

Indian Fourth Generation Warfare and Pakistan's Response

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ABSTRACT

With the start of 21st century, warfare has changed fundamentally. In the Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW), military does not have the sole decisive utility, here war is waged with means other than military. In the fourth generation warfare, war is not amongst the people, it is a war of the people. The paper argues that due to divergent strategic interests, hegemonic tendencies, geo-political competition and unresolved conflicts, India has adopted a sustained policy of violence to bring chaos in Pakistan. From Sundar Ji Doctrine of 1980s to current Modi-Doyal Doctrine, India is pursuing a strategy of keeping Pakistan bleeding through thousand cuts. Indian effort to train, nurture and equip separatist and dissident elements in Pakistan is not a hidden secret after the Kalbushan Jadav testimony on media. This paper is an attempt to find the answer of the question that how India has waged a 4GW against Pakistan and how Pakistan has responded to it? For this enquiry, qualitative research methodology with more focus on document analysis based on secondary literature surveys has been employed. The theoretical framework of this study is based on the constructs of realism. This study concludes that Pakistan Armed Forces have been successful to control the ravages of this warfare but the govt. needs to work on those vulnerable areas which could further be used by India to extend its interests in the country.

Keywords: *Fourth Generation warfare, India, Pakistan, Military Operations, Information war*

Introduction

War has taken a new form with the advent of the 20th century. The new fourth generation war stands in deviation with the previous generation as it introduces the concept of non-state actors against state actors. In fact, it is safe to say that post-modern is pre-modern. This new generation of war bears resemblance to the era before the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 when war was not just a conflict among states. This renders the conventional massing of artillery and manpower useless and poses a whole new set of questions to the leaders of the states regarding defense.

What is war?

From the dawn of history, one can find records of one or other form of violence taking place. Man has always been in a state of war- be it smaller or larger in scale. But what actually is war? Two definitions of war are as follows:

- 1) According to Clausewitz, war is simply a means involving the use of violence to coerce the enemy to carry out our desires. (Clausewitz, 1976)
- 2) War as a political conflict among the states that is solved through the use of force with the purpose of finding out which of them stands the strongest and hence will be entitled to impose their will onto the other. (Sorel, 1908)

In these definitions one thing remains common. They all in one way or the other imply two or more states involved in an armed conflict. This is the point where the 4th generation warfare stands in difference to all the earlier known theories and notions about warfare. (Jayachandran, Winter 2009)

Fourth Generation Warfare

The fourth generation introduces the conflict between states and non-state actors. Non-state actors refer to terrorist, guerilla, and insurgent groups, radical religious, extremist political parties which have now emerged as independent actors in the geo political and military scenario. (Arasli, March 2011) Non-state actors have become much more dangerous than they ever were before Mao Tse Tung's time in at least two ways.

- 1) These groups now have enough finances to acquire any type of weaponry ranging from gun to smart technology of today. They have access to the latest inventions. Especially the internet has acted as a haven for these groups in regards to spreading propaganda, recruitment schemes and funding etc.
- 2) These non-state actors have become much more sophisticated. They can range from groups like Al-Qaeda to multi-national organizations to drug cartels. (Richards, Fourth Generation Warfare, 2005)

Fourth Generation warfare poses a threat to the legitimacy of the state. Warfare is no longer solely associated with military, but instead the driving factors of 4GW are social, moral and political forces. Just like in pre-Westphalia era, people no longer swear allegiance to the state. But instead they have handed their loyalties to religious groups, tribes, clans, ethnic groups, radical ideologies etc. These two are very closely related. Since the war is no longer limited to the military, the solution cannot lie in the conventional use of military force either. Military cannot restore the legitimacy of the state. This is one of the central dilemmas of 4GW.

Indian Fourth Generation Warfare

Pakistan and India have been at daggers drawn with each other ever since the partition in 1947. Both countries have tried several times to try to patch up their difference however those differences proved too big to tackle. The main issue for Pakistan is the illegal acquirement of Kashmir by Indian Forces. Pakistan refuses to let India keep Kashmir. India, however, is more intent on creating a regional hegemony. Hence, she won't let go of Kashmir either. In the past, both countries have fought two full-fledged wars in 1948 and 1956 over Kashmir dispute. Even before the concept of fourth generation warfare was defined by Lind, India was already playing its Grand strategy in Pakistan. (Roomi, 2008) This started in 1971 when India supported insurgencies and separatists in East Pakistan, before finally penetrating through the borders and breaking Pakistan into two. One might also take into factor the political and ethnic factors leading to separation but the Indian involvement in the creation of Mukhti Bahani played too significant a role in the dismemberment of Pakistan to be overlooked as minor factor. (Farooqui, 2013)

In 1986, another standoff happened but war was prevented. However, in 1998, Kargil war pushed both countries into further discontent. The matters were made worse by 9/11 in the US and Mumbai attacks 2008 in India.

