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## SECTION I

# National Security and Strategy

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# Countering Pakistan's Belligerence: Non-Kinetic Measures

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*Those skilled in war subdue the enemy's army without battle.*

— *Sun Tzu*

Akin to 'hybrid warfare', 'kinetic warfare' has many definitions. According to John Burges, the veteran US diplomat, kinetic takes on a specialised meaning when it comes to warfare. It basically comes down to physically hitting something, with a bullet, a non-explosive bomb, or a stick. In loose usage, it means 'getting physical'. He goes on to say that non-kinetic can refer to sound or light waves, but also to electronic warfare and radiation; a laser weapon doesn't destroy because it's just hitting something, but because it's causing massive heating; some weapons combine both chemical energy (explosive, which is kinetic) along with electro-magnetic radiation (the fallout of which is non-kinetic). So, kinetic and non-kinetic have a certain amount of overlap and can't be segregated completely even if there is an overall switch from the physical to the psychological domain, with information, diplomatic, economic, ideological, and technological means holding centre-stage. The application of Diplomacy, Information

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Operations, Military and Economic (DIME) also has a large content relevant to the psychological domain, ascribing to non-kinetic means.

The Chinese view kinetic warfare as an overarching concept of the indirect strategy or non-traditional warfare, squarely grouping it with smart power. Multiple means of non-kinetic warfare are holistically addressed in the Chinese concept of Unrestricted Warfare, defined by two People's Liberation Army (PLA) colonels. In 2003, China's Central Military Commission (CMC) approved the guiding conceptual umbrella for information operations for the PLA, the Three Warfares (*san zhongzhanfa*) concept based on three mutually reinforcing strategies: one, coordinated use of strategic psychological operations; two, overt and covert media manipulation; and, three, legal warfare designed to manipulate strategies, defence policies, and perceptions of target audiences abroad. The US military attributes non-kinetic means to the information and cyber domains with irregular warfare, the latter also psychologically shaping the environment for supporting kinetic operations.

Umer Farooq, the veteran Pakistani General defines kinetic warfare as follows:

Use of informational, psychological, diplomatic, economic, social and technological tools of statecraft to achieve national interests and objectives by either acquiescing or impairing the national will of the adversary.

But, most significantly, he writes as follows:

The India-Pakistan war of 1971 and resultant disintegration of our country is another classic example of sustained non-kinetic applications, sub-conventional war, with selected and controlled kinetic application by India while synchronizing the inner front volatility for main strategic effects.

His acknowledgement indicates how India had successfully applied non-kinetic means to shape the environment concurrent with physical military action to liberate Bangladesh. In effect, India followed Chanakya who had advocated a sixfold policy to interact with neighbours that included

coexistence, neutrality, alliance, double policy, march and war, and that if the end could be achieved by non-military methods, even by the methods of intrigue, duplicity and fraud, he would not advocate an armed conflict. The liberation of Bangladesh included armed conflict in addition to the application of non-kinetic means. This may invariably be the case, even if physical means are more at the sub-conventional level, which is what Pakistan has been trying in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). However, America did cause the disintegration of the Soviet Union through non-kinetic means, without going to war.

### **Pakistan's Belligerence**

Pakistan's belligerence stems from the China-Pakistan anti-India nexus. For that matter, behind the aggravation of violence in J&K is China, with Pakistan acting the obedient poodle. If China initiated legal warfare in the South China Sea (SCS) through historical claims, it did similarly to India, in claiming Arunachal Pradesh in the year 2005, as South Tibet. Chinese strategic lodgement and development projects in Gilgit-Baltistan are also in line with China's efforts to 'legalise' Chinese claims in the region. Beijing has been claiming that the length of its border with India is some 2,000 kilometre. During Prime Minister Modi's visit to China in May 2015, its state TV showed maps of India minus J&K and Arunachal Pradesh. So China has become a party to the Kashmir issue.

