

Hybrid Warfare and Implications for Pakistan

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Abstract- Mention India and Pakistan are considered as the most important players in South Asia to maintain regional security and balance of power to attain peace and prosperity. Their mutual cooperation can lead them to enjoy political stability socio-cultural harmony and economic uplift. But, in this age of perfection and specialization, both the states are in a war like situation and do not miss any opportunity to exploit the deteriorated condition of each other. They are demonstrated as arch enemies as they have initiated hybrid warfare that has caused a colossal damage to the image of the either in the comity of nations. The research has highlighted the dimensions which are a target of Indian hybrid warfare particularly. It has discussed the tools and methods which have been adopted by India against Pakistan. It has also suggested some measures, which should be taken by Pakistan, to avoid the implications of Indian hybrid warfare. The research is a guide for the students of international relations who want to explore the bone of contentions between India and Pakistan. The reader can learn about the nature of wars between both the states with a special reference to the hybrid war, its methods and impact.

Index Terms- Hybrid, Warfare, Pakistan, India, Security, CPEC, Military, Cyber, Deterrence and Detection

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary realm is characterized by the outburst of modern knowledge, facts and swift developments in the all surfaces of life. Military art, combat and new advancements in warfare techniques are not bigger exceptions to this interminable transformation and development. Old conventional methods, war methods and doctrines are swapped with new and innovative ideas. Now a day non-lethal non Kinetic threats have taken place in war affairs instead of kinetic ones. It is not just major powers who are involving in these non-conventional tactics, there are a lot of other countries who have developed great potential in modern warfare like 5th Generation Warfare and Hybrid Warfare. As the world has entered into the twenty-first century the concept of these types of combats is evolving day by day and in this regard hybrid warfare is most advanced concept. On the other hand Hybrid Warfare it is basically a military stratagem that amalgamates traditional, lopsided and Cyber Warfare and is creation of new skills like nanotechnology, along with an indirect political approach. World has already transitioned itself from being unipolar to multipolar which has generated the proxy wars and hybrid encounters. Pakistan is also under the continues subjugation of these threats especially posed by India. Pakistan also requires adopting such measures to counter these modern war threats, therefore, a strategic appraisal is necessary to investigate

further on the subject of Hybrid Warfare with special reference to India and Pakistan.

Theoretical Framework

“War has rules, but few of them involve fighting with queen’s rules”, very well said by Frank Borelli. “The hybrid warfare is a military strategy which employs political warfare and blends conventional warfare, irregular warfare and cyber warfare. The methods include conventional capabilities, irregular tactics, irregular formations, diplomacy, Politics, foreign electoral intervention, terrorist acts, indiscriminate violence, criminal activity and fake news”.¹ It is a fifth generation warfare which involves narrative control, domestic subversion and economic coercion. In this warfare, the rival country is tried to be isolated from the global community. According to Frank Hoffman “Conventional weapons, unconventional criminal behavior play a significant role. In such a war, population of a country is the primary target of an enemy’s on slaughter be it physical or psychological attack or a combination of both. The most significant aspect of Hybrid war is the effective use of different means and modes of warfare to achieve its objective by the party waging such an attack”.²

Moreover, John Mccuen argues, “hybrid warfare is fought on both physical and conceptual battlegrounds implying that the actual war is the war to influence hearts and minds of your adversary.” In this warfare, the rival countries get involved in armaments race. They try to develop their military apparatus on scientifically advanced and technologically sophisticated lines. Earlier, the main purpose of the rival country was to conquer the territory of the enemy. But now, the targets have entirely changed. In short, this warfare is the blend of conventional and unconventional methods which can be used by any adversary including state or non-state actors.