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The 9/11 gave India the opportunity it was looking for to declare Pakistan a failed state and push for the denuclearization of Pakistan. The U.S allied with India due to the fear of preventing an Islamic bomb or other Muslim countries getting the technology from Pakistan. Islamabad responded poorly to this new alliance and hence the situation turned south for Pakistan in a matter of time. (Farooqui, 2013)

Afghanistan

India used not only the international community to create hindrance for Pakistan but also tried to infuse new obstacles for Pakistan through planned terrorism via Afghanistan. Indians along with the radical tribal people launched a brutal terrorist campaign against Pakistan. The collateral damage of this low intensity war was measured in lives of thousands of civilians and military personnel of Pakistan. As maintained by Farooqui (2013, p.10), stemming from FATA, the insurgency like a contagious disease inflicted the entire country within a short span. From target killing to suicide bombing to bomb blasts, a fully-fledged covert fourth generation warfare was launched against Pakistan with only the army left to tackle it all. But why India opted to use Afghanistan against Pakistan?

It is because Afghanistan has a great strategic and geo-political importance in this region. Pakistan has always considered Afghanistan of great importance for its defense and regards it as Pakistan's strategic depth. Hence Pakistan is against India making Afghanistan its playground. When it comes to Afghanistan India used a difference strategy. It increased its influence in Afghanistan after the Russian withdrawal by supporting the country in fields of education, energy development, physical infrastructure, rural development, women empowerment, health, humanitarian assistance etc. (Javed & Javed, 2016) Shah Mehmood Qureshi expressed his fear about the growing influence of India in Afghanistan in October 2009 in the Los Angeles Times by saying that, "If you want Pakistan focused more on the [threat from Afghanistan] west, then we have to feel more secure on the east. There is a linkage there." (Bukhari, 2013) He further emphasized on the baseless Indian support to Afghanistan in the following words: "If there is no massive reconstruction, if there are no long queues in Delhi waiting for visas to travel to Kabul, why do you have such a large presence in Afghanistan? At times it concerns us." (Bukhari, 2013)

Pakistan has much emphasized in the international community the role of India in supporting the militant group, Balochistan Liberation Army, in the form of disguised intelligence personnel as doctors, engineers or nurses etc. To the naked eye, India is supporting Afghanistan to help it get back on its feet. Behind closed doors, India is planting intelligence in Afghanistan to support insurgent groups and instill terrorism in Pakistan via Afghanistan. The Indian Intelligence agency RAW is arming and funding the anti-state insurgent elements which include the Balochi insurgents and many others. As per Javed & Javed (2016, p.11) India is using these groups to destabilize Pakistan through the menace of terrorism.

To prove India's role in promoting the use of non-state actors such as those in Afghanistan one needs not look beyond the words of Ajit Doval, former Director of Intelligence Bureau of India. In his anti-Pakistan paper 'Internal security- Need for course correction' he writes, "the Indian security establishment has become lax in its attitude towards Pakistan...Indian foreign policy must re-gear itself to go on the offensive against its enemy Pakistan by funding, arming, training and directing non-

state actors to wage a campaign of chaos within Pakistan by exacerbating existing sectarian and ethnic differences through violence...India will never be secure until Pakistan is destroyed, China is silenced, and Muslim and Sikh anti-state groups in India are forever extinguished.” (Doval, 2011)

TTP & Karachi

The non-state actors that are being played as pawns of India include BLA (Balochistan Liberation Army), the TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan) and various other groups. All of these non-state actors claim to be fighting a just cause in the name of religion mostly. For example: the TTP claims that they are fighting against the enemy of Islam; United States of America. In 2001, after the second invasion of Afghanistan, TTP called Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan turned on Pakistan. Pakistan had to choose whether to ally with the United States or the Afghan Taliban, both of whom were its historic allies. Pakistan started playing what’s called a double game. It supported the US on the surface and funded the Afghan Taliban behind their backs. The TTP accused Pakistan of abandoning the Taliban and siding with the enemy. The TTP views Pakistani government and military as legitimate targets. (Sheikh, Price, & Shaikh, 2012). Farooqui (2013, p.10) quotes Christophe Reuter who said every insurgency can be traced back to some foreign powers.

