

ROLE OF INTERNAL SECURITY OF INDIA IN SHAPING ITS STRATEGIC CULTURE: POLICY OPTIONS FOR PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

The concept of strategic culture has a relative interpretation in strategic and academic community. Indian strategic culture in general and its interplay with internal security in particular is a less worked out area of research. This paper explains how internal security challenges of India are shaping its strategic culture towards Pakistan. It includes contextualizing the concept of strategic culture, modelling the Indian strategic culture with respect to scope of research, determining the interplay of strategic culture and internal security of India and identifying its impact on Pakistan. Finally, the paper proposes policy options and action points for Pakistan. The paper establishes three fundamental aspects. First, the Indian strategic thoughts by and large, stems from Kautilya's thoughts. Second, the grand strategic thinking of India has a consistent element of linking insurgencies with Pakistan. Third, with the rise of Hindutva through BJP and India favouring geostrategic environment, India has resorted to offensive – defensive strategy towards Pakistan. In light of these three aspects, the paper finally presents policy options for Pakistan while taking into account its national interests.

Keywords: *Strategic Culture, Narendra Modi, Insurgencies, Pakistan, Security, Hindutva.*

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INTRODUCTION

National security paradigm has evolved in modern era but the two fundamental components in terms of threat to security still remain - internal and external. In security parlance, the Internal Security (IS) refers to upholding national law, maintenance of peace and law and order within a country's territory. The insurgencies related to secessionist movements have fundamental impact on internal security calculus of India. This paper attempts to answer how insurgencies have challenged the national security of India. The analysis includes Indian state's understanding of internal security, followed by the landscape of insurgent movements in India, review of insurgency handling by the state and its overall impact on Indian national security and strategic objectives of India.

INDIAN INTERNAL SECURITY PARADIGM

Indian internal security paradigm is viewed by think tanks in terms of unresolved secessionist movements, polarization of state, political competition and water security.¹ However, the conception of internal security by Indian state as per Indian Ministry of Home Affairs is as follows:²

“Security against threats faced by a country within its national borders, either caused by political turmoil, proxies by an enemy country or perpetrated even by such group that uses failed, failing or weak state, causing insurgency and terrorism that targets innocent citizens. This causes animosity between and amongst a group of citizens and communities which causes violence, destroy or attempt to destroy public and private establishment.”³

LANDSCAPE OF INSURGENT MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

India is considered as one of the most secessionist-prone countries in the world due to its diversity.⁴ India experienced many insurgent

¹ Narendar Kumar, “Internal Security Challenges to India in 2020 and Beyond,” *Centre for Land Warfare Studies* no. 28 (2020): 13-29, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/34152086>.

² “Report of the Commission on Centre-State Relations,” *Interstate Council*, accessed February 28, 2021, <http://interstatecouncil.nic.in/report/>.

³ N. Manoharan, “India's Internal Security Situation: Threats and Responses,” *India Quarterly* 69, no. 04 (2013), 367-381, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45072793>.

⁴ Ryan D. Griffiths, *Age of Secession: The International and Domestic Determinants of State Birth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017), 161.

movements including freedom movements in Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJ&K), Nagaland, Assam, Tripura, Manipur, Punjab, and the most widely spread Maoist insurgency in eastern states.⁵ The current landscape of insurgent movements in India is shown in the following conflict map.