Misinterpretations about CPEC

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) envisages the Chinese investment of \$ 62 billion in different sectors in Pakistan. This project is the crown jewel of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and an explicit indicator of close ties between both countries. CPEC will ultimately strengthen military and economic strategic partnership between two countries.³ In this scenario, India is trying to malign this initiative, as reflected by the efforts of the Indians, who are struggling to scuttle CPEC. In this regard, “Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) has opened a special office in Delhi and has allotted \$ 300 million to disrupt CPEC”.⁴ It has also activated certain Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to propagate a false agenda against CPEC. India is trying not only to malign this project on global stage but is also trying to disunite the people of Pakistan after proposing it as a serious issue. For instance, it is giving an impression to the least-developed provinces of Pakistan that CPEC will only benefit Punjab and Sindh by marginalizing Baluchistan.⁵ Similarly, India is creating an impression that Pakistan is going to be a new colony of China and equating China with East India Company.⁶ On the contrary, the comparison between the two is a folly. The time when East India Company came to India, the GDP of India was 25% of the world's GDP.⁷ Whereas, Pakistan's economy is not as good. So, China cannot benefit from Pakistan. Rather, it is playing a win-win game by extending its hand to develop Pakistan equally.

In addition to that, India is also embarking on practical steps to scuttle CPEC. For instance, an Indian agent, Kulbhushan Jadhav, was nabbed from Baluchistan. He confessed that he was sent to Baluchistan by Indian government to sow the seeds of distrust among Baloch people against CPEC. In fact, RAW is very much involved in this project and trying its level best to make CPEC failed. Similarly, it has also initiated a campaign on print media, electronic media and social media against CPEC.⁸ In this way, India is employing hybrid warfare against Pakistan by using all tools of the warfare against Pakistan. Similarly India is regarding china's project as Chinese debt-trap diplomacy. According to them. It will embroil Pakistan into debt and invade it. Contrarily, “China's debt against Pakistan is only 6.3% of its total debt liabilities and the interest rate on those loans is only 2% and not 14% as is being propagated. CPEC would add 2.5% growth rate to 70,000 jobs by 2030 while by 2022 Pakistan's energy needs would be met through this initiative”.⁹

Denigrating Kashmiris Freedom Struggle

Whenever the thought of Kashmir comes in one's mind, the image of violence and bloodshed becomes visible. The people of Kashmir have been aspiring for their independence since its unjust invasion by Indian forces. Hundreds of thousands of Kashmiris have lost their lives in the pursuit of independence from vicious, atrocious and inhuman occupation of India. By adding insult to the injury, Indian forces have been looting, plundering and rapping Kashmiri women in Kashmir. The disturbing factor of the episode is that the global community did not stand by the oppressed Kashmiris. Despite passage of the UN resolutions, the referendum could not be held in IOK due to obstinate behavior of India. Since then, the fundamental rights of Kashmiris are being violated. Women are being raped, old man are being insulted and youth is either being killed or detained. Primarily, Kashmiris waited for a plebiscite as promised by UN but when the two wars of 1965 and 1971 could not change the destiny of Kashmiris, they initiated an armed struggle for their independence.

Consequently, India deployed and beefed up military personnel in the valley. Since then, Kashmiris have been fighting the cruel Indian forces. While keeping in mind the historical development, even blind accepts the Kashmiris struggle as legitimate. But on the contrary. India is trying to declare this struggle as illegitimate. India is misleading the world and endeavoring to equate true freedom movement of Kashmiris with terrorism. The Kashmiri freedom fighters are being portrayed as terrorists by India. It is using all tools of hybrid war to hide the real situation of Kashmir.¹⁰ India has revoked the special status of Kashmir which was guaranteed by the constitution. It abolished the articles 370 and 35-A from Indian constitution on August 5, 2019, this removal of articles instigated outrage and sense of discomfort among Kashmiris.¹¹ As a result, to pre-empt their protests, the Indian government imposed curfew in Kashmir valley which is going on till today. The Kashmiris have been denied food and other basic facilities. They have been detained within their houses. Further, the internet and other cellular facilities have also been switched off.

