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The Indian Hybrid Warfare Strategy: Implications for Pakistan

Summar Iqbal Babar^{1*} and Muhammad Nadeem Mirza²

Abstract

War spins the wheels of history. It changes societies, alters lives, and brings about new dimensions to inflict more brutality on human beings. This is what happened in the aftermath of World War II, when the advent of the nuclear weapons set about a chapter of sophisticated and lethal warfare. Conventional war between the great powers has since been antiquated. It only puts to display the apparent capabilities of the adversary so that deterrence remains intact. War has now become multilevel and multi-dimensional. In such a case hybrid warfare strategy comes to play - which falls under the third dimension of warfare and includes application of both conventional and non-conventional means. It becomes lethal because it brings together the use of technology and cognition to bring about destruction and disruption. Crimean annexation by Russia is used as a case study in this paper which discusses the threat perception levels of the West which was a consequence of the event. On the other hand, the Strategic Interaction theory examines the asymmetric dimension of warfare which a weaker party undertakes in order to subdue or challenge its adversary. To put all this in context, India and Pakistan both being nuclear states do not directly confront each other by conventional means; rather they opt for the non-conventional means. The doctrinal change and rapid military modernization drive by India creates security dilemma for Pakistan. This paper studies that how India has employed hybrid warfare strategy against Pakistan, what are the vulnerabilities of Pakistan that India is exploiting and can exploit, how Pakistan can confront this type of warfare.

Keywords: Hybrid Warfare; Pakistan; India; Crimean Crisis; Non-conventional Warfare; Asymmetric Warfare; Deterrence

1. Introduction

“The general who wins a battle makes many calculations in his temple before the battle is fought” says Chinese strategist and philosopher Sun Tzu (Sun Tzu, 2000). With the advent of nuclear, the warfare tactics and techniques have been revolutionized. Conventional weapons are being invented just to trumpet the warfare capabilities and deterrence. In fact war now is not fought in the battlefields where we can classify the protagonists as victors or losers. Now war is fought on different avenues. It would not be wrong to say that every aspect and every field of state’s life is in a condition of constant war that has its manifestation on broader spectrum. The mode of warfare techniques in modern times are not just contained to conventional means but has

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encompassed both conventional and non-conventional tactics and strategies - it is also called hybrid warfare or fifth generation warfare.

Though, the Hybrid warfare strategy is not new but in modern literature, the term “hybrid warfare” was first coined by Robert G. Walker, who defined it as “warfare that lies in the interstices between special and conventional warfare” (Oguz, 2017, p. 3). Hybrid warfare is a strategy which involves the use of both conventional and non-conventional means. According to Cullen, the “Hybrid warfare is the synchronized use of multiple instruments of power tailored to specific vulnerabilities across the full spectrum of societal functions to achieve synergistic effects” (Cullen & Wegge, 2019, p. 8). The Hybrid warfare strategy is actually the use of all elements of the national power against the adversary which involves the technological and cognitive warfare, the subset of which is then the information warfare. The perception management and the thought process of the individual camp of the adversary is used as a tool of exploitation to achieve the political objectives and aims.

It is an asymmetric and irregular form of warfare that includes the element of ambiguity as well as deniability. The target may not know where it is being attacked from, and the weapons are, at times, abstractive or cognitive and the enemy is always in denial of those attacks. At times, the actor is being attacked but it is not aware of the attack and when the consequences manifest themselves and before any steps can be taken, the damage is already done.

In hybrid warfare the adversary makes use of its own capabilities which are already present on one hand and the manufactured capabilities on the other hand. The manufactured capabilities are dependent on the vulnerabilities of the opponent. The governmental or the non-governmental sector, the realistic or the psychological, wherever the vacuum exists, it marks its vulnerability and it invites the adversary to have a triumphed position.

2. Lessons from the Russian Experiences in Crimea

Conflicts have been affected in various ways. At times, they involve many non-military measures such as economic, political, humanitarian, and the like. Information warfare, and other tactics, is complemented by military measures as well. Any explicit use of force is generally avoided and if ever undertaken it is done by portraying it as to contain a conflict or as a de-escalatory measure (Coalson, 2014).