In the 1960s, Chou Enlai had suggested to President Ayub Khan that Pakistan should prepare for a prolonged conflict with India instead of short-term wars, advising Pakistan to raise a 'militia force to act behind enemy (Indian) lines'. That 'militia force' comprises the Pakistani terrorists and *jihadis* attacking India today. In 1966, when a Pakistani military delegation met Chou Enlai in Beijing, he raised his clenched fist and said as follows:

This is capable of delivering a forceful blow, but if you cut off one finger, the fist loses its power, not by one-fifth, but by fifty percent. If you wipe out a couple of hundred thousand of the enemy spread over a long front, its impact is not as great as wiping out an entire battalion or a brigade – the enemy's morale is dealt a devastating blow. We know this from practical experience.

The illegal transfer of Shaksgam Valley (Indian territory) by Pakistan to China, set the tone for massive military and nuclear assistance from China to Pakistan. *Nuclear Express: A Political History of the Bomb and its Proliferation*, by Danny B Stillman and Thomas Reed, reveals that China, under Deng Xiaoping, proliferated nuclear technology to Pakistan and North Korea based on the strategy that if they nuked the West without Chinese fingerprints, it would be good for China.

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), together with Gwadar as a future Chinese SSBN (nuclear-powered ballistic missile carrying submarine) base, has emerged as the new centre of gravity of the China-Pakistan nexus. Pakistan, responsible for the security of the CPEC, has raised additional forces for the purpose, with a major portion deployed in Balochistan. China has a history of providing 'depth' to whatever it considers vital in strategic terms. This is perhaps why Pakistan's proxy war on India and Afghanistan has got aggravated. Such actions provide depth to the CPEC indirectly, minimising the threat to the CPEC instead. China's protecting Pakistani terrorist *mullahs* and its support to the Pakistani genocide in Baluchistan is in the same vein. The considerable Chinese cyber warfare capability, shared with Pakistan, may target India's critical networks. A mix of information warfare, cyber, and electro-magnetic attacks can be even more deadly. China has helped Pakistan miniaturise its nukes and will provide it the export version of armed drones. India may witness the introduction of shoulder-fired air defence weaponry and even Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear (CBRN) attacks in hinterland through China backed-Pakistan-based terrorists or their indigenous proxies.

But it is maturation of the China-Pakistan sub-conventional nexus, giving strategic dividends, that has contributed most to the increasing Pakistani belligerence—some pointers being: appearance of PLA troops on some Pakistani posts on the Line of Control (LoC); recovery of Chinese flags in Baramula; intelligence reports of Uighurs being trained by the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba (LeT) at China's behest for deployment in Syria to fight alongside the Iraqi government forces; the possibility of Uighur terrorists being infiltrated into J&K; a diary written in the Chinese

language found on the body of a terrorist killed recently on the LoC by the Border Security Force (BSF); Pakistan trained 20 Mujahid battalions operating covertly as irregulars during 2012-15; Pakistan linking its proxy war in Afghanistan to Kashmir, with China backing it; China and Pakistan being hand-in-glove in exploiting terrorism and insurgent movements across India, including the north-east and the Maoists.

### **Non-Kinetic Means**

No country, big or small, is without faultlines even though the developed countries may have less of these. Non-kinetic means act as force multipliers to target the will of the adversary through shaping the environment in own favour; lowering the enemy will through coercion, hedging, and leading to softening through holistic exploitation of existing fissures and faultlines. However, it must be acknowledged that non-kinetic measures by themselves are not the ultimate recipe for victory. These are force multipliers, the effect of which would vary from target-to-target, and ultimate victory may require a mix of both kinetic and non-kinetic means.

An examination of the Chinese concept of 'unrestricted warfare' indicates multiple non-kinetic means including diplomatic, networks, intelligence, psychological, smuggling, drugs, virtual, financial, trade, resources, economic aid, regulatory, sanctions, media, ideological, ecological, electronic, and even space. However, these could possibly be grouped under the broad headings of 'information warfare', 'cyber warfare', and the non-kinetic part of 'irregular warfare'—much on the same lines as what the US military says. Application of non-kinetic means like diplomacy, soft power, and financial can span both 'information warfare' and 'irregular warfare'. Overall, non-kinetic means are applicable in all domains of conflict or war. The Pakistani view of specific domains for non-kinetic challenges includes information operations, media wars, cyber warfare, diplomacy, soft and smart power, fourth/fifth generation warfare, sub-conventional warfare, proxies, espionage and intelligence operations, and effect-based operations.

