai terrorist attack and as part of the expanded punitive actions we need to accost and inspect Pakistan maritime vessels for contraband and war like stores, including terrorists boarded for a probable terrorist action. Illegal items and war like stores can always be found, and the ships/vessels can be impounded for longish periods. This will highlight Pakistan's nefarious/terrorist activities having reached even the high seas. Deniability of any mischievous designs is a double-edged weapon.

**Out of the Box Suggestions.** It has been proved that some different, out of the box and even bizarre ideas which on immediate examination seem unacceptable or inappropriate, but on implementation have found great success. Couples are listed below:-

- Near the LoC identify and create some duty-free areas (we can examine the crossing points). In those zones approximately 3km deep and 15-20 kms wide, create entertainment zones which will provide a wide variety of pleasure and leisure activities. Allow any Pakistani to enter and exit without visa. No income tax, no capital gains tax. The jurisdiction will however be Indian.
- In a fairly short period (1-2 years settle locals belonging to UT of JK from security forces (CAPF, Armed Forces, JKP), Kashmiri Pundits, locals from South of PirPanjal (talking of a large number of at least few lakhs) in the Valley in model villages. These can be gradually expanded and additional villages settled. Each is provided pension, appropriate land for agriculture and a house, a la Israeli settlements. Being from within the UT any condemnation/protests can be countered.

### **Part III - The Complete Integration of UT of JK with New India**

#### **The Fundamental Concept**

**“It has been said that most revolutions are not caused by revolutionaries in the first place, but by the stupidity and brutality of governments,”**

- By SeánMacStiofáin, the provisional IRA's first chief of staff.

**In Part III** we discuss how to integrate the people (their hearts and minds) of the UT of JK with the rest of India. **This is undeniably the pivotal game changing transformation, where the people themselves will reject the notion of an independent nation of J&K, or accession to Pakistan.** This will effectively resolve and dissolve the insurgency permanently, and stop internal support to Pakistan, for conduct of its hybrid war. **To fight externally, win internally first.**

**Background to Internal Integration.** The quote above, while hard hitting and difficult to digest, is a fundamental truth and introspection by the Indian polity is a must for bringing about a radical change in our strategy in the UT of J&K. The biggest battle to win to prevent Pakistan from interference in UT of J&K, is to win the hearts and minds of the people. While it is often stated that the 'centre of gravity' to resolve the insurgency in UT of J&K (henceforth referred to as J&K) are the people, one feels that it is axiomatic, and more important to know and understand how and what to do. It is strongly recommended that two aspects should be addressed primarily; first, eradicate/demystify the notion of 'Azaadi' from the heart and minds of the people, that it is impractical, non-achievable and in fact not desirable; second, convince the populace that people belonging to J&K are in fact more aligned with the history, culture, Kashmiriyat and sufism, social ethos and ways of life with the other citizens of India living in the mainland, and concurrently life in Pakistan is alien to them, as they will be misfits and second class citizens there, apart from a much poorer quality of life. A very challenging and tall order indeed especially in the face of resentment that the average Kashmiri feels towards India and the onslaught of a radical Sunni Islam on the foundations of an ingrained and easy-going Sufi order.

**Failure to Detect and Counter Hybrid Operations of Pakistan.** In Part II, we saw Pakistan changing his concept of operations from a proxy war to a 'Peoples Hybrid Movement'. Pakistan is focused on creating a sinister political/ societal/ religious/communal upheaval in Valley and mainland India. Amplifying further, while acknowledging Pakistan's change of tactics as shift to an 'agitational movement' and continuously shifting priorities from terrorism to agitation based on Indian and international response, we have failed to recognize the contours of a much larger holistic 'Hybrid Warfare' being conducted. **Acceptance that we are facing a well-designed hybrid war by Pakistan is the first step leading to a synergized national response plan, which could have decentralized pro-active and reactive actions.** The pattern stitched over a period of time is now clearly discernible as: -

- Constantly highlight the 'Hindutva card' with greater emphasis against the current Government.
- Prop up demand for 'Azadi, and keep the narrative alive at all cost.
- Rise of *Jamaat-e-Islami* Kashmir (Jel). *Wahhabi* Islam's replacement of *Sufism* and *Kashmiriat*.
- Further exodus of Hindus while concurrently playing the sympathy card by Valley leaders.
- Indigenisation of terror.
- Innovative use of social media.
- Continue bandhs, stone pelting, sporadic acts of terrorism against visible signs of Government (JKP, Army, CAPF) within Valley.
- Periodically provide a surge/tempo to movement, carry out hybrid activities pan-India to include political, diplomatic, societal actions coupled with high profile acts of terrorism highlighting indigenous nature

of the incidents.