After the setbacks it faced in FATA, TTP tried to sprawl across Karachi. From target killing to extortion to suicide bombing to kidnapping for ransom, clear evidence of TTP involvement was found. In 2011, the CID caught 222 TTP militants during a crackdown in Karachi. TTP has been using Karachi as the centre base to recruit more people and draw in funding. (Yusaf, 2012) Pakistan has clearly stated to the United States that India is involved in the funding of terrorism in Karachi, Balochistan and FATA. (The News, 2017)

In 2015, four agents of RAW were captured in a joint venture of Counter-terrorism Department and a secret agency. It was revealed during the interrogative process that RAW had a whopping 200 sleeper cells in Karachi. The suspects admitted to being sent to create chaos and terrorism in Pakistan. (The Express Tribune, 2015)

Balochistan

If BLA is taken into account, then we find a clear lack of logic behind their agenda to separate Balochistan from Pakistan. BLA currently has only members in a couple thousands who are trying to represent a population of over 8 million. When we find the news of jihadists from around the globe trying to help BLA in its mission, the presence of a hidden motive is very clear. Doval (2011, p.12) had made it very clear that India intended to use non-state actors and low intensity warfare techniques against Pakistan. Keeping this mind, the situation hints towards India. Also in recent years, Indian weaponry and funding had been found in the use of Balochistan Liberation Army hence further confirming the involvement of India. (Malik M. R., 2015)

When it comes to Balochistan, India has been accused of adding fuel to the fire of the tension between the state and the Baloch people. India had meddled with Pakistan’s affairs before as seen in the East Pakistan crisis. Now India seems to be following a similar pattern in Balochistan.

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One of the main insurgent groups of Balochistan is BLA (Balochistan Liberation Army). India has been accused of funding, supporting and arming the BLA against Pakistan. Pakistan claims that the efficiency, the expertise with which BLA operates signals foreign (Indian) involvement. Their targets are always strategic and tactical. Their personnel appear to have been trained by people with military experience and expertise under their belt. Also the way multiple attacks are carried out simultaneously hints at a strong communication network. All of this points to foreign backing. (Atarodi, 2011)

The members of the BLA have publically announced their alliance with India. A BLA leader named Brahamdagh Bugti confessed that he had accepted assistance from Afghanistan and India. The President of Baloch society of North America, Wahid Baloch openly professed on the website Baloch Media Network that India was the only country who had understanding of the Baloch plight. He claimed that Balochistan wanted India to take its issue to the international community and keep providing it with moral, diplomatic, fiscal and military support. (Baloch, n.d.)

An analysis of BLA showed that per month 50 to 90 million rupees were being spent. Such a huge cash flow is only possible with foreign backing. To take into account the words of Former RAW Agent B. Ramam to Sonia Gandhi, "struggle for independent Balochistan is part of the unfinished agenda of partition" (Saqib, 2017) However, terrorism and insurgents are not the only means of disrupting Pakistan that India is using. One must not forget the Water dispute between the two countries.

Hydro Politics:

The water dispute between Pakistan and India has kept Pakistan on edge regarding all activity by India. India is the country on the Upper Riparian while Pakistan in on the Lower Riparian. The Indus River and its tributaries flow from India to Pakistan. This gives India the power to deprive Pakistan of its due share of water according to the International regulations. First, the Delhi Agreement and then the Indus Water Treaty in 1960 was signed between the two countries to solve the water dispute. But India used the loopholes in the treaty regarding the technicalities and has constructed various structures on the rivers allocated to Pakistan. On the word of Roomi (2008, p.10) Pakistan's lack of expertise in the water dispute has cost it many cases in the courts where it was supposed to defend its claim of India violating the treaty. Recently India has been threatening Pakistan of abandoning the treaty altogether. This is a cause of concern for Pakistan. This form of threatening and blackmailing also comes into the scope of fourth generation warfare as it tackles the enemy on psychological grounds. (Dawn News, 2016)

Information and media warfare

Perhaps the most powerful weapon in the fourth generation warfare is information manipulation through the use of media. Attacking an enemy through the slow poison of demoralization. Take 9/11 for example. Through that one event Pakistan was forced into fighting a war it didn't want. It put all its effort into fighting this war on terror. However, despite its immense success, the international media portrayed Pakistan as the epicenter of all evil. But that is the international media. Pakistan's local media is no hero either. Pakistan Army scarified everything while fighting in the frontlines of the war on so called "terror". Thousands of army personnel lost their lives for the cause of eliminating the menace of terrorism. From the operations

in Swat to South Waziristan, the army proved its worth. But nonetheless, it got badmouthed for being the ploy of politicians. The electronic media, the print media, the judiciary, and the politicians- every section of Pakistan's society is played its part in maligning the army.

