



Cite Us



## A Critical Review of Hybrid Warfare: Challenges to Pakistan

### Headings

- [Introduction](#)
- [Influence of Hybrid warfare in South Asian Region](#)
- [Dimensions of Hybrid threats to Pakistan](#)
- [Pakistan's Internal Security Issues Post 9/11 Attacks](#)
- [Conclusion](#)
- [Reference](#)

**Abstract:** *This research paper analyses the dynamics of Hybrid Warfare to envisage its impact upon peace and conflict situation in Pakistan. The research explores how different domains of society have been affected by the application of Hybrid Warfare. Furthermore, the research focuses on the existing and future challenges being faced by Pakistan in the domain of Hybrid Warfare. The term 'Hybrid warfare' has become the modern buzz-word among various circles, including media, academicians, and policy-making spheres. However, there is hardly any agreement on what this concept encompasses. Nonetheless, the widespread usage of the notion in numerous circles proposes that a novel form of warfare has emerged. This research argues that Pakistan is facing multi-dimensional and multidirectional challenges where the dominant threat stems from Eastern neighbour, but the involvement of other state and non-actors further complicates the situation.*

**Key Words:** Hybrid Warfare, Pakistan, Challenges, Global Terrorism.

### Introduction

The nature of wars and threats are considerably reshaped in the aftermath of the Cold War. Peter Burgess (2008) argues that in the changing dynamics of the globalized setting, instruments of military and foreign policy cannot ensure state security; instead, economic, cultural, social, moral and environmental domains also need to be interlinked to ensure state survival in the challenging security environment. Thus, national security in today's world has transformed, which is not subjected to traditional threats only but to numerous non-traditional threats as well (Burgess, 2008). Understanding of changing requirements for security is, therefore, highly essential and

\* MA Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies, Lancaster University, United Kingdom

† Visiting Research Fellow, Centre for Science & Security Studies (CSSS), War Studies Department, King's College London. Email: [tahir\\_mahmood.azad@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:tahir_mahmood.azad@kcl.ac.uk)

‡ Associate Professor, Department of Arts & Media, Foundation University Islamabad, Pakistan.

need of the time. Therefore, there is a need to define new concepts of security, threats and challenges. Frank Hoffman says that “Hybrid warfare blend[s] the lethality of state conflict with the fanatical and protracted fervour of irregular warfare . . . future adversaries (states, state-sponsored groups, or self-funded actors) exploit access to modern military capabilities including encrypted command systems, man-portable surface-to-air missiles, and other modern lethal systems, as well as promote protracted insurgencies that employ ambushes, improvised explosive devices, and assassinations” ([Hoffman, 2009, p.34](#)).

Hybrid warfare is a comparatively new term, and it does not have a universally accepted definition, and different nations define hybrid warfare in their perspectives. The meaning and usage of the term Hybrid Warfare itself have drifted considerably from its first use in 2002 by William J. Nemeth. Hybrid warfare can be defined as a creative combination of civil and military ways and means that are deployed in a synchronized manner. Hybrid Warfare also describes any kind of covert non-military subversion efforts. Whether it is economic subversion or propaganda dissemination, all of these techniques have already been around for ages, and there is nothing novel in them nowadays, except maybe in terms of how these techniques have adapted to incorporate modern-day technologies ([Korybko, 2017, p.207](#)). The definition has relevance as hybrid warfare is a blend of all the generations of warfare but is employed in innovative ways owing to rapid advancements in the fields of technology and communication.

The nature and dynamics of conflicts are changing both in regional as well as global arena, thus posing a severe threat to conventional state structures and military doctrines. The number of conflicts between traditional armies has reduced after the cold war, but the nonlinear and non-kinetic forms of warfare are on the surge. The meanings of victory and defeat are also transforming due to the changing nature of conflicts and associated objectives. Notwithstanding the ambiguity around the definition of the concept, it appears that Hybrid Warfare is very much a reality and has, in fact, seen the light of the day in many parts of the world. The Colour Revolutions in Eastern Europe, Arab Spring and Russian intervention in Ukraine all are examples of Hybrid War with varying shades and influences. Interestingly, the South Asian countries practised the concept of Hybrid War long before the term was first used in 2002 ([Korybko, 2017, p.212](#)). The Indo-Pak war of 1971 is a classic example of employing psychological, subversive, coercive and violent tools to condition the environment in erstwhile East Pakistan for ultimate application of military instrument by India, resulting in the dismemberment of Pakistan. Therefore, understanding the essence of Hybrid Warfare and its manifestation gains added importance for the civil and military leaders of Pakistan so as not to fall prey to it again.

The perpetual state of conflict between India and Pakistan is changing and “blurring the line between the states of war and peace. Wars are no longer declared and, having begun, proceed according to an unfamiliar template” ([Kamran, 2018](#)). India’s use of hybrid methods against Pakistan is increasing with every passing day. After the nuclearization of India and Pakistan and the almost zero to minimal space for war between the nuclear rivals, this growth in hybrid activities is an essential aspect in the overall increase in Indian military capabilities and aggressive

attitude toward Pakistan. Pakistan needs a clear understanding of the threat and strategy to effectively counter Indian hybrid strategies before our national interests are damaged.