- Pick up and further inflame sensitive issues and provide a minority/communal flavor (CAA, NRC, Ayodhya).
- Special focus on abrogation of Article 370 globally and internally. Deliberately provoke residents of Jammu Region against abrogation of Article 35A.

**Sound and Good Intentions: However, working in Silos.** The resolution of the Kashmir issue and prevention of Pakistan's proxy war has been engaging policy and decision makers, at all levels and across domains for decades. The fact, however unpleasant to hear is that all the actors involved while harping on a 'dynamic whole of nation, all-encompassing approach' are 'happy to work in their silos'. Be it the politicians, diplomats, bureaucrats, intelligence agencies, Army, CAPFs and JKP. So also international institutions (UN, OIC, SCO), allies and other nations as well as the various groups in the Valley. Their response and actions (ironically, even Pakistan) has been predictable and standard. **A 'New India' revolutionary approach is needed for lasting resolution and peace.** One aspect which the writer believes in is the fact that Pakistan and Kashmir have become a national obsession and a major 'breaking news and TRP' booster for the media. With ever increasing MD asymmetry between India and Pakistan especially economic, India must carry on with its India Dream keeping Pakistan as just a minor irritant/pinprick by gradually persuading media, along with low key political responses to 'ignore Pakistan'; while working silently on the larger picture, which in itself will reduce the problem psychologically and on ground. While the Chinese intervention and strategic collusion with Pakistan has made the hybrid game and responses even more complex, Pakistan's adventurism will still remain operational and not existential.

### **India's Integration/Tri-Colour Movement in Valley**

**A Long Hard Road Ahead.** Countering the above narratives becomes harder, as our democracy which comes with unique characteristics and advantages, is also a much easier playground to conduct hybrid warfare, given India's myriad asymmetries, political, societal, communal and governing instabilities, which cannot be wished away. After introspection and interaction with colleagues who have spent a greater part of their professional lives involved in one way or the other with the J&K issue<sup>11</sup>, it is recommended that India has to launch a holistic, concerted, whole of India counter movement (Tri-colour) to defeat the idea of secessionism, fundamentalism and terrorism in J&K. If this approach works it can be modified/ adapted to suit other insurgencies in the North East and LWE (Left Wing Extremism). The good news first; the Valley is not fully subverted due to the very malafide nature of Pakistan's designs, treatment and quality of life of people of PoK; the power of social media which while playing a vital role in subversion, terrorism, and recruitment, also showcases the standing of Pakistan in the international community; loyalty of J&K Police and segment of local citizens; and the continued legal empowerment of Indian security forces. Pakistan is at its weakest geo-politically now. How far a road we have to travel can be gauged by the reactions of the people in the Valley regarding the ongoing standoff between India and China along the LAC in their erstwhile state; social media is abuzz

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<sup>11</sup>Discussions with armed forces and even civilian colleagues and friends (probability of 'out of box' suggestions higher). Had few sessions with Brig Vishwas Rao, SM.

with excitement and memes welcoming the Chinese. Despite knowing the track record of Chinese against the Muslim Uighurs, the locals at least outwardly are taunting rest of India, politicians, the security forces and JKP that the Chinese are coming and Xi Jinping will have tea in Dal Lake. Mr Omar Abdullah had to temporarily shut down his twitter handle due to abusive trolls, when he warned people what to expect from the Chinese citing the example of the Uighurs.

**Concept of Operations. The concept of operations should be to execute a synergized national plan to simultaneously address Pakistan's Hybrid War at the political, economic and societal level with a focus on the UT of J&K while simultaneously eradicating the very idea of secessionism (azaadi), radicalism and insurgency/terrorism, with a view to integrate the people's heart and minds with the rest of India. The first Part having been covered, we must convince the people of J&K that culturally, ethnically, historically (kashmiriyat and sufism), developmentally, and for the future, their well-being lies in being aligned to India rather than with Pakistan.**

### **Pivotal Ingredients.**

- Being essentially a war of ideas, the concept of '*Jus ad Bellum, Jus in Bello, Jus post Bellum*' and strategic communication gain pre-eminence. Strategic communication mainly by engaging in Information Influence, Cyber and Psychological Operations (IIO, CIO and PSYOPS).
- Sensitizing the security forces and the general public of India to completely stop the infrequent instances of societal persecution of the people from Valley region of J&K.
- The primary tool will always be '*Satyagrahic*' (truth-force), a radical change with an intrinsic non-violent (ahimsa) with a soothing and gentle healing touch. This movement should emanate from multiple directions; the Government; people of J&K; national polity and India should be ready to face a long hard road ahead.
- Accountability and time bound missions are the key to success.