A study of Crimean annexation by Russia on the basis of studied evidence can be considered as a case study for the use of hybrid warfare capabilities of Russia that also led to generation of a threat perception in the West. Russia used both conventional as well as non-conventional modes of warfare - which are the components of Hybrid warfare - to annex Crimea. The factors of deniability and ambiguity were also there but based on the evidence available, hybrid warfare can be observed in the very case. The Crimean soil has been a testing ground for Russia where it had been practicing irregular warfare. Irregular warfare can also be termed as a type of Hybrid Warfare. It is defined as “a violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy

and influence over the relevant population(s)”, irregular warfare is executed on a dual premise, that is to say that it either includes a support of the population or support of the regime. The circumstances in both of these cases – support for population or regime - appear to be similar with the only difference being in the sides who has adopted this as a strategy. In the first case, in the support of the population, it would include supporting an insurgent movement, and in the second case, in the support of the regime it would include supporting the government to suppress a secessionist movement. This has been the case in Crimea where the support of the population was executed as policy of Irregular warfare by Russia (Erol & Oguz, 2015). The government of Crimea was challenged by a resistance group with the backing of Russia disguised in military uniform without revealing their identities, which Saceur Breedlove calls ‘little green men’. Soon Russia changed its military outlook in order to enhance its influence (Gerasimov, 2016).

Apart from the use of hard power, soft power usage has also been observed in Crimean case as the activities of little green men in the non-conventional fronts provide a manifestation. The regime changes and the use of proxy wars is another element of the hybrid warfare. Russia has been initially denying all the claims made of its involvement in Crimea, Russia had this leverage of deniability because the disguised military men had not revealed their identities. It was later revealed however by some leaked documents that Putin actually ordered his men to annex Crimea (MacFarquhar, 2015).

In an effort to give a description of the concept of hybrid warfare, it is discussed that the vulnerability of the adversary is the weapon of the hybrid warfare. One of these vulnerabilities also includes terrorism. The conflicting factions in the society can be used against the state via exploitation. As discussed before, information warfare is also an important subset of hybrid warfare and is used as an empowered tool against the adversary. In the case study of Russian annexation of Crimea, the use of information warfare tactics has extensively been used. In March 2014, Ukraine accused Russia of disrupting communication systems through cyber-attacks as well as hacking news websites and defacing social media with propaganda messages (Lee, 2014).

The deductions that follow the case study of Russia’s annexation of Crimea lead us to believe that hybrid warfare is no myth but a verified conduct of warfare that has been developing fortuitously and with the changing era in the field of inventions, it is also undergoing through transformation. Hybrid warfare weakens the adversary in a very secretive and unidentifiable manner and results in victory of the actor at the boiling point in achieving its political objectives.

3. Theoretical Framework: Strategic Interaction Theory

Strategic Interaction theory explains the asymmetric conflict and posits the tactics a weaker party uses in order to win a war. The use of offensive and defensive strategies is made by the strong actor and the weak actor

respectively. The strong actor uses the barbarism in order to change the will of the adversary and to eliminate its capacity via coercion and pain infliction. While the weak actor uses guerrilla warfare strategies which Kautilya has termed as 'concealed war'. In Guerrilla Warfare Strategies- (GWS), the will of the actor is targeted, rather than its capacity and the cost include the loss of soldiers, supplies, infrastructure, peace of mind, and time. As the US ability to win war in Afghanistan is in question, despite of being a strong actor, but Taliban are using GWS and targeting their will to fight. Then, there is the concept of indirect offense vs. direct defense where the indirect offensive strategy is used to target the defender's will to resist. Economic sanctions and strategic bombing are forms of indirect offense against direct defense where actor is strong. The domestic factors of an adversary state can also be targeted in this case that further exploits the situation for the defender. The strategic interaction theory provides some implications for Pakistan which confronts an adversary having hegemonic ambitions, i.e. India. How a weak power can win the war implies some strategies given by the strategic interaction theory which are relevant in case of India and Pakistan.