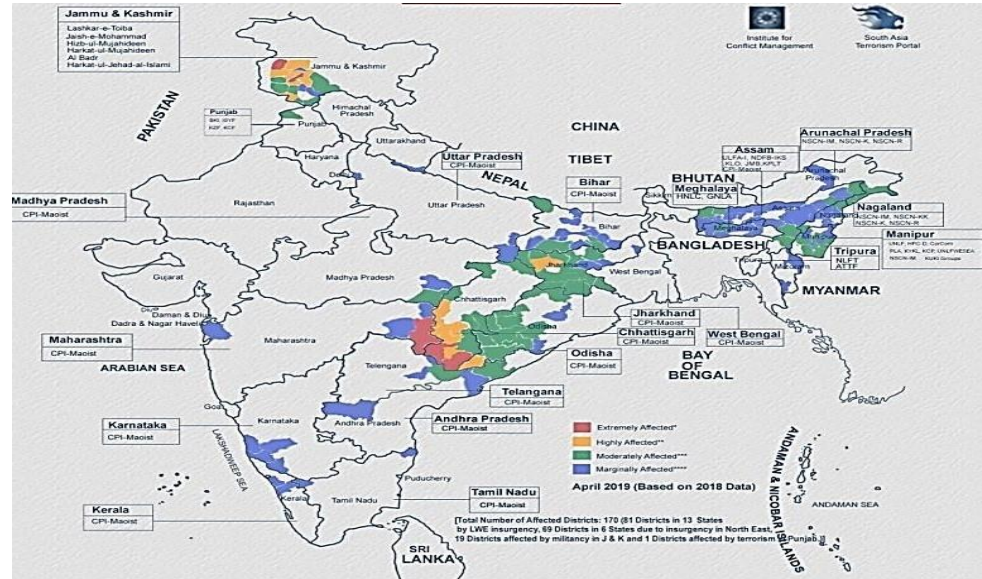


Figure 1: Conflict Map – Insurgency Challenges in India⁶

The landscape of insurgencies shown in Figure 1 can be clustered in three broad areas. The separatist movement in North East, Maoist Movement in East, and Freedom Movement in illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

- **Separatist Movement in North Eastern Region (NER)**

NER of India has 08 states (Sikkam Assam Arunachal Pardesh, Meghala, Nagaland, Mizuram, Tripura and Manipur). 99% of the region has international border while 1% of the region is connected to mainland India. There are 42 insurgent groups operating in the region with major

⁵ Sarmad Ishfaq, "The Fractured Nation: Secession Movements and Insurgencies in India," *Global Village Space*, November 14, 2019, <https://www.globalvillagespace.com/the-fractured-nation-secession-movements-and-insurgencies-in-india/>.

⁶ "India – Conflict Map 2019," *South Asia Terrorism Portal*, accessed February 20, 2021, <https://www.satp.org/conflict-maps/india>.

movement in Nagaland, Manipur and Assam.⁷ The Nagaland and Manipur initially being the same princely states in British Empire were annexed by India through force. In response the Naga and Kukis tribes started a secessionist movement which got stronger with oppression by Indian state throughout the history. Assam on the other hand is a diverse state with 15 million Assamese and 9 million Bengali speakers.⁸

The root cause of the movement in Assam is migration. The migration of Bengalis to Assam remained unabated after partition in 1947 and proliferated after 1971. The local Assamese and Bodos felt threatened by increasing population of the immigrants and launched Assam Movement (1979-1985) led by All Assam Students Union (AASU). This movement converted into United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) in 1979. These movements in North East of India are still active and continue to threaten Indian national security.

- **Maoist Insurgency in Eastern India**

Insurgency driven by Maoist ideology in India stands out as one of the longest and biggest internal security challenge.⁹ It started in 1967, when the landlords killed a landless worker in Naxalbari village for cultivating a patch of land. This incident brought *adivasis* (name given to forest people) on a single platform paving way for their alliance with a Communist Party in India. Total 81 districts and 13 states are affected by Maoist insurgency.¹⁰ The root cause of Maoist insurgency is discrimination between North and South of India. The fault line is evident even in political system of India as most of the southern states are governed by regional parties whose politics is based on grievances with North and Centre.¹¹

⁷ "Terrorism in India | Terrorist Groups in India," SATP, February 20, 2021, <https://www.satp.org/terrorist-groups/india-insurgencynortheast>.

⁸ "Census of India : Provisional Population Totals Paper 1 of 2011 : Assam," February 20, 2021, <https://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/>.

⁹ "Naxalism Biggest Threat to Internal Security: Manmohan," *The Hindu*, May 24, 2010, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national>.

¹⁰ "Conflict Map India," February 5, 2021, <https://www.satp.org/conflict-maps/india>.

¹¹ Dalbir Ahlawat, "Maoist Insurgency in India: Grievances, Security Threats and Counter-Strategies," *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* 13, no. 2 (May 4, 2018): 252–66, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2018.1478114>.