### **Influence of Hybrid warfare in South Asian Region**

The Nuclearisation of South Asia gave a new impetus to proxy wars in our region. However, the employment of elements of Hybrid Warfare is growing in the region. Some of the indicators of Hybrid Warfare in South Asia are as under:-

- Attack on Sri Lankan Cricket team at Lahore in 2009 resulted in discount the conduct of international cricket matches/ events in Pakistan.
- Terror attacks on many sensitive military installations to include GHQ, Mehran Naval Air Base, and Kamra Air Base, badly affected the morale of the nation.
- Mumbai attacks of 2008, the Pathankot attack of Jan 2016 and the recent Uri attack resulted in the blame game and further strained the relations between India and Pakistan.
- Involvement of RAW in worsening the security situation in Karachi and Baluchistan, which caused pol and economic turmoil for Pakistan.
- Army Public School Attack, 2014.
- Cyber-attacks have seen an acceleration in the recent past, e.g. more than 700 government websites of India hacked since 2012 ([Press Trust of India, 2015](#)). Whereas hacking of several Pakistani websites was also reported ([Rasool, 2015](#)).

### **Dimensions of Hybrid threats to Pakistan**

Keeping in mind the definition of Hybrid Warfare, the first instance of the application of Hybrid Warfare against Pakistan dates back to 1971. The concept of hybrid warfare was not conceived at that time, but manifestation was there. The 1971 Fall of Dacca can be termed as the successful execution of Hybrid Warfare against Pakistan. India planned and fought the war in a non-traditional way by creating a dilemma for Pakistan. Multiple actors created an environment where the domestic audience took arms against Pakistan owing to the evil designs of India. Since its inception, Pakistan faced the problems of domestic security issues owing to the faulty division of the subcontinent, which was further exploited by the adversary states. Security from external as well as internal threats remains the most pressing issue for Pakistan to ensure its survival in a hostile environment. Most of the security and non-traditional threats being faced by Pakistan have a foreign involvement ([Afzal, Iqbal, & Inayay, 2012](#)). At present, Pakistan is exposed to numerous Hybrid threats, which are destabilizing the country to a greater extent.

### **Pakistan's Internal Security Issues Post 9/11 Attacks**

The challenges of peace and conflict for Pakistan were entirely reshaped in the aftermath of attacks on the World Trade Centre in September 2001, followed by the invasion of Afghanistan by the United States. Pakistan faced domestic challenges like Terrorist organizations, sectarianism, ethnic crisis, bad governance and separatist's movements. Terrorism can be termed

as a non-traditional category of violence or political communication through violent actions that represents a struggle against the state or group of people. Pakistan has suffered most after becoming a frontline partner of the United States in the war against terrorism as terrorist’s organization like Al-Qaeda, along with other associated groups, declared war against Pakistan owing to the support extended by Pakistan to NATO.

### Major Events of Hybrid Nature 2001– 2019

9/11 Added more worries to the complicated situation in the South Asian region The United States-led war on Afghanistan was pushed into Pakistan by both Taliban and the NATO allies. Attacks on Indian Lok Sabha and Mumbai were used as the *causa belli* to target Pakistan. Various actors provided funding and support to mobilize the sub-nationalism in Baluchistan against the state of Pakistan. Slogans such as militants 60 Kms from Islamabad were aired. The hybrid threat was unleashed against us. The era was marred by War on Terror, confusion and poor law and order. The following table provides an overview of hybrid activities conducted against Pakistan by various actors.

**Table 1.** History of Hybrid Warfare / Hybrid WF (2001-2019)

Elements	Executors	Effects
Political		8 x years of Gen Musharraf Democracy takes roots PTI and anti-Corruption drive Economic meltdown
Economic	Multinational	Funding to militant Organizations Financial Action Task Force grey List Deployment of Army in FATA Escalation on Eastern Border
Military	Multinational	Drone attacks Op Zarb – e – Azab Operation Raad-ul-Fasad Cyber threats Rise of TTP Mumbai Attacks
Internal security	India	Law and Order situation in Karachi The nationalist movement in Balochistan Indian Belligerence – Cold War Doctrine Uri Attacks Pulwama Attacks and Shooting down of Indian Jets

---

Misc	USA	Earth Quake of 2005 Floods 2010 Raid at Abbottabad for Osama Bin Laden Salala Check post Attack
------	-----	--

---

## Relevance of Hybrid Warfare to Pakistan

Pakistan is facing a host of challenges that play the role of significant stimulants or enabling factors in the peace and conflict situation of Pakistan concerning Hybrid Warfare. The Challenges Comprise: -

### Internal Challenges

Internal challenges include the following essential factors:-

#### Bad Governance.

Pakistan today faces a severe energy shortage. All other social sector indicators are also not encouraging ([M. Ahmed, 2019](#)). Poor law and order situation, corruption, and higher crimes rate make any country and easy to fall prey to external hands ([Musarrat, Afzal, & Azhar, 2013, p.177](#)). Few of the aspects which common Pakistani citizen faces include economic hardships, injustice, unemployment, lack of basic necessities and Poor - Rich discrimination. The current political turmoil by the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) is further exacerbating the governance situation as the government is unable to focus on the basic issues due to other distractions.

#### Low Education/ Literacy Rate, Weak Economy and Friction between Pillars of State.

The inadequacy of quality education, coupled with the slackness by the Government, has rendered our country incapable of dealing with the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, thus making our youth an ideal target to be exploited. Furthermore, Pakistan's present economic situation does not match its potential. All national institutions like Pakistan International Airline (PIA), Railways, Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), and Pakistan Steel Mills have become a burden instead of earning for the country. Additionally, Pakistan's foreign policies are influenced by its security issues and domestic challenges. Traditionally, the political forces have had friction with the military as well as the judiciary. The separation of power between state institutions is not well structured, which creates problems in smooth functioning.