4. Kautilya's Undeclared Warfare Strategy

Chankya Kautilya, a famous military strategist and advisor to Chandragupta Maurya, explained in *Arthashastra*, the strategies to achieve the political goals, by a ruler. To achieve the political goals, the ruler must have all elements of power whether they are economic, social or military. Kautilya suggests that there are three types of warfare, "open warfare, concealed warfare, and silent warfare" (Kangle, 1986, p. 258). By concealed warfare, Kautilya points out the guerilla warfare but the main contribution that he has made is of silent warfare. Silent war, is the one in which the normal business of the state carries on as usual without any disruption. People of the land are not aware of any activities related to war and even at the official level the relations of the states are established normally. The battleground in this kind of war is established through spies and undercover operatives who intend to create internal divide in the enemy state by assassinating key figures. According to Chankya, "Open war is fighting at a place and time indicated; creating fight, sudden assault, striking when there is error or a calamity, giving way and striking in one place are types of concealed warfare; that which concerns secret practices and instigations through secret agents is the mark of silent war" (Chande, 2004, p. 33). Kautilya's argument tends to believe that the concept of hybrid warfare is not new rather it has been used since ages as an effective tactic. In the modern times, this strategy has evolved with a new name and still is in use. Kautilya's views provide a theoretical framework to study the hybrid warfare cases in the modern world.

India and Pakistan both being nuclear states do not directly confront each other by conventional means rather they employ non-conventional means including asymmetrical and irregular warfare that is usually covert and is used to achieve the political objectives. Pakistan Army Chief General Bajwa stated

that “Pakistan is facing enormous challenges both in conventional and sub-conventional means and that our enemy knows that they cannot beat us fair and square, and thus have subjected us to cruel, evil, and protracted hybrid warfare” (Syed, 2018). He pointed out the precarious situation on the Eastern and Western borders of Pakistan. India has been in a continuous effort to sabotage stability in Pakistan to achieve its political gains and a number of evidences available prove India’s covert involvement in Pakistan on different fronts. Being a big country, India wants to be a hegemon of South Asia and in order to achieve this objective, it is fighting against its adversary on all fronts and how India is doing this is discussed in the arguments that follow.

To understand what hybrid warfare is and on what fronts it is fought, we firstly need to address those fronts on which the protagonists are interacting in what manner. In the changing world order and increased interdependence as a result of globalization, it is not possible for a state to survive alone. For survival, a state needs to interact with its neighbors and other nations of the world. So, there is a strategic interaction that may be societal, economic, diplomatic, political, informational, infrastructural, and environmental as well as on different other heads. And war is possible on all of these fronts. Modern war is fought via policies. In the strategic interaction, there is an element of interdependence of decisions among the states in the international system. Strategic interaction is not independent of the expectations and the behaviors of the adversary in the context of warfare. In strategic interaction, the structure of information and the choices available does matter as it defines the tactics and the policies of the country.

This interaction can be explained through the example of India and Pakistan’s strategic interaction and how this structure of strategic interaction serves as an instrument of hybrid warfare. The critical vulnerability is what the adversary should know in order to attack within the spectrum of a particular framework. Pakistan is facing the ethnic conflict issue in home and India knows this fact. So, India best uses its capabilities to exploit the situation and there is a crippling of the society of which Pakistan cannot put the blame on India because element of deniability is the beauty of hybrid warfare technique. So, strategic interaction is basically interdependence and interaction on different fronts where the action of one protagonist is conditioned by the other and in the context of warfare, strategic interaction highlights the critical vulnerabilities of the adversary where the victory of one party lies. Within the framework of strategic interaction how a weaker party wins the war is also an important question. Weaker parties cannot confront their adversary because of their weaker conventional might so these asymmetrical wars are fought by non-conventional means including guerilla warfare strategies and proxies which formulate the elements of hybrid warfare tactics. But the actors pin point the vulnerabilities of the adversary, then exploit them and use the enemy’s resources against its own. As we discussed earlier that there is interdependence of actors in different fields in the age of globalization and these interdependences exposes the actors to each other to some extent. Within

this exposure, different tools and gadgets are identified to use as political weapons to fight the war which is covert, lethal, without any laws and involves the elements of deniability, ambiguity and secrecy.