**Concept Drawn from Teachings and Practices of Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela<sup>12</sup>.** The concept may appear revolutionary and to some will appear even outdated, and a form of appeasement and perhaps a defeatist approach, but to create a permanent 'New India Tri-Colour' change needs a total change of approach. Historian BR Nanda explaining the ways, means and ends of non-violent movements said "Satyagraha was not designed to seize any particular objective or to crush the opponent, but to set in motion forces which would lead to a new equation, in such a strategy it (is) perfectly possible to lose all the battles but still win the war". To elucidate, Nelson Mandela with a combination of 'tolerance, non-violence, reconciliation and forgiveness, created history and transformed South Africa from a frontline state of apartheid, profound racial and social discrimination, deep rooted insurgency and acts of terrorism (Mandela himself was a militant and so adopted more pragmatic and practical processes) to a modern egalitarian society where people of all colour and race live gracefully and with dignity. Recently the action of 'Take a Knee' by

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<sup>12</sup> Drawn from own conviction based on J&K tenures and staff appointments at Northern Command (Col GS of Div in Valley, Commander of a LC Brigade, BGS and MGGS Operations) and as DGMO; and periodic discussions with Brig Vishwas Rao, SM.

white US policemen to diffuse the '#Black Lives Matter' movement is a good example of a smart satyagrahic movement aimed at hearts and minds. Main pillars/ingredients of the concept are:-

- **End State- Redemption and Reconciliation**. Aim is to transplant ideas and win minds and not seek to defeat/humiliate the opponent. The end state is redemption and reconciliation.
- **Direction of Non-violent Attack**. Attack the idea and not the messenger. Intent, execution and good faith is the answer.
- **Relentless Action**. The approach should be relentless and positive actions with visibility on ground which attracts the spiritual and cultural roots.
- **Good Faith and Goodwill**. Intent, good faith and good will is the essence of the plan, which must be felt and seen by the people.
- **Ensure Law and Order Situation.**
- **Separate the Separatists.** A concerted effort is required to separate the separatists from the common citizen by making the separatists irrelevant.
- **Synergy of action, accountability and time bound implementation.**

**Apex Governing Body of Operation Integration/Tri-colour. Statesmanship, Statecraft and Vision of the highest order is required to implement the Tri-colour Integration movement in the UT of J&K.** We are fortunate to have PM Modi at the helm, and there will be continuity at least till 2024. **Good governance in all its facets is a sine qua non for success**, and focus here will be on planning, preparation and implementation of the 'Integration Movement'. 'Setting the Stage' should be done during the coming winter months, and implementation can commence from Apr/May 2021, with an initial timeline given for visible results as summer of 2024. The CCS needs to approve the concept and broad contours and timelines of implementation, as also carry out periodic monitoring. The opposition parties need to be taken on board in the interest of national objectives and security. **The 'over dependence on bureaucracy needs to be shed' and a fresh, mission focussed group of patriots who are a mix of domain experts (technocrats, diplomats, armed forces and para-military personnel, administrators) need to drive the Transformation.** A political figure (only, and not a diplomat, bureaucrat or military professional) of stature, impeccable integrity and credentials should head the 'Transformation and Implementation' Body at the Centre to oversee the 'Whole of Nation' approach (deliberately MHA has not been given the responsibility being a multi-domain whole of nation operation, to cast away old and tired templates and mindsets, and to infuse new ideas and minds). Since the NSA and his institutions like NSCS are already fully committed, he should have an independent monitoring and executive Secretariat from all Ministries and the SF specially from the Army. A 'go getter' and empathetic Lt Gov will oversee the actual implementation in the Valley. The current UHQ will provide an excellent initiating platform which can be modified based on domains activated. The ongoing operations of bringing the situation in the



UT from a public order to a law and order domain will continue, with targeted, surgical, counter terrorist strikes with zero/minimum collateral damage and HR violations. Terrorist initiated incidents (TII), and appreciated number of terrorists in J&K while currently low have always waxed and waned. Low key counter infiltration and counter insurgency operations in all its dimensions will also continue in the background of the central theme of Satyagrahic movement, with negligible/nil media coverage. **It is emphasised that the plan lays emphasis on the non-kinetic, non-violent means to change the idea of azaadi to integration with India, which should remain the focus under ALL circumstances despite violent disturbances or attempts by Pakistan to elicit a kinetic response. IIO and PSYOPS must focus on integration and NOT on Pakistan or TIIs.** Broad contours of the plan are suggested below, but if the concept is approved a detailed and overlapping plan with accountability, resource allocation (fiscal and HR) and timelines can be drawn up.