- **Freedom Struggle in illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir**

Kashmir was also a princely state in British India which was given a choice in 1947 to join India or Pakistan. It was a Muslim majority state ruled by a Hindu Maharajah, Hari Singh. Despite initial agreement with Pakistan, Maharajah Hari Singh signed Instrument of Accession with India against the will of the Muslim majority.¹² This resulted in the first war between Pakistan and India in 1948. The matter was taken to United Nations which led to ceasefire and resolution of conflict through a promised plebiscite as per UN resolution. However, the plebiscite has never materialised to date. After a decade (1947-1989) of oppression/unjustified occupation, the insurgency in Kashmir started in 1989. Unlike other freedom movements, the cause of Kashmir is supported by Pakistan since partition and is also on the charter of United Nations.¹³ Therefore, the freedom struggle of Kashmir has internal, regional and a global dimension.

- **Counter Insurgency Strategies by India**

India has dealt insurgencies with different approaches. The use of force started against Naga tribes when Mr Nehru's authorised Armed Forces under Special Power Act (AFSPA) in 1958 which remained dominant in Indira Gandhi's era.¹⁴ Moreover, mainstreaming of leadership was another Indian strategy to weaken the separatist movement like mainstreaming of Naga tribes and ULFA. Similarly, Indian state made concessions in the form of Shillong Peace Accord on Nagaland in 1975, Assam Accord in 1985, the ceasefire agreement with Naga tribes in 2000, Naga Accord in 2015 and in the form of development projects in Maoist hit regions. Indian approach to counter insurgency can be generalized as the use of force, persuasion and concession. Despite serious ramifications on security, Indian strategy remained effective in a sense that none of the separatist movements could succeed in 73 years.

¹² Sidharth Pandey, "Jammu and Kashmir's Document of Accession In Public Domain At Last," *NDTV.com*, February 23, 2021, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news>.

¹³ Alexander Evans, "The Kashmir Insurgency: As Bad as it Gets," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 11, no. 1 (2000): 69–81, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592310008423261>.

¹⁴ SarmadIshfaq, "The Fractured Nation: Secession Movements and Insurgencies in India," *Global Village Space*, November 14, 2019, <https://www.globalvillagespace.com/the-fractured-nation-secession-movements-and-insurgencies-in-india/>.

EFFECT OF INSURGENCIES ON INDIAN NATIONAL SECURITY

Separatist movements in India have dented Indian National security. The ex-Indian Prime Minister Manmohan defined terrorism, communalism, nationalism and regionalism as major challenges to Indian national security.¹⁵ Diversity in Indian society, unresolved issues of partition, oppressive behaviour of Indian state and communal violence by BJP operatives are prime sources of insurgencies. The conversion of these fault lines into insurgencies has hurt India in following ways:

- **Loss of lives.** Over 45000 people lost their lives in India due to insurgencies.¹⁶
- **Loss of Cohesion.** The inherent fissures in Indian society have been fuelled by insurgency and its oppressive handling by Indian governments.
- **Economic Security.** The economic potential of south and northeast states could not be fully tapped by India due to insurgencies. Moreover, the insurgencies incurred direct cost on India in terms of application of resources and damage through attacks.¹⁷
- **Human Security.** As per Planning Commission of India the basic living conditions in terms of water supply, infrastructure, electricity, health provision, education and childcare in the states particularly affected by Naxalite Maoist insurgency are considerably poorer compared to the rest of the country.¹⁸

STRATEGIC ANALYSIS

India is a mosaic of distinct cultures, ethnicities, races and religions. Nagaland Manipur and Kashmir have analogy in demands but Kashmir is internationalized through UN resolutions and interest of

¹⁵ Anita Joshua, "Only Congress Can Meet Challenges, Says Manmohan," *The Hindu*, December 29, 2009, <https://www.thehindu.com>.

¹⁶ "Datasheet-Terrorist-Attack-Fatalities," *South Asia Terrorism Portal*, accessed January 18, 2021, <https://www.satp.org/datasheet-terrorist-attack/fatalities/india>.