Of the many categories that occupy hybrid warfare, some important ones are: Conventional, Cyber, Political, Environmental, Informational and Infrastructural. Hybrid warfare has polarized opinions and there is no consensus on a fixed definition of this fifth generation warfare (Sloan, 2018). Within the above given categories, different elements are bred that might include terrorism, staged riots, false information etc. and these elements can lead to the staging of a conflict within a society causing a damage on broader spectrum of state's interests and political objectives.

The capabilities are dependent on the vulnerabilities of the opponent. The weak sectors of Pakistan are more prone to the attacks of India. Apart from the conventional warfare and tactics, India has been using non-conventional methods against Pakistan. Pakistan is a security centric state which India is well aware of. Decisions following the strategic interaction are interdependent. So, this strategic interaction revealed to India that Pakistan is more concerned about its security and to weaken this, the foundations of the security structure needs to be attacked. This structure has several variables including development and economy. Weak economy of Pakistan is a critical vulnerability which can be translated into the capability of Indian warfare tactics. Strategic interaction is not independent of the expectations and behaviors of the adversary. So, India is involved in Hybrid warfare against Pakistan and this notion is not in denial. A number of precedents and evidences are available which clearly show that India is involved in the exploitation of different sectors where it finds the vacuum. Kulbushan Yadav's case and Indian National Security Advisor Ajit Doval's doctrine against Pakistan support this argument. Certain arenas where Pakistan is vulnerable and is been exploited by its adversaries can be:

First, Strategic interaction in terms of economy is relevant as Pakistan's economic conditions are vulnerable in context of CPEC and regional system. CPEC is a multi-billion-dollar investment of China in Pakistan in the sectors of energy and infrastructure. CPEC is of international importance as China is an emerging global and regional power and the international powers are competing in the region for strategic interests. Pakistan being a regional partner of China is vulnerable to the proxy wars and the cyber and the political warfare employed by India and its allies. The US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo expressed the American concern over CPEC on July 30, 2018 stating: "Make no mistake: we would be watching what IMF does. There is no rationale for IMF tax dollars-and associated with that, American dollars that are part of the IMF funding-for those to go to bail out Chinese bond holders or China itself" (Iqbal, 2018). Such statements show how uneasy US is with CPEC. The involvement of RAW in Balochistan and the capture of Kulbushan Yadav provides an evidence of such concerns.

Better economy leads to development and development leads to security. Poor economic conditions of a state make it more vulnerable and less secure and in case of Pakistan which has a big belligerent state on its eastern border. CPEC is an economic opportunity for Pakistan and exploiting it is an act of hybrid warfare tactics. Terrorism and informational attacks like anti-business speculations to undermine Pakistan's domestic stability are some methods that make Beijing and Islamabad unreliable for each other in their businesses. Moreover, terrorism sponsored by India in Pakistan casts a bad image of the state making it unattractive for business and tourism directly affecting the already dwindling economic situation.

Second, environmental factor is another non-traditional threat where again Pakistan is vulnerable and gives enemy a chance to further exploit the situation. India has control over the water flow from the Himalayan Karakorum range that flows in the Indus valley. After the Uri attack, PM Modi made a statement "blood and water cannot flow together" (Mohan, 2018). A new wave of conflict was generated regarding the Indus Water Treaty in the aftermath of Uri attacks. Moreover, discussion on the building of Kishenganga Dam is also on its way by the Indian policymakers. This dam will ultimately reduce the water flow and affect the ecosystems of Neelum and Jhelum rivers having implications for Pakistan's water security (Salik, 2016). Pakistan is already a water-starved country and much part of its power projects and agriculture industry is dependent on water which is ultimately related to industries and the economy of the state. This nontraditional threat can cripple Pakistan's economy which thwarts the form of government and the state institutions in turn challenging its stability.