Interestingly, focussed research is also being undertaken globally, including in India, in the aspect of mind control through digital means.

‘Zombie guns’ based on the psychotropic principle of ‘mind control’ are under development in Russia (possibly also in the United States, China, and some other countries), using electro-magnetic radiation to transmit suggestions and commands directly into the victim’s thought process. Psychotropic weapons can range from mass psychological diseases with both lethal and incapacitating outcomes, creation of an obedient mass of humanity through latent violent manipulation of behaviour and consciousness, and even mass ecological accidents because of irreversible genetic mutations if infringement at the gene level is resorted to. Then there are plasma, laser, acoustic and directed energy weapons, robotics and nano-technology, all of which have non-kinetic usage.

A study titled ‘Non-Kinetic Challenges to the State of Pakistan’ conducted by the National Defence University of Pakistan in 2012 describes the following salient theories to enhance the effectiveness of non-kinetic applications, drawing benefits out of chaos, paralysis and disorientation:

**Creative Chaos Theory:** Exacerbating the prevailing chaos or deliberately engineering chaos to distort public perceptions, and cultivate a favourable space and conducive environment in pursuit of envisaged policy objective.

**Shock Doctrine/Disaster Capitalism:** Shock therapy employing coercive strategies, shock and awe and deliberate chaotic upsurges seeking obedience, subjugation, and subservience of the target states and societies.

**High Frequency Active Auroral Research Programme (HAARP):** HAARP, that is underway in six nations, including India, proposes tampering with the ionosphere and geo-physical domain for purposeful military and civilian applications. According to this Pakistani study, there is published material saying that some of the recent earthquakes or abnormal climatic patterns could have been caused by HAARP experimentation.

### **Pakistan’s Faultlines**

These can be mainly categorised as under:

- **Ethno-Regional Divide:** Pakistan’s population comprises 97 per cent Muslims (Sunnis 77 per cent and Shias 20 per cent) and only three

per cent minorities, including Hindus, Christians, and others. Shias and Ahmediyas are specifically being targeted. There are serious fissiparous and separatists tendencies like Saraiki movement in the Punjabi heartland due to the economic divide and Punjabi domination, Baloch independence movement for an independent Balochistan, Gilgit-Baltistan separatist movement, and the divide among the Punjabis, Pathans, and Mohajirs leading to demands for Sindhudesh and Pashtunistan.

- **Military Dominance:** The military has governed Pakistan directly for more than half of its history and indirectly for the balance period, including controlling foreign policy, nuclear policy, security/defence, etc., and has systematically subverted the civil institutions. To remain in power, it has institutionalised a state policy of terrorism and perpetual sub-conventional conflict with India and Afghanistan.
- **Water Security:** Pakistan receives excessive water under the Indus Water Treaty compared to global norms. But according to a hydrological survey, Pakistan is likely to witness severe water shortage due to the receding water table. This will have an adverse effect on the power and agriculture sectors.
- **Low Human Development Index (HDI):** According to the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP's) 2015 HDI Report, Pakistan is ranked 'low' at 147 out of 186 countries. The World Economic Forum's latest Global Competitiveness Index, 2015-16 rankings placed it at 126 among 148 nations. Poor governance and the rising aspirations of the young generation may result in severe social unrest and mass protests in Pakistan.
- **Corruption and Radicalisation:** Rampant corruption in the civil bureaucracy and government has led to loss of faith among the population. This, coupled with the institutionalised radicalisation and gun culture, is a recipe for instability. Pakistan is experiencing waves of political violence, essentially related to various forms of sectarian, ethnic, tribal, and global *jibadi* movements. The grip



now held by the fundamentalist narratives on the mindset of Pakistani society is increasing.