Since fourth generation warfare is intended to attack on every level including civilian level that are attacks on the ideology, cultures, values of the enemy, media serves as easy manipulation tool. Media persons can be bought and through legitimate sources illegitimate messages can be covertly broadcasted. The frontline soldiers of this psychological and information aspect of fourth generation warfare are journalists, diplomats, columnists, religious leaders, TV anchors, media tycoons, analysts, teachers and so on. Compromised, influential personalities whose voices are heard by the masses are more deadly than any suicide bomber. The main purpose of it all is to create a rift in the enemy on ideological, ethnic, racial, linguistic grounds and to taint the institutions that might salvage those ideals. In case of Pakistan, that institution is the army. (Malik A. , 2013)

The media is diverting from Pakistan's real identity. The ideologies of Islam, its ethics and family values have become outdated. Every form of media is trying to compete with the Indian and Western media to hoard ratings. For this they have abandoned the Pakistani ideology. Two Nation theory is being attacked. Through tailored programs the notion that there is no difference between the Hindu and Muslim values is being broadcasted. The youth is made to believe that the reason why Pakistan was made was a farce since Hindus and Muslims can coexist. As Shah (2016, p. 14) concluded, through this slow mind manipulation the concept of Akhand Baharat that India wants to create is being instilled in our people.

Pakistan's Response to Indian warfare

Military Operations

To counter terrorism and insurgency, Pakistan has launched various military operations over the years. The sole purpose of them was to drive out insurgents from its land. The counterinsurgency program of Pakistan evolved with each mission.

Some of the major military operations are as follows:

Mission Al Mizan (2002-2006)

Commenced in 2002, Al Mizan targeted militants based in FATA and South Waziristan. The main aim of this mission was to capture or kill all local and foreign militants that posed a threat to the government and state of Pakistan. At that time, President Musharraf supported this mission wholeheartedly since many times militants from South Waziristan had attempted to assassinate him. The deputy leader of Al-Qaeda Ayman-ul-Zawahari had even issued a fatwa for the assassination of Musharraf. 70,000 to 80,000 men were deployed to the Federally Administered Northern Areas. The checkpoints of two army brigades were established along the border of Waziristan. In 2003, after a request from the Pakistan govt., the South Waziristan handed over information of over 70 Ahmadzai tribesmen who were providing support to militants and foreign fighters. By 2004, the situation had turned for the worst. So the army launched **Operation Kalosha II** in March of 2004. The operation started with 700 personnel but by the end of 19 March, 7000 troops were

battling the militants in the southwest of Wana. Victory was declared on March 26 by General Hussain. (Jones & Fair, 2010)

Operation Rah-e-Haq (November 2007)

Sufi Muhammad led a militant group named TNSF in Swat. This operation was launched in 2007. The militants were spread over important parts of the city. In the northern part of Swat valley and some part of Southern Swat valley, the initial fights were very heavy. Cobra Helicopters were used against the militants along with heavy artillery. Phase three of this operation enforced shoot on sight curfew on many areas of Swat. Malakand Accord was signed according to which Qazis will hear the cases and solve by the Islamic laws.

Operation Sher Dil (September 2008)

The main ambition of this operation was to destroy militant groups that targeted Pakistan along with maintaining the heavily populated areas of Bajaur Agency safe clear of militants be it local or foreign. By June 2009, under Qari Zia Rehman local militants had destroyed 72 check posts in Bajaur, organized suicide bombings and robbed a bank. The operation Sher Dil was launched on September 9, 2008. Soon after the operation started, a convoy of Pakistan army was ambushed at Loe Sam. The operation was sophisticated and relied on great amount of weaponry including aerial. In Loe Sam, army discovered tunnel system and destroyed every building that was connected to a tunnel. The militants were organized and trained. The officials commented that it seemed as if they were fighting an organized force. Their weaponry, communication networks and defense techniques were mind boggling. So the army decided to take help of the local tribe and incited them to raise lashkars against the militants. Some tribes suffered great deal as the militants mercilessly attacked them. Operation Sher Dil came to an end and the army moved to Muhammad Agency. (Jones & Fair, 2010) Over 1000 militants were killed in this mission. (Sheikh I. , 2014)

