



ISSUE BRIEF

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Solutions to Psychological Aspects of Kashmir

Overview

The Kashmir conflict which had its genesis in the birth of two nations India and Pakistan continues to be unresolved to this day, fueling a bitter conflict lasting over seven decades. The obsession of Pakistan on Kashmir spawned a conventional arms race between the two neighbours which resulted in four conflicts with the possibility of many more. Yet at the end of it all, both sides seem no closer to a resolution and Kashmir continues to be the bone of contention with the sunk costs especially in political terms being abhorrent to both sides. The rise of militancy in the late eighties with Pakistan's proxy war has further fortified India's resolve to settle the matter as an internal issue with the Kashmiri people.

While the issue of Kashmir appears to be rather simple on the face of it, the multi-dimensional nature of the problem and sheer number of actors, many of them hidden, with stakes of some form or the other have ensured that this problem takes on the character of the proverbial 'Gordian knot'. In fact, so convoluted is the matter that identifying the problem has itself become a source of angst and hand wringing amongst the disparate populace that makes up the kaleidoscope of Kashmir. Although the



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Key Points

- Kashmir problem takes on the character of the proverbial 'Gordian knot'.
- The present state of security in the state can be at best narrated as one of unease and mistrust.
- The desired end state of the J&K situation may be envisioned as "Peace and Prosperity".
- The psyche of the Awaam becomes the Centre of all activity.
- *Kashmiriyat* is the "Culture" of Kashmir. Within this Culture there is a small visible portion and a major unseen portion which is below the surface and is constantly evolving, and sometimes mutating through changes in Attitudes, Values, Beliefs as well as Feelings and Perceptions. The core culture of *Kashmiriyat* needs to be rejuvenated before it is totally eroded.
- There is a growing signature of religious fundamentalism. Radical religious ideas are weaning the youth away from the core secular culture of Kashmir.
- The troubled historical baggage is likely to have given rise to a specific "Character" to the psyche of Kashmiri populace.
- The Kashmir situation cannot be seen in isolation and there is a need to understand the current international environment.
- After the collapse of the "ISIS", the over-spilling effect of violent terrorism is outstanding, with violent extremists speeding up their evacuation and committing crimes back in their home countries.
- Countries around the world are using technology and social/religious/psychological rehabilitation to establish positive and lasting peace to fight an ideology.
- We need to learn from the international efforts and create our own model concept which will have a whole of a government approach to tackle the centre of gravity ie, the psyche of the people in a coherent manner.

The Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), New Delhi, is an independent think-tank dealing with national security and conceptual aspects of land warfare, including conventional and sub-conventional conflict and terrorism. CLAWS conducts research that is futuristic in outlook and policy-oriented in approach.

Solutions to Psychological ...

regions of Jammu and Ladakh form an inseparable part of this kaleidoscope. This issue brief gives special reference to Kashmir. It is also increasingly being understood that “eliminating” poster boys and dreaded terrorists only, will not take the situation to a logical and favourable conclusion and therefore much more and in a more coherent form needs to be done.

Present State Vs Desired End State for Peace and Prosperity

Present State. The present state of security in the state can be at best narrated as one of unease and mistrust, that is to say that there is a sense of functionality where the security situation in the state is bordering on the line between Militancy, Law and order situation to completely peaceful in different regions of the state, yet the governance is struggling. There is an increasing demand by the Awaam to allow them more breathing space, more often than not instigated by inimical elements to the state. The security forces however, understand the sacrifices that have resulted in this present functional environment and do not want to loosen the grip to allow the Militants to gain lost ground and then go through a tedious process of sanitizing the area which may cost more lives and sacrifices. Radicalization through Wahhabi Islam is a big challenge in the valley; there are 1,000 Jamat-e-Hadith mosques in the Valley, the clergy being from UP and Bihar but being funded by Pakistan through the Middle East. Increasingly, traditional Sufi Islam is ceding space to radical brand of Islam in Kashmir. On top of all this, young minds are likely being indoctrinated in schools and Madrassas to become stone-pelters (the maximum being in the school going age of 7 to 13 years), who when jailed, come in contact with extremist literature, hard-core militants and Over Ground Workers(OGWs). A new mindset in Kashmir in the younger generation is due to the fact, that Kashmiris have been made to sever their relationship with their past through a structured doctrinal Narrative created by Pakistan through Radicalization and this break is being exploited to the maximum as a reinforcing loop by inimical agencies. To say the least there seems to be a deadlock and all are looking forward to a phased yet definite set of coherent strategies to reach the

desired end state and end the cycle of violence.

Desired End State. The desired end state of the J&K situation may be envisioned as “Peace and Prosperity” in the state which can be only be achieved if the Centre of Gravity, i.e, the psyche of the Awaam perceives that all their basic needs of physiology, security as well as higher needs of esteem and self-actualization are met during the process and therefore start supporting national integration.