Third, ethnic and the sectarian conflicts as the critical vulnerability within a country strengthen the hybrid warfare capabilities of the adversary. Pakistan today has serious crisis of fundamentalism and ethnic conflicts. These conflicts have their roots deeply attached with the grievances of the unsatisfied groups. The grievances may be materialistic or cognitive and cognition can be molded in order to intensify the conflict that may weaken the state. Balochistan separatist movement is getting stronger and some of the Baloch people have hatred sentiments against the state and the establishment. Poverty and lack of education further exacerbate the situation. According to a recent report 60% of Pakistan's population lives in rural areas with their basic needs not satisfied and it is easy to exploit this population against the state. As an example, the deep sectarian, ethnic, and economic divisions in Syrian society were exploited by both Iran and ISIL with a view to achieving their strategic objectives. So, we should not undermine this subset of the Indian Hybrid Warfare Capabilities when we are already having evidences of presence of India in Balochistan as well as Afghanistan from where they are operating.

Fourth, cyber security paradigm is also of fundamental importance with the advancement of technology. The method of warfare has changed and the cyber security breaches pose big challenges and have effect on the foreign

policy of states and the bilateral ties. Here, the element of deniability provides an edge to the officials because it is easy to put blame of breaching the cyber security on the private citizens of which the state may not accept the responsibility.

Apart from these domains, terrorism breeding in Pakistan is also a critical vulnerability. Indian sponsored terrorism in Afghanistan and operating in Pakistan are also a serious threat to the state's security and stability. Narco-terrorism in this category cannot be ignored. The battle in the cognitive and moral domains is also intense and the public will of the society of a state, if exploitable, presents a serious threat. A recent report says that millions of illegal Indian DTHs are operating in Pakistan which means that this threat is already on its way.

The role of IGOs, NGOs, MNCs and other non-state actors should also not be undermined and if these non-state actors leave a vacuum, they can bring a state on its knees by internally eroding the society. All the capabilities under the rubric of Hybrid Warfare are difficult to cover at a time because they are always evolving and keep on manifesting themselves at different levels. The conventional mightiness of India is an apparent threat but what is covert is the Hybrid warfare capability which is dependent on the vulnerability of different sectors of Pakistan.

Security analysts of India claim that their hybrid warfare capabilities are making them successful in Kashmir because more number of Kashmiris are now participating in the administrative structures of Indian state and this success comes from the critical vulnerability that serves as the tactical capability of India. If Pakistan does not keep a check and balance on all of its vulnerabilities, it will be on losing side in this dangerous type of warfare. India's involvement in the tactical maneuvering of Pakistan's capabilities and the evidences available on this fact further creates a threatening situation for Pakistan. Using Afghanistan's land, India is waging proxy war in Pakistan. The attacks on Pakistan's Afghanistan consulates points out that RAW is involved in carrying out such activities in Pakistan. The recent attacks on the Chinese consulate also make Pakistan think that India's agencies are active in Pakistan. The mastermind of the attack on Chinese Consulate has claimed its allegiance with the enemy country. Apart from these proxies, the economic and the environmental fronts are very much exposed to the enemy where it is actively exploiting the situation.

The doctrinal path that the Modi regime has undertaken is aligned with Kautilya's teachings professed in *Arthashastra* specifically in its dealing with Pakistan. It is a worrisome situation for Pakistan and more difficult as well because engaging the Modi government in dialogue would be a tough task given its increasing economic and military superiority and putting context the bilateral disputes such as the core issue of Kashmir and the religiously discriminating biases of the Modi regime against Muslims, and Pakistan (Khan, 2018).