¹⁷ Alexander Evans, "The Kashmir Insurgency: As Bad As it Gets," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 11, no. 1, 69-81, doi: 10.1080/09592310008423261.

¹⁸ Beatrice Gorawantschy and Martin-Maurice Böhme, "India: Internal and External Security – Current Challenges to the Government," *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, accessed February 19, 2021, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep09977>.

Pakistan. Maoist/ Naxalite movement has its roots in social injustice which still prevails. India's Counter Insurgency (COIN) Strategy can be generalized in three categories i.e. the use of force, persuasion and concession. These are congruent with Kautilya's strategies of *Sham*, *Dhanda* and *Bhed*.¹⁹ Insurgencies and their counter measures have affected India in terms of loss of lives, human security, economic security and loss of social cohesion and engagement of defence forces. Despite posing serious challenges, the separatist movements have not been able to succeed during Nehru's era of liberalism, Indira Gandhi's era of realism and on-going Modi's era of hyper nationalism.

The insurgencies in India can be clustered in three regions of Northeast, Southeast and in illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir. The root causes of insurgencies are diversity in society, social injustice, oppressive measures in annexing princely states and handling their demands. While insurgencies have reduced in 21st century, the fault lines and root causes still exist in Indian society. Therefore, insurgency continues to remain a national security threat for India.

INTERNAL SECURITY SHAPING INDIAN STRATEGIC CULTURE

Indian internal security threat perception is primarily focussed on insurgencies and terrorism from both external and internal actors. The cognitions driving these challenges and their handling by Indian state have transformed thinking of politico-military elite, hence, the Indian strategic culture.

In the following section, the analysis is done in two broad aspects; a review of broad Indian approaches towards internal security and pragmatic analysis to identify how different regimes in India have carefully shaped strategic thinking based on response to internal security challenges.

INDIAN APPROACHES TOWARDS INTERNAL SECURITY

In the model developed for Indian strategic culture, the formative dimension is identified as emotional response of Indian population and politico-military elite. The pragmatic security challenges have direct bearings on thinking of population. In a democratic society, these

¹⁹L. N. Rangarajan, *The Arthashastra* (New Delhi: Penguin Publishers, 1992), 234-432.

challenges are translated through electoral process into a policy making realm and end up shaping the strategic thinking. The broad Indian approaches towards internal security can be divided into three schools i.e. liberal, neo-liberal and nationalist. The liberal view is that communitarian democracy and social resilience is the surest path to internal security.²⁰

The neo-liberal approach is based on the primacy of economics. Therefore, neoliberals believe that deprivation fuelled by ethnic hostility and violence can only end if economy is not over regulated. In nationalist view, relationship between state and insurgents is zero-sum and cannot be transformed by communication or economic interaction. Instead, only a balance of power regulates relations.²¹ Nationalists argue that internal instability should be handled by use of force against those responsible. More importantly, nationalists believe that internal security is achieved by promoting the idea of Hindu leadership at the political helm keeping Hindu preferences ahead of minority's preferences as enunciated by Golwaker.²²

All these approaches concurrently exist in Indian political realm and take precedence based on the political parties in power and intensity of insurgencies in the given time. Since 2014, BJP with hyper nationalist ideology is ruling India and has applied nationalist approach especially in handling insurgencies.²³ The statement of Indian National Security Advisor that India will fight on our soil as well as on foreign soil is reflective of the fact that current politico-strategic elite has carefully linked internal security with external factors. BJP government has also declared to use terrorism as a tactic to achieve ideological or political advantages.²⁴

²⁰ Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly, eds., *Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 33–81.

²¹ Brahma Chellaney, *Securing India's Future in the New Millennium* (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 1999), 558.

²² M. S. Golwalker, *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (Nagpur: Bharat Publications, 1939), 2–3.

²³ "Will Fight on Our Soil as Well as on Foreign Soil, Says Ajit Doval," *Times of India*, March 18, 2021, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com>.

²⁴ Lt Gen Shafaat ullah Shah (R), "Crack It to Bust: Myths and Realities of Doval Doctrine," *Hilal*, accessed January 17, 2021, <https://www.hilal.gov.pk/eng-article/>.