Perception is the Key to Success

From the desired end-state it is evident that the psyche of the Awaam becomes the Centre of all activity. The perception of the Awaam becomes the key to the resolution of this conflict of ideas. Efforts are needed to change the mind set as the hearts will remain where the hearth is. How do we address the higher needs of the Awaam in Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, ie, the Esteem need and Self-actualization need? Although many a study has been carried out on J&K, there is a need to holistically study it as a System. Perceptions are made in the mind and for managing perceptions it is important to study what is actually affecting the psyche of the Awaam today in J&K. Understanding of the comprehensive situation will lead to derivation of strategies for ensuring peace, progress as well as improving Perceptions in J&K which in turn would assist us in reaching our above stated desired end state.

Systems Thinking

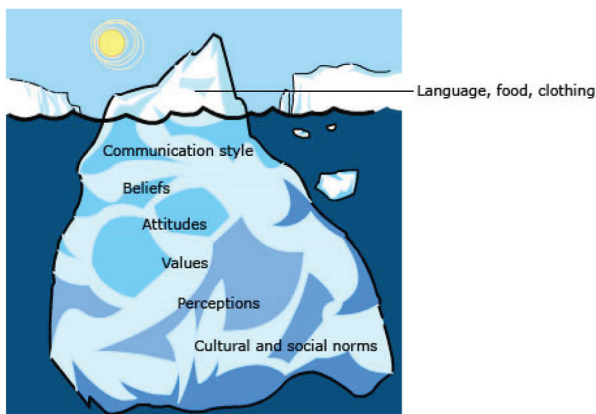
The Kashmir problem does not have a cut and dry solution as is the case with many social science-dominated qualitative issues and problems. It is therefore pertinent that a comprehensive analysis be done keeping in mind all stakeholders, breaking the problem into smaller manageable Relevant Systems and further define them through Root Definitions before comparing these again with happenings, systems and strategies in the real world. This will further reduce personnel biases and objectivity which is extremely important for credible research and resultant problem solving.

Psychological Aspects

Kashmiriyat per se, is the ethno-national and social consciousness and cultural values of the Kashmiri people. Emerging around the 16th century, it is characterised by religious and cultural

harmony, patriotism and pride for their mountainous homeland of Kashmir. There is no rocket science required to come to conclusion that this culture of Kashmir needs to be rejuvenated and reinforced.

To study Kashmiriyat we must understand the basic tenets of '**Human Behaviour**'. As human beings, we all have our own values, beliefs and attitudes that we have developed throughout the course of our lives. Attitudes are a powerful element in life in Kashmir, these are long enduring and hard to change—but not impossible! If we were to draw an iceberg, the deepest part as Cultural and social norms which get developed over Centuries. Kashmiriyat is this "Culture" of Kashmir. Within this Culture too there is a small visible portion and a major unseen portion which is below the surface and is constantly evolving, and sometimes mutating through changes in Attitudes, Values, Beliefs as well as Feelings and Perceptions.¹



Pakistan's "inner front strategy" as well as the "misperception strategy" has tried to target the invisible culture of Kashmir by proactively creating narrative after narrative which is also slowly affecting the values, beliefs and attitude of the people of Kashmir. Through proxy war elements the temperature is set to below boiling point and it takes a small incident to boil. Some of the aspects which need attention are :

- **Spread of Fundamentalism.** Militancy has dramatically transformed Sufism and Kashmiriyat, and influenced people of Kashmir into a fractured and radically influenced society which in turn has given rise to religious fundamentalism as the society was susceptible and fundamentalism captured its imagination. This has affected all aspects of the society including

Kashmiri institutions such as political parties, government and non-government organisations, militant groups, educational institutions, self-help groups and many other such organisations within and outside Kashmir Valley. Rise of fundamentalism also signifies a transformation in the mindset of Kashmiri people from being an accommodative and tolerant society to a more static, traditional and conservative society which is not averse to use of violence and advocates extremist outlook. One critical area expected to be exploited by fundamentalist organisations is leveraging of the institution of "madrasas" to their advantage. Slowly but steadily, Islamic schools and madrasas have gained importance amongst the valley population. As madrasas focus on the Islamic identity, they weaken the concept of Kashmiriyat. Many of the madrasas, which are affiliated to Salafia Trust, Jamait e Islami and Deobandi School of thought, are focusing on establishing orthodox Islam thought and practices which in turn erode the core values of Sufism. Shariah traditions as advocated by orthodox Islam, advocate shunning of local traditions such as shrine worship and advocate strict 'Purdah' by women. Reducing the influence of Shia maulvis is another motivating factor for the fundamentalists. Around the year 2007, many Kashmiri Muslims saw the Indian government's moves to increase cooperation with US and Israel as a proof that it is a part of a global anti-Muslim axis. This was overplayed by communication networks. These networks also spread ideas of fundamentalist ideas propagated by Tablighi Jamaat and Ahle-Hadith.² The Tablighi Jamaat acted as the pull for even secular Sufi Muslim youth of Kashmir as it urges the Muslims to invite (dawah) the ways of a good Muslim (deen) in their own lives so that other non-believers can join their ranks. Religious scholars in Kashmir point out that Ahle-Hadith has four sub-schools—Jamait-ul-ahl-e-Hadith (puritan), Difai (ultra-puritan), Guraba (religio-political ultra-puritan) and Sout-ul-Haq, represented by ISIS, where a nonconformist is 'wajib-ul-qatl' (eligible for murder)³. There is no direct evidence of involvement of madrasas in