**Preparing the Stage.** Till a holistic national plan is prepared and stage set for execution, actions which are ongoing and can be implemented are highlighted below:-

- **Counter Information Battle (Kinetic and Non-kinetic).** Superior OODA loop over the nexus at all levels (strategic, operational and tactical). Basically address Pakistan, separatists, ideologues, terrorists, protest organisers, financiers, over ground workers (OGW), social networks, etc.
- **Secure Environment.**
  - Expand LC ceasefire to cease societal warfare to secure Kashmir from Pakistan (reduce visibility, AWAM activities, governance, private industry induction, visible infrastructure development, focus on education, sports, entertainment).
  - Intelligence, counter infiltration (CI) and CT grids to deny the nexus (terrorists, OGWs) freedom of action and to physically secure people from it.
  - Destroy/deny re-building of nexus' finances and structures.
  - IO and PSYOPS grid to psychologically secure people from separatist and religious ideologues. Initially by using AF (J&K) SPA-1990, UAPA, PSA and media to counter, arrest and de-radicalise these ideologues<sup>13</sup>.
  - Smart non-violent 'Joint Counter Agitation Strategy'.
- **Shape the Environment.** IIO, CIO and PSYOPS using/creating a proper IW grid targeting different segments to shape people's beliefs and de-radicalise ideologues, youth and fence-sitters. **This is the key, which requires expertise, detailed study, planning having nuanced messages for specific targets, with timelines and reviews, and most importantly resources (fiscal, HR, and media tools).**
- **Gradual Removal of AF (J&K) SPA-1990 (AFSPA).** This is considered a pivotal and in fact mandatory initiating step to commence the transformation/ integration process. Initially, districts/areas which have

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<sup>13</sup>***Beyond Prevention: The Role of Strategic Communications Across the Four Pillars of counterterrorism Strategy***, Andrew Glazzard & Alastair Reed, The RUSI Journal, 21 February 2020. Available at <https://www.tandfonline.com>

seen nil/ marginal disturbance and TIIs over a considerable period of time can be considered for removal of AFSPA. These areas can be handed over to the CAPFs/JKP to maintain law and order, as the situation has eased from public order domain. Army cannot operate in areas where AFSPA has been revoked as they will not have legal protection to conduct CI/CT operations. **It is strongly recommended that provisions of AFSPA should not be modified/amended/diluted including the wordings, as they provide legal cover to Army, and sends a message to the terrorists and OGWs.** The Nation acknowledges that the Army exercises maximum restraint, ensures nil/minimum collateral damage, and zero HR violations and provisions of AFSPA has rarely been used. Examination of areas South of PirPanjal ranges (Riasi, Udhampur) come to mind, and a bold step to look at one odd district/urban area of Valley be considered for revocation of AFSPA, but it should be left to those looking after the security situation in J&K.

- **Deployment of Maulvis.** Maulvis with credibility in the Muslim community within mainland India who are rooted in the idea of India must be sent on deputation to J&K as also encouragement must be given to the Maulvis from the Sufi order.

### Contours of the Integration/Tri-Colour Plan.

**Main and Secondary Objectives.** The focus will remain the transformation of idea of azaadi and planting integration. **People's minds are the primary objective and not CI/CT and security operations which becomes secondary.** This requires a transformation in everyone's approach. The main targets will be the anti-national bastions (leaders, institutions including social and local print media, judiciary, and towns/areas) and secondary targets remain the terrorists and OGWs.