In hybrid warfare, at times a number of ambiguous tools in different mediums are used in a synchronized manner and that may be called as horizontal intensity, and at times the medium is changed and the intensity of one of the tools is kept high and it is the vertical intensity. This switching between the vertical and the horizontal intensities keeps the position of actor in a gray zone. It is not black not white but in gray. According to Christopher Paul, Hybrid warfare is a conflict that “blurs the distinction between war and peace, and combatants and non-combatants” (Paul, 2016). The position of the attack and the target is not defined. The attacker might be aware of the target most of the times but not always and so is the understanding of the opposing actor. Attack might be on any department of the state so each and every department of the state must be aware of the concept of Hybrid warfare and awareness must be on both ends. It is said that nature of war never changes but the methods to conduct a war change. So, Hybrid warfare is an example of this change of conduct in context of the modern technology, and the modern wave of terrorism itself has changed the methods of war within hybrid warfare. US marine strategic vision group has concluded that: “Hybrid wars combine a range of different modes of warfare, including conventional capabilities, irregular tactics and formations, terrorist acts including indiscriminate violence, and coercion and criminal disorder” (Hashim, 2013, p. 32).

5. Implications for Pakistan

Hybrid Warfare or the Fifth Generation Warfare is the most dangerous form of warfare because it is hard to locate the targeted sector as well as the direction of incoming unleashed weapon. What Pakistan needs in the contemporary times, in order to overcome the expected threats, is to fill the vacuums, it has generated in its own home apart from competing in conventional grounds. A strong hold on domestic grounds weakens the hybrid warfare capabilities of adversary.

War as a measure of non-declaration has established itself as a norm. This norm has established itself as a policy in the Indian strategic framework as hybrid warfare. Regionally, the policy of the world’s largest democracy has been to utilize foreign soils to instigate unrest in Balochistan and export terror activities in the adjoining border areas of Pakistan with Afghanistan. The countries whose soils have been explicitly used for this purpose against Pakistan are Iran and Afghanistan. The validity of this claim can further be substantiated by the statement of Latif Mehsud (Tehreek e Taliban leader) who was of the view that Indian involvement in Afghanistan hampers the domestic environment of Pakistan. Mehsud was handed over to Pakistan after he was found and captured by the United States, in Afghanistan. Various terrorist activities that took place in Pakistan carried out by different militant organizations had an Indian hand in it and that too of its premier spy agency RAW, according to his statements (*When Terror Speaks! Taliban Leader Confesses*, 2016).

Not only Latif Mehsud but another TTP representative, Ehsanullah Ehsan spoke of India's ill designs of inflicting damage upon Pakistan by divulging to exploit Afghanistan's soil against Pakistan where it co-ordinates its strategy by keeping itself on the back foot and uses terrorist outfits for its malign maneuvers, which again according to Ehsan involves Indian Research & Analysis Wing (Editorial, 2017). The regionally directed destabilization efforts of India against Pakistan have substantially jolted the country and have inherently made it a security driven state. Perhaps these efforts undertaken by India are not new, they can be found in the teachings of Kautilya who spoke of intelligence-based actions undertaken by covert operatives, both domestically and internationally. Deliberating further on his teachings of the use of covert operatives, according to Daniel Coetzee and Lee W. Eysturid, Kautilya also inferred that spying can also be disguised under the cloak of daily workers deployed in foreign nations. As Gopal put it, the Indian Navy officer turned spy Kulbushan Yadav operating from the Iranian soil under the disguised identity of Hussein Mubarak Patel serves to be the perfect case study of Kautilyan teachings, who in this case was operating as a trader/businessman and was responsible for espionage/terrorist activities in Pakistan.

As obvious as it must be, all such claims are made by Pakistan and refuted and denied by the Indian state. Officially, India portrays Yadav as an innocent individual and regards him as a 'son of soil' (Jacob & Chatterji, 2017) who's job had nothing to do with espionage and spy activities. The Indian authorities went on to say further that he is not related officially to the government of India in any way (Swaraj, 2017). Interestingly, what makes Yadav so special is the very fact that gives rise to many questions to be asked. First things first, in any case why would it be necessary for anyone to carry a passport based on fake identity? Of all the army deployed by Pakistan on its borders why would the security forces only point out one individual of all the non-resident Indians that reside in Iran that are in total number of 4000? Whether or not Kulbushan Yadav is related to Indian government is a matter to be discussed elsewhere but being an Indian citizen to be found with a fake passport and being alleged with such caliber of criminal offence, the Indian state's defense of the questions asked, is weak (Thapar, 2017). The case of Kulbushan gives an insight into how states react and refrain from declaring any association when the cover of their operatives is blown. A proper term for it would be 'plausible deniability.'