anti- national militancy. However, products of these institutions do nurture anti- establishment feeling. Some of the maulvis have been investigated by the state police for alleged links with terrorist organisations. Since maulvis are held in high esteem, it may be possible for them to indoctrinate the students of madrasas into the ways of militancy. If influenced by the communal and anti-national forces, the institution of madrasas is being exploited by the hardliners for leveraging the cause of fundamentalism.

- **Turmoiled History.** Power equations have changed over a period of time and it is always the human behaviour of trying to be at the centre of power which has been the main reason for neglecting the aspirations of the state. Almost all the important leaders have played with the emotions of the people to achieve their objectives. Most of the political leaders barring a few had myopic views, had visions to suit their political agenda and were amenable to manipulation. The alleged rigging of elections in 1987 was yet another classical example of political parties trying all means to come to power. Finally, to add to the woes, Pakistan jumped into the fray yet again with a well laid out proxy war to manipulate the situation created by our own undoing. Over a period of last seventy years, no state of the Indian Union has seen such a huge shift in the aspirations of the people from Azadi to becoming part of Pakistan to being part of India. Three totally different scenarios with the AWAM of Kashmir also swaying as the wind blew. Dealing with a Kashmiri in the valley definitely needs a '*Kashmiri outlook*' and cannot be compared with any other state. There is a need to mould them gradually to our mainstream rather than force them to accept a particular thought. As Peter Senge brings out that *the harder you push the harder the system pushes back*.
- **Kashmiri Psyche.** This turmoiled historical baggage is likely to have given rise to a specific "Character" to the psyche of Kashmiri populace. A net assessment study was undertaken as a project by College of Defence Management, Secunderabad

in 2014 in which personalities from all walks of life were interviewed and a Psyche was constructed. Few of its derived facets, which have got further substantiated by a survey carried out by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences for CLAWS on Simple Random Samples (SRS) in July 2018 in the colleges of Kashmir (N=503), were presented in the recently conducted seminar on "Mapping of Perceptions in J&K" on 18 August 2018, are highlighted as under:

- A Kashmiri does not know whom to trust vis State/Central government, Security Forces/ Terrorists/Police or even his Neighbour.
- He does not know what he wants- Azadi, or to be with India or Pakistan, or a better life.
- He has over a period of time developed a dual personality. He speaks his mind and feelings differently in group/mob and individually.
- He feels oppressed because he feels that he has always been ruled by others over the years.
- Turmoil of history and continued oppression has made a Kashmiri adapt himself to his perceived owner. In such circumstances he is forced to survive by quickly adjusting himself to changing environment.
- He indulges himself in group discussions on negative aspects of the present situation which results in hardening of attitudes. An average Kashmiri is politically aware of the environment.
- The youth of Kashmir have been victims of violence and have developed a hatred for authority due to the perceived violence and humiliation of their parents and relatives. Thus, he has developed traits of a rebel over a period of time which is presently manifesting in the aggressiveness which he portrays to the environment.
- Romanticized notion of a utopian state, escaping the unbearable world, social misfit syndrome, existential anxiety, desire to be a "good muslim" and even as petty a thing as a failed love life is drawing him towards terrorist recruitment when he sees a small trigger as that of a funeral of a slain militant.

The Current International Situation

The Kashmir situation cannot be seen in isolation and there is a need to understand the current international environment. After the Cold War ended, Terrorism has changed significantly from politically motivated to ideological extremism, driven by religion and ethno-nationalism. Extremism, as part of the problem has also spread globally with the common theme “unstructured chaos” with the goal to co-opt or coerce the targeted population to support their extremist ideology by systematically delegitimized the government, create anarchy, and gain control of the targeted population. Violent extremism could, therefore, be stated as of the main driving forces of global terrorism. Globally, violent extremists have leveraged technology and communicated their concept of violence to their followers through various media, primarily social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc., and used languages tailored for their specific global audiences. As the result, foreign fighters from around the world, including Muslims from England, France and Europe joined forces with the terrorist group who efficiently utilized extremist concept to fight for the caliphate.

