

## **Indian Hybrid War against Pakistan: A Strategic Theory Perspective**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Hybrid warfare proposes the idea of integration of various domains of warfare to create uniqueness in the domain of warfare strategies. Developments in the technological spheres have given rise to hybrid models in contemporary world. With the evolving mechanism and particular developments, international security has also experienced the hybrid model of warfare. The integrated model of hybrid warfare came to the twenty first century's world, which has also inspired the fanatic regime of India to impose it on Pakistan. Hybrid warfare has been waged against Pakistan to balkanize it into various segments by exploiting its vulnerabilities. This study tries to find the answer of how India is using hybrid warfare against Pakistan and what kinds of policy options are available to Pakistan to deal with this? The study is being conducted under the lens of strategic theory. To find the answer of the research question, qualitative research methodology with more focus on its documentary analysis has been employed. The study concludes that India is using conventional and un-conventional means to destabilize Pakistan and trying to undermine the growing importance of Pakistan in the regional dynamics. Pakistan needs to understand security challenges being posed by Indian Hybrid Warfare.

**Keywords:** Hybrid Warfare, Fifth Generation, Security, Threats, Pakistan, India.

### **Introduction**

COAS, General Qamar Javed Bajwa in his address to the cadets of PMA in Kakul shared his thoughts about contemporary character of security challenges:

“Our enemies know that they cannot beat us fair and square and have thus subjected us to a cruel, evil and protracted hybrid war. They are trying to weaken our resolve by weakening us from within”

Change is the enduring feature of global politics. Similarly, the domain of warfare has also evolved owing to the changes in socio-political conditions and advancement in technological spheres. As Carl Von Clausewitz said, “Every age has its own type of war and it adopts itself to that prevailing environment”. Warfare has evolved from conventional direct military engagement to unconventional warfare tactics, in which indirect methods and tools are used by states to accomplish strategic objectives. The strategic and security community calls the integration of conventional and unconventional tools as hybrid warfare. Frank G. Hoffman defined hybrid warfare as “the combination of regular, irregular, guerrilla, terrorism, conventional, unconventional, cyber and informational warfare, conducted by both state and non-state actors”.

Pakistan is currently the target of hybrid war from its archrival India. In the post-nuclearization times, India failed to coerce Pakistan due to its strong conventional military and nuclear capabilities, and thus shifted its strategy towards hybrid warfare. India is exploiting socio-ethnic and religious fault lines in Pakistan. India is disseminating fake news towards while integrating diverse war tactics in a composite way. The practical manifestation of Indian hybrid warfare ranges from purchasing sophisticated fifth generation ammunitions to the use of information war tactics with supporting non-state actors (Nisar, 2018).

It is an obvious fact that India cannot defeat Pakistan through conventional means that’s why it trying to adopt a policy to bleed Pakistan through thousand cuts. It has employed both the conventional and non-conventional modes to destabilize Pakistan. India is waging hybrid warfare against Pakistan while integrating its diverse war strategies compositely and comprehensively. India is exploiting various fault lines of Pakistani state and society to achieve its heinous designs. Economic coercion, disinformation campaigns, cyber warfare, psychological warfare and exploitation of societal conflicts are very obvious in Indian strategy and tactics. Through the disinformation and fake news, India is trying to exploit ethnic fault lines of Pakistan society and creating a sense of insecurity in the masses. Its frantic drives to pile up weapons is creating disturbance in the balance of power in the south Asia. As per the latest reports, India is among the highest arms purchasing states in the world. India has purchased fifth generation ammunitions to undermine Pakistan in conventional terms creating security dilemma in South Asia. India has been violating the ceasefire agreement of 2003 along the Line of Control increased six folds since APS attack.

India is supporting non-state actors, framing vulnerable identities’ cognitive domain through propaganda coupled with diplomatic warfare. Indian support to insurgents and criminals through RAW’s terrorist network under the leadership of spy terrorist Kulbhushan Jadhav remained an undeniable fact. Jadhav was operating inside Balochistan since 2013, supplying material resources, intellectual and media support to the Baloch dissidents and radicalized sectarian militants to fuel ethno-sectarian violence in Pakistan. Significance of Balochistan has been increased just after the development of CPEC due to Gwadar. Upon arrest, he

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confessed RAW's involvement to exacerbate insurgency within Pakistan. Anti-Pakistani narrative has been propagated by RAW-NDS nexus to harm Pakistan's legitimacy in diplomatic arena. Tactical Support Division was intent to destabilize Pakistan through separatist elements (Ali & Muhammad, 2019).

Indian disinformation campaigns in FATF reported as an attempt to discourage the economic growth. India has been using propaganda machinery against Pakistan in FATF. Propaganda campaigns resulted in serious economic and diplomatic challenges as FATF holds a politicized approach towards Pakistan. Furthermore, Pakistan had been alleged of supporting terrorist organizations despite its progress in FATF Action Plan. Pakistan's cyber infrastructures attempted to hack by the RAW's sponsored hackers non-state actors supported with advanced technology aimed at the dismantling of high profile websites, stealing confidential data from government websites and crippling the state's financial structure.