Operation Zalzala (2008-2009)

Following the example of mission al-mizan, the government kept trying to make peace deals with the tribal leader. One such deal was reached with the tribal grand jigra in Miramshah, North Waziristan. Mehsud & Israr (2014, p.17) explain that according to this deal, the tribal people will not use their land against Pakistani or Afghan govt., nor carry out target killing of pro-state tribal leaders and nor force their values and life styles on other people.

In South Waziristan, the Operation Zalzala which was aimed to rid the area of militants working under Baitullah Mehsud was launched. Before the government had come into Sararogha deal with Baitullah Mehsud. Under this deal, the army pulled out of his areas and only FC personnel were deployed at five forts there. Hence the government had served him the areas on a silver plate along with compensation for any material or life loss that had come to him or his people. In August 2007, the treaty was terminated due to tension between Baitullah Mehsud and Pakistan Army. In the same month, 200 Pakistani armed forces were abducted in South Waziristan.

Pakistan Army was secretly supporting Mullah Nazir, who was arch enemy of Baitullah Mehsud. Pakistani army didn't directly participate in the fighting. Mullah

Nazir drove the Uzbeks fighters out of Wana. Then the army moved in to capture some hilltops and strategic points so that they could ensure law and order after the fighting. But then the Red Mosque situation happened and the masses turned on the government. At the same time, Baitullah Mehsud started a suicide bombing montage all across the country. Pushtoons and Punjabi militants supported him. (Mahsud, April 2010)

Operation Rah-e-Rast (May 2009)

Rah-e-Rast was a sort of continuation to Operation Rah-e-Haq. It aimed to capture or kill important militant leaders in Swat Valley. The army made use of heavy weaponry such as helicopters. The operation began in Mingora and soon by May 2009, the army announced that large parts of Mingora have been won. By May 30, the army claimed that all but few very small areas of Mingora have been recaptured. However, the cost of this victory was three million displaced people.

During Rah-e-Rast and Rah-e-Haq, the army successfully managed to recapture the areas of occupied territory however holding them was a problem. The militants had their roots in social, economic and political fiber of the area. None of which were properly dealt with.

Operation Rah-e-Nijat (October 2009)

During Operation Zalzal, Pakistan had failed to contain the militants of Mehsud tribe in South Waziristan. Their violence along with the influence and activities of TTP escalated nearing 2009. The major motive of Rah-e-Nijat was to secure Lines of Communication, and weaken the roots of TTP in Waziristan. The large base of TTP lied in Mehsud tribe's territory which was insured by the governor general that the operation was not against them. Baitullah Mehsude was assassinated by a CIA drone on August 5. His place was taken by Hikmatullah Mehsud who was also soon killed in January, 2010. All across the country, violence, suicide attacks, attacks on public officials and military personnel were already escalating. (Jones & Fair, 2010)

Operation Zarb-e-Azab (2013)

Zarb-e-Azab meaning strike of the sword of the Holy Prophet was launched on 15th June, 2014. It targeted the whole of North Waziristan, one of the areas of FATA and the frontiers of Afghanistan. Almost thirty thousand soldiers undertook this mission to eradicate all types of militancy be it local or foreign from Pakistan. Pakistan had learnt that peace talks and negotiations would go nowhere. Moreover, the entire nation was in mourning on the Army Public School on 16th December, 2017. There was no mercy anymore. The ISPR declared, "... until the last terrorist was eliminated."

Sartaj Aziz who was the National Security and Foreign Affairs Advisor of Pakistan said to the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that India had been using the Afghan soil to launch attacks on Pakistan. However, India's involvement in Afghanistan has been on the decline ever since Pakistan and Afghanistan adopted a joint Pak-Afghan policy that clearly states that no state will allow the use of its soil against the other. In addition to this, Sartaj Aziz also assured that the state will now make no distinction between 'good' or 'bad' Taliban. All kinds of militancy and extremism will be dealt with. (Dawn News, 2015)

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Zarb-e-Azab has successfully achieved its ambitions. It was even extended to the Shawal valley that was popular forest area for smuggling. ISPR claimed that even before entering Shawal valley, 2763 terrorists were killed and 837 hideouts were razed. The operation also dealt with the issue of rehabilitation IDPs unlike all its precedents. (Javaid, July – December 2015)