In a recently concluded International Seminar on Countering Violent Extremism, the Vice Chairman, China Institute of International Studies, China, Maj Gen NhangJianguo articulated the current situation on the ISIS front. He said that in recent years, with the joint efforts of the international community, the “ISIS” has been badly hit in Iraq and Syria, and the international war on terror achieved great progress. Presently, although the “ISIS” is gone as a “state”, it still exists as an organization and the violent extremist ideology it advocates still lingers, which has made terrorism one of the uppermost security threat to the international community. He also mentioned that after the collapse of the “ISIS”, the over-spilling effect of violent terrorism is outstanding, with violent extremists speeding up their evacuation and committing crimes back in their home countries, and violent terrorist activities operating on high levels. Fighting against violent extremism with forces cures only the symptoms but not the disease. Coupled with the impacts of game played by big powers and geopolitical factors, the international community is

still confronted with multiple new challenges and new problems to cope with in the field of counter-terrorism.

In the same Seminar Mr Elyaminne Settoul, Lecturer in political science, Conservative National des Arts et Meteirs explained the high number of French jihadists. He explained that France is host to Europe’s largest Muslim population. Whilst the share of converts engaged in radical militancy can at times be substantial, it is established that the majority of fighters who joined the Islamic State were raised in Muslim cultural heritage families (practicing or not). Consequently, the potential pool of French candidates to jihad is structurally larger than in most European countries. Although French jihadists display a great diversity of sociological and geographical origins, the bulk of the recruiting ground hails from disadvantaged urban areas. Located at the periphery of most large cities in France, the banlieues are places of social marginalization, where inhabitants are the primary victims of discrimination in access to housing, employment and in their relations to the police. Socially mixed when they were first built in the 1960s, French banlieues have progressively become ethnicized and ghettoized from the 1980s onwards. Undercurrents unfold in a multitude of binary oppositions that oversimplify the reality: whites/visible minorities; policemen/banlieue youth; rich/poor; Israelis/Palestinians. Such otherization of “them” against “us” creates an environment conducive to breakaway and radical attitudes.

International Solutions Addressing the Cognitive Domain

- **The British Experience.** The three-fold response of the UK government to the recent spate of terror related incidents in her country has yielded rich dividends. Firstly, the social media companies were given an ultimatum to eradicate/filter radicalizing offensive literature and videos from their platforms in UK. This resulted in a 98 percent decrease in such online literature which could lead to radicalization and recruitment. Secondly, they have upgraded their artificial Intelligence monitoring system to identify probable recruiters, over ground Workers and radicalized elements. Thirdly, they have taken the assistance of Non-governmental organizations like the “London tigers” to spread the message of peace and well-being through their community

development programs in order to prevent people from undertaking violent extremist acts as also reach out to suspected affected cases.

- **The Indonesian Response.** First Admiral Dr M. Anan Majid, Vice Dean, National Security Faculty, Indonesian Defence University explained the concept of Network-Based Conflict Early Warning and Response System (CEWERS). It is a concept which illustrates various activities to conflict prevention. The assumption in CEWERS concept is usually referred to the analogy that conflict is a cycle, which includes, conflict prevention steps, intervention to stop violence (peacekeeping), negotiation to create peace (peace-making) and also the effort to develop positive peace in order to establish long-term resilience. He also explained the efforts of “**Bela Negara**”, the community empowerment strategy from Indonesia which has been instrumental in not only countering violent extremism but also has successfully built social resilience against radicalization through synergetic cooperation between the government and the communities through smart power. **Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT)** as the Indonesian agency that works to prevent terrorism could not achieve as much through hard power that interactions with local Ulema and community groups that generated the adequate soft power could do.
- **The Singaporean Concept.** Dr Jolene Jerard, Deputy head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, Singapore explained the effect of radicalization in the society of Singapore and the counter measures being undertaken by their government.

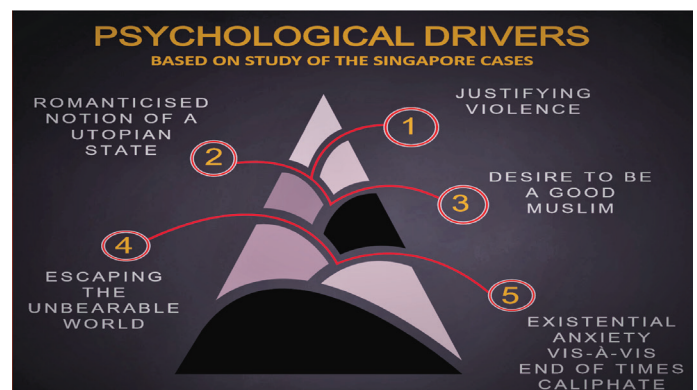


- The **TRIDENT** concept incorporates/addresses the Transforming power of technology, Recruitment and radicalization, Innovativeness, Dense pollination of ideas, evolving trends, new tradecrafts and last but not the least Trusted networks which can be utilized for this fight. The concept envisages the use of transformative power of technology to prevent recruitment and radicalisation thereby be ahead in the field of innovation by understanding the vectors in a way that could save lives and prevent families from getting destroyed.
- There is a need to be ahead of the terrorists and their masters in Innovation and the learning curve. This could be done through intelligence breakthroughs. A recent case was that of weaponizing the family unit as a tool for jihad.