### External Challenges

The role played by external factors is also very crucial. Geostrategic location and defamation at the International level are the critical aspects of the external domain. Pakistan's geostrategic significant location and lack of appropriate national strategy is a vulnerability of Pakistan, thus exposing it to the grand scale exploitation ([Kreft, 2008](#); [Zia, 2010](#)). Moreover, the international community somehow thinks that most of the terrorism acts in the world are associated with

Pakistan ([Laub, 2013](#)). Haqqani network has been tagged as “Veritable Arm” of ISI, and particularly the United States and its allies made much propaganda on this issue which was exploited by India as well ([Choudhary, 2012](#)). The inclusion of Pakistan in the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) grey list was largely lobbying by Eastern Neighbour. The EU DisinfoLab has recently exposed a large Indian network with the name of “Indian Chronicles”, which was tarnishing Pakistan’s image at the international front

### **Security Challenges (Both Internal and External)**

Pakistan is facing the following challenges in the domain of security which are due to both internal and external factors.

#### **Terrorism**

The global war on terror in Afghanistan also pushed Pakistan into the war on its western front. Terrorism inside Pakistan is predominantly the base of poverty, poor education, unemployment and inadequate infrastructure, thus exposing it to the instigators of Hybrid Warfare. Many attacks carried out inside Pakistan were planned by ex-armed forces personnel who were recruited by anti-Pakistan elements, exploiting their religious, social and moral beliefs.

#### **Military Aggression**

The Indian concept of PAO can trigger anytime. After the Osama Bin Ladan operation, attack on Salala check post, the recent attack on Torkham check post and drone attack on Taliban Chief Mullah Mansoor, our western borders are also not safe ([MacAskill, 2007](#)). In the present scenario, even smaller-scale aggression will create difficulties for the Pakistan government. We have also witnessed the impact of the 27 February attacks, which brought two nations to the brink of a full-fledged war.

#### **Sectarian / Ethnic Violence**

Pakistan is suffering from sectarian and ethnic violence, which is being exploited by foreign elements. The incident in 2014 during Ashura in Rawalpindi, which choked the twin cities for a few days, is a clear example of exploitation by the participants of Hybrid Warfare. Sectarian and ethnic faultiness is being exploited by different actors of Hybrid Warfare to destabilize the country on various occasions.

### **Contemporary Warfare in Cyber Domain**

The most important tool of Hybrid Warfare is probably the Information and non-kinetic operations, focusing on perception management. Hybrid warfare will create a trust deficit between the population and the government to achieve its goals of dismantling the country ([Hammes, 2006, p.278](#)). Nano Technology can be programmed to destroy military hardware such as tanks, missiles, equipment, factories, ships, and nuclear bombs.

## Resource Catastrophe

### Energy Crisis and Economy of War

The enormous increase in the demand for energy in Pakistan as a result of industrial development and population growth. The current crisis, it continues, will adversely affect the life of common men. Moreover, the war on terror has given a significant blow to Pakistan in the economic domain. In a nutshell, Pakistan has a loss of around billions of dollars in relation to the global war on terrorism, which is a massive amount for a developing state. As per [Pasha \(2019\)](#), Pakistan has so far suffered a loss of 258.1 billion dollars owing to war against terror, and this figure includes both direct and indirect costs (P.48). This has affected exports, foreign investment, overall economic activity, import demand, tax collection, a rapid increase in spending related to defence and security, the collapse of the tourism industry and related infrastructure, especially in northern areas and rise in expenditure to support internally displaced persons([Pasha, 2019](#)).

### Water War

Water warfare is also a tool for Hybrid Warfare. India being upper riparian, has always exploited the water requirements of Pakistan by violating the Indus river treaty being negotiated with the help of the World Bank. India is keen to devise Aqua war strategies to push Pakistan into drought owing to more substantial dependence on the agriculture sector.

### Migration of Skilled Persons

Due to the inhospitable domestic situation, the educated and qualified human capital is migrating from Pakistan ([Chappell & Glennie, 2010](#)). Pakistan has a high migration rate of skilled manpower, especially doctors, engineers, scientists and researchers, due to better facilities abroad and fewer opportunities inland. A large number of Pakistanis holding the right qualifications are presently serving in developed countries owing to fewer opportunities and more threats in Pakistan.

### Military Aspects

Pakistan is a developing country and can not increase military budgets at par with its adversaries. The embargos and economic constraints have created many problems in developing and procuring military technologies. The major challenges in the military domain include:

### Technological Vulnerabilities of Army

In the face of growing Hybrid Warfare threats, what we lack in technology. In this context, some observations are: -

- a. Advancement of satellite technology by India will have a serious implication for our forces in a future conflict.
- b. Blockage of the US-based GPS navigation system in times of need may have a severe implication for Pakistan Army ([Mehdi & Su, 2019, p.178](#)).