SHAPING OF STRATEGIC THINKING BASED ON INTERNAL SECURITY

The way internal security challenges translate into strategic thinking is dependent on how internal threats are perceived and how they are dovetailed into overall national security calculus. Taking Kautilya's thoughts in Arthashastra as reference, national security threat perceptions are internal, external, internally aided external and externally aided internal.

In order to exactly determine how internal security has been viewed by different regimes in India, an analytical review led to following salient points:

- India believes that insurgency in Northeast (Nagaland and Assam) is supported by China, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar through training to guerrilla fighters, material support and providing shelter to the leaders of separatist movements.²⁵
- India also links China and Pakistan security agencies with Maoist movement for training Maoist ideology and collaborating with Maoist movements in Nepal.²⁶
- In Kashmir, since the start of freedom movement in 1989, India and Pakistan are engaged in proxy war in three different arenas i.e. diplomacy, insurgency/ counter insurgency and border skirmishes. While diplomatic and moral support of Kashmiris is everlasting part of Pakistan's policy, India always views Pakistan's support as support to insurgency. The global war against terror and history of Pakistan's support to Mujahedeen also provided potent rationale for India to project Pakistan as state sponsoring terrorism.²⁷
- Mumbai attacks in 2009, Uri attack in 2016 and Pulwama attack in 2019 were all linked with state of Pakistan either during or within hours of attacks.²⁸ While responses in terms of kinetic actions were different in all cases, all these incidents were carefully used

²⁵ Sreeradha Datta, "Security of India's Northeast: External Linkage," *Strategic Analysis*, accessed January 10, 2021, <https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/>.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ "Internal and International Linkages of Naxalite," *Astha Bharti*, accessed January 10, 2021, <http://www.asthabharati.org/>.

²⁸ Adila Matra, "Balakot Didn't Get Modi Govt The Praise It Got For Surgical Strike," *The Quint*, March 8, 2019, <https://www.thequint.com>.

to label Pakistan as a terror sponsoring state through a concerted campaign recently unearthed through Indian Chronicle.²⁹

- As per 2019, survey of public opinion in India undertaken by PEW research centre, 76% of the Indians perceive Pakistan as a major threat to India and 58% believe that India should use more force in Kashmir.³⁰

MULTI-LAYERED OUTLOOK OF INTERNAL SECURITY IMPACT ON STRATEGIC CULTURE OF INDIA

Three approaches towards internal security i.e. liberal, neoliberal and nationalist concurrently exist in Indian strategic thoughts. With BJP in power, the current strategy towards internal security is to act against neighbours, especially Pakistan. Irrespective of regime, India has carefully followed the policy of linking insurgencies with neighbours. It serves India in two ways; firstly, it generates favourable domestic and global grounds for coercive policies towards neighbours and secondly, it marginalizes the leadership of insurgent movements by projecting them as external players. Through concerted information operations, India has shaped domestic and global opinion against Pakistan as a sponsor of terrorism. Resultantly, insurgency has become a pretext for India to generate a conflict with Pakistan.

POLICY OPTIONS FOR PAKISTAN

Anti-Pakistan inclination is an integral element of Indian strategic culture since independence primarily due to unresolved issue of Kashmir. Both countries have engaged in three conventional wars (1948, 1965 and Kargil war) purely over the issue of Kashmir. However, after attaining the status of nuclear powers in 1998 the possibility of full scale conventional war between both neighbours is reduced. In era that followed, India through information operations has carefully linked its internal security challenges with Pakistan. This has shaped the emotional responses of Indian population as well as opinion of global community. Resultantly, internal security challenges especially insurgency has become

²⁹ "Indian Chronicles: Deep Dive into a 15-Year Operation Targeting the EU and UN to Serve Indian Interests," *EU DisinfoLab*," accessed January 18, 2021, <https://www.disinfo.eu/publications>.

³⁰ Kat Devlin, "A Sampling of Public Opinion in India," *Pew Research Center*, March 25, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org>.

a pretext for India to coerce Pakistan and even generate a limited military conflict. Therefore, Pakistan's policy formulation needs to factor in this vulnerability.