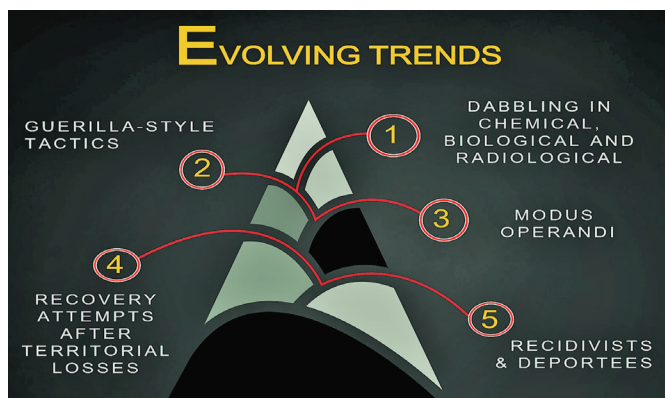
Weaponising the Family Unit



- Addressing the cognitive domain through a dense pollination of ideas is the universal approach that the handlers and over ground workers are exploiting for leading unknowing youth into the trap of fighting for an unrighteous jihad. Radical Islam may not be the only guiding light for the disenchanted.



- Evolving trends (a sequence of critical events of consequence) give us an insight of the things to follow, Hence, trend analysis is of utmost importance in the business of countering violent Extremism.



- New tradecraft being employed by the extremists like Inghimasi⁴ attacks or lone wolf attacks and its psycho analysis will help us in getting into the minds of the extremists. An ear to the ground in this regard will pay rich dividends.
- Lastly trusted networks like security agencies, educational institutions, grass root organisations and community groups are important to counter the extremist networks.



Strategic Communication Solutions in the Kashmir Context.

If the Psyche of the people is the Centre of Gravity then Communication strategies like Perception improvement will directly address the Centre of Gravity. Perception management/improvement includes all actions used to influence the attitudes and objective reasoning of foreign and domestic audiences and consists of Public Diplomacy, Psychological Operations, Public Information,

Deception and Covert Action. The main goal is to influence friends and enemies, provoking them to engage in the behavior that is suitable to achieve the desired end state. While the exercise of perception management has been carrying on in the Kashmir valley for years, by way of 'Sadhbhavna' and other measures, these are being rejected of late, by the radicalized youth as a symbol of state hegemony, as these do not have the foot prints of traditional governance. There needs to be a more focused and concerted approach towards the same which is carried out at all levels over a sustained manner. We need to make a counter Narrative to the Idea of Radicalization through picturization of the success story of development and freethinking futuristic India as a Nation too as compared to many nearly failed states in the vicinity.

Everyone seems to understand what is wrong in the back drop of proxy war but one is yet to see a comprehensive concept model which can form a part of a holistic solution to the problem.

The PRIME ANTENNA Concept Model. This is a holistic concept model which requires the participation of many organs of the government so that the Centre of Gravity is addressed at all levels coherently and simultaneously.



An antenna is a non- intrusive tool or device which is omnipresent yet quietly listens and not gets in the face of communities. It is a widely accepted device which gets the ideas of the world to your living room. For obvious reasons a concept like the TRIDENT would have been outwardly rejected by the Kashmiri Awaamdue to the name. The Acronym PRIME ANTENNA is explained below:

- **Promote Kashmiriyat/Sufi Culture.** *Kashmiriyat* is believed to be an expression of solidarity, resilience and patriotism **regardless of religious differences**. It is believed to embody an ethos of harmony and a determination of survival of the people and their heritage. To many Kashmiris, *Kashmiriyat* demanded religious and social **harmony and brotherhood**⁵. It has been strongly influenced by Kashmir Shaivism, Buddhism and Sufism, carrying a long-standing conviction that any and every religion will lead to the same divine goal. However, the impact and importance of *Kashmiriyat* has been concentrated in the Vale of Kashmir only, which is the real historical Kashmir. The farther regions of Gilgit, Baltistan, Jammu and Ladakh have not been influenced by this philosophy, as these regions are not Kashmiri in terms of culture, language or ethnicity. Most remarkable event of the partition in our history, is the fact that Kashmir's Muslims stayed secular in this hour of their gravest trial.⁶ It was no mean thing, for them, unlike even their brethren in Mirpur and Poonch, not to speak of other parts of the country, to hear horrendous stories of communal carnage involving millions of Hindus and Muslims and remain utterly unaffected.⁷ Instead of giving in to the deadly and rampant communal virus, Kashmiri Muslims waited for and welcomed Indian troops, seventy years ago, to help them in their fight against Pakistani Muslim tribal raiders. Kashmir has been in the grip of militant separatism for years now. A Muslim-majority region has been seeking to secede from a Hindu-majority country. This is bound to create the impression of communalism and obscurantism rampant in that state. And yet, barring the misdeeds of isolated groups, largely funded from abroad, the masses of people remain secular. Nothing could demonstrate this better than the fact that ordinary Kashmiri Muslims are even today eagerly awaiting the return of their Pundit brothers and sisters who had left the valley at the height of militancy. It has surprised many observers that, contrary to the general experience of communal rioting in most parts of the sub-