### **Efforts to Degrade Armed Forces and ISI**

A very well-orchestrated plan to malign the armed forces and ISI has been underway for a long ([Khattak, 2012](#)). In this backdrop following observations are drawn: -

- a. The allegation against ISI and the army to aid the Haqqani network with total disregard to the efforts and sacrifices of the armed forces ([Joscelyn, 2011](#)).
- b. India Blamed Pakistan and ISI in the Mumbai attacks ([Qureshi, 2018](#)).
- c. The allegation by some senior journalists and anchors on ISI for death threats were openly touted on media ([Bilal, 2013](#)).
- d. India also blamed Pakistan for involvement in Pathankot, Uri and Pulwama attacks to malign Pakistan's international image ([Siyech, 2019](#)).

### **Army's Involvement in Political Issues**

Bad governance within the country resulted in undue involvement of the Pakistan Army in political issues in the past, and the same is presently being exploited by anti-state elements through media to create a rift between Pakistan Army, people and government. The current situation is also worsening as the politicians are making alliances to stand against the government by blaming the army.

### **Indicators Acting as Enablers**

Keeping in mind the above factors: some critical indicators, which reflect our standing in different spheres and provide enablers for Hybrid Warfare are as under: -

- i. 147<sup>th</sup> position in Human Development Index.
- ii. 29.5 % of the population living below poverty.
- iii. 40 % illiteracy rate.
- iv. 117<sup>th</sup> position in corruption.
- v. 7<sup>th</sup> position on the Global Terrorism Index.
- vi. 43 % of the population suffering from food security.

### **Vulnerabilities of Pakistan**

The history of Hybrid Warfare / Hybrid threats to Pakistan and some current indicators mentioned above can be translated into some significant internal vulnerabilities, which include:

- i. Absence of national cohesion and integration.
- ii. Political instability.
- iii. The Weakening of the country's economy and its impact on the population.
- iv. A surge in radicalism and extremism trends.
- v. The Ethno-religious divide is causing disharmony among society.
- vi. Social injustice.
- vii. Population explosion.



- viii. Civil-military divide.
- ix. Absence of National security Policy

### **Prevailing Threat of Hybrid Warfare to Pakistan**

The Hybrid warfare challenges being faced by Pakistan are highly unstructured yet well connected with internal and foreign elements owing to the availability of modern means of communication. The threats faced by Pakistan in the external domain are manifold owing to the involvement of hostile agencies. The domestic domain is also highly unstable due to a large number of factors, as discussed earlier. The major challenge that we see is the linkages between internal and external elements to employ synchronized hybrid strategies against Pakistan. This synchronized application of Hybrid warfare may be aimed to achieve objectives like discrediting Two Nation Theory, maligning the Nuclear Program, discrediting the Pakistan Army, exploiting the Ethno-religious divide, maintaining continued chaos and leading to the worsening situation on core national issues, denuclearization and ultimately the old desire of our eastern neighbour, i.e. Balkanization of our country. The major Hybrid Warfare threats faced by Pakistan are discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.

### **Non-State Actors**

In the context of Hybrid Warfare, the role of non-state actors have expanded to a higher degree in comparison to fourth generation warfare, where non-state actors were only employed as proxies like the Taliban in Afghanistan during the Russian Invasion of Afghanistan. Nevertheless, now non-state actors have assumed the role of primary actors in the changing dynamics of warfare (Wither, 2016). Non-state actors involved in hybrid warfare are engaged in conflicts on behalf of the state, and they are not under the direct control of the state; instead, they fight for their personal or group interests. The major non-state actors operating in Pakistan are discussed in the following paragraphs.

### **Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)**

After the US invasion of Afghanistan and Pakistan, support extended to the US, a faction of Al-Qaeda emerged as *Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan*, which based on the fundamental principle of opposing the United States and all those who support them. They wanted that Pakistan should not support the United States against Afghan Taliban rather should support the Afghan Taliban against the United States. *Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan* stood against the government and conducted the deadliest terrorist's attacks on Pakistani soil, thus causing much turmoil. Lal masjid incident further aggravated the situation when the army conducted the operation against extremist elements based in the capital of Pakistan. Pakistan army launched operations against the Taliban based in the North-Western region of the country, which is one of the most rugged terrains in the country. TTP launched hybrid warfare against the state by resorting to non-traditional and irregular strategies for spreading terror among the general public. Thousands of people lost their

lives owing to bombings and attacks on Mosques, Imambargah, Markets, houses and schools. The Army Public school attack in 2014 was the deadliest attack where innocent children were brutally murdered. This incident proved the last nail in the coffin of TTP as the army launched massive operations to eradicate the extremist elements. TTP primary tool was hybrid and novel approaches to attack people. Here the major problem was to identify the terrorists as they were merged among the ordinary people who are the most significant advantage of Hybrid warfare. Here again, the boundaries between war and peace were not demarcated. There is evidence of foreign funding to TTP to conduct attacks in Pakistan, which is again a Hybrid technique by our adversaries to keep Pakistan entangles in domestic issues ([Akram, 2018](#)).

### **Islamic State (IS)**

The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) or the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or Islamic State is commonly known as Daesh, are the different names of the same group whose foundations were laid down Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi in 1999 as Jama'at al-Tawhid Wal-Jihad to act as a Salafi fundamentalist organization ([Jasko, Kruglanski, Bin Hassan, Gunaratna, & Springer, 2018](#)). Islamic State announced that it had established Muslim Caliphate around the world, and all Muslim countries should accept their legitimacy as an overall authority for Muslims around the globe. Certain people have denied the presence of IS in Pakistan, while others claim that IS recruitment in Pakistan was going on for a long time. The presence is strongly justified owing to deep linkages between Al-Qaeda and IS. The other indicators included the presence of IS hatred and maligning literature in Pakistan, and wall chalking was observed in Pakistan for the support of IS. A secret report which was submitted Government of Balochistan stated that IS had inducted more than ten thousand people from tribal areas and Balochistan, and a large number of followers are also there ([Zehra, 2016](#)). Similarly, reports of some elements of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) and Ahl-e-Sunnat Wai Jamat (ASWJ) joining hands with ISIS also surfaced. More recently, ISIS established a Khurasan province (ISIS-Khurasan) which included Pakistan and Afghanistan. IS released a statement to claim responsibility for the attack on the bus of the Ismaeli minority community in Karachi in 2015. IS is a low-level threat to Pakistan because IS faces a considerably challenging adversary in the Pakistani state, in comparison to other countries like Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen..