Hybrid warfare intends to cover the blending aspects of war phenomena that include military, economic, diplomatic, criminal, and informational means. Hybrid warfare involves intersection of conventional military operations, non-conventional tactics, economic intimidation, information operations and other adaptive campaigns. Propaganda campaigns, economic sabotage, cyber-attacks and exploitation of cognitive domains among socio-political divisions remained effective tactics. Hybrid warfare is relatively low in expense, intentionally exploits and blurs the distinctions among dichotomies i.e. war and peace, and state and non-state actors. The integration of different tools of power creates difficulty in differentiating the threatening elements from hybrid actors. A diverse format of warfare tools and doctrines are undertaken in the hybrid warfare but major focus is directed towards use of sophisticated non-military technology in military affairs. Hybrid warfare contains the distinguishing feature of blurredness which declares it as unique and popular in the international security studies. Hybrid warfare created by the intersection of regular and irregular warfare uses the techniques and tools of regular and irregular warfare. It creates blurring at the tactical level to achieve strategic effects and increase the complexity of situation. Hybrid warfare is based on the availability of methods for waging war defined as blending of modes at different levels of war. Threat is operationalized with a very sophisticated technology to use and exploit it in organized forms of violence. In past, regular and irregular operations, both were taking place concurrently but separately while in hybrid warfare both forces operate in an integrated format to achieve strategic effects.

Cognitive domain and criminal activities remained latest and unique in terms of approaching contemporary security challenges at the foundational levels. Cognitive domain refers to the interpretation of situation by an individual and in mass consciousness. Cognitive attacks are aimed at the transformation of understanding and interpretation of the situation by using the emotional stress to lower the rational thinking. A new reality can be created by the massive use of cognitive weapons. These cognitive weapons are highly effective in nature because

these instruments influence an individual's mind, missing physical fence to provide protection. The cognitive domain of Pakistan's youth is facing multi-dimensional nature of ideological threat with the intrusion of fabricated theories, which resulted in the polarization of society. Criminal activities are gaining serious considerations from the security policy makers, which involve Narco-terrorism, illicit transfers of weaponry, smuggling and exploitation of gang networks in the urban regions of country (Aslan, 2020).

Use of conventional resources by the non-conventional forces has been proposed by Ajit Doval in his various statements. The utilization of state's resources offers sophisticated technology to the irregular warriors who articulately become lethal with their foundational character of protracted and fanatical fervor. The proposed assumption turned sponsored non-state actors' activities into hybrid threat to Pakistan. Next to the military support, the sponsoring state also sanctions non-state actors with soft power in the form of diplomatic and mass media supports (Raza, 2019).

India has invested in hybrid war through different modes of warfare including conventional capabilities, irregular warfare, state-sponsored terrorism, criminal activities, political means, economic means, information means and social means of warfare. Non-military means cover the ideological dimension of hybrid warfare to capture the support of societies in accordance to their narrative. Instant approach of social media and cyber space, propaganda's output, minorities' grievances, decentralized command and control structure, poverty, lack of opportunities, vulnerable education structure, religious variants, hate speech, and intolerance are some of the vulnerable domains of Pakistan. These factors facilitated India in pursuing hybrid tactics against Pakistan as the breeding ground was already available to impose hybrid war on Pakistan.

The religious, ethnic, historical and socio-economic factors remained the Indian targets. Economic pressure remained a critical factor in the sovereign decision making of any nation whereas economic sabotage has worked successfully in hybrid warfare. India has been abusing water resource as an instrument against Pakistan in the pursuit of Hydro politics with the Indus Water Treaty violations. Violations of Indus Water Treaty by India harm the agricultural economy of Pakistan.

Social media platforms have been used for launching propaganda campaigns against Pakistan. Activists are involved in propagating fabricated malicious narrative against the armed forces of Pakistan and representatives. India has been misguiding the international community by sharing erroneous facts to launch its psychological warfare to propagate a fabricated narrative against the Pakistan's nuclear assets. Indian intentions to label Pakistan as the terror sponsor state are evident in the statements taken from Bollywood to the politico-military officials and diplomats.

India coerced indebted Afghanistan to operate its hybrid war tactics from its Afghanistan-based counsels and embassies. India holds several so-called diplomatic infrastructures along the Pak-Afghan border through which India

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support the terrorists to spread terrorism inside Pakistan. APS attack is the defining development of Indian nefarious intentions, which targeted innocent students and teachers at a massive level. India has invested all resources in Balochistan under the guidelines of Doval Doctrine. Chinese consulate attack clearly shows the involvement of Indian intelligence agency RAW to develop mistrust among both partners. The anti-CPEC forces are trying to make mega project a controversial project (propagation of Pakistan as Chinese colony) inside Pakistan by targeting Pakistani population in psychological domain (Saleem, 2018).

India has adopted Lawfare tactics while making several amendments with respect to Kashmiri and Muslim population. NRC, CAA and amendments of articles 35(a) and 370 was an attempt to justify Indian brutalities on Kashmiri and Muslim population which bypasses the international humanitarian law. They have allowed the Indian forces and RSS gangs (in Indian military uniforms) to suppress native Kashmiri population. Ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri population has been executed by the Indian armed forces to discourage their efforts for self-discrimination while labeling them as terrorists.