While the policy needs all-encompassing approach, Brad B Knudsen roadmap for policy making is followed to identify policy options for Pakistan.

ANALYSING POLICY MAKING FRAMEWORK

Knudsen conceptual roadmap for policy formulation to include following dimensions:

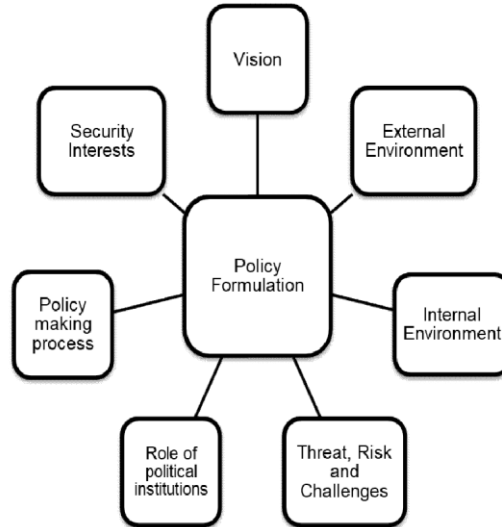


Figure 2: Knudsen Conceptual Roadmap for Policy Formulation³¹

The analysis of vision, role of political institutions and policy making process is beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, these dimensions are simply stated whereas environments (external and internal) and security (interests and threats) are analysed to identify cogent policy options.

- **Vision, Role of Political Institutions and Policy Making Process.** Peace is a profound vision to exist as a sovereign

³¹ Bård B. Knudsen, "Developing a National Security Policy/Strategy: A Roadmap," *Security and Peace* 30, no. 3 (2012): 135–40, <https://www.jstor.org/stable>.

nation state and the same has been recently declared by Pakistan³². The political institutions of Pakistan are yet to mature in terms of policy making. Therefore, the security related policy making is primarily governed with input from military establishment.

- **Security Interest.** National security remained a core national interest of Pakistan throughout the history. However, in the past security was primarily viewed with military lens. In current environment, the definition of national security needs to be based on comprehensive security framework which covers all Elements of National Power (EoNPs).
- **External Environment.** Most significant external factor in the context of research is strategic partnership of the US and India. India has given up its policy of non-alignment and is poised to pursue the US counter balance for China in the region. In this way, India is bent upon achieving strategic objective of being a regional hegemon. The Indo-US agreements like Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) and Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) provides masculinity to India. In addition, developing good relations between Israel and Gulf States also provide diplomatic advantage to India. On the other hand, Pakistan and China have developed a strategic partnership with China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) at its core and military support still at periphery. However, it is still a farfetched desire. On the other hand, China, through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), is increasing footprints in the regions through agreements with Iran and Pakistan. The converging interests of Pakistan, Iran and China are expected to expand to Russia through Central Asian States. Resultantly, two power blocs are expected to transpire in the future: one led by China and other by United States. Most importantly, the great power game between the US and China is shaping up in which Pakistan and India stand at the opposite side.
- Indian strategic community has been continuously signalling a two front war scenario involving India and China. This linkage is being carefully established to ensure the inevitability of dealing with Pakistan and to counter China in the region. This coupled with the fact that India has always kept internal security linked to

³² Saad Rasool, "Islamabad Security Dialogue," *The Nation*, March 22, 2021, <https://nation.com.pk/22-Mar-2021>.

Pakistan and China collectively put, India's narrative of 2.5 front war is expected to gain global support in the future. Therefore, Pakistan needs to carefully weigh up its options.

- **Internal Environment.** Economy, terrorism and political stability are fundamental internal challenges of Pakistan. For the last four decades, Pakistan has remained involved in safeguarding US interests in the region. This enabled Pakistan to use US influence over international financial institutions and allies with respect to economic assistance. However, in current milieu, Pakistan's cooperation with China would require shifting production based economy by using opportunity of CPEC. Pakistan has achieved success in fight against terrorism but India continues to harbour terrorism against Pakistan by the support of insurgencies and information warfare. Political stability in the country is a precursor for achieving economic growth as well as fighting against terrorism.
- **Threats.** Conceptually, the threat is assessed in terms of capability and intent. Intent is determined through strategic culture and global environment whereas the capability is determined through force differential and military alliances. Based on the analysis in the paper, India has carefully crafted strategic culture in which Pakistan is embedded as source of terrorism. Similarly, through concerted information operations by India, the global environment has also shaped up against Pakistan to some extent. In terms of capabilities, Indian strategic alliance with the US and Israel has opened doors to increase its capabilities, especially in space and cyber domain. The current combination of Indian intent and capability in conventional and sub-conventional domains pose serious threat to Pakistan.