### **Sectarian Organizations**

The roots of sectarian organizations in Pakistan are deeply rooted in the state structure. The sectarian conflicts in South Asia were present even before the independence of Pakistan. The main sects were Shia and Sunni, who were pitched against each other to prove that they are on the right path. However, now after the invasion of Afghanistan by the United States, the dynamics of Sectarian conflicts have also transformed. Now there are differences even among the Sunnis with sub-sects owing to the extremist nature of certain sects like Deoband. The unfortunate facet of this sectarian violence is that Pakistan has lost a large number of well-known scholars, doctors, engineers, artists and general people ([Shah, 2014, p.447](#)). The Hybrid aspect of entrains conflicts

came due to the involvement of foreign hands like Saudi Arabia and Iran, who fought proxies in Pakistan by funding different sectarian outfits in Pakistan. Pakistan is second only to Iran in respect of the number of Shias living in it ([K. Ahmed, 2007](#)). Pakistan imposed a ban on sectarian organizations include Shi'a Sipah-e Mohammed Pakistan (SMP), Lashkar-e Jhangvi (JI), Anjuman-e Sipah-e Sahaba (ASS), later Sipah-e Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and various others ([Haqqani, 2006](#)). The hostile agencies keep funding sectarian outfits to incite agitation in Pakistan to fulfil their agendas by following the principles of Hybrid Warfare to implode the adversary from inside out. The number of sectarian killings sharply increased after 2005 due to the arrival of the Taliban from Afghanistan to Pakistan.

### **State Actors**

Hybrid warfare employed at the inter-state level has four necessary instruments, which include intervention, political agitation, proxies and coercion. Out of these four strands, 2 x strands under the Modi government (political subversion and proxy wars) in line with Mr Agit Doval doctrine have become pronounced since 2014. Similarly, Indo-US Hybrid Warfare against CPEC has been discussed in academia the world over.

### **Political Subversion**

Pakistan is facing political subversion as well, which has a manifestation in the following major domains. People have different active and passive notions in their minds as per their understanding and educational level. The NGOs and other agents of violence hit those ideas by utilizing Hybrid techniques to incite people for protests and violence against the state and its institutions ([Korybko, 2017, p.220](#)).

### **Diplomatic**

India has been trying for a long to isolate Pakistan from the international community and has synchronized various tools of international relations, including lobbying but is unable to achieve the desired results in this domain. India has tried to get Pakistan blacklisted on the finical watchdog Financial Action Task Force forum, but the objective could not be materialized. India is putting all-out efforts to portray Pakistan as a rogue state which is funding and breeding terrorists but is failing miserably.

### **Economic**

In the economic domain, the following aspects are of significant import:

#### **CPEC**

Pakistan has announced CPEC as a game-changer for Pakistan's economy, which is a valid statement keeping in mind the economic turmoil being faced by Pakistan owing to corruption and failure of previous governments. India has challenged the Pakistani move to complete CPEC

and has started to employ Hybrid tactics to counter CPEC, including Kinetic as well as non-kinetic means. The manifestation of this can be seen through the capture of Indian RAW Agent Kulbhusan Jadhav and open support to Baloch separatist movements. They are exploiting people like Mama Qadeer to build anti-state narratives in Pakistan. India is trying its level best to undermine this corridor of financial fortune by dissemination of fabricated information concerning its route, activating Baloch nationalist by creating a theme of injustice and creating a trust deficit between provinces. Above all, RAW and NDS are working overtime to sabotage the CPEC project. The arrest of Kulbhushan Yadav in Balochistan and later on confessions made by him are a clear manifestation of Indian Hybrid warfare designs against Pakistan.

### **Karachi Complex**

Karachi complex is regarded as the financial, manufacturing and trade hub of Pakistan. A large chunk of revenue is generated from this city of lights, and it is known as the backbone of Pakistan's economy. RAW presence has been established in Karachi through evidence in the form of linkages with armed wings of political parties and through other agents of violence to spread turmoil in the city to employ exploits in the economic domain of Hybrid warfare.

### **Military**

In the military domain, we see the following observations: -

- i. A nefarious strategy to build a slice between government and Armed forces is conducted through Memo gate leaks and Cyril Dawn episode. Here Hybrid tactics were employed to create a fault line.
- ii. The military is blamed for our economic woes by a pseudo economic expert by projecting Pakistan Military as a burden. The themes such as military consume 50 % of our budget has been imbedded even in the minds of our intelligentsia.
- iii. Pakistan military is facing more enormous challenges owing to repeated attacks on installations, convoys, infrastructure, and schools and even on families to demoralize them. The enemy is employing hybrid tactics, and it becomes difficult to identify a hybrid enemy who hides among the general public.
- iv. Armed forces are prepared to fight the external threats, but in the case of Pakistan, armed forces have to take out the internal threats which have linkages with external elements, so it becomes a risky business.
- v. ISI - first line of our defence has been maligned with narratives such as a deep state, rouge elements.
- vi. Due to the on-going conflict, scarce resources had to be diverted towards security, thus affecting the readiness / up-gradation against conventional threats.
- vii. After the false flag event of the Uri incident; India has been keeping up the military ante along with daily firing on LOC, intrusion by quadcopters, and to top it all, an incursion

into Pakistani waters by a submarine are all meant to check our response and forcing us to take extreme action.