India is supporting the Baloch insurgents. The RAW's terrorist network led by Commander Kulbhushan Jadhav is an undeniable fact. Afghanistan's anti-Pakistani narrative propagated by RAW's network inside Pakistan. Indian propaganda in FATF and its lobbying against the CPEC all aimed to sabotage the economic development of Pakistan. Cyber domain of Pakistan's is also being targeted by Indian hackers.

General Qamar Javed Bajwa's thinking about the changing of referent object in contemporary security challenges is embedded in his statement:

“Youth now is prime target of our enemies in hybrid war”.

Hybrid warfare distinguishes itself on its unique characteristics including the elements of surprise, ambiguity, fabricated malicious stories, cyber-attack, economic sabotage in the form of embargo, blockade, traditional military involvement, synchronization across all domains. The basic element of hybrid warfare is to limit actions below the threshold of outright war. Synchronization underscores the integrated campaign that is coordinated and linked with diverse domains of attacks across space and time to achieve political objectives (Hoffman, 2016).

Hybrid warfare targets masses across the full spectrum of economic, informational, political and social domains. It sorts out the conflict of violent measures in warfare as placed on secondary priorities in decision-making. This aspect of hybrid warfare creates ambiguity and vagueness in the target country to resort to the use of force under the existing international legal framework (McCulloh & Johnson, 2013).

In hybrid warfare, adversary state focuses on conducting the psychological operations exploiting vulnerable identities through articulating anti-state

narratives. Hybrid warfare remained the most dangerous version of warfare because it hollows the foundation of national integration and cohesion by fissuring the gulf between state's institutions and its population (Biddle, 2018). States use diverse means of war against their adversary, for example, in guerilla warfare, states attack the communication and strategic lines, use hate speeches as a propaganda machine to destabilize the enemy's narrative. Using regular and irregular forces remain a vital strategy for states to undermine adversary in the strategic domain (Zilincik & Pikner, 2018). Hybrid warfare intends to cover the blurring and blending aspects of previous generational warfare categories that include military, economic, diplomatic, criminal, and informational means to achieve desired political goals. Hybrid warfare involves a combination of conventional military operations, non-conventional tactics, economic intimidation, information operations and other adaptive campaigns. It may include state institutions or non-state entities to achieve a desired political objective (Radin, 2017).

Analysts agreed on a consensus that hybrid warfare integrates the conventional, un-conventional, terrorist and criminal means in a particular way to achieve policy ends. Economic coercion, disinformation campaigns, cyber warfare, psychological warfare and exploitation of societal conflicts remained the instruments of hybrid warfare (Bachmann & Gunneriusson, 2015). Scholars have pointed out the phenomenon of hybrid warfare as old as war itself as it involves the combinations of previous forms of warfare across various domains. The combination of conventional and proxy forces, information operations, politic-economic influence, high and low technological weaponry, espionage and cyber capabilities termed as the hybrid war (Sloan, 2018).

## **Theoretical Framework**

Strategic theory, as a comprehensive approach, lies at the nexus of all dimensions of warfare providing a holistic thinking to the defense communities regarding the management of complexities of using force to achieve policy ends (Gray, 2010).

In the particular cases of Indian propaganda and lobbying at economic and diplomatic fronts, the fundamental policy of "Deception" has been taken into account as great strategists weighted it in their strategic thinking. The last Prophet Muhammad (S.W.S) as a successful military strategist said; "War is Deceit" (Al-Bukhari, 846). Hybrid warfare underscores the selection of those resources which deceive opponent in deciding whether they are under attack or not as illustrated by the weightage of "deception" set by Sun Tzu in his quotation about war; "All warfare is based on Deception" (Hayward, 2018).

Once Sun Tzu said, "supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting". Indirect warfare remained one of the efficient ways of fighting an enemy as it offers a country to defeat adversary without direct engagement. Mass communication for propaganda, intervention into foreign

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electoral system, cyber warfare, economic coercion and sabotage are the various instruments included in this technique (Hassan H. , 2019).

Strategic theory is proposed as the comprehensive approach providing holistic thinking to the defense communities regarding the management of state's resources in the pursuit of achieving policy ends. Clausewitz stated that, "strategy is the use of the engagements for the purpose of the war, explored as a link between policy and military". Strategic theory guides decision makers in the utilization of resources to entertain the state national interest or achieve policies at the maximum level. At the foundational level, it advocates the use of state resources in such an efficient way that captures the political ends of state (Gray, 1999).

Strategic theory facilitates its practitioners in shaping effective strategy and thoughts regarding the proper use of state resources in achieving political ends. It associates state's resources with the desired political objectives being set by the policy makers. In strategic theory, no universal formula exist which explains, describes or predicts the strategy and its output, rather strategy underscores huge variation with time regarding selection of resources, tactics and operations (Osinga, 2007). Strategic theory guides decision-makers in the employment of a particular strategy while offering an abstract conceptual model of each strategy. It is the science of developing and using the state's resources in accordance to the policy guidance in creating effects that protect the national interests of state (Chaffee, 1985).

Strategic thought do not change with timelines as Clausewitz's states the evolutionary aspect of war in continuous adaptation in every age. In this way, there are several possibilities that enemy, friendly forces or the environment can take different forms. Warfare is context-dependent and tactical level can take infinite forms on the continuum of hybridity (Caliskan, 2019).

The prominent scholars of hybrid warfare Frank G. Hoffman, McCuen and Glenn identify together eight modes of warfare including conventional capabilities, irregular warfare, state-sponsored terrorism, criminal activities, political means, economic means, information means and social means of warfare. Physical battlefields include the physical formats while non-military means include conceptual dimension of hybrid war to capture the support of societies (Otaiku, 2018). Strategic theory never remained any cookbook framework for the solution of any problem at state level but it provides a common frame of reference to educate strategist's mind for decision-making. Strategic theory accepts all possible resources in the state's account whereas it allows the members of the military profession and the interagency community to communicate intelligently concerning strategy (Popescu I. C., 2009).

### **Indian Hybrid Warfare**

Chankya Kautilya has given the idea of undeclared war in Arthshastra to use the secret agents, religion or superstition, and even women against adversaries. Based

on these policy guidelines, India has been employing covert operations to create subversion against its enemies. Following these patterns, India gets intelligence and uses tactics to entertain its will of destroying Pakistan without any direct engagement in any war (Deshpande, 2018).

India is making the best use of hybrid tools in the exploitation of domestic fault lines such as political, economic and societal to destabilize Pakistan. In the pursuit of civil and domestic unrest in the country, India is utilizing its resources under hybrid warfare model. Indian intelligence agency RAW has been working with the co-ordination of its like-minded opportunists for their mutual interests. All possible material and non-material resources have been taken into account by the Indian intelligence agency to bring instability in Pakistan (Ayub, 2018).

India has already shown its intentions for using conventional means for non-conventional operations inside Pakistani territory through 'Doval Doctrine'. India is using its all possible state resources and machinery against Pakistan from Bollywood to the violation of ceasefire at Line of Control. Ceasefire violations along the Line of Control and Kashmir are the attempts of Indian posturing of conventional military superiority and their will to change the demography of Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir while taking assistance by Lawfare tactics. The underlying objectives behind the Indian model of war against Pakistan are embedded in the allocation of states resources in a particular way that characterizes the generational trend of hybrid warfare. India has been shifting its policies at the multi-dimensional track of hybrid warfare to meet its political objectives. The sophisticated technology has been evidently used by India to entertain its interests in the regional and international politics. The scope of propaganda has been increased in a radical manner with the assistance of lobbying at international monetary diplomatic platforms to discourage the economic progress and diplomatic soft image of Pakistan.

### **Diverse Nature of Threats in Multiple Domains**

Indian strategy aims at promoting militancy in Pakistan through hybrid war. Pakistan's conventional military power influenced Indian policy makers to focus more on hybrid warfare instead of direct military engagements. Indian policy makers decided to exploit the vulnerabilities of Pakistan in the ethno-religious, political and socio-economic domains to destabilize Pakistan with the internal pressures (Kamran, 2018).

European watchdog reported 265 media outlets publishing anti-Pakistan content to wage propaganda against the soft image of Pakistan inside Europe. Brussels-based NGO, EU DisInfo Lab reported a coordinated network of fake sites operating across 65 states in which India-based Srivastava Group has been exposed as the umbrella organization. India attempted to propagate the nuclear assets of Pakistan controversial while spreading insecurity in the informational domain through lobbying and international mass communication instruments. It has also exposed the Indian motives behind the disinformation campaign against



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legitimate institutions of Pakistan specifically discouraging the defense lines of Pakistan armed forces through hatching conspiracies to influence the cognitive domain of international community and EU stake holders in accordance to their narrative (Ali, Khan, & Tehsin, 2019). India's subversive activities against Pakistan possess a long history and background but these activities gained momentum in 2008 with the invention of hybrid warfare in the security domain. Indian sponsorship to the terrorist organizations has developed the concept of hybrid warfare being imposed on adversaries in the region. The current turmoil in region has been articulated by the Indian regime being sponsored by the hard-core radical fascist Hindu organization, RSS (Mazari, 2018).

Propaganda in FATF simultaneously has shown the Indian policy of deception for creating severe economic and diplomatic challenges. Abuse of water resources lead to the violation of Indus Water Treaty intentionally, which harms the agricultural based economy of Pakistan. Disinformation at local and international mediums led to the fanatical hate inside India and proliferated Islam phobia globally to fuel the anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan sentiments (Ahsen, 2019).

### **Indian Involvement in the Conventional Domain of Warfare**

The Indian drive to rapid military modernization resulted in security dilemma for Pakistan, which led to the strategic disparity in the South Asia region. The relation of asymmetry in the arms race has been proved dangerous between two nuclear powers. India has been carrying out several limited operations under the nuclear threshold to undermine Pakistan through its hybrid warfare tactics. The Indian attitude remained aggressive in nature, which has plunged South Asia into turmoil and chaos.

Violations of ceasefire agreement along Line of Control and military operations by the Indian armed forces have brought region in turmoil through its mindless arms race to undermine Pakistan in conventional domain. India has been violating the ceasefire agreement of 2003 along the line of control LoC as increased six times from 2015 to 2018. Ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri population has been executed by the armed forces of India to eliminate their efforts for self-determination while labeling them as terrorists in the international community (Sandhu, 2019).

The SIPRI ranked India as world's largest importer of major arms since 2017. India has been purchasing long-range air defense systems (S400 and Barak-8), Long endurance UAVs, P8I Anti-Submarine-Surveillance and Reconnaissance Aircraft, Nuclear Submarines, Fifth Generation aircraft and spy satellites (Arora, 2021).

### **Informational Warfare**

Generally, all wars involve the game of narratives to capture the high grounds in the domain of war. In traditional or conventional terms, it remained the usual

practice of states to convince the community of justice. The revolution in communication technologies and processes of globalization proliferated hybrid warfare techniques (Sehgal, 2019).

Unlike the conventional utilization of informational techniques, hybrid warfare focuses on the population to bring them involved in conflict. This particular technique helps in attacking the vulnerable cognitive domain of population. In the pursuit of hybrid warfare, perceptions remained significant in the priorities of policy makers (Bennett & Livingston, 2018).

Information war has gained significant attention all over the world based on the fact of covering the masses' perspectives ranging from a general to particular matter (Pocheptsov, 2018). Cognitive attacks are aimed at the transformation of understanding and interpretation of the situation by using the emotional stress to lower the rational thinking of the object of influence. A new reality is created by the massive use of cognitive weapons that are highly effective in nature because these instruments influence an individual's mind, which has no physical walls to provide protection. Propaganda, Misinformation and Disinformation are the different types of information disorder having narrow differences among each category. Propaganda is the information with misleading and biased nature, disinformation is the false information disseminated willfully or intentionally while misinformation is the misleading information (Damjanovic, 2017).

Propaganda remained a critical tool of recent developments in the 21st century illustrated by the Libya, Syria and specifically Iraq war. It is a necessary element for shaping the narrative in international arena for underlying multifaceted objectives including the support from "Home" population, influencing the enemy's population, both military and civilian, and collecting support from a wider audience in the international politics with the help of friendly nation's support (Hickman C. K., Weissmann, Nilsson, Bachman, Gunneriusson, & Thunholm, 2018).

In Pakistan, 63 million people have been using smart phones with a majority of youth influenced by social media. Social media remained an effective tool in waging information war tactics to propagate interpreted information. Scope of hybrid threat on social media networks has gone viral in society at a massive level. Trolling of state's representatives has now become the routine matter on social media, which enemy is pursuing through memetic warfare. Trolling of officials created an environment of trust deficit among society and decision makers. In contemporary times, it proved as the biggest challenge for Pakistan where such a huge population with smart phones can be exploited and manipulated through disinformation and fake news (Nisar, 2018).

Indian lobby in US achieved its maximum level since Modi's BJP regime as both states have compatible vital interests in the regional and international politics. India wants to secure its interests in the region to counter traditional rival state Pakistan and China's growing regional hegemony in Asia while US perceive China as its global competitor at international level. United States and India are

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also strategic partners to hold their dominance in South Asia and Indian Ocean (Hussain Z. , 2018).

In 2017, billboards were seen in Europe and United States holding statements of Free Balochistan, propagating the Indian interests. Tajinder Pal Singh Bagga, a close ally of Modi, has also financed the same campaign in New Delhi to provoke insurgency in Pakistan and signaling political support to insurgents in accordance to their narrative. Indian spending of INR Seven Billions has been recorded as an anti-Pakistani campaign in Geneva Switzerland. The impact sought by this campaign was to mobilize the self-exiled World Baloch Organization, who felt sympathetic towards India's approach towards Balochistan.

Fake news, trolling and controversial stories were articulated and fed into the minds of people in order to incite them against their own country. Therefore, it remained impossible to distinguish between genuine critique and propaganda campaign in the pursuit of sowing hatred against the sovereign state. Civil unrest remained a critical target under the imposed hybrid war on Pakistani community as thinkers evaluate population as the center of gravity in hybrid warfare. India developed social media activists in Pakistan as more than 350 thousand Twitter accounts were recorded by the agencies (Janjua, 2018).

India has been hatching conspiracies against CPEC to de-legitimize the development of CPEC in Balochistan through different irregular warfare tactics. For this purpose, India has been using the radicalized militants and ethnic separatists for its advantage. Basically, India is operating below the threshold of declaring the full-fledged conventional war with nuclear weapons against Pakistan. Simply, India tends to engage Pakistan in hybrid war (Korybko, 2017).

CPEC guarantees a strategic depth to Pakistan and a strong network of infrastructure. In the economic perspective, Pakistan is getting sophisticated infrastructure and updated technology to bring socio-economic progress to Pakistan. India has established a separate wing under the auspices of RAW and allocated a budget of thirty million dollars to sabotage CPEC (Hussein, 2018). PM Modi has used the word "unacceptable" for CPEC. RAW was operating its terrorist spy networks under the Kulbhushan Jadhav to support Baloch insurgents against Pakistani and Chinese workers of CPEC projects. The trained network of BLA under the supervision of RAW executed several terrorist attacks in Balochistan and Karachi. The November 2018 attack on Chinese consulate in Karachi was an attempt to discourage the CPEC initiative. Several other attacks were executed on the armed forces of Pakistan particularly the FC training center Loralai attack in January 2019 (Alam, 2018).

Psychological warfare seeks to disrupt opponent's decision-making capacity; create doubts, foment anti-leadership sentiments, deceive, trolling and diminish the will to fight among opponents. Media Warfare is the key to gaining dominance over the venue for implementing psychological warfare. Disinformation inside domestic and international fronts led to the fanatic hate inside Indian Hindu community for Muslims and proliferate Islam phobia internationally to motivate the anti-Muslim sentiments. Indian media has intentionally misguided the

international community by sharing with them erroneous facts about Muslim community, which reflects the stake of Hindutva in decision-making and practical manifestations of RSS in BJP Modi's regime (Hussain A. , 2018).

### **Indian Sponsored Proxy Warfare**

State sponsored terrorism has remained a significant tool in the domain of irregular warfare against Pakistan. India has pursued irregular tactics in this regard with the support of extremist banned outfits. Indian sponsorship to terrorist groups based in the Afghanistan territory has ignited terrorist attacks inside the Pakistani territory to destabilize Pakistan through state-sponsored terrorism. The internal instability in Pakistan has created other severe challenges for Pakistan and the list of these challenges is larger than anyone could expect. The APS attack was a huge example in the irregular format of warfare executed by the sponsored terrorist groups resulted in the killings of 141 innocent children. March 2016 attack in Lahore's public park on the eve of Easter has shown another notorious intention of India in the pursuit of imposing hybrid warfare on Pakistan. Indian strategists have simultaneously used the tactics of state-sponsored terrorism to destabilize Pakistan internally (Javaid A. , 2018).

India has also attempted to exploit the Afghan's cognitive mindsets and explored the Afghanistan based opportunists as a borrowed case taken from the Serbian modal. India has supported them with resources and ammunitions. Kabul's political elites fueled the anti-Pakistan sentiments in FATA and Balochistan and passed the interest of India to the opportunists as Serbian government has done with the local Serb rebels based in the Croatia. TTP, BLF and BLA remained the tools of Indian hybrid warfare in launching state-sponsored terrorism in Pakistan. Neighbors' policies towards Pakistan have also created the regional challenges for Pakistan. These sponsored organizations have been using the protective umbrella of Afghanistan based on minor historical differences among both states.

### **Economic Sabotage against Pakistan**

Hybrid war is a choice of unique combinations of items from the aggressor's "menu". Energy is a special proposition in hybrid war by choosing a unique combination of tools from "aggressor's menu", depending on the abilities of the victim to resist, which contains different sections and categories of military and non-military forms of assets, resources and capabilities (Ruhle & Grubliauskas, 2015) (Magda, 2018).

India has been pursuing Economic Warfare and Economic Sabotage with its various tools specifically propaganda based lobbying in FATF to discourage the international business community to hold financial transactions with Pakistan. Subversion of Pakistan's international image, foreign, economic, and diplomatic relations through lobbying by India in FATF while exploiting the informational, economic and diplomatic domains has posed serious threats to Pakistan in a multi-

pronged orientation (Malik S. R., 2019). Economic warfare is used as a weapon employed through several state owned resources under the framework of hybrid warfare. It poses a great risk for Pakistan because India remained a huge stakeholder in this regard to keep Pakistan's economy stagnant in the world (Ali, Khan, & Tehsin, 2019).

India is using water as an effective instrument in the pursuit of Hydro Warfare with the practical manifestation of Indus Waters Treaty violations being mediated by the World Bank. India's violation of Indus Water Treaty harms the agricultural economy of Pakistan. The scope of Indian violations can be perceived by the fact that India is pursuing every possible violent and non-violent strategy against Pakistan (Elhance, 2019).

After Uri and Pathankot attacks, PM Modi blamed Pakistan following a multi-pronged strategy to pressurize Pakistan on multiple fronts. PM Modi held high-level meetings to publish a popular narrative through his famous statement, which caused serious concerns over Pak-India relations; 'blood and water cannot flow together at the same time.' The basic aim appeared in the form of military strikes and violations of Indus Water Treaty.

### **Exploiting Ethnic Fault Lines**

At the domestic level, India has been sponsoring the aggrieved identities of Pakistan to stand against the legitimate institutions. India is using informational warfare tactics to exploit their grievances in a useful way to entertain its vital interests. Propaganda has been used extensively through social media platforms against the armed forces of Pakistan. Several listed terrorist organizations have been sponsored by India through Jadhav network to destabilize the Balochistan and Karachi in the pursuit of anti-CPEC campaign (Jalil & Hafeez, 2019).

Controversial matters fueled stereotypic cognitive domains of masses to destabilize country. Social media remained useful instrument to insert hateful sentiments in heterogeneous society. Foreign funded NGOs remained an efficient and sophisticated weapon for social protest and movements in any state by the adversary. In hybrid war, NGOs have been taken into account but terms and conditions are amended in this particular framework. F G. Hoffman argued on the nature of hybrid warrior as fanatical fervor protracted non-state actor but decisive in orientation instead of extending the time span in battlespace. Informational warfare had been imposed with this particular ethnic issue to articulate a multi-pronged threat against the stability of Pakistan. Disinformation has been viral down against the legitimate institutions of Pakistan armed forces and civil administration to target a particular Pashtun community in the pursuit of securitizing their identity in Pakistan (Majcin, 2018).

Indian information experts of RAW have spread inaccurate information with the strategic assistance of NDS to hit the cognitive domain of Pashtun population in altering the perceptions of masses against ideological borders of Pakistan. Indian information operations are conducted in Pakistan with the coordination

natives who hold popularity in their areas or fields. Being a diverse state from the perspective of identities and communities, enemy forces are using basic identity indicators to create identity crisis in Pakistan. The religious, ethnic, historical, socio-economic factors remained the vulnerable targets. In the contemporary era, enemies are using ethnic weapons in their practical manifestations of imposed hybrid war against Pakistan. BLA, BRA and several others are agitating politically and creating violence to protect their vested objectives by means of blackmail and sabotage. Afghanistan-based BLF is militant separatist group with a clear inclination towards serving the Indian hybrid warfare objectives in Pakistan. Separatists are supposed to undermine the territorial integrity of Pakistan (Hassan H. , 2019).

### **Cyber Attacks**

India has included cyber warfare as a fundamental sector in their hybrid warfare being waged against Pakistan. The particular domain of cyber warfare has integrated with the biological, chemical, nuclear, conventional and sub-conventional warfare in the Indian cold start doctrine. Various techniques and tools have been under the consideration of Indian armed forces to destroy and degrade the information system at tactical, operational and strategic levels. The C2 nuclear command and control system is also under the target of Indian notorious aims for destroying the critical information passed and stored in these systems (Rafiq, 2017).

The cyber-attacks were meant to be aimed at dismantling the high profile websites, disrupting the indispensable services, stealing the confidential data. FIA reported cyber security breach in 2018 to steal data from almost Pakistani banks. Moreover, hackers tend to attack the financial system of Pakistan by exploiting the vulnerable banks and websites holding the information about banking data of Pakistani citizens. Furthermore, hacking of banking infrastructure by the unknown sources led to the economic uncertainty that Pakistani authorities linked with the clandestine networks of archrival state, India (FIA, 2018). India has attempted to hack the websites of international airports through sponsored hackers. In February 2019, after Pulwama attack, Indian state launched a covert cyber-attack on Pakistan in which Pakistan's government, military, and commercial assets were targeted. Websites of Pakistan's Foreign Office were hacked and put out of service.

### **Attempts to Isolate Pakistan Diplomatically**

In the game of narratives, India tried to exploit the authority of United States in United Nations to label Pakistan as terrorist sponsoring state. India alleged Pakistan to be involved in terrorism by United Nations Security Council Committee established under UN resolution 1267. The combination of international sanctioning and diplomatic pressure reveals the phenomenon of

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hybrid warfare against Pakistan in the diplomatic domain. Indian information campaign was embedded in achieving the desired end of constructing and propagating the narrative against Pakistan sponsoring terrorism (Ahmed D. V., 2019).

India has not carried out the informational campaign solely in international and/or regional medium(s) but also broadcasted it in the domestic media to arouse hate against Pakistan's leadership and population also. Indian has also undertaken memetic warfare while trolling the leadership of Pakistan (Awan, 2020).

Indian Hybrid Warfare holds a mixture of diplomatic warfare, Lawfare and other critical political instruments to lobby against Pakistan in FATF. India holds a co-chair in the Asia-pacific joint group, in which Indian chair-holders function as a cause of disagreement for Pakistani advocates. The same group is evaluating the Pakistani efforts and progress in the implementation of FATF action plan. Pakistan was placed on grey list of Financial Action Task Force evaluated as a biased approach towards Pakistan. Allegations on supporting terrorism had been increased via Indian propaganda machinery to blacklist Pakistan in FATF despite concrete developments by Pakistan in accordance to FATF action plan. Policy of strategic containment has been intentionally exploited by India to choke Pakistan from global trade, energy, technology, and military cooperation (Kamran, 2018).

Indian intentions for isolating Pakistan at diplomatic and economic fronts are all exposed by the Indian propaganda against Pakistan at regional and international diplomatic channels. Subversion of Pakistan's international image, foreign, economic, and diplomatic relations through lobbying in FATF attempted to hit informational, economic and diplomatic. Globally, India's hybrid tactics for the isolation of Pakistan executed simultaneous plots at various diplomatic channels (Hussain R. T., 2019).

### **Indian Lawfare**

Ordre Kittrie characterizes Lawfare as the phenomenon using law to create the similar effects as those traditionally sought from conventional kinetic military actions. Lawfare is taking a necessary role in the hybrid warfare as a central component, which uses non-kinetic means to influence the adversary for the strategic benefits (Sari, 2018). Lawfare can be used in the context of hybrid warfare as an instrument to manipulate law by changing legal paradigms. The manipulation can be done affirmatively or maliciously to achieve certain objectives in the form of legitimate goals and strategic purpose (Ndi, 2018). India has passed several bills/resolutions in its parliaments to undermine the sovereignty of Pakistan. The focus of Indian parliament remained centered on the Balochistan and other backward areas of Pakistani territory. India used Lawfare by amending their constitutional articles 35(a) and 370 for constitutionally changing the special status of disputed territory of IOJ&K. The development articulated for changing Kashmir's demography by sending Indian Hindu communities and troops with uniformed RSS gangs in the Indian occupied valley. Movement of RSS gangs in

the uniforms of Indian military was an attempt to suppress native Kashmiris in their struggle for right of self-determination. Indian interior minister and dogmatic hardliner of BJP Amitabh Anilchandra Shah (Amit Shah) has furthered the RSS ideology in parliament presenting National Register of Citizens (NRC) and Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) at legislative platforms. The act was enacted into law on 12 December 2019 for further confirmation from the legitimate institutions of India.

### **RAW and NDS Nexus**

India decision to develop Tactical Support Division after 2008 Mumbai attacks in the pursuit of fueling instability in Pakistan signaled the Indian approach towards hybrid war. General Vijay Kumar Singh confessed support to terrorist activities in FATA and separatist elements in Balochistan. These activities just increased with the demagogic hardliner Narendra Modi's victory in 2014 elections of India. Indian PM Narendra Modi appointed Ajit Doval as his advisor of national security, the former director of Indian intelligence agency, RAW. Ajit Doval along with the former Indian Defense Minister Manohar Parrikar formulated the infamous 'Doval doctrine'. Doval Doctrine advocates the idea of fomenting low-intensity insurgency in Balochistan, ethnicity in Sindh, militancy in South Punjab and terrorism in the tribal areas of Pakistan. The proposed "Doval Doctrine" envisages that India would use conventional means in an unconventional manner to achieve their more controversial goals - which is what 'hybrid war' is all about (Khattak, Khan, & Qumber, 2019).

WikiLeaks have exposed the Indian intelligence agency of RAW based on the facts of diplomatic cable of 31 December 2009 from the consulate of United States. WikiLeaks state that Indian intelligence agency was helping the Baloch insurgent's community. In 2008, WikiLeaks obtained a cable, which discusses the fact of Indian covert support to insurgents who are fighting with Pakistan armed forces in the Balochistan. UAE officials were also reported by WikiLeaks, as they believe that India has been covertly supporting the Afghanistan based terrorist organization Tehreek-e-Taliban in the northwest region of Pakistan. Wright-Neville writes that outside Pakistan, some Western observers also believe that India secretly funds the BLA. Hybrid adversaries have been using tactics of demoralization and destabilization to conduct psychological subversion against Pakistan. Front groups have been established while using the humanitarian cover in furthering their agendas. Institutions have been attempted to demoralize through varying tactics in spreading rumors. Pakistan has accused Indian consulates in Kandahar and Jalalabad for providing arms, training and financial aid to BLA in an attempt to destabilize Pakistan (Ahmed, 2019).

India played a critical role in articulating the perceptions of Afghan public against Pakistan while using social media platforms. Afghanistan's National Directorate of Security also supported Pashtun cultural card that tried to build a narrative of trolling officials on social media despite given importance from civil,



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military and political institutions/stakeholders. Security analysts reported this development as a nexus of RAW and NDS in executing social media campaign against the legitimate institutions of Pakistan. Several organizations were aided to undermine the political, economic and social stability to weaken the state system, erode public trust and harm Pakistan's image through propaganda. Security analysts believe that these tactics create animosity among masses toward reputable state institutions.

## **Conclusion**

Hybrid warfare has gained momentum with the increasing scope of diversity in security domain as it came just after the exploration of new domains in the field of security. With the advent of advanced technology in security domain, various domains captured diversity including scientific expertise and usage of sophisticated technology. The process of including every possible domain in security remained successful tactics to exploit the opponents' vulnerabilities. Security experts have observed hybridity as emerging war tactics in the first decade of 21st century. Frank G. Hoffman remained one of the scholars who labeled the particular phenomenon as Hybrid Warfare, defining it as the blend and integration of various forms of warfare at strategic and tactical levels to create hybrid threats against powerful militaries.

The enemy's strategy to utilize state strategic resources in such a way that exploits the vulnerable points had imposed hybrid warfare on Pakistan. It created multi-oriented threats to Pakistan taken from propaganda based information campaign of spreading hatred against Pakistan in cognitive domain of masses and elites. In the conventional and unconventional domains of warfare, India has been allocating a huge amount of budget to destabilize Pakistan. BJP with RSS fuels the anti-Muslim sentiments of Indian population through their fanatic means to radicalize Hindu community against Muslims. India is exploiting non-state actors while sponsoring them funding and support to destabilize Pakistan from inside to suspend the opportunity of gaining strategic depth by discouraging CPEC from these terrorist groups.

Hybrid Warfare and Resilience are the two most frequently used terms in current security discourse. Hybrid Warfare hints at the constant insecurities while resilience is derived from the same conceptual background. Deterrence is difficult to achieve in these domains whereas resilience results in minimizing the effects while at the same time increasing the cost for an attacker. In this regard the author agrees with the trinity of resilience, deterrence and defense (proposed by Major and Molling) to meet hybrid adversaries.

Enemy's complex information structure and conspiracies confuse masses in sorting out genuine critique and propaganda from coming stimuli. An organizational or institutional body should be framed including the leading elites of social reformers for the perception management of nation. To protect the cognitive domain of nation, government should take initiatives to educate them

about true and genuine facts in each domain. A nexus of key social reformers is the dire need of time to neutralize the hybrid threats. In practical terms, a nexus of curriculum based educational institutes and advanced level non-curriculum institutes should be operationalized in an organizational structure to enhance the philosophical exposure in order to save the cognitive domain of Nation. The rationale behind this suggestion is to provide a genuine perspective of Islam that functioned as a foundational element in the creation of Pakistan in the shape of “Two-Nation Theory”.

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