In principle, the global community should have raised voice and compelled India to reverse its decision. But ironically, the criminal silence is resulting in loss of lives of hundreds of Innocent Kashmiris. All this is because of the hybrid war's techniques of India. It has declared this struggle as terrorism which is facilitated and sponsored by Pakistan. It is holding Pakistan responsible for all this mess in spite of sweeping before its own door. Kashmir was a dispute which was decided to be discussed and resolved bilaterally. But India took a unilateral action by annexing Kashmir without taking Pakistan into confidence. Now, the perception being created by India on world level is that Kashmir is the integral part of India and Pakistan as well as international community is not a party to it.¹² Further. It holds the United Nations military observer group for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) as irrelevant. Similarly, the resolutions of UN have also been disowned by India through its evil maneuvering. The above-mentioned developments are indicative of techniques of hybrid warfare used by India in case of Kashmir.¹³

“A European non-governmental group, EU Disinfo Lab, has unearthed a network of 265 Fake news outlets managed by an Indian network to influence the European Union and United

Nations with content critical of Pakistan. The Disinfo Lab found that fake website copy-pasted anti-Pakistan content from unusual press agencies and amplified material shared by politicians and obscure think tanks. The investigation discovered that the news outlets were managed by Indian stakeholders. The Srivastav group was involved. The purpose of the campaign was to influence international institutions global community against Pakistan and change their point of view regarding Kashmir by propagating material against narrative of self-determination of Kashmiris".¹⁴

False Propaganda against Nuclear Programs

India is propagating a false propaganda against the nuclear program of Pakistan. It is being propagated that the nuclear assets of Pakistan are unsafe.¹⁵ India is falsely maligning the nuclear program by giving the impression that the terrorist can easily obtain the nuclear weapons of Pakistan which will be a great threat to world peace. Further, India propounds that Pakistan is using its nuclear capabilities for aggression and exploitation. Furthermore, it alleges Pakistan for proliferation of nuclear program which is a white lie.¹⁶ In fact, Pakistan is not involved in any such of the above-mentioned false apprehension. India is tarnishing the image of Pakistan on world stage to mold world opinion against Pakistan. For this purpose, India is spreading false beliefs against Pakistan by using techniques of hybrid war.

Indian Cyber Posture: Implications for Pakistan

(a) Information Warfare

Cyber warfare and information warfare are new weapons to target an enemy.¹⁷ Cyber politics has attained central position in international affairs.¹⁸ New Delhi has been lying special emphasis on hybrid warfare and acknowledging cyber warfare as its essential component. India is well cognizant of the Fact that cyber war is conducted by state-sponsored or non-state actors to create chaos and violence.¹⁹ In its pursuit, India is determined to establish cyber force structure (CFS) which could help it in cyber wars. India is also aspiring to wage network centric wars (NCW) to exploit computers, surveillance, intelligence systems, Command and control systems and information technology Infrastructure.²⁰ The target of all these developments is no one else but Pakistan. India is also launching a psychological warfare against Pakistan. It is propagating fake ideas and misinformation by portraying it a truth. For instance, India alleged that it conducted a surgical strike in Balakot and killed hundreds of Militants. As a matter of fact, no such incident happened there.²¹

To propagate this false propaganda, India used social media, and electronic media to malign Pakistan through information warfare. Similarly, the perpetrator of Mumbai attacks, Ajmal Kasab, was made Pakistani national by India. Whereas, an inquiry was conducted to ascertain the responsible ones who issued domicile to Kasab.²² The inquiry later revealed that Ajmal kasab was the domicile holder of UP, the Indian state. Here the point to ponder upon is how India staged a drama and blamed Pakistan for Mumbai attacks and declared Ajmal as Pakistan. This revelation reflects how India indulges in blame game. It points fingers at Pakistan without any investigation. In short, India uses cyber

space and information means to propagate its false agendas against Pakistan.

(b) Conventional Aspect: India's Military Build up

India is not only employing irregular methods, narrative control, cyber warfare and Fake news, but it is also building up its military capabilities to target Pakistan.²³ The conventional aspect of this war is also of great importance for India. There are many significant developments which pose a great threat to Pakistan. The aspiration of India to become a hegemonic power of south Asia and destroy Pakistan are the main reasons behind this traditional military build-up. India is going to purchase 24 MH-60 R helicopters from the United States. The worth of their helicopters is 2.6\$ billion which is a huge amount.²⁴ These helicopters are very advanced in their nature. This purchase will increase India's anti-submarine capability which is a great threat to Pakistan. On the contrary, Pakistan is relying just on limited submarines. It will ultimately give leverage to India over Pakistan. Similarly the first nuclear missile carrying submarine INS Arihant was commissioned by India in 2016. It made India capable of carrying K-15 missiles with the range of 750 KM.²⁵ Further, the induction of six nuclear powered submarines (SSN) in next 15 years is also in the pipeline. This submarine is also a direct threat to Pakistan contrarily, "Pakistan has not acquired or developed a dedicated nuclear submarine force, or ballistic missile defenses, or a blue water navy".²⁶ India has become a space power as well. It conducted anti-satellite tests by destroying one of its own satellites. The Indian Prime Minister named these tests as "Mission Shakhti".²⁷ India has become the Fourth country to possess and demonstrate this capability after US, China and Russia. India has given a strong message to Pakistan that it has become a space power. India now possesses the capability to fight a space war. Pakistan needs to equate India in the same manner.