### Nuclear Assets

Pakistan is the only Islamic country that possesses nuclear capability; thus, everyone is concerned about the Pakistani nuclear program, which is essential to maintain minimum credible deterrence to ensure survival against a numerically superior adversary. Following allegations are made against Pakistan's nuclear program, and strong propaganda is waged at the international level.

- i. Pakistan is being portrayed as an unsafe country where nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of terrorist's organizations.
- ii. It is propagated that Pakistan is the primary source of nuclear [proliferation around the world.
- iii. A non-nuclear Pakistan would be better for neighbours as well as the international community.

### Psychological Subversion

This is again a vital tool of Hybrid warfare, which is being employed through destabilization and discouragement. Different tools of Hybrid warfare are employed to create a synchronized impact on the minds of the population to create a dilemma. The terrorist attacks, political turmoil, Army Public school incident, kidnappings and many other instruments are employed to achieve Psychological Subversion. Non-Governmental Organizations are also a major instrument of waging Hybrid Warfare against developing countries like Pakistan to spread confusion and launch programs to create Psychological as well as political subversion. Pakistan owing to ethnic, religious and geographic differences, could be easily manipulated by these NGOs, which work on their agendas on the pretext of welfare or development ([Korybko, 2017, p.218](#)).

### Manifestations of Hybrid Warfare Threat in Pakistan

The list of the manifestations of Hybrid Warfare threats to Pakistan is very long as Pakistan is exposed to a large number of instruments of Hybrid warfare. Few important manifestations are summarized in the following table: -

Tools of Hybrid / Hybrid Warfare	Manifestation in Pakistan
Media	Attack Centre of Gravity (Pakistan Army) Dawn Scandal
Intellectuals	Defend enemy's stance by using various forums like human rights and freedom of expression Asima Jahangir Hussain Haqqani

<b>Tools of Hybrid / Hybrid Warfare</b>	<b>Manifestation in Pakistan</b>
Corrupt Politicians	Any movement against corruption tagged as Army-sponsored to disrupt democracy Use of political parties to make critical national issues controversial. e.g. CPEC and Kalabagh Dam Use of diplomats to lobby against their own country Hussain Haqqani
Diplomacy	Recently Hussain Haqqani arranged a gathering in London in which famous activists, media anchors and intellectuals having anti-army sentiments were invited
Proxies / Non-State actors	TTP and BLA (Under RAW and CIA)
International Financial Institutions	Provide as much loan as possible to weaken the eco and create an artificial sense of economic prosperity

### **Deductions of Dynamics of Hybrid Warfare in Pakistan**

Following deductions can be drawn from the above discussion regarding the dynamics of Hybrid Warfare in Pakistan: -

- i. Space for hybridity exists in the Pakistan-India context owing to nuclear overhang, geopolitical and geo-economic factors.
- ii. Pakistan's peculiar fault lines make it an exploitable target for waging Hybrid Warfare, with the masses being the prime target.
- iii. India, aided by its abettors, has waged a Hybrid War against Pakistan, which is currently in the overt coercion stage.
- iv. Increasing Indian capability of waging hybrid war, her international relevance and ultranationalist outlook would further accentuate the threat.
- v. The ultranationalist outlook of the Indian government is now being seen permeating in its National Security Apparatus, which may exacerbate owing to upcoming Indian elections.
- vi. Key challenges confronted by the nation today are extremism, terrorism and organized crime together with political volatility, lack of synchronization, insufficient resources, corruption, illiteracy, and widening rich-poor divide'.
- vii. The law enforcement and justice system are overstrained and under-resourced, which aggravates the problem'.
- viii. The adversary is targeting Pakistan from within through extremists and terrorists as proxies by initiating "multiple cuts strategies".'
- ix. Pakistan's enemies are manipulating the socio-political and societal differences among its body politic by simultaneously fabricating different narratives about Pakistan's state and

security institutions for effectively damaging Pakistan's image abroad and triggering societal divide within'.

- x. Current attempts to air "sub-nationalist spring" needs a political solution, and any kinetic response may lead to a domino effect in such cases.
- xi. With CPEC early harvest projects nearing completion, the next 3-5 years are likely to see more intensity in hybrid threats

## **Implications of hybrid Warfare for Pakistan**

The implications of Hybrid Warfare / Hybrid Warfare on Pakistani society have been enormous. Few significant challenges include:

### **Human Loss**

The loss of human life is the most vital loss in any war, which creates a more profound impact. Pakistan is a conflict-ridden country and is no exception to this fact. The War on Terror has exacted a very high human cost for Pakistan in the last fourteen years. The human cost of terrorism can be calculated if we combine the figures of casualties inflicted by terrorist attacks, political and ethnic violence, sectarian violence and target killings, including the drone strikes. The reason being that today, most terrorist, sectarian, ethnic-nationalist organizations have become firmly enmeshed with each other ([Abbasi, 2013, p.34](#)).