### **Concurrent and Phased Multi-Domain Approach**

- **Pick Low Hanging Fruits Initially.** Pick the low hanging fruits initially by incentivising nationalists and aligned tribes (Gujjars, Paharis) and target remote areas. Ensure window of peace and calm upto 2024, and exploit integration and financial benefits of tourism/Yatra.
- **Security Forces Ethos and Operations.** It has already been fine-tuned over a period of time with emphasis on minimum collateral damage, zero HR violations and lower visibility. The kinetics have waxed and waned depending on operational and tactical commanders who change periodically. While challenging to implement due operational, security and safety reasons, the ethos has to be rigidly people friendly and empathetic with the aim of making locals trust the SF more than the anti-nationals, for their judicious and correct actions, moral and ethical values even to the extent that it has cost precious lives of the security forces. Any human and infrastructural casualties/damage (immediate repair/compensation for a damaged/collapsed house/structure) be immediately addressed and alleviated.
- **Choke External and Internal Funding of Terrorist Groups and OGWs.** It is an ongoing cat and mouse process. Somehow, the perception created is that while everyone understands that funding is the oxygen of insurgency/terrorism, emphatic steps to choke it lacks the final and

decisive push. It is a continuous long never-ending process which needs to be pursued painstakingly and relentlessly. All agencies involved need to be held accountable and progress report at the highest level taken periodically to provide the impetus. Blaming Pakistan will not stop the menace. Methodologies are not being discussed.

- **Train the Activists and the Trainers and Initiate the Idea.** Identify nationalists, locals with networking, marketing and communication skills, local leaders with moral and material authority, fence-sitters and locals adversely impacted by terrorism and establish core team of Leaders and Groups. They are explained the central theme and idea, imbibed with sense of purpose and self-accountability, be trained in *Satyagrah* mode of operations (belief, moral compass and righteousness of message, tolerance, non-violent reactions to challenges, patience, maturity, physical and moral bravery – many security forces officers and men have these qualities in plenty, and must be used), and be imbibed with sense of ‘National Integration’.
- **Lay and Spread the Grid.** Create a rural/village and urban grid and task leaders and groups with time bound and specific missions. The aim is to rid the people of the impractical idea of Azaadi and remove fear of reprisals from the Pakistan proxy war nexus. Attack vulnerabilities of separatist leaders, Hurriyat and terrorist groups which are numerous.
- **Gradually make the Movement Visible and Demonstrative.** Commence local/area/district level drives/protests and calls for integration with increase tempo, scale and momentum, which will gradually draw more supporters. Naturally IIO and PSYOPS will be central in this operation and highlighting flaws of azaadi and secessionists/terrorist groups (attention on drug addiction, death of Kashmiryat, poor condition of Hindu refugees and their desire to return).
- **Mandatory stimulus to Economic and Infrastructure Development.** PM Modi has already called upon the Indian Industry to lend their weight in full to provide the necessary impetus both to economic surge and infrastructure development in the UT of JK. Barring some bland promises nothing much has changed, which could also be attributed to COVID impact, but which is already causing substantial disillusionment even amongst the supporters and specially the fence-sitters. The Apex Body/currently the PMO/CCS needs to cajole/persuade/ensure setting up of multiple projects and ancillary industries, create job and skill opportunities along with a massive infrastructural developmental surge activity.
- **Blitzkreig/Launch the Full Package.** Whole of Nation social, economic and political groups/institutions be included in these drives/protests. The size and enthusiasm for ‘Integration’ has to be maximized so as to aggressively escalate protests to demand freedom from secessionism, radicalism and terrorism. To illustrate, families of JKP, Armed Forces personnel from Valley, and students (specially of Army Public Schools) be co-opted. Sarpanchas, boat/taxi drivers, rehabilitated terrorists, tourism and Yatra beneficiaries, even Hindu and minority groups must be

galvanized. The hybrid war nexus especially individuals and their ideas be questioned and exposed. Issues should also relate to developmental activities adversely impacted by the security situation and terrorism like collapse of tourism and industry, closure of movie halls, unsafe and dirty lakes, Dukhtaran-e-Millat's *hijab/veil* order, lack of municipal facilities. The aim is to reach an irreversible momentum for Integration with New India.

- **Acceptance of Integration Pan-India.** Within India there has to be a visible movement in politically not 'othering' the Muslim community. While appeasement has had its consequences, demonizing the Muslim community by some hot-headed political Hindu leaders has alienated many. Efforts must be made to win back their confidence in the 'New India' wherein the community can feel integral, and accept PM Modi's slogan 'SabkaSath, SabkaVikas' as genuine.
- **Contingency Planning, Periodic Review and Modifications/Innovations.** The above is self-explanatory and mandatory, while the central concept and theme remains constant.