India has also concluded a deal with Russia to purchase five S-400 missile defense system. The cost of this system is 5.5\$ billion.²⁸ All the five S-400 regiments will be delivered from 2020 to 2023. This system is among the most advanced air defense systems of the world. It can shoot and engage targets simultaneously with the range of 400KM. it will ultimately augment India's air defense system and missile defense capabilities.²⁹ It will directly affect the equation of nuclear deterrence between Pakistan and India. Pakistan needs to bracket itself with India in this military built-up. These deals reflect India's commitment to counter Pakistan. All these deals are Pakistan-oriented. India has spent a lion's share of its national budget on military build-up to counter Pakistan by ignoring the poverty and unemployment of its people. This shows that India can go at any length in the pursuit of its evil dream of destruction of Pakistan.

(c) Targeting the Internal Structure of Pakistan

India is using the methods of hybrid warfare to destabilize Pakistan internally as well as extremely. It is unjustly interfering in the internal matters of Pakistan. RAW has deputed its agents to undertake covert operations in Pakistan as COAS, Qamar Javed Bajwa, said that we are facing hybrid warfare. He said, "Our

enemies know that they cannot beat us fair and square thus, subjected us to cruel, evil and protracted hybrid war. They are trying to weaken our resolve by weakening us from within.”³⁰

(d) Institutional Rift

India has activated its sources to create rift among institutions of Pakistan. It is trying to malign judiciary of Pakistan. The non-state actors funded by RAW malign the decisions of judiciary to create discontent and misunderstanding among the people of Pakistan. Similarly, the institution of Army is also the main target of today's Indian hybrid war tactics. A false propaganda is launched against Pakistan Army. For instance, India spreads fake news that Army is responsible for terrorism in Pakistan which is a gross lie. Likewise, the slogans are raised against Pakistan Army by RAW sponsored people.³¹ The Indian funded fake accounts and pages on social media also launched campaign to create wrong perceptions against the National Accountability Bureau over the phenomenon of accountability.

(e) Political Instability

The political instability in Pakistan is also one of the main targets of Indian hybrid war. For instance, Altaf Hussain, the Chairman of MQM tried his level best to make political environment unsafe on the advice of RAW. He, with the help of criminals, kept disturbing law and order of Karachi and got hundreds of innocent people murdered by his death squad. Likewise, he severely criticized Pakistan Army as well as raised the slogan of a separate or independent Karachi. Later, everyone came to know of his reality of being Indian agent who wanted to destabilize Pakistan by creating Chaos and turmoil.

(f) Ethnic Conflicts

The growing ethnic conflicts among different ethnicities are also the result of Indian hybrid war. The agents of India try to manipulate and exploit different groups to create disharmony among them.³² As a result, they see each other as aliens and different to each other. This thing is seriously damaging the national integration of Pakistan. It is being falsely propagated by Indian sponsored actors that Punjabis are exploiting the wealth of the whole country by siding other ethnic groups. These wrong views are enhancing the gulf among different ethnic groups of Pakistan.