The human fatalities given in the table below depict the sum of people killed and injured as a result of terrorist attacks by militants; clashes between security forces and militants, operational attacks by security forces; suicide attacks; sectarian violence and clashes; ethno-political violence; target killings including through drone strikes and political targeting. Some provinces/regions are more affected than others and bear a higher burden of casualties like KPK, FATA and Baluchistan.

There are certain cities that have faced a lot of turmoil and more number of casualties in contrast to other areas of Pakistan. Peshawar, Quetta, Kurram Agency, Khyber Agency, North Waziristan and South Waziristan are the areas that have seen the most bloodshed. The major issues faced by these areas were due to proximity to Afghanistan and no border control mechanisms. The locals have deep relationships with people in Afghanistan since the days of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. The people were exploited by extremist elements with the help of fabricated literature about Jihad. Once forces conducted the operation, the Northern areas discovered caves that were designated as heavens to make people believe that they will be going to heaven if they fight against the state. The less educated people in these regions fell prey to these ideas and were brainwashed by these miscreants to spread violence in the country.

### **Economic Implications**

As a consequence of terrorism, the Pakistani economy suffered a significant impact. Although this economic meltdown cannot be solely blamed on the menace of terrorism, yet, it is the

overarching factor. Few of the other contributing factors include the international financial crisis of 2009, massive energy crises, as well as natural calamities, i.e. flood and earthquake ([Abbasi, 2013](#)). Pakistan has been subjected to a whole host of economic exploitations following the global war on terrorism. The war on terror has given a significant blow to Pakistan in the economic domain. As a whole, Pakistan has a loss of billions of dollars due to the global war on terrorism, which is a massive amount for a developing state. As per Hafiz a Sheikh, Pakistan has so far suffered a loss of 258.1 billion dollars owing to war against terror and this figure includes both direct and indirect costs ([Pasha, 2019, p.48](#)). These costs comprise both direct costs (sudden increase in security-related spending on the public as well as the private sector, loss of infrastructure and property, compensations and expenditure for Internally Displaced person IDPs) and indirect costs (Low investment, fall in share market, the downfall of tourism industry) ([Pasha, 2019](#)).

Now, if we see in a broader context, then actually, this economic loss is directly related to a war that was imposed upon Pakistan. The loss caused by Pakistan due to war is much higher than the loss which occurred due to attacks on the World Trade Centre in September 2001 which was estimated at around 100 billion US dollars by The Institute for the Analysis of Global Security. These conditions were further aggravated by our Eastern neighbour to push Pakistan into a deep state of turmoil. India followed the Dovel doctrine to synchronize various instruments of power against Pakistan in the Hybrid domain to gain benefit from the existing situation in Pakistan. The other important aspect which poses a significant challenge is the India and United States alliance against Pakistan and China to undermine the CPEC, which is the economic lifeline for Pakistan's prosperous future. With the massive development expected through CPEC and its geostrategic location, Pakistan is expected to become the most prominent victim of Hybrid warfare exploitation by the United States and India. The United States has all the arguments for keeping Pakistan in a state of turmoil through different instruments of identify-driven hybrid warfare so that it can hamper and control the CPEC related developments to have a strategic edge over China ([Korybko, 2017, p.215](#)). The index of Foreign Direct Investment has also declined in Pakistan over previous years owing to bombings and terrorist attacks. This is another facet of Hybrid Warfare to isolate a country from the international economic domain.

### **National Image Crisis**

Although Pakistan remained a frontline state with the United States during Global War against terrorism and has suffered a large number of economic and human losses yet the image of Pakistan has been deliberately maligned at the national level by India, Afghanistan and United States. Pakistan is being projected as a country that breeds and funds terrorists. The recent move by India at the FATF forum to get Pakistan blacklisted is also part of the big game to create more challenges for Pakistan. The role being played by both National and international media to malign the image of Pakistan at the international level will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.



## **Social Implications**

The social impacts of the Hybrid war being waged against Pakistan are enormous. Perception management techniques being employed in Hybrid domains have played a more significant role in creating challenges in the social domain ([Korybko, 2017, p.222](#)). Pakistan has been subjected to nationalism in the hatred domain where people have the feeling of being Balochi, Punjabi, Pathan or Sindhi but not Pakistanis. This type of nationalism is fragile and prone to be hijacked by the perpetrators of Hybrid Warfare to incite the identity crisis ([Korybko, 2017, p.225](#)) in the country. The manifestations of an identity crisis are evident in cities like Karachi, Quetta and other cities. Anti-state elements are exploiting people who been internally displaced from the war-torn areas, and they fall prey to Hybrid strategies because of mental trauma which they had while seeing war with their eyes and losing their loved ones in that war.

## **Conclusion**

The dynamics of Hybrid warfare in Pakistan are unique in comparison to other victims of hybrid threats. Pakistan has been exposed to all primary instruments of hybrid warfare over the past two decades. Pakistan faces a host of challenges from domestic and external fronts. The societal faultlines are exploited by our internal and external adversaries to create problems for Pakistan at multiple fronts. Multiple instruments of Hybrid warfare are employed in synchronization to achieve multiple objectives ranging from political disturbance to building anti-Pakistan narratives at international fronts. The groups like Tehrike Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Lashker-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), a large number of terrorist attacks, the protracted conflict for almost two decades, target killings, and Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) attacks are few of the manifestations of Hybrid warfare. A diverse range of actors including states, state-sponsored groups, Non State actors, and self-funded group employed Hybrid Warfare strategies against Pakistan over last two decades. The realization of this aspect came only during the last couple of years. Pakistan needs to adopt immediate measures to understand the dynamics of Hybrid warfare as Pakistan is the only country which is facing the full spectrum of Hybrid warfare. The better comprehension of these dynamics of Hybrid warfare will play a crucial role in developing strategies to counter existing and future challenges being faced by Pakistan to achieve the objective of sustainable peace.