continent, Kashmiri Muslims have been looking after the homes and hearths of their migrated Kashmiri Pundit brothers for years in the fond hope that one day there would be peace and they would be able to return.⁸ This culture and Sufi Islam will show the world the benevolent and secular side of Islam. There is a need to leverage this culture. Is it not possible to have a week long world Sufi festival in Kashmir? Let us as a nation provide the requisite security to cultural Sufi artists from across the world to come and teach and perform in Kashmir and let the excerpts from this festival run on the media channels for a month and the results will be evident.

Respond Full spectrum. The terrorist groups' activities can be divided into **two categories, activities that sustain the group's existence as a cohesive entity and activities that allow terrorists to sustain series of successful attacks**. Having divided terrorist groups' activities into two categories, we next identify certain basic tools that terrorists use—with varying degrees of sophistication—to sustain these activities. The six **organizational tools (terrorist capabilities that sustain group cohesion and existence)**⁹ are:

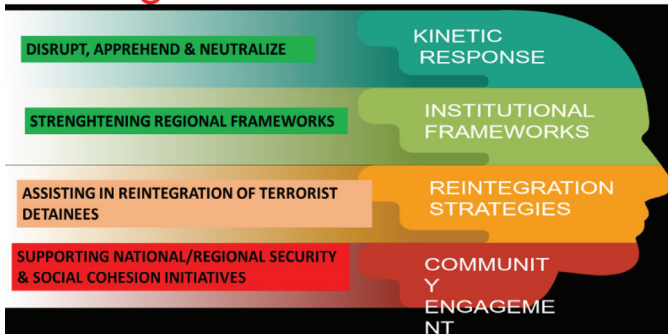
- Ideology.
- Alienation through Radicalisation.
- Leadership.
- Recruitment pools.
- Publicity.
- Finance.

In addition to these organizational tools, **the operational tools used by terrorist groups to sustain a series of successful attacks are:**

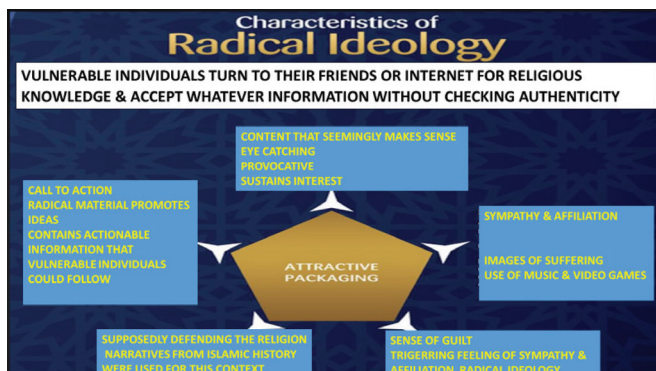
- Command and control.
- Weapons.
- Operational space.
- Operational security.
- Over Ground Workers (OGWs).
- Cyber Space.
- Agitational Space.

In order to have a holistic approach of going after the organizational tools for long term effects a full spectrum response as given below will pay rich dividends.

RESPOND FULL SPECTRUM



It is of utmost importance that we understand the characteristics of radical Ideology when we plan for the full spectrum response and the graphic below can serve as a useful guide.

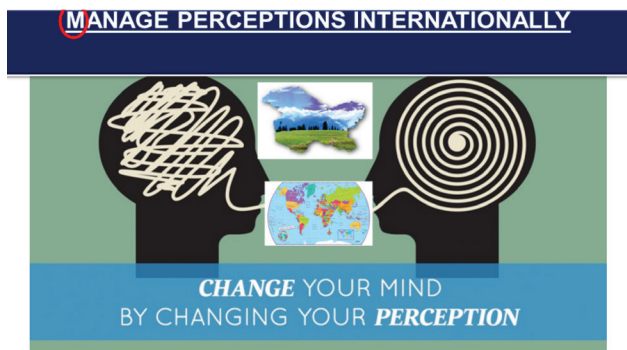


- **Integrate the Power of Technology.** If the above graphic is seen with a microscopic eye one would realize that it is the power of technology that is being utilized by the extremists and their handlers in order to derive the desired results in terms of recruitments and to keep the pot boiling. There is a distinct need to integrate the power of technology to deter such activity. Social Media platforms and Vernacular media can only be reined in if one understands the science and technology behind their functioning. Artificial Intelligence to monitor suspicious activities, creating mobile apps to counter radical propaganda and as a support system to vulnerable portions of the society, which will also ensure that data can be accessed without circuitous permissions from foreign based social media companies, is just a gallon in an ocean of possibilities. Today, not only the Kashmiri society but also the whole country needs social leaders as much as political leaders and it is not a figment of anybody's imagination that these can be created through the proper use of technology. The use of the