### **Overview of IIO, CIO and PSYOPS.**

Considering that the entire concept of integration is based on a war of ideas against 'secessionism (azaadi), radicalism and insurgency/terrorism' to true integration with New India, the MOST critical and vital verticals to be employed at all levels (from strategic/national to tactical, by government/nation to the village sarpanch and company commander) is the non-kinetic domains of IIO, CIO and PSYOPS. It also be termed as strategic communication; the key to success of operations. The power of social media is phenomenal, and it has emerged/positioned itself as an inescapable, powerful and ubiquitous tool for IO and PSYOPS. A modern-day unique example of the potency of IO and PSYOPS is fate of four fully trained and armed Iraqi division by the US, which evaporated into thin air almost overnight due to a vigorous social media campaign launched by IS allowing approximately 1500 IS fighters to take over Northern Iraq and Mosul without a fight. Interestingly, IS had no real cyber capabilities but won a victory which was not possible; it hadn't hacked the network but hacked the information on it. Positive impact of abrogation of Article 370 and 35A is an important theme. **IIO, CIO and PSYOPS while similar have their own intricacies and nuances and are mutually inclusive dealing with information and the mind.** A detailed plan from the concept of operations to implementation must be thought out and implemented with great focus, integrity, passion, relentlessly and reviewed periodically.

**Understanding IIO, PSYOPS and CIO.** **Information Operations (IO)** is the integrated employment (including military), of information-related capabilities in concert with other lines of operation to influence, disrupt, corrupt, or usurp the decision-making of adversaries and potential adversaries (read Pakistan and target audience identified) while protecting our own<sup>14</sup>. **Psychological operations (PSYOPS)** are operations to convey selected information and indicators to individuals/leaders, audiences to influence their emotions, motives, and objective reasoning, and ultimately the behavior of governments, organizations, groups, and individuals<sup>15</sup>. PSYOPS has become

<sup>14</sup> Derived from Wikipedia; US-Information Operations in Doctrine-jstor; [www.jstor.org/stable](http://www.jstor.org/stable); Field Manual 100-6, Information Operations, [www.hsdl.org/abstract](http://www.hsdl.org/abstract); The Conduct of Information Operation, [www.fas.org/irp.doddir.atp3-13-1](http://www.fas.org/irp.doddir.atp3-13-1).

<sup>15</sup> Wikipedia, RAND Corporation, US Field Manuals specially FM 3-05.301 (FM 33-1-1) MCRP 3-40.6A;

dispersed and democratized. And the target audience for psychological warfare has expanded globally. **Cyber Information Operations** are activities undertaken to influence a target audience through the medium of cyberspace. There are multiple dimensions to each of them<sup>16</sup>, and just to give an idea of how scientific and wide ranging these operations can be:-

- There can be technical and cognitive facets of operations. Cyber and electronic warfare (EW) operations can be considered technical since they target machines and information. Their successful execution requires technical proficiency. PSYOPS on the other hand falls under the Cognitive facet as they target the cognitive processes in the minds.
- Different narratives like positive/constructive, oblique/distractive and negative/disruptive narratives based on specific targets are used.
- Levels and precision of targeting vary from general, socio-demographic to psychographic targeting.

The scope of these operations is vast and deserves a separate paper on how to prosecute these operations internally within the Valley, rest of India and internationally.

## **Conclusion**

Pakistan is unlikely to change its spots, and will continue to indulge in state sponsored terrorism against India. Ironically, it is hurting Pakistan more, given the internal security and public order situation, international approbation, economic costs, loss of democratic values, rise of fundamentalism and fractured Islamic fabric. India needs to employ all means within its CNP to prevent it, if it wants to break out from the confined strategic space of South Asia, to reach its deserved status in the world polity. While a 'whole of nation' multi-domain, multi-dimensional overlapping approach appears to be the answer as enumerated in the paper, it is emphatically stated that the pivotal/vital ingredient is to first put our own house in J&K in order. For this a '*Satyagrahic Multi-Domain approach*' to eradicate the idea of '*azaadi*' and replacing it with the idea of Tri-colour integration has been propounded, which provides hope of deliverance. It is going to be a long hard road as changing ideas and minds is expected to be, but this approach is most likely to provide long lasting peace, development and integration, allowing India to focus on 'New India' a confident, mature, balancing power of the World.

**Disclaimer:** Views expressed are of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of CENJOWS.

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Psychological Operations Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures (www.fas.org.com)

<sup>16</sup>'*Cyber Influence Operations: A Battle of Wits and Bits: Targets, Techniques and Stratagems*' by Lt Gen RS Panwar, in Future Wars, Link - <http://futurewars.rspanwar.net/cyber-influence-operations-a-battle-of-wits-and-bits-targets-techniques-and-stratagems/>