Pakistan views Yadav as an Indian operative deployed in Iran. His mission majorly was to economically weaken Pakistan and for that purpose he was assigned to cause instability in Balochistan and create problems for the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Other than that, he was tasked with ensuring that through his efforts both the economic value of Gwadar port in accordance to its geography and the economic activities at the Karachi port are slowed down. India's attempts to subdue Pakistan is evident from its malign activities in Afghanistan where it undertakes all measures including

financial support to terrorist outfits, and trainings as well so that it can be utilized to cause continuous domestic instability in Pakistan (Naqvi, 2018).

Pakistan can also in kind respond to India's activities. What is meant by that is Pakistan can use its resources to extend support (diplomatic, political) to freedom fighters in Indian held Kashmir (IHK) as well in Afghanistan to the Taliban which can provoke India. This tug of war seems to be never ending unless both states let better sense prevail and realize that issues of mutual concern can only be solved by diplomatic channels. Pakistan has faced grave economic losses and precious lives as well due to India's adopted policy of non-declared war.

5. Conclusion

Kautilya in his teachings does not remain limited to the discussion of spies but he also deliberates on the further extension of diplomacy which he refers to as offensive diplomacy and is of the view that offensive diplomacy as a policy posture must be adopted by states. He views diplomacy as a step by step process in which the purpose is to overpower the enemy in a 'subtle act of war' with the purpose to secure victory. Putting theory into practice we then see the display of Kautilya's teachings in India's foreign policy where it has blamed Pakistan with impunity that it was involved in the recent terrorist attacks that took place in IHK. On a regional level, India's effort on a multilateral level to involve regional states such as Bangladesh and Afghanistan to boycott the meeting of South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) appears to be an offensive inflicted upon Pakistan in diplomatic terms with an aim to isolate it. The intent to isolate Pakistan does not remain an indirect policy goal but also it has been explicitly stated by India that it intends to isolate Pakistan.

Policies such as these only fuel mutual animosity and unrest not only between the two states but in the region as a whole. Any attempt to isolate Pakistan goes far beyond the estimated calculus of India, given the importance of Pakistan's geo-strategic location; it acts as a bridge to connect with Central Asia and to other regions including West Asia as well. So any effort intended to isolate Pakistan would in turn isolate India as well and those collaborating with it in its proximity. India's shift in its policy towards Pakistan by adhering to Hybrid Warfare has resulted in favorable outcomes for India. Pakistan has been caught in a dilemma of a two-front engagement on its borders both from the Indian and the Afghan side (with Indian support); for that purpose, it had to remobilize its troops which comes at a significant financial cost, speaking of which, this hybrid warfare strategy of India has jolted Pakistan economically as well. Furthermore, this a strategy which is a new dimension of warfare, the collateral damage for Pakistan has been the heaviest compared to any of direct confrontations with India. The deployment of its increased number of troops has helped Pakistan as well which is evident from its large-scale success against the terrorist outfits in the adjoining tribal areas with Afghanistan. This has resulted in the escape of these terrorist organizations to

Afghanistan where they have found safe havens guarded and supported by India. Improved security situation in Pakistan - because of several military operations launched by its armed forces – has resulted in a conducive environment for developmental projects to take place under CPEC and also these favorable circumstances has resulted in inclusivity of the neglected Baloch people.

The constant efforts made by India to keep asymmetry between itself and Pakistan now reflects in its policies as well such as discussed in this paper which is Hybrid Warfare. This in turn fuels mistrust and creates a dilemma for Pakistan. All these efforts are apparently made to give India an edge in the conventional realm so that at the time of its choosing and when the situation demands it can conduct a limited scale military operation against Pakistan by keeping the threshold of engagement below the nuclear escalation checkpoint. Not to forget however, any such act would have consequences far beyond these two countries. The nuclear clouds would loom over every regional country whenever India and Pakistan would face-off, because there is no guarantee that such limited offensives can always remain 'limited'

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