(g) Targeting Minority Groups

India is targeting minority groups of Pakistan. It is being falsely propagated that Pakistan is an unsafe place for them. The Hindus and Sikhs are being told that they are not being given their due rights. Similarly, the marginalized classes of the society are the main target of India. It exploits those classes to sow the seeds of discontent against the state of Pakistan. By inculcating hatred and disgust among minority groups, India pursues its evil interests.³³

(h) Cultural Invasion

India is also trying to culturally invade Pakistan by destroying the culture of the latter. It is introducing its culture and its own narrative through its media industry. The Dramas and Movies of India contain anti-Pakistan content.³⁴ The history of Muslims and sub-content is exaggerated by Indian film industry by lionizing their own heroes. For example, an Indian movie “Padmavati” disgraced Muslim hero “Alla-ud-din Khilji”. Similarly a movie is in pipeline named “Abdalli” which is to criticize Ahmad Shah Abdalli and unjustly praise Marathas. Moreover, their movies show that Pakistan was defeated in all war fought with India. Most of the Indian movies are filmed on the theme of wars of 1965 and 1971 in which Pakistan Army was maligned. Furthermore, the Indian cartoons which are in Hindi language adversely affect Pakistani Kids. For instance, the cartoons of “Bheem” are purely a reflection of Hindu culture. These cartoons ultimately impact the minds of our children. In this way, India is using the tools of hybrid war to culturally invade Pakistan.³⁵

(i) Instigating Terrorism

Through hybrid war, India is instigating terrorism as well. It is covertly supporting terrorist activities in Pakistan. It is properly funding the terrorist groups to weaken Pakistan from within. RAW has strong ties with Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan. It supports TTP physically as well as financially to undertake terrorist attacks on civilians as well as on law enforcement personnel.³⁶ Many bloody terrorist attacks establish link with India. For instance, the tumultuous attack on Army public school Peshawar was sponsored by RAW. India used terrorist organization to conduct that inhuman attack which martyred more than a hundred innocent children of Army public school. Similarly, the Mastung attack in Baluchistan also traces its links with India. In that attack, many innocent people lost their lives. Further, the attacks on election campaign of Haroon Balour was also sponsored by India. That attack was launched to sabotage the election process in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and disrupt political system. There are many more terrorist incidents that have roots in Indian covert role. In short, India has been sponsoring terrorist activities in Pakistan by using TTP and other terrorist organization as its proxy.³⁷ This interference is a part of hybrid war's tactics which Pakistan has been facing from India.

(j) Role in Afghanistan

India is leaving no stone unturned to harm Pakistan internally as well as externally. It is trying to encircle Pakistan by increasing its influence in Afghanistan. India is playing a proactive role in Afghanistan. The main purpose is to undermine the influence of Pakistan and Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan. By doing that, India wants to encircle Pakistan from western border as well.³⁸ For that purpose, India is supporting Afghanistan financially. It is investing in education and health sectors. Similarly, training of Afghan civil servants, police officials and diplomats is also on the agenda of this cooperation. By training the Afghan officials, India will definitely influence their minds by inculcating anti-Pakistan sentiments. By providing education, it wants to control the narrative of Afghans and change their opinion according to its own will. India is also investing on infrastructure development. The purpose of all those developments is just to undermine the influence of Pakistan in Afghanistan. These techniques and tactics

fall under the purview of hybrid war which is a great challenge Pakistan has been facing.

(k) Role in Iran

India is also trying to encircle Pakistan by developing relations with Iran. It is investing in Iran to align the opinion in its favor. India is developing Chahbhar port in Iran. There are many reasons behind the establishment of this port. Apparently, this port is to develop bilateral relations as well as promote trade with Iran. But as a matter of fact, India wants to have physical presence in Iran so that it could target Pakistan effectively while sitting in Iran. Furthermore, the purpose of this port is also to serve as a counterweight to CPEC. India wants Chahbhar port as an alternative to CPEC so that the global and regional attention could divert from CPEC. India is also sponsoring terrorist activities in areas of Baluchistan while misusing its presence in Iran. For example, Kulbushan Jadhav, an Indian spy, also came to Pakistan through Iran. He tried to destabilize Pakistan by employing different methods of hybrid war. India is also using the religious sentiments by sowing the seeds of hatred and disgust against Sunni and Shia sects. In this way, it is disturbing the religious harmony by instigating sectarian violence.³⁹ In short, India is using hybrid war's technique by increasing its influence in Iran and encircling Pakistan by ensuring its presence in Iran.