power of information communication technology and its intensity can be better controlled by the legitimate state than the proxy war identities. The widespread use of networks by the extremist groups has helped the violent extremist activities infiltrate into every aspect of social life. As a result, an all-dimensional situational awareness system of the network threats posed by violent extremism should be built to effectively identify, track, investigate and control such activities as communication and propaganda by violent extremists by collating massive network information through various means. Meanwhile, data and information obtained should be put together and comprehensively studied so as to paint a holistic picture of the activities conducted by the violent extremist groups through networks. Currently, some countries have already built the data model (DM) of network activities by the violent extremist groups, which would provide important information support.



- **Manage Perceptions Internationally.** One of the biggest feeder to separatism and extremist views in Kashmir is the International Perception that grave injustice is being done to the people. We have failed as a nation by not creating a positive perception in our favour. The narrative of Partition and the grave atrocities by Pakistani raiders on the Kashmiri people is not known by nine out of ten people internationally who matter. A concerted effort in this regard is due. The threat of ISIS pan-Islamization ideology is far from over and a concerted effort by the world community will be required to fight it. This aspect can be leveraged as a symbol of intolerance to terrorism of any kind in the international arena, to improve the world's perception on Kashmir too. There will be a requirement of enhancing the diplomatic effort for a few years at least.



- **Engage.** Engagement with the people of Kashmir especially the youth is the need of the hour. Generalizations of “us” against “them” as is being picturized by many TV channels will only lead to a negative loop in the system. Mr Dineshwar Sharma’s appointment as an Interlocutor was received coldly by Kashmiris¹⁰, may be because of internal politics of supremacy within the then functional state government. Here is a chance under the Governor’s rule for the Centre to make a genuine effort to reach out to the people through dialogue. He must not be seen though only interlocuting with the peaceniks. There is a need to enlarge the envelope to include slain terrorist families and know their mind. Engaging with the network of mothers of slain militants and making them feel a sense of loss will reverse the openness with which the families have started offering their children for the cause of extremism. Engagement amongst the three regions of the state is as important in order to eradicate the Banihal and the Zojila divide. Religious rehabilitation is another area of engagement that can be undertaken as a challenge. Needs no gain saying that for this endeavour to be successful it is important to win the confidence of the expert panel of religious teachers and scholars. Experiments in order to give weightage to their “waaz” as a tool of governance may be incorporated in order to win their confidence to start with. Engaging and training the teachers will also pay rich dividends as after the family the teachers are the most trusted as per the above quoted survey carried out in the colleges of Kashmir.

Engagement through sports is a great area where pent up emotions can be redirected. There is a need of constructing 2800 sports fields in the valley itself. Self-worth in the own body through the power of sports could start a movement against the demented

thought process of death and destruction as the only alternatives.

- **Assuage Feelings through Greater Autonomy.** Demand for “Greater Autonomy or Self Rule” has been the major bone of contention between the center and state govts over the decades. Political will has to be garnered in order to work out a formula which may not be detrimental to the spirit of our constitution and the idea of India.
- **Networks can Only beat a Network.** Since the violent extremist groups have taken networks as their major vehicle to spread violent terrorist ideas and inflict psychological intimidation, efforts should be made to strengthen online and offline propaganda, innovate methods and means, engage in psychological intervention, refute extreme arguments, and clean up the infiltration of the violent terrorist ideas. For example, Youtube proposed the “reorientation scheme” in July of 2017, prioritizing in sending video clips involving anti-extremist ideas to users likely influenced by the violent extremist groups like the “ISIS” to restrict the network propaganda and recruitment by the violent extremist groups. We should plan to create a network of young Kashmiri entrepreneurs and name them the “Kashmir Leopards” or even better as “Lolableopords”, “Kulgam Kings”, “Pulwama Panthers”, create a network of positive change which works for peace and prosperity in the state, there is a need to create a network of social leaders in the state. The state has been relying to get panacea from the political leaders for far too long and an alternate system of leadership needs to be created in order to fill the vacuum.



- **Trends-Identify through regular Analysis to be ahead in the Proxy war.** A central body needs to be created within the NIA which continuously monitors events and trends with the help of trained

analysts to remain ahead in the proxy war. A core group could be created from domain specialists available in leading think tanks of the country who could carry out trend analysis and advise the National Security Council on a weekly basis.