POLICY OPTIONS FOR PAKISTAN

On policy front, Pakistan has officially stated a shift from geopolitics to geo-economics which makes economic growth and development as core national interest.³³ India poses a consistent threat to Pakistan as established in the paper. Therefore, Pakistan's policy options should be formulated to offset intent as well as capability of India while

³³ Inam ul Haque, "The Islamabad Security Dialogue: Perspective and Potential", *Express Tribune*, March 25, 2021, <https://tribune.com.pk/story>.

maintaining own core national interest intact. In this pretext, the following broad policy options are identified.

Pakistan policy formulation should be based on comprehensive analysis of environment, own national and security interest and threats from India. The policy options drawn after examining these factors include generating counter narrative to Indian information operations, preventing Indian intervention in neighbouring states, seeking peaceful resolution of Kashmir issue, adopting regional approach in foreign policy, exploring multi domain military cooperation and prioritizing economic security.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Pakistan should launch dedicated initiatives to counter Indian design of creating space for limited conflict against Pakistan on the pretext of support to insurgency and terrorism in India. In this context, it is important to establish a dedicated information cell at United Nations and embassies of important capitals. Narrative building by generating a cohesive intellectual drive to expose Indian designs through integrations of various think tanks. Engaging ex-diplomats, politicians, businessmen and policy experts to influence policy circle in west and US to neutralize Indian narrative.
- Pakistan should manifest through practical measure that its territory will not be used for attack against other countries. This can be done by mainstreaming non-state elements through their effective integration in society which will practically bring long-term changes in Pakistani society. It will keep borders with India and Afghanistan more transparent and mutually regulated. It can also help to deal with Taliban and government of Afghanistan on equal terms to neutralize impression of being pro-Taliban.
- For lasting peace and achieving enabling environment for economic growth, resolution of Kashmir conflict should be focused on. In this context, Track II diplomacy with a mutual guarantor in shape will be productive. Engaging regional countries for mediating on the pretext that regional economic development can only be achieved and sustained with peaceful resolution of Kashmir issue. Instead of claiming physical control of the territory, the will of Kashmiri people should be given priority. Using influential business diaspora of both countries to encourage resolution of Kashmir issue. Ensuring political stability and

consensus on resolution of Kashmir issue through national level dialogue including leaders of Azad Kashmir.

- On military front, focus needs on sub-conventional domain and regional cooperation. There is a need of national level strategy with respect to cyberspace; moreover, information operations should be formulated. Avenues for combined operations with friendly countries in cyber and information domain while maintaining plausible deniability may be explored through dedicated military and diplomatic initiatives. Capability development in cutting edge technologies of cyber space and unmanned autonomous vehicle may be focussed through assistance of China, Russia and Turkey. Regional cooperation may be explored by involving China, Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asian States on the pretext of providing security to economic stakes in the region.
- Pakistan's foreign policy should be divorced from conventional approach of keeping extra-regional powers as security guarantor. This involves replacing conventional security with economic security as a fundamental medium of engagement with other states by increasing regional stakes in flagship economics projects like CPEC. Delinking CPEC with military cooperation of China and Pakistan as far as possible. After US withdrawal from Afghanistan, new avenues for relationship with the United States need to be explored. The friendship of Gulf States may be capitalized.
- The recently announced strategic shift from geopolitics to geo-economics should be manifested by practical steps. This may include liberalisation of economy through investment of regional countries like GCC in agricultural sector, Shifting from trade based economy to production based economy, tapping market potential of Afghanistan for export and encouraging regional branding of products, especially the daily use commodities.