Strategies to Cope With

Quaid-e-Azam once said, "There is no power on earth that can undo Pakistan". The contemporary situation regarding national security of Pakistan is pointing towards the hybrid war employed by India. Despite Pakistan's efforts to ensure peace in the region of south Asia, India is not comfortable with the peaceful South Asia. It is leaving no stone unturned to destroy the peace of the region. India is employing kinetic and non-kinetic means to engage Pakistan in hybrid war. In this scenario, Pakistan needs to counter India's aggression accordingly. Pakistan should design and implement a new strategy. This strategy should be based on three components which are given below:

(a) Detection

"This component addresses the problem of detecting hybrid threats or attacks in the first place. It requires updating warning intelligence to monitor 'known unknowns' through indicators and warnings and discovering 'known unknowns' through pattern recognition and anticipation".⁴⁰ So, what Pakistan needs firstly is to detect the threat of Indian hybrid war. There should be a broad acceptability of this threat. Then, Pakistan needs to update its intelligence system to discover the indicators of the threat. So, to detect the threat of hybrid war is the first and foremost responsibility of the state.

(b) Deterrence

After detecting the challenge, Pakistan needs to deter it accordingly. "This component addresses the deterrence of hybrid aggressors or 'hybrid deterrence'. Deterring hybrid aggressors can be done but it requires building on traditional deterrence to pursue

credible measures through creative horizontal escalation, tailored and communicated to the aggressor, that are balanced between deterrence by denial, including resilience and punishment".⁴¹ So, what Pakistan needs at the second stage is to deter the threat of hybrid war employed by India.

(c) Effective Response

"This component addresses how to respond to hybrid threats or attacks and offers a framework for doing so, the decision to respond by implementing appropriate actions and measures can be taken at any stage in the hybrid threat cycle, from identifying potential vulnerabilities that require resilience-building activity to punitive measures taken in response to a hybrid attack".⁴² So, after accepting the challenge, Pakistan needs to respond to Indian hybrid war which is very necessary for the very survival of Pakistan.

(d) Developed Institutional Machinery

To counter the Indian hybrid war, Pakistan needs to develop a proper institutional machinery. The institutional machinery should be equipped of all essential components and ingredients that are necessary to cope with hybrid war techniques of India. Thus, development of institutional machinery is pre-requisite for the proper response to hybrid war.

(e) Creating Synergies among Institutions

The institutional rifts need to be eliminated at first stage. The fragmented and divided institutions of Pakistan cannot fight this hybrid war. So, there is a dire need to create synergy among all civil and military institutions of Pakistan. An integrated response by all institutions is required to counter Indian hybrid war.⁴³

Some other Pragmatic Solutions to Counter Indian Hybrid War

- Pakistan should advance and develop its surveillance as well as data collection techniques on scientific lines.
- There is a dire need to revive the ideology of Pakistan by rejuvenating national spirit and fervor.
- The religious institutions, mosques and madrassahs should be made aware of hybrid war to bar the maddrassah students from being exploited and misused.
- The curriculum is to be revised by inculcating national moorings, ideology and sacrifices rendered in salvation of Pakistan.
- A comprehensive approach needs to be adopted by having all hands on the deck.
- The media should be managed by censoring anti-Pakistan content.

Conclusion

Keeping in mind the regional security, balance of power, peace and prosperity, India and Pakistan are always considered as two important countries of South Asia. It is their nature of their bilateral relationship that determines the political stability, economic prosperity and socio-cultural harmony of the region.

But, the contemporary scenario is witness to the fact that both the states are at loggerheads with each other and do not miss any opportunity to exploit the deteriorated condition of each other. Since the independence from the British Imperialism, these two countries are considered as arch rivals. Presently, they are engaged in hybrid warfare that has been causing an irreparable damage to each other. Further, it is tarnishing the image of the either in the comity of nations. The highlighted dimensions of Indian hybrid warfare, particularly, cannot be ignored in this grim specter. India is leaving no stone unturned to erode the sovereignty of Pakistan. It is using all tools and methods of Hybrid warfare to counter Pakistan on economic, political and diplomatic fronts. In this situation, there is a dire need to take some measures which should be taken by Pakistan, to avoid the consequences of Indian hybrid warfare. Pakistan needs to counter India on equal footings. Pakistan should make the international community realized about the Indian propaganda by unearthing the tools and methods of Hybrid warfare being used by India.

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