- **Empower.** There is a dire need to empower the youth politically. An initiative to train children to understand the power of ballot in schools and colleges will wean them away from inimical forces advocating democratic boycott. Social empowerment will entail the reemergence of the institution of “Mokdam” or the village elder who can influence the young minds through his position which is devoid of political affiliations. Ex-servicemen settled in villages can be utilized for social causes and empowerment. Technical training centres for employment generation will also help in economic upliftment. Psychological conditioning through positive narratives in print and social media will assist in countering terrorist agenda. The circle of spaces has to be filled through empowerment else they will be filled by a negative agenda. Good governance would also undoubtedly lead to empowerment of the people. Mental health support through premier social science institutes is also a means of empowerment

This empowerment will not only lead to rehabilitation of the people who want to come back to the mainstream but also make the community more resilient against the machinations of terror and evolve a strong partnership between the government and the community.

- **Name and Shame Pak Propaganda and OGWs.** At the United Nation Human Rights Council meeting in Geneva New Delhi, for the first time¹¹, used its ‘right to reply’ to send a strong message to its neighbour. Diplomatic offensives have also been taken up to serve the cause of naming and shaming Pakistan as perpetrator of proxy war and violent extremism in India and these efforts need to be continued. OGWs have always been the mainstay for an insurgency Movement. Previously OGW were primarily involved in logistics support and intelligence gathering. Off late the distinction has blurred considerably with OGW also capable of carrying out small scale strikes

while retaining the capability to mix rapidly with the population. The comparative freedom of movement available to terrorists due to limited resource control measures has emboldened the terrorists to change their strategy of trying to mix up with population. Intelligence sources need to isolate and put them to justice. Caution may be a virtue to avoid a “catch them and bump them of culture by the Police” which may be prevalent in earlier phases of militancy as discussed by David Devadas in his book “The generation of rage in Kashmir”. Families of Terrorists killed in encounters are also playing a negative role in vitiating the environment and appear as martyrs. These elements also need to be tackled and shown in bad light through credible sting operations. New Trade- craft- Negate it. Learn from the world of the new trade craft being employed like the Inghimasi attacks, Lone wolves and many more in order to negate these. Understand the constantly evolving support eco system shouldering this extremist movement through a core group from think tanks which can find solutions against the new tradecraft being employed.

- **Address the Cognitive Domain through Narratives of Peace and Prosperity.** A significant share of terrorists is looking for a sense of identity and self-worth. Narratives of peace and prosperity and success stories highlighted over FM channels and social media will provide them an alternative. Psychological rehabilitation as a preventive strategy will pay rich dividends. Mental health camps and social scientists will be the drivers in this regard.

A comprehensive CAPS strategy from Correction to Support as given below will address the cognitive domain to a large extent.

NARRATIVES AND THEMES.....



... Aspects of Kashmir

The **SPEAR (S-STRENGTHENING SOLIDARITY, P-PRESERVING HARMONY, E- EMBRACING DIVERSITY, A-ADVOCATING ENGAGEMENT, R-RECIPROCATING RESPECT)** narrative could be one good example of creating alternate narratives to fear, terror, death and despondency.

Conclusion

The above based model could form a basis of tackling the Psychological aspects related to Extremism and wean the population towards peace and prosperity. Psychology in the Valley is deeply intertwined with society and religion and therefore the mantra for

success can be from heads to hearts to hands(action) towards peace and prosperity.



Notes

1. [http://www.claws.in/images/publication_pdf/570745787_IB-118-ColASChonker\(Final\).pdf](http://www.claws.in/images/publication_pdf/570745787_IB-118-ColASChonker(Final).pdf), Psychological Aspects of Kashmir
2. David Devadas, The generation of Rage in Kashmir, Oxford University Press, Page 15
3. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/how-mosques-and-mobiles-are-radicalising-kashmir/articleshow/59507200.cms>, accessed on 16 August 2018
4. https://www.secureamericanow.org/inghimasi_isis_s_deadly_tactical_approach, accessed on July 28 2018
5. Manu Belur Bhagavan, Heterotopias-Nationalism and the Possibility of History in South Asia Vol1,Page 153
6. www.susmitkumar.net/index.php/history-of-kashmir-conflict, accessed on 24 July 2018
7. Ibid, accessed on 29 July , 2018
8. www.greaterkashmir.com/news/opinion/the-return-of-migrants/247099.html, accessed on July 29, 2018
9. http://www.claws.in/images/publication_pdf/1027785870_Cissuebrief.pdf, Tools of terror by AS Chonker
10. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/why-was-jk-cold-to-interlocutor/article20551716.ece> accessed on 30 June 2018
11. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/for-the-first-time-india-uses-right-to-reply-to-cut-short-paks-kashmir-blame-game/articleshow/47918727.cms>, accessed on July 29 2018

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