## Reference

- Abbasi, N. M. (2013). Impact of terrorism on Pakistan. *Strategic Studies*, 33(2), 33-68.
- Afzal, S., Iqbal, H., & Inayay, M. (2012). Terrorism and extremism as a non-traditional security threat post 9/11: Implications for Pakistan's security. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3(24).
- Ahmed, K. (2007). The roots of sectarianism in Pakistan. *Criterion*, 2(4), 57-85.
- Ahmed, M. (2019, 04 05 2019). Bad Governance: The Mother of Corruption All Over the World. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/466548-bad-governance-the-mother-of-corruption-all-over-the-world>
- Akram, M. (2018). Hybrid warfare.
- Bilal, F. (2013). Hamid Mir's Portentous Campaign Against Pakistan Army. *Globally True*. <http://globallytrue.wordpress.com/2013/08/12/hamid-mirs-portentous-campaign-against-pakistan-army>
- Burgess, J. P. (2008). Non-military security challenges. *Contemporary security and strategy*, 60-78.
- Chappell, L., & Glennie, A. (2010). Show me the money (and opportunity): Why skilled people leave home—and why they sometimes return. *Migration Policy Institute*. [www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm](http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm).
- Choudhary, S. (2012). Confusion About Ideology of Pakistan. <http://drshabirchoudhry.blogspot.com/2012/04/confusion-about-ideology-of-pakistan-dr.html>
- Hammes, T. X. (2006). The sling and the stone: on war in the 21st century: *Zenith Press*.
- Haqqani, H. (2006). Weeding out the heretics: sectarianism in pakistan. *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, 4, 73-88.
- Hoffman, F. G. (2009, 2009/01). Hybrid warfare and challenges. *Joint Force Quarterly* (52), 34+. <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A193510866/GPS?u=unilanc&sid=GPS&xid=5e045227>
- Jasko, K., Kruglanski, A. W., Bin Hassan, A. S. R., Gunaratna, R., & Springer, C. (2018). ISIS: Its History, Ideology, and Psychology. *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*, 1-25.
- Joscelyn, T. (2011). Admiral Mullen: Pakistani ISI sponsoring Haqqani attacks. *The Long War Journal*, 22.
- Kamran, S. S. (2018). Hybrid warfare—Emerging challenges for Pakistan.
- Khattak, M. U. R. (2012). Amnesty International's Report on Pakistan Army: Fact or Fiction <https://www.eurasiareview.com/25122012-amnesty-internationals-report-on-pakistan-army-fact-or-fiction-oped/>
- Korybko, A. (2017). Applicability of Hybrid Warfare to Pakistan: Challenges and Possible Responses. *NDU Journal*, 31(1), 207-228.
- Kreft, H. (2008). The Geopolitical Importance of Pakistan.
- Laub, Z. (2013). Pakistan's new generation of terrorists. *Council on Foreign Relations*, 18.
- MacAskill, E. (2007, 06 08). Bush Would Consider Military Action in Pakistan. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/aug/06/usa.pakistan>

- Mehdi, M., & Su, J. (2019). Pakistan Space Programme and International Cooperation: History and Prospects. *Space Policy*, 47, 175-180. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.spacepol.2018.12.002>
- Musarrat, R., Afzal, R., & Azhar, M. S. (2013). National security and good governance: Dynamics and challenges. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 3(1), 117-180. doi:10.5296/jpag.v3i1.3525.
- Pasha, H. A. (2019). Growth and Inequality in Pakistan: Agenda for Reforms. In. Islamabad: *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Pakistan*.
- Press Trust of India. (2015, 11 03 2015). More Than 700 Government Websites Hacked Since 2012. <http://www.ndtv.com/india-news/more-than-700-government-websites-hacked-since-2012-745898>
- Qureshi, M. H. (2018). Mumbai Attacks: India'S False Flag Operation to Deceive the World. <https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/mumbai-attacks-indias-false-flag-operation-deceive-world>
- Rasool, S. (2015). Cyber security threat in Pakistan: Causes, Challenges and Way forward. *International Scientific Online Journal*, 12, 21-34.
- Shah, M. N. (2014). Evolution of sectarianism in Pakistan: A threat to the state and society. *South Asian Studies*, 29(2), 441-459.
- Siyech, M. S. (2019). The Pulwama Attack's After Effects: *Fake News and Rumours*.
- Wither, J. K. (2016). Making Sense of Hybrid Warfare. *Connections* (18121098), 15(2).
- Zehra, A. (2016). ISIS In Pakistan: A Myth or Reality? [http:// www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/07/31/ features/isis-in-pakistan-a-myth-or-reality/](http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/07/31/features/isis-in-pakistan-a-myth-or-reality/).
- Zia, U. (2010). Geographical Importance of Pakistan. <https://www.scribd.com/doc/45705865/Geographical-Importance-of-Pakistan>.