- Dual Front: Pakistan, by design, has chosen continued conflict with India and Afghanistan. This places Pakistan in a dual-front situation along its eastern and western borders.

Cross-border actions by Pakistan require an immediate and heavy response.

### **Countering Pakistani Belligerence: Non-Kinetic Alternatives**

Considering that Pakistan's belligerence rests on the China-Pakistan nexus, the strategy to mitigate it must target this nexus, in addition to measures against Pakistan. Indian strategy, employing non-kinetic means, should include one, a nuanced approach targeting the China-Pakistan nexus; two, withdrawal of Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status, since Pakistan has not reciprocated; three, downgrading of diplomatic relations; four, termination of Track II dialogues with Pakistan, especially those engineered through international think-tanks with dubious aims and funding and a review of the Indus Water Treaty; five, taking up Pakistan's illegal occupation of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) officially with the United Nations, as well as the case of 54 Indian Prisoners of War (POWs) languishing in Pakistani jails with the international Court of Justice; six, exploitation of cyberspace in conjunction with strategic partners to degrade Pakistan; seven, forcing Pakistan into an arms race to cripple its economy; eight, nudging Pakistan towards true democracy in conjunction with the United States and like-minded nations; nine, covert degradation of the Pakistani defence capability and economic manipulation; ten, a global dialogue for international sanctions against Pakistan; eleven, publicising human rights violations in Balochistan and suppression of fundamental rights in Gilgit-Baltistan; twelve, linking trade with India to economic sanctions against Pakistan; thirteen, examining a stoppage of total trade with Pakistan in conjunction with similar action by Afghanistan; fourteen, publicising Pakistan as a nursery of terror that is giving Islam and Muslims worldwide a bad name; fifteen, a review of the 'no first use' nuclear policy; sixteen, engaging with donors to Pakistan to link aid with stopping terrorism

India must build relevance with global stakeholders to improve strategic leverages

and deradicalisation—Japan could be the first to link Overseas Development Aid (ODA) to this; seventeen, dialogue with strategic partners on the repercussion of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Gwadar on the future of Indian Ocean Region (IOR); eighteen, enhancing military diplomacy in Pakistan's neighbourhood, and among Pakistan's 'friends' and donors' circle, focusing more on countries like Iran, Oman, Saudi Arabia, the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and South Asian neighbours; nineteen, exploiting Pakistani faultlines covertly to stretch the Pakistan Army to the maximum extent possible; twenty, presenting a two-front threat to Pakistan in conjunction with Afghanistan and working on a possible third front to include Iran; twenty-one, the danger of Pakistan deploying Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNWs) on its vessels at sea should be raised in international fora, including the possibility of triggering of major incidents in event of an accident on board/accidental triggering, and; twenty-three, negating the support to Pakistan and terrorism within India, including immediate and exemplary punishments.

Cross-border actions by Pakistan require an immediate and heavy response—which the government has already adopted. This needs to be maintained. At the same time, we have a glaring asymmetry in proactive sub-conventional operations at the strategic level. For this, a special operations force needs to be established directly under the highest political authority—a mix of intelligence operatives as well as select Special Forces personnel for politico-military tasks at the strategic level. This force should be deployed in areas of strategic interest and tasked with strategic intelligence; shaping the environment in India's favour; controlling enemy faultlines; denying external support to terrorism; countering terrorism, including in cyberspace; and, specific politico-military missions.

Finally, in employing offensive non-kinetic means, India must build relevance with global stakeholders to improve strategic leverages. Pakistan, in conjunction with China, has been waging a hybrid war against India for the past several years. Therefore, India's counter narratives must be

substantive and on roll-on mode, taking the present and future response of adversaries into account. Not only should India analyse the exploitable weaknesses and faultlines of a belligerent Pakistan but should also engage in capacity building, in conjunction with strategic partners in the cyber, space, and electro-magnetic domains for application in the non-kinetic mode.