Operation Rad ul Fissad (2017)

Operation Rad ul Fissad was launched in February, 2017. Its aim was to get rid of any terrorists left behind from the previous operations, ensuring the progress of the initiatives started in previous operations and ensuring the safety of borders of Pakistan. It follows on the road paved by National Action Plan, 2014. This operation was launched after a string of terrorist events happened in early 2017. Just like its previous ways, Pakistan counter terrorism through military operations. It is yet to be seen whether this will bear fruit or not. (chawla, 2017)

Legislative Measures

To aid the military in its fight against the growing terrorism from the fourth generation insurgents, Pakistan is well equipped with legislature. In 2002, the government introduced “Anti-Terrorism Ordinance 2002” to speed up the trial process. It allowed severe punishments even the death penalty to be charged to the person(s) supporting terrorism in Pakistan. The Musharaf regime brought the political parties under control by ordering them not to spread sectarian and regional animosity. Also if any party was funded from foreign sources or aided in terrorism it would be dissolved. In September 2007, the government of Pakistan enforced an Anti-money laundering ordinance to choke the finances of insurgents and terrorists. In 2009, a new Anti-Terrorism Ordinance was enforced which broadened the definition of terrorism. Now attacks on schools, public property, government installations and hospitals etc will come under the category of terrorism. The government introduced an act for PATA and FATA through which military was allowed to carry out operations against militant groups in KPK. It was named the Regulations Actions in Aid of Civil Powers-2011. In 2012, the investigation for Fair Trial Bill was passed by Punjab assembly. The Anti-Terrorism Bill 2013 allowed government agencies to seize the property of person(s) involved in terrorist or militant activities. In 2014, the Protection of Pakistan Bill gave the law enforcement agencies further powers to tackle with the menace of terrorism and insurgents. Various madarassa reforms have also been introduced to keep a check on the funding given to and education imparted by these Islamic schools. Following the attack on Army Public School, the 21st Amendment and the National Action Plan was passed. The NAP tackled the root causes and banned hate speeches, wrongful use of loud speakers, choked the funding of terrorism and took measures for preventing sectarian violence. (Ahmed, 2015)

Counter Narrative by Pakistan

Extremist organizations and militant groups have developed a version of Islam they want enforced in the world. They have their own ideologies, their own motto, their own goals all of which they brazenly name Islam. To deal with them using counter narrative would be to use soft power. For example, in National Action Plan Pakistan highlighted the importance of banning hate speech, banning misuse of loud speakers and banning extremist material. Right now, Pakistan continues to launch military

operations in response to terrorism. When one operation is wrapped up, it leaves room for more riled up people and we've got tons of those. Look at the IDPs, look at the Afghans, and look at the Pushtoons and the Baloch affected by Sectarian violence. Any of these groups can become the next fourth generation actor and the fight goes on.

Pakistan desperately needs more counter narrative schemes that shun xenophobia and extremist values. Such narratives that lie within the shadow of the scripture and the Islamic ideology that will eradicate the perverted version of Islam portrayed by the extremists and bring the nation back together under the umbrella of Islam where it begun. (Iqbal, 2016)

Conclusion

Marking the words of German military strategist Carl von Clausewitz (1976, p.1): "The first, the supreme, the most far-reaching act of judgment that the statesman and commander have to make is to establish by that test the kind of war on which they are embarking; neither mistaking it for, nor trying to turn it into, something that is alien to its nature." Fourth generation warfare is asymmetric and non-linear. Hence as Shah (2016, p. 14) says it cannot be tackled with the conventional ways of warfare and requires out of the box thinking that encompass the entire spectrum of modern warfare. Pakistan has accomplished much through the military operations against the non-state actors however to acquire permanent peace, the government needs to realize the bigger picture. The response to non-linear attacks should be more than just panic decision for defense and destruction. David L. Grange explains that such asymmetric opponents require asymmetric targeting (deny, disrupt, degrade) of opponent's moral and organizational domain. This provides a much faster and efficient victory than the typical and conventional approach of utilizing physical strength. (Grange, 2000) The crisis that Pakistan is facing is stemmed in Afghanistan and its time that Pakistan takes the hold of the situation. India has exploited this vulnerability long enough. Pakistan needs to man up and take charge of the poor socio-economic conditions at home as well that keep producing fourth generation non-state militants, and are making